

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: "I GO TO SCHOOL TO LEARN": ATTITUDES, STRESSORS, AND SUPPORTS IN THE SCHOOL EXPERIENCES OF YOUNG LATINO IMMIGRANT STUDENTS

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Immigrant children encounter various challenges involved in immigration, as well as cultural and language differences in school. These school experiences can lead to academic challenges, socioemotional difficulties, or special education referral. The present research assumed a developmental-ecological perspective to investigate school experiences and attitudes. This study explored the perceptions of a small group ($n = 28$) of recently immigrated 1st to 5th grade Latino children as ethnic and linguistic minorities in their schools. This mixed-methods investigation used the School Situation Survey (Helms & Gable, 1989) and a School Attitudes Interview (García Coll, et al., 2005) to explore student perceptions of school, the stress and supports they encounter, and attitudes towards schoolwork, classmates and teachers. Using a Family Background

Survey completed by parents, contextual influences on student perceptions were also examined.

Students had relatively low levels of stress and stress responses. Principal stressors for these students included teacher and peer interactions. School meal program participation (SES), special education, grade/age and length of residency were found to be significantly related to school stress and stress responses. Analysis did not show ESL instruction or parent variables as having a relationship with school stress, although limited English proficiency influenced students' dependency on friends, communication with teachers, and academic frustration. Students were generally positive about teachers, friends, learning, and school. Older students and students with longer U. S. residency had more negative attitudes towards teachers and school. Interview data revealed 3 themes: *Expectations, Priorities: Learning, Behavior, and Performance*, and *Supportive Relationships*. Implications for research, practice, policy and training are discussed, focusing on maintaining young students' positive aspirations, incorporating family support, and school awareness of immigrant students' needs. In hopes of understanding immigrant students' experiences in school and better addressing their needs, this research benefits both the field and practitioners in illustrating the specific viewpoints of young, 1st generation Latino students, and highlighting their strengths and needs in the U.S. school system.

“I GO TO SCHOOL TO LEARN”: ATTITUDES, STRESSORS, AND SUPPORTS IN
THE SCHOOL EXPERIENCES OF YOUNG LATINO IMMIGRANT STUDENTS

by

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AS	Academic stress
ASC	Academic self-concept
B	Behavioral manifestations
CILS	Children of Immigrants Study
E	Emotional manifestations
ELL	English Language Learners
ESL	English as a Second Language
FBS	Family Background Survey
F/R LUNCH	Free and Reduced lunch program
LEP	Limited English proficient
LISA	Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation study
NCLB	No Child Left Behind
PH	Physiological manifestations
PI	Peer interactions
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
SSS	School Situation Survey
TI	Teacher interactions

Chapter 1: Introduction

America's classrooms have seen many changes during recent years. The increasing diversity of American schools as reflected in the socioeconomic status, ethnicity, and race of students, has challenged both educators and researchers to determine how to best serve and educate all students under one system. As schools become more diverse, they are required to demonstrate high performance and successful academic outcomes for all their students. The education of a nation's children is central to the country's social and economic development, as across gender and race, earnings increase with level of education (National Center for Educational Statistics [NCES], 2004; Pérez, 2004). If all children do not have access to adequate education and services, "children are not the only ones who lose. The entire society suffers from the loss of their human capital, creativity, and productivity" (Takanishi, 2004, p. 62).

In order for schools to demonstrate top performance, educators can no longer "teach to the majority," relying on traditional theories, methods and approaches, but must take into consideration the range of diversity in the student population. Such is the push behind the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2001, aiming to hold the educational system accountable for the outcomes of *all* students. Its specific attention to students who are limited English proficient (LEP), have disabilities, are minorities, and who are limited in economic resources emphasizes the diversity of learners and the importance of their achievement. Educators and researchers cannot afford to fail to attend to any given population of students.

Looking at the growing diversity in school communities, the performance and experiences of the Latino population is becoming a greater priority. The terms "Latino"

and “Hispanic” are used interchangeably by the U.S. Census, to include persons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central and South American, Dominican and Spanish descent. Latinos as a group vary greatly in terms of race and ethnic identification, socioeconomic status, language proficiency and background. In the past 3 years, the number of Latinos in the U. S. has increased more than 13%, growing to 39.9 million in 2003, now comprising nearly 15% of the nation’s population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004a; U.S. Census Bureau, 2004b). Latinos are the fastest growing ethnic group in the schools today, now approximately 20% of all school-aged children (NCES, 2003).

Outcomes for both adults and students, however, reflect challenges economically, socially and educationally. Over a fifth of Latinos are in the lowest economic income bracket, and approximately 60% of Latino adults over 25 have earned a high school diploma or GED, compared to 85% in the general population (NCES, 2003; U.S. Census Bureau, 2004b). Educationally, Latino students have made gains over the past 20 years, but their performance still lags behind (approximately 30 points behind, or about 15%) that of white students on indicators such as the National Assessment of Educational Performance (NAEP) (Garcia, 2001; NCES, 2003). Over a third of Latinos are not proficient in English, limiting employment, education and access to services (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000a). Latinos also have the highest dropout and teenage pregnancy rates of all ethnic groups (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2004; NCES, 2003). These statistics indicate the risks posed to this group in terms of upward mobility in education, the workforce, and the community at large. Addressing the needs of Latinos is no longer the concern of select states; although the majority of Latinos live in a few states, over the

past 10 years, growth has spread significantly to other areas in the U.S., including the south and the Midwest (Hernandez, 2004; Pérez, 2004).

Of special consideration in the Latino community are immigrant groups. Like the general Latino population, although concentrated in a few states, immigrants have spread to several other areas, with numbers in most states increasing by at least 50% from 1990 to 2000 (Hernandez, 2004). U.S. Census information from 2000 shows that one out of every five of the country's children is an immigrant or the child of an immigrant (Hernandez, 2004; Shields & Behrman, 2004). In the past 15 years, the number of children in immigrant families grew about seven times faster than that of native families (Hernandez, 2004). In the schools, about 10.5 million students are the children of immigrants, and roughly a quarter of these students are foreign-born (Fix & Passel, 2003).

Immigrant families generally have many strengths, such as intact structures, strong work ethic and aspirations, and community cohesion (Shields & Behrman, 2004; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). However, despite these strengths, general measures of well being for this group reflect economic and educational challenges. For example, comparing immigrant and native families with two working parents, immigrants are still more likely to live in poverty (Elmelech, McCaskie, Lennon & Lu, 2002; Hernandez, 2004). Compared to native-born counterparts, immigrants in the U.S. are less likely to have graduated from high school, and more likely to be unemployed, and live in larger family households (Hernandez, 2004; Schmidley, 2003).

Latinos comprise the largest immigrant ethnic group, accounting for more than half of all the foreign-born persons in the U. S. (Larsen, 2004). Latino immigrants are perhaps

the most at-risk of the Latino population, facing additional risk factors as immigrants. These risk factors include higher rates of poverty and lower levels of education when compared to both native and foreign-born groups (Larsen, 2004; U. S. Census Bureau, 2003). Additionally, Latin Americans constitute over 80% of illegal immigration to the U. S.; it is estimated that 40-50% of Latin American immigrants are residing in the U. S. without legal documentation (United States Customs and Immigration Service [USCIS], 2000).¹ The current population of Latino immigrants in the United States is generally marked by isolation from the resources and benefits of citizenship, limited formal education, and a poor standard of living (Larsen, 2004; U. S. Census Bureau, 2000b).

Latin American children comprise over 60% of children in immigrant families in the U. S., totaling over 7 million children (Hernandez, 2004). According to the U. S. Census, over 2 million Latino children are immigrants themselves (U. S. Census Bureau, 2003). Although rates of college attendance and aspirations has been found more positive for immigrant Latino students than for native Latinos, this is dependent on length of residency and other factors (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995; Vernez & Abramse, 1996). Immigrant status itself is not necessarily linked to poor school performance (Vernez & Abramse, 1996). However, several factors associated with immigrant status have been linked to challenges in school, and Latino immigrant students often fare worse than other ethnicities (Fuligni, 1997; Vernez & Abramse, 1996).

Since the 1982 U.S. Supreme Court decision *Plyer v. Doe*, ruling that immigrant children have the right to a free public education regardless of legal status, schools have

¹ In this paper, the term *illegal immigration* will refer to the process or act of immigrating without appropriate documentation and legal process, or remaining in the U.S. without such documentation. *Undocumented* refers to the status of a person who does not have the legal permission of the U.S. government to either immigrate or reside in the U.S.

been particularly challenged and obligated to educate these new arrivals. Moreover, No Child Left Behind's (2001) focus on both LEP and minority students makes the education of these children a particular priority.

Stress and Risk for Immigrant Students

Many risk factors are posed to Latino immigrant students, arising from their experiences in immigration and in their host culture, and involving individual, family, cultural, and societal factors. *Risk factors* are defined as “conditions or circumstances that are associated with a greater likelihood of negative or undesirable outcomes” (Hernandez & Charney, 1998, p. 32). The stressors and circumstances that may place immigrant children at risk can affect them psychosocially and educationally, influencing their development and school experiences.

In order to avoid the exploration of these risk factors through a “lens of deficit,” it is critical to clarify that it is not children's cultural differences—family parenting styles, language and tradition, cultural attitudes and norms—that put them at risk (García Coll, et al., 1996; García Coll & Szalacha, 2004). It is rather the context—American institutions and systems—that surrounds them that presents challenges. Policies and structures experienced by immigrants can promote or inhibit children's development (García Coll, et al., 1996; García Coll & Szalacha, 2004). This is to say that minority parenting styles are not inferior, or cultural responses to education are not incorrect, but when these cultural norms are inserted into a dominant society's system, and the system is unwilling, unable or unknowledgeable in their integration, there is the possibility of risk and challenges.

Stressful conditions arise in three different areas of a child's immigration experience. Children's pasts, and the experience of poverty, violence or limited formal schooling can affect their learning and development. There is also trauma, stress and loss associated with the act of immigration itself. Additionally, immigrants' current living conditions (including poverty, undocumented status, acculturative stress, and school challenges) are possible sources of stress. Recent literature has associated these risk factors with a variety of academic and psychosocial outcomes.

Risk and Adjustment

Navigating the pathway from immigrant risk to mental health has been the focus of a rather small and inconclusive research base. Although there is some evidence to suggest there is a link between immigration and maladjustment in the adult immigrant population, adjustment depends on many interacting variables that affect various populations differentially (Aronowitz, 1984). Generally, immigrant children's mental health and adjustment appears to be comparable to or better than that of native peers. However, little systematic empirically-based evidence supports this statement (Aronowitz, 1984; Hernandez & Charney, 1998; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Outcomes for children greatly differ depending on ethnic group, socioeconomic status, acculturation level, and other contextual factors, the extent to which has not been adequately investigated.

Immigrant Challenges at School

These risk factors and adjustment challenges that immigrant children may encounter in their homes and communities follow them to school. There, they face multiple factors that affect both their academic and social outcomes. Limited English

skills can frustrate and alienate children in the classroom and complicate school performance (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Lack of or limited experience with formal schooling and unfamiliarity with American schools may leave children at an educational disadvantage, challenging them to keep up with peers and the expectations of their teachers. (Freeman, et al., 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

In many cases, schools do not know how to adequately provide for the unique needs of this population. Teachers many times do not know how to effectively serve minority or immigrant students and school systems are often overwhelmed in providing adequate education and services (McLaughlin, Liljestrom, Lim, & Meyers, 2002; Thomas, 1992; Voltz, Brazil, & Scott, 2003). Immigrant students may also be disadvantaged in terms of the educational support they can receive from their families. Although Latino immigrant families highly value education and encourage their children in educational endeavors, they often struggle to provide physical assistance (Garcia-Coll, et al., 2002; Lopez, Sánchez, & Hamilton, 2000). Unfamiliarity with the U.S. school system, lack of English proficiency or formal schooling, and logistical issues often interfere with parents' ability to help with schoolwork or be involved in school processes (Bernhard & Freire, 1999; García Coll, et al., 2002; Harry, 1992; Ramirez, 2003).

Risk for Special Education

The challenges faced by many Latino immigrant children also put them at risk for being identified as having a disability. Generally, children of color, who live in poverty, who are English language learners (ELL) or who attend urban schools are more at risk for placement in special education (Artilles, Harry, Reschly, & Chinn, 2002; Zhang &

Katsiyannis, 2002). Factors of culture and language—the cultural mismatch between students and teachers, language development, or assessment—may also mediate the likelihood that Latino immigrant children may be placed in special education (Meyer & Patton, 2001; Voltz, et al., 2003). Additionally, the experience of immigration and acculturative stress, compounded with the effects of poverty, discrimination, and urban settings may also make immigrant children more likely to require counseling, social work, or school psychologist services (Shields & Behrman, 2004).

Schooling and School Adjustment

In order to better understand the influences of risk and stress, to optimize immigrant children's education and to prevent inappropriate special education placements, investigation of the school experiences of immigrant children is necessary. Exploration of immigrant students' U.S. experiences of a new school system, new peers, and a new culture is an important, but fairly recent research interest. A strong but small body of research has made connections to mental health and achievement (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), peer relations, language and curriculum (Brittain, 2002), and school attitudes (McLaughlin, et al., 2002; García Coll, Szalacha, & Palacios, 2005). This literature has given insight into the school experiences, attitudes and transition experiences of immigrant children. Many children find the school climate and social interactions different than in their home country, and are challenged in navigating the transition, along with other life circumstances (Brittain, 2002). Students have expressed difficulties in communication in school, with peers, teachers, administrators and parents, and a lack of parent support (McLaughlin, et al., 2002). Teachers also have noted difficulties in adequately serving and incorporating immigrant

students, citing the appropriateness of the curriculum and social isolation as barriers (McLaughlin, et al., 2002). The school environment and social interactions therein, can serve to shape the perspectives of students in terms of self-identity, affiliation with school and prospects for the future (Brittain, 2002; Meyer & Patton, 2001; Ogbu, 1987; Suárez-Orozco, 2000). Especially in light of evidence that behavior problems can occur more at school than at home, school-induced stressors may be a plausible and potential factor in the development of negative outcomes for some immigrants (Aronowitz, 1984).

Yet, the topic of immigrants in school remains a broad, complex issue, with many areas of research need still evident. As immigrant students' experiences can vary according to age, length of residency, generational status, ethnicity and school environment, further research is necessary to investigate various student contexts as variables, and to vary and strengthen the research methods used.

Goal of the Present Research

The goal of this research is to add to the knowledge of immigrant experiences in schools by investigating specific student and school characteristics that have not yet been fully researched in the literature. In hopes of contributing knowledge toward that goal, this research focuses on the perceptions of *young, Latino, first-generation immigrant* students concerning their experiences and challenges as *ethnic and linguistic minorities* in their schools. Better understanding these experiences can allow educators to explore better service provision, more appropriate instruction and support, and to have more insight into the special needs of these students that may prevent inappropriate special education referrals and other negative outcomes.

The focus of this research on young immigrants is to differentiate their experiences from those of older adolescents which have received more attention in the literature. Developmentally, a child's beginning years in school are among the most impressionable. In their early education, children are not only being educated, but also socialized (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Takanishi, 2004). In these critical years, they form ideas about themselves, their peers, teachers and schooling, and absorb patterns of language, cognition and behavior. A child's early experiences with education bear on later formation of identity, perceptions of school and overall school performance (Risi, Gerhardstein, & Kistner, 2003; Takanishi, 2004).

The process of educational success or failure begins in the early years of a child's schooling; the learning that takes place as children are young must be explored in order to understand the process of knowledge acquisition and socialization (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991). When considering the reported outcomes noted earlier for Latino immigrant adolescents, a stark picture is painted for the educational future of these students. Additionally, because there is a general decline in academic motivation and achievement, and physical and emotional health outcomes for immigrant children (Hernandez, 2004; Hernandez & Charney, 1998; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000), it is critical that the contexts and influences on these factors are examined early.

This research investigates the perspectives of a mixed group of Latino students, to differentiate from more homogeneous (from one nationality) or heterogeneous (mixed ethnicities) samples. In this way, the results are more generalizable to mixed groups of Latino students. It is crucial to separate the experiences of Latinos from other ethnicities,

as they differ in culture, immigration and community patterns, as well as academic and adjustment outcomes (Hernandez & Charney, 1998).

The distinction of first- and second-generation students is also central to this investigation. As Latino immigrant outcomes have shown some variability when compared to native Latinos as well as other immigrant groups, this evidence indicates the need to separate the study of immigrant Latinos from native-born Latinos. Immigrants perform as well as if not better than native Latino youth, but this advantage declines with years of residency (Hernandez & Charney, 1998; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). The differentiation that Ogbu (1987) makes between voluntary (immigrants) and involuntary (native) minorities is critical here. He asserts that, for various reasons, the two groups perceive, interpret, and respond to society and education differently. Ogbu's (1987) theory is that immigrants equate education with opportunity and can separate it from acculturation or assimilation. Native minorities may associate education with acculturation into the dominant group, which they resist, then doubt they can advance in this system, and therefore may not demonstrate behaviors that enhance school success.

Finally, this study examines the experience of immigrant students in the context of the school environment. Most research on immigrant populations has been conducted in areas where there is a large concentration of immigrants with a long history in that region. Following an ecological framework (to be discussed more in depth later) the influence of the school environment—peers and teachers included—cannot be neglected as an important component of immigrant students' school experiences (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). Whether or not a student is an ethnic minority or majority in his or her school and

community can bear on sense of self, perceptions of their ethnic group, and interactions with peers as a whole (Triandus, 1989, as cited in Kashima, 2001). Further, Suárez-Orozco's (2000) concept of *social mirroring* indicates that attitudes involving group membership and composition of a school can reflect messages back to a child that can shape his or her identity. Self-concept, social identity and social interactions are important components of a child's school attitudes and experiences, and may bear on educational performance.

In the literature addressing immigrant schooling, the strongest and most informative studies have been those that solicit information from the students themselves. The statistics and theory regarding the adjustment of immigrant children frame the picture of their development, but the perceptions of the students themselves give color, shape, and substance to the discussion. This study combines quantitative and qualitative research methods to pursue answers to the research questions that follow regarding the experiences of this group of immigrant students in school.

For the purposes of this paper, the following definitions are used. *First-generation immigrants*, or *immigrants*, are persons who have immigrated themselves; they are foreign born. *Second-generation* describes the children of immigrants; they are U. S. born. *Culture* is defined as "social shared cognitive codes and maps, norms of appropriate behavior, assumptions about values and world view, and lifestyle in general" (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991, p.17). *Acculturation* involves the "changes in peoples' behaviors, social and work activities, thinking patterns, values, and self-identification made by members of one culture as a result of contact with another culture" (Gordon, 1964, as cited in Kopala, et al., 1994, p. 353). *Stress* is the feeling that arises from situations or

events that a person perceives as threatening, conflictual, unstable, or beyond normal coping abilities (Helms & Gable, 1989; Kauffman, 1997). *Manifestations of stress* are emotional, behavioral, or physiological responses to stressful situations or events (Helms & Gable, 1989).

Research Questions

1. *What do young Latino immigrants find stressful in school? How do students report displaying this stress, behaviorally, emotionally, socially?*

Latino children in immigrant families face many factors that place them at risk for experiencing unique stressors and challenges in school. The stress experienced by immigrant students is distinguished from that of native-born peers, as generally, immigrant youth experience more stress than U. S.-born peers (Gil, Vega & Dimas, 1994; Romero & Roberts, 2003). This stress can break down coping capabilities, which could potentially leave immigrant students more vulnerable to maladjustment (Athey & Ahearn, 1991; Kopala, et al., 1994).

This research builds on McLaughlin and colleagues' study of immigrant experiences in schools by including more participants and a more focused and detailed interview process. They found that students were not necessarily positive regarding peer interactions, teachers and interest in school work, and that language and parental participation were barriers (McLaughlin, et al., 2002). Of additional interest, then, is the stress immigrants may experience when encountered with these self-reported challenges. The manifestations of this stress are also critical to investigate, as behavioral, emotional, and social responses in school can affect academic performance, social interactions and special education referral decisions (Artiles, et al., 2001; Meyer & Patton, 2001; NCES,

2003). A measure of school-related stress and its manifestations, the School Situations Survey, supplemented by information from interviews, was used to answer this question.

2. What are young Latino immigrants' attitudes towards school? How do they perceive belonging, affinity, social support, engagement, values, teacher relationships and school climate?

Further investigation of Latino immigrant students' perceptions of school is needed, to expand on, as well as focus past research (e. g. García Coll, et al., 2005; McLaughlin, et al., 2002; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). There is a need to broaden the scope of questions asked of immigrant children, as well as focus on a sample of young (middle childhood²), Latino, first-generation students as ethnic minorities in their schools.

Risi and colleagues (2003) have suggested that poor peer relations leading to negative attitudes and perceptions regarding school may negatively influence achievement outcomes. Additionally, students' feelings of acceptance and warmth in school settings have been associated with better academic and social outcomes (A. Valenzuela, 1999; Velez & Saenz, 2001). Gaining knowledge about this student group's perceptions of school can give educators insight as to better service provision. A School Attitudes Interview was used to gain children's perspectives on the school climate, teachers, peers, and school belonging, as well as other indicators of school attitudes.

3. To what extent are contextual factors and student characteristics, such as gender, age and English proficiency, associated with the school attitudes and adjustment of young Latino immigrants? What are the influences of length of U.S. residency, ethnicity and

² Garcia Coll, Szalacha, & Palacios (2005) define middle childhood as ages 6-12 years.

minority status in school on school attitudes and adjustment? This topic has been largely neglected in the literature (with the exception of García Coll, et al., 2005). However, as contextual and individual characteristics are associated with both acculturation and school performance, subsequently, school attitudes and adjustment are related to school outcomes. “It seems that experiences within the family, institutions, and communities create particular realities for children of immigrants that need to be ascertained as both assets and liabilities for children’s developmental competencies” (García Coll, et al., 2005). Teacher and peer attitudes, school values, and school and classroom climate are significant factors influencing at-risk children’s achievement, especially those from minority backgrounds (González, 2001). Urban or rural setting, school characteristics and community features, as well as family variables are immensely influential in the education of immigrant students (Garcia, 2001; García Coll & Szalacha, 2004; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Children who are limited English proficient, immigrants, of minority race or ethnicity (Garcia, 2001) and have low achievement motivation are more at risk for negative outcomes (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995). This study utilized the School Situations Survey, School Attitudes Interview, and information from a Family Background Survey to explore the proposed factors, as well as investigate other influences that emerge from student responses.

4. *What positive aspects about school and sources of support do students identify? What do young Latino immigrants recommend to improve their success in school? What implications are there for policy, research, training, and instruction regarding this student population?*

This inquiry is made in order to gain a fuller understanding of the educational needs of this student group, and to better serve them in the schools. Because immigrant students vary in their adjustment and educational outcomes, and because many immigrant students may not benefit from family or school support, it is important to find out from the students themselves what supports their educational experience. This question builds on the work of McLaughlin and colleagues' 2002 study by conducting more in-depth individual interviews and focusing on needs and strengths in their schooling. Results have implications for educational policy, future research focus and design, teacher training, and instruction and assessment, as well as address service provision and special education referral issues. Findings which answer this question were elicited through the School Attitudes Interview and the follow-up interviews.

The following section will contain a review of the literature spanning the contextual factors in young immigrants' lives, existing knowledge of their socioemotional functioning, and research concerning the educational experiences of immigrant youth. A discussion of the ecological-developmental perspective taken in this research and the study's research methods will follow.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Understanding the school stress and experiences of young Latino immigrant children requires knowledge about the contexts in which they develop and the risks and resources they encounter. This review of the literature begins with an overview of these contextual factors, risks and resources and follows with an examination of the research regarding psychosocial and educational outcomes, and the current knowledge about immigrant school experiences and the influence of culture and development.

Early educational and research efforts in this area focused on language acquisition and assimilation into mainstream school culture. Later work focused on refugee children, and research involving mixed immigrant groups. In the 1980's, Ogbu began to clarify the variables involved in immigrant educational research (1987). He more clearly defined the populations, differentiating between voluntary (immigrant) and involuntary (nonimmigrant) minorities, noting different cultural, social, and political influences on their achievement. More recent research has begun to differentiate between generations, recognize variability within Latino groups, and initiate widespread, longitudinal studies.

Much of the current knowledge about immigrant risk, experiences and outcomes comes from longitudinal studies with large samples investigating a broad variety of academic and social variables. One such study is the Longitudinal Immigrant Student Adaptation study (LISA), headed by Marcelo and Carola Suárez-Orozco (2001). This is an ongoing study of over 400 children in over 50 schools in the Boston and San Francisco areas. Researchers used surveys, document reviews, interviews and observations of students, schools and families. Their criteria-based sample consisted of recently immigrated children, with a mean age of about 12. The Children of Immigrants

Longitudinal study (CILS), under the direction of Portes and Rumbaut (2001), also used parent surveys and child interviews, but included over 5,000 students in 50 schools. Their mixed-ethnicity sample, drawn from Miami and San Diego, had a mean age of 14, and contained foreign-born (living more than five years in the U.S.) and second-generation students. The schools in their samples had high concentrations of immigrant families, and a random, but estimated probability sampling was used to reflect the populations from which the samples came. Because of the breadth of both of these studies, the results of their work are found throughout this review.

Stress and Risk for Immigrant Students

The multiple changes and challenges of the immigrant experience have a direct impact on children's daily lives and development. Concerns with educational disadvantage and mental health risks merit the consideration of the factors that are at play in the lives of immigrant Latino children.

Although less prevalent in the literature concerning immigrant students, the idea of resilience may explain some of the variability in immigrant and native outcomes and may be due to specific strengths in immigrant families. Though many components of the immigrant experience may be stressful, several contextual factors can have a buffering or resilient effect on children. Protective factors for immigrant children's adaptation include: personal characteristics (personality, good health, social skills); family characteristics (cohesion, values, few conflicts, rules and responsibilities, financial security, monitoring, expectations, support, religiosity); features of the community (external supports, activities, strong schools, role models, housing), perceptions of stressors, and the influence of schools (Hernandez & Charney, 1998; Laosa, 1990).

Other protective factors that have been asserted include the “ideologies of opportunity” and the “cultures of optimism” that motivate the decision to emigrate (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000, p. 19). Immigrants’ strong work ethic and aspirations provide resilience; they are driven by desire to improve standard of living, and value hard work, family, and education (Shields & Behrman, 2004). Financial and social capital, and community cohesion can facilitate adjustment, reinforce cultural values, and give social support to newly-arrived children (Shields & Behrman, 2004). The structure and function of immigrant families can also be a strength. Immigrant families are generally healthy and intact, with fewer health problems, lower infant mortality rates, and lower incidence of single-parent households (though this varies with country of origin) than American families as a whole (Shields & Behrman, 2004). Often, they are households with extended family, allowing for multiple influences and caregivers (Shields & Behrman, 2004). Many immigrant families also have strategies to promote resistance:

immigrant parents who are able to maintain their own cultural patterns of social sanctioning and who actively resist a whole array of dystopian cultural practices and beliefs in the host country—specifically attitudes towards authority, discipline, homework, peer relations, and dating—tend to have children who are more successful in schools. (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000, p.19).

Additionally, family pride seems to have a buffering effect against acculturation strains in terms of self-esteem (Gil, et al., 1994). Situations for each immigrant family are different; children interact with their surroundings in various ways and at different rates, and it is in this interaction where we see remarkable resilience or unfortunate vulnerability (García

Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Kopala, et al., 1994).

Stress Models

Despite evident strengths, Latino immigrant students are also faced with risk factors that arise from experiences in immigration and in the host culture that involve individual, family, cultural, and structural factors. Long term influences on adaptation include: family factors, language proficiency, social and political capital, the way immigrants are received, spiritual support, individual factors and legal status (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Additionally, other variables have an impact on immigrant children's development, such as home country experiences, family background, environment of host community and school, cognition and coping of the child and family, health, and SES (García Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Shields & Behrman, 2004; Zhou, 1997). These factors interact in various ways: sometimes they are stressors, sometimes supports, other times interacting together (García Coll & Szalacha, 2004).

Keeping in mind Ogbu's (1987) differentiation of immigrant and native perceptions and roles in society, it is important to study immigrant stress and adaptation separately from that of the native-born minority population. Comparatively, immigrant youth experience more stress than their native-born peers (Romero & Roberts, 2003). New immigrants experience both a "crisis of loss" (loss of familiar settings, experiences) and a "crisis of load" (accessing resources, finding necessities for daily life) (Lequerica, 1993). This combination of stressors can be seen as additive: each stressor increases the chance of dysfunction (Rutter, 1979, as cited in Laosa, 1990). Other stress models deal with the breakdown of coping mechanisms (Athey & Ahearn, 1991; Kopala et al., 1994). Change, inherent to immigration and adjustment, introduces stressors into an immigrant's

life, which presents a greater need to cope. The greater need to cope drains internal resources and leads to stress, which results in a greater need for support. Children's coping skills may be weakened in the process of immigration, so when faced with stressors, they are less able to deal with them, and more vulnerable to maladjustment (Athey & Ahearn, 1991; García Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Kopala, et al., 1994).

Social-stress models have also been used to explain patterns of adaptation. These models include mediating factors that can affect a person's ability to adapt successfully to his or her environment (Gil, et al., 1994). Similar to the coping models, the central idea of these theories is that "negative outcomes occur when stressors exceed the individual's coping resources, or mediators" (Gil, et al., p. 44).

Stressors Associated with Immigration

Stressors associated with the immigration experience arise from various contexts of children's lives. These include children's experiences in their home countries prior to immigration, the act of migration itself, and the living conditions in which children may find themselves upon arrival. They constitute the background for understanding immigrant students' experiences in U. S. schools.

Stressors associated with past experiences. Immigrant children bring with them their past experiences in their home countries. Many have had unstable living situations or experiences of political and social unrest (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Thomas, 1992). Many have experienced economic duress, associated with poor nutrition and health care, poor or unsafe living conditions, and the stress of financial worry. The majority of Latino immigrant children come from countries with high childhood poverty rates (e. g. El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, Dominican Republic, Mexico),

potentially influencing past quality of schooling, health care and living conditions, as well as their mental health (Hernandez & Charney, 1998). Many Latino immigrants are also refugees; because refugees experience more stressors (trauma and violence) prior to immigration, they are more likely to present symptoms of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) (García Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Jaycox, et al., 2002; McClosky, Southwick, Fernández-Esquer, & Locke, 1995). Violence, abrupt loss, and deprivation can lead to PTSD, which manifests itself in anxiety, somatic difficulties, poor school achievement, behavior disorders, antisocial behavior, and lowered impulse control (García Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Thomas, 1992).

Stressors associated with the migration experience. The immigration experience itself can also be a source of stress. First, children who experience the violence, fear and trauma of crossing into the U.S. illegally can suffer the effects of PTSD (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Although the number of children who encounter this and the extent of their exposure to traumatic events necessitate further inquiry, the possible effects are substantial.

The act of removing children from their home environment to live in a different setting brings dislocation, separation, and loss. Immigrants encounter a “crisis of loss” of the familiar: homeland, people, possessions (Lequerica, 1993). Children not only find themselves separated from their friends, family, and familiar settings, but also face a different context in which to accept this separation. In the absence of normal strategies and resources, these changes and transitions may break down coping mechanisms. Relocating can cause additional stress if the new environment is a great change from their home country (e.g., small village to large city) (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

Family separation and reunification are one of the initial stressors of the immigration process. About 20% of children immigrate without their intact families, resulting in feelings of loss and the disruption of family structures and dynamics (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez -Orozco, 2001). Often, family members arrive separately, their arrivals staggered across months, maybe years. Frequently, this means children's separation from parents or other caregivers and the need to adjust to new caretakers or get reacquainted with family when reunited (Zhou, 1997). Family disruption from migration can seriously affect children's development, as it disturbs and potentially deteriorates the normal bonds and interactions between parents and children (Gil & Vega, 1996 cited in Zhou, 1997; Zhou, 1997). Parent-child separation can cause parents to be away from their children at key developmental stages and can lead to problems with acceptance and discipline if families are later reunited (Thomas, 1992).

A cohesive family unit offers a child internal support, and can help to maintain structures carried over from the home country and aid adaptation (McLaughlin, et al., 2002). Children who migrate with their parents tend to adapt better than those who do not (García Coll & Magnuson, 1997). When this cohesion does not exist, children may be at risk of psychological difficulties, behavioral challenges, and poor educational and health outcomes (Zhou, 1997). The many children who live in single-parent families are even more at risk, as better psychological outcomes have been found with children from two-parent homes (Hernandez & Charney, 1998; Zhou, 1997).

Immigration not only alters the physical structure of families, but it also disrupts the internal and social structure as well. Roles within immigrant families are especially affected when language is a barrier to participation in the majority culture. Immigrant

children tend to take on new roles in their families, as interpreters and mediators (called language brokering); they contribute financially, serve as tutors, advocates, and surrogate parents within families (García Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Valenzuela, A., Jr., 1999).

Although more acculturated children can help to reduce some parental stress in such roles, often role changes can lead to maladaptive outcomes: distance between family members can remove support from children and create parent-child conflict (García Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Valenzuela, A., Jr., 1999). Bilingual students in Weisskirch and Alva's (2002) study reported high a incidence of translation, a dislike for and discomfort with language brokering, and negative self-perceptions.

Gender roles can also change in the process of acculturation. Both mothers and daughters are exposed to new roles and expectations (such as working outside of the home and new dating norms). This can sometimes lead to family conflicts (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Gender can also play a role in immigrant adaptation. Qin-Hilliard (2003), using LISA data, found that immigrant families are more protective, vigilant and restrictive of girls, which actually led to better outcomes. Immigrant girls, although they identified the same stressors as boys, demonstrated more resilience, showing more ambition and achievement, less risky behaviors, and better mental health (Qin-Hilliard, 2003). Girls' social capital, their connections to family, friends, and teachers, appear to help them better cope with their stressors.

The acculturative process plays a part in family dynamics. Acculturation is defined as "changes in peoples' behaviors, social and work activities, thinking patterns, values, and self-identification made by members of one culture as a result of contact with another culture" (Gordon, 1964, as cited in Kopala, et al., 1994, p. 353). As children tend

to adopt these changes more readily than their parents, often there is a cultural gap in experiences and expectations between the generations (García Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Ying, 1999; Zhou, 1997). Intergenerational conflicts due to acculturation can have a negative impact on self-esteem, psychosocial health and academic expectations (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Differences in rates of acculturation can separate parents and children, as parents fear the loss of their children to the majority culture, and children feel pulled away from their family and culture in the path towards acculturation (Zhou, 1997). They also can result in maladaptive outcomes such as gang membership, anxiety, depression, learning and behavioral problems (García Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Ying, 1999).

Both Portes and Rumbaut (2001) and Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2001) assert that selective biculturalism results in the healthiest adjustment. In selective biculturalism, both parents and children acculturate at about the same rate, but at a slow, healthy pace, in which there is an equal acceptance of both languages and cultures. This is associated with higher achievement and better mental health outcomes.

The acculturation process can trigger role-reversal in immigrant families. The children assume leadership roles in the family, with better language skills and cultural knowledge, but they also often have a separate life from their families, of which their parents have little knowledge. There is often less communication and parental loss of authority (McLaughlin, et al., 2002). This role reversal can cause family conflict and dissonant acculturation, which have been associated with lower levels of adjustment and achievement (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Children may pull apart from their families, losing their family and cultural identities, possibly resulting in depressive symptoms or gang membership (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

Although children often acculturate more quickly than their parents, this does not imply that it is an easy, painless process. Many immigrants, young and old, encounter what is called *acculturative stress*. This phenomenon occurs when individuals experience conflict when attempting to reconcile features of their native culture with a new culture (García Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Kopala, et al., 1994). Acculturative stress becomes a strong presence in the adaptation process of young immigrants; it is a key factor in immigrant adaptation, affecting interpersonal relations, school performance and emotional health (García Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). This cumulative stress has been associated with depressive symptoms and lower self-esteem (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Immigration also challenges children's negotiation of ethnic identity. Interacting with and accepting the majority culture can lead to confusion about cultural and personal identity (García Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Kopala, et al., 1994; Zhou, 1997). Immigrant children may feel pulled from their native culture and host culture. Outcomes are better for bicultural children who adjust fully to both home and majority cultures (García Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

Associated with these internal challenges, immigrant children also often experience the external challenges of racism and discrimination. Immigrant children report much discrimination in their host culture and actually identify it as the most difficult part of immigrating (Romero & Roberts, 2003; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Through a process of *social mirroring*, children's identities are shaped by the reflections and reactions they receive from those around them (Suárez-Orozco, 2000). Depending on how they are welcomed and received, this process can result in self-

defeating or acting out behaviors, or alternatively, can promote healthy outcomes such as serving the community and coping. (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

Stressors associated with living conditions. Children in immigrant families encounter additional challenges upon their arrival, including living conditions, life style changes, and the host culture. Social, political, or economic factors (including socioeconomic status, daily survival, and institutional challenges) outside of migration and culture may have as much as, if not a greater affect on the stressful situations of many immigrants (Benson, 1990, as cited in McCloskey, et al., 1995). Using Census data, Hernandez (2004) identified four risk factors to child development: (a) having a mother who did not graduate from high school, (b) living in economic deprivation (twice the federal poverty measure), (c) living in a linguistically isolated household, (d) living in a single-parent family. Although a quarter of all children experience at least two of the four risk factors, approximately 60% of Latino children in immigrant families do (Hernandez, 2004).

As noted before, a rising number of immigrant Latino children experience poverty upon entering the United States. Approximately one third of immigrant children live in poverty (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2004; Elmelech, et al., 2002). Poverty rates are higher for Latino and first-generation children than for other ethnicities and generations (Hernandez & Charney, 1998). More than half of Latino children in immigrant families live in economic deprivation (Hernandez, 2004).

The stressors of poverty are well documented. Lower socioeconomic status for immigrant children is associated with lower motivation and achievement, lower self-esteem and higher depressive symptoms, and poor health outcomes (Portes & Rumbaut,

2001). Parents also experience greater stress under economic duress and deal with disillusionment with their aspirations for this country (Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2001). Although the majority of immigrant children come to the U.S. with better health outcomes than their native-born peers, Latino immigrants' reported health is not as high, and declines with years of residency (Hernandez, 2004; Hernandez & Charney, 1998).

More than half of all immigrants live in metropolitan areas (Larsen, 2004) and urban settings pose risks including crime and violence, lowered mental health, poor socialization and academic performance, and life events stress. Children in Latino immigrant families are more likely (about 60%) to live in crowded housing, which can affect health and well-being, mental and behavioral health, and academic performance (Hernandez, 2004). Urban schools that immigrant children attend may not be of the highest caliber, putting them at risk for academic challenges. Immigrant children have reported unsafe conditions in their schools, including the presence of gangs, drugs and frequent fights, all associated with lower self-esteem and achievement (Brittain, 2002; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Jaycox and her colleagues (2002), in a study of over 1000 recently immigrated children, found that participants reported a high exposure to violence and many suffered the effects of PTSD and depressive symptoms.

Another stressor for many immigrants is legal status. Latin American immigrants are less likely than other ethnic groups to be legal citizens; under a third of Latino immigrants are legal citizens (U. S. Census Bureau, 2000b). Approximately 70% of children in Latino immigrant families either are not citizens themselves or live with a parent who is not a citizen (Hernandez, 2004; Hernandez & Charney, 1998). Among undocumented families, illegal status is cited as a key stressor in their everyday lives, and

brings challenges such as transience, fear, and limited access to important services, resources, opportunities and institutions (García Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Laosa, 1990; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

Family knowledge of English is also an important factor. In Fix & Passel's (2003) Census analysis, limited English proficiency was found more correlated with poverty, food insecurity and hardship than was legal status. Limited English hinders job acquisition and advancement, access to services, education and everyday survival. Approximately 88% of children in Latino immigrant families speak a language other than English at home; of this number, 35% live in linguistically isolated households, where no person over the age of 13 speaks English well (Hernandez, 2004). Also, as more than half of immigrant children who speak English very well that have two LEP parents, communication and acculturation problems may arise (Fix & Passel, 2003).

When children encounter such stress from their experiences and living conditions, they are often less able to cope and respond to daily life events such as schooling. The literature on risk faced by immigrants provides the context for understanding these challenges and children's responses. Understanding this context promotes a broad conceptualization of what these students bring to their school experiences and the factors that may shape their socioemotional and academic development.

Risk and Adjustment

The risk factors above suggest that Latino immigrant children face challenges to their adaptation and development and raise questions about the process of adaptation and the risk of maladjustment. An understanding of their adjustment in the school (attitudes and stress) requires conceptual understanding of the stressors and supports they

experience, and in turn, the effect on their social and emotional outcomes.

Comparative studies have shown that immigrant Latinos experience a greater amount of stress than U.S.-born Latinos, and that these stressors have an impact on both academic and social development (Gil, et al., 1994; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Romero & Roberts, 2003). According to various models of acculturation theory, as immigrants come to a new country and settle into a new life, their exposure to a new culture affects and can change them as well as members of the host culture (Padilla & Perez, 2003). Some theorists also assert that the process of acculturation and change is linked to mental health and adjustment (Romero & Roberts, 2003). Mediators of this link are the risk and stress associated with immigration and acculturation. For Latino and other immigrant children, the effects of multiple risk factors tend to increase as children spend time in the U.S.—with the added effects of risk factors, plus more exposure to mainstream American culture (Hernandez & Charney, 1998; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Research indicates that children can show resilience to one risk factor, but multiple risk factors can compound to negatively affect child development (Shields & Behrman, 2004). There has been little work that has examined immigrant stress in children, particularly in the school context, through developmental perspectives (Aronowitz, 1984; García Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Suárez-Orozco, 2000). Although some resulting psychological disorder has been noted in the adult immigrant population, adjustment has been found to depend on many interacting variables that affect various populations differentially (Aronowitz, 1984).³

A more developmental perspective acknowledges that children have different

³ See Brizuela & García-Sellers, 1999; Fuligni, 1998; Zhou, 1997 for studies examining academic, cognitive and linguistic outcomes relating to acculturation and adjustment. For information about adult immigrant mental health, see Howard & Hodes, 2000; Sam, 1994, as cited in García Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Toman & Surís, 2004.

responses at different developmental stages, and that these stages must be recognized in addressing the situations and needs of specific age groups of children (García Coll & Magnuson, 1997). In addition, acculturation and assimilation are processes that usually occur through education. Therefore, schools and the developmental years are crucial areas in which to take note of adjustment challenges (García Coll & Szalacha, 2004; Morrow, 1994). Some adolescent samples have shown dysfunction, resentment and opposition to their host culture, so it is valuable to look at children at a stage prior to adopting this attitude, with hopes of prevention and intervention.

Aronowitz's 1984 review of the research on the social and emotional adjustment of immigrant children provided rather inconclusive results. In his review he concluded: "studies of a variety of kinds in disparate settings suggest that a cohort of immigrant children may adjust better, no differently, or less well than the native populations to which they migrate" (p. 243). His concerns with methodology included small samples, no comparison groups and only teacher reports as indicators of maladjustment. Although the research indicated that immigrant children do not necessarily demonstrate more maladjustment than native peers, when problems do occur, some generalizations can be made. Younger children are more likely to display behavioral disorders (anxiety, depression) and adolescents are more likely to experience conflicts in identity and parent conflicts. Additionally, several authors noted that behavior problems may occur more at school than at home and that many stressors were school-induced.

In more recent analyses of National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS) data, researchers found that immigrant youth showed lower self-efficacy and more alienation (Kao, 1998 and Harris, 1998, as cited in Hernandez & Charney, 1998). However, their

general mental health outcomes did not differ from other students.

A small body of literature contributes to our knowledge about the influence of mediating factors on the mental health and adjustment of immigrant children. In addition to the paucity of empirical research in this area, there is also an evident weakness in sampling procedures, control variables, and theoretical focus.⁴

Again, it is important to note the necessity of studying the adjustment of immigrant Latinos separately from native-born Latinos. Gil, et al. (1994) found that foreign-born adolescents had more exposure than natives to acculturation strains, regardless of acculturation level. Additionally, they found clear differences in exposure to different types of acculturative stress for foreign-born and native Latinos (Gil, et al.). They concluded that place of birth and acculturation level do matter in terms of resulting mental health outcomes (Gil, et al.). Additionally, in studies where migrants with more stress were compared to those with less stress, the greater amount of stress was correlated with more psychiatric disorder (Orley, 1994).

Espino (1991) hypothesized that immigrants' experience of trauma influenced psychological functioning enough to impact educational achievement. The author measured the trauma, PTSD symptoms, and the education of 87 Central American refugees (average age 11), using wide scale assessments, author-created indices and parent and child interviews. Results showed that exposure to violence correlated significantly with number of PTSD symptoms presented. Children exposed to the lowest amounts of violence scored highest on achievement and IQ assessments; the data suggest

⁴ See Brizuela & García-Sellers, 1999; Dumka, Roosa, & Jackson, 1997; Koplow & Messinger, 1990; McClosky et al., 1995 for further discussion of specific context variables and immigrant children's mental health.

a relationship between PTSD and cognitive and academic performance. With the exception of participant self-selection and some inconsistency in test administration, the measures and analyses in this study were sound and reliable.

Rumbaut (1994) surveyed over 5,000 8th-and 9th-grade Asian, Latin American and Caribbean first- and second-generation immigrant children, a sample evenly split by gender, generation, grade, length of residency and included undocumented students. The survey consisted of acculturation scales, psychosocial measures and familial conflict ratings. Mexicans scored among the lowest in self-esteem, while Chicanos reported the lowest aspirations and educational attainment. Predictors of low self-esteem and depression included parent-child conflict, female gender, and poor economic outlook. Higher educational achievement and English proficiency were predictors of better mental health.

The literature on the adjustment of immigrants suggests that immigration and associated factors may challenge children's social and emotional development in school. Although the pathways are not clear, the literature does indicate that the psychological effects of immigration cannot be studied in isolation, separated from family, socioeconomic, and cultural factors. The context of the family surfaces in the research as an outcome and as a predictor of children's mental health and adjustment. Similarly, the exposure to violence and the experience of trauma are closely linked to PTSD and other maladjustments. Data on the strength of acculturation as a predictor of mental health are inconclusive, but it remains a pertinent factor in the discussion. Further, Aronowitz's (1984) finding that school may be both a source and setting for adjustment difficulties lends itself to further exploration of the experience of school for immigrant children.

Immigrant Challenges at School

Compounding the risks associated with immigration, and the challenges posed to their adjustment, immigrant children are faced with additional challenges at school. These challenges surround academics, language issues, individual and family factors, and school and community features.

The literature on the educational outcomes of Latino immigrant students shows some variability when their outcomes are compared to native Latinos and other immigrant groups. The evidence indicates that immigrant Latinos perform as well as if not better than native Latino youth, but that this advantage declines with years of residency (Hernandez & Charney, 1998; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). It appears that the more “Americanized” immigrants become, the less likely they are to display the high levels of motivation and work ethic with which they arrived (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995, 2001). This seems to span across immigrant groups; over time, they begin to adopt the work habits of native-born peers. Additionally, children in immigrant families are also more likely to be behind in terms of the appropriate grade level for their age, and Latino immigrant children are even more likely to be so (Hernandez, 2004).

Even still, when compared to other newcomers, Latinos do not share many of the initial successes experienced by other immigrant groups. Even though many immigrant groups do as well as or better than U.S.-born students in terms of educational achievement, this success varies by country of origin, and Latinos (e. g. Mexicans) are often the exception (Hernandez & Charney, 1998). In an analysis of data from High School and Beyond (HSB), a nationally representative sample of more than 21,000

students, Vernez and Abrahamse (1996) followed immigrants and natives of all races over a 6-year period. They found that immigrant Latinos were more likely than native Latinos, but less likely than other immigrant groups, to be on academic and advanced tracks in high school. Additionally, rates of high school graduation, college attendance and continuity were lowest among Latinos, and newly arrived Latinos were less likely than other immigrants to attend college (Vernez & Abrahamse, 1996). Further, they concluded that both family background and attitudes towards education are important in determining future educational attainment for both immigrants and natives.

Many Latino immigrant students experience *educational disadvantage*. This term refers to students “who [have] been exposed to insufficient educational experiences in at least one of...three domains---formal schooling itself, the family, or the community” (Natriello, McDill, & Pallas, 1990, p.13, as cited in Dentler & Hafner, 1997).

Predisposing factors of educational risk and disadvantage are: racial or ethnic minority status, household poverty, single-parent households, mothers with low educational attainment, and limited or no English proficiency (NCES, 2004; Shields & Behrman, 2004). As a group, Latino immigrant children are characterized by almost all of these factors to some extent, and are therefore considered as at-risk (Garcia, 2001; NCES, 2004; Takanishi, 2004).

The factors associated with school achievement for Latino immigrant youth include individual characteristics, family variables, and school and learning conditions (Garcia, 2001). Children with limited English proficiency, those of minority race or ethnicity (Garcia, 2001), and children with low achievement motivation are more at risk for negative outcomes than other students (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995).

Immigrant status and limited English proficiency are also risk factors for later high school dropout (Garcia, 2001). Additional individual characteristics such as achievement motivation also have been found to be positively correlated with high school graduation and college attendance, according to Vernez and Abrahamse (1996).

As only approximately 40% of first generation Latino children speak English exclusively or very well (Hernandez & Charney, 1998), many immigrant children may struggle to learn in their new schools in a new language, and progress may be slowed as they catch up. The language barrier may present a challenge in both socialization and academic processes (Kopala, et al., 1994; Thomas, 1992; Zhou, 1997). English proficiency has been associated with higher achievement, and children who are bilingual have better academic, mental health, social, and family outcomes (García Coll & Magnuson, 1997; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Therefore the language issue is double sided; for optimal outcomes, immigrant children are challenged to both retain their language and adopt a new one.

Research on language acquisition and proficiency documents the struggles of LEP students in schools and also the schools' inadequate efforts to educate them. Latinos, the largest group of language minority students (Garcia, 2001), may not receive the support that they need in order to achieve in English. Most LEP students (80%) have been in the U.S. for five years or more, indicating that length of stay and ESL instruction may not adequately provide proficiency in English (Fix & Passel, 2003).

Family variables are also immensely influential in the educational success of immigrant students. Poverty and low parental education levels are among the strongest influences on academic outcomes (Garcia, 2001). In addition to parents' immigrant

status, poverty and low parental education levels are among the greatest correlates for risk of high school dropout and lower academic achievement (Garcia, 2001; Vernez & Abrahamse, 1996). According to Hernandez (2004), “parental educational attainment is perhaps the most central feature of family circumstances relevant to overall child well-being and development, regardless of race/ethnicity or immigrant origins” (p. 27). About 60% of Latino children from immigrant families have a mother or father who did not graduate from high school. There appears to be a linear relationship between parent and youth outcomes: the higher the education of mother or father, the higher the educational attainment of youth (Vernez & Abrahamse, 1996).

Other family variables can have distinctly positive influence on academic outcomes. Parental vigilance and high expectations can positively affect children’s performance in school; youth whose family keeps a close watch of them and want them to go to college are more likely to graduate high school and continue to college (Vernez & Abrahamse, 1996). Qin-Hilliard (2003), using data from the LISA study, found that immigrant adolescent girls, who were more protected and restricted in their out of home activities, demonstrated better achievement motivation and report card grades.

Parental involvement is related to increased academic performance, behavior, attendance and social skills (Henderson & Mapp, 2002), though the benefits of immigrant parental involvement have not been researched extensively. Immigrant parents have been shown to support their children with encouraging learning at home, educational outings and involvement in schools (Bernhard & Freire, 1999; García Coll, et al., 2002; Hernandez & Charney, 1998; Lopez, et al., 2000). However, many immigrant students may not benefit from full family support of their schooling. Latino immigrant parents

have shown willingness, but hesitancy to be involved with their children's schooling (Bernhard & Freire, 1999; Harry, 1992). Logistics (childcare, transportation, work), language difficulties, and unwelcoming school climates have been noted by several studies as barriers to immigrant parent participation in education (e. g. Bernhard & Freire, 1999; García Coll, et al., 2002; Goldstein & Harris, 2000; Harry, 1992; Ramirez, 2003).

The new school environment and education system can also be a challenge for immigrant children. Many Latino students arrive in U.S. schools with limited, poor quality or no formal schooling (Freeman, et al., 2001). An estimated 15% of LEP students have missed 1-2 years of school, either in their home countries or upon arrival to the U.S. (Fleischman & Hopstock, 1993, as cited in Freeman, et al.). Additionally, Latinos, and immigrants in particular are less likely than native families to use preschool and early educational programs (Garcia, 2001; Hernandez, 2004; USDE, 1998), which has also been associated with high school drop out (USDE, 1998). This lack of exposure to schooling can cause problems for children when in a U.S. school which places specific academic, behavioral and social demands and expectations on them (Thomas, 1992).

For immigrant children who have been exposed to more schooling, they often experience an imbalance between current school expectation and past school backgrounds (Thomas, 1992). Academic and behavioral norms may be different, and children may have a difficult time recognizing and complying with school expectations (Brittain, 2002; Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991). Students in Brittain's and McLaughlin and colleagues' studies (2002) noted differences in the curriculum, expectations and rigor of American schools as compared with those of their home countries.

Additionally, there is the consideration of culture in the possible imbalance

between home and school expectations. The expectation of American schools, and the children's desire to achieve, often conflict with the norms of their countries of origin. The academic orientation of American schools may conflict with *educación*, the Latino concept that includes teaching manners and values. In Bernhard and Freire's (1999) interviews with Latino immigrant parents, parents expected this training from the schools. The authors also observed, however, that parents' strict focus on respect, discipline and family loyalty at home may stymie children in an American classroom where independence, assertiveness and competition are rewarded.

Additionally, the pressure for immigrant children to master English often challenges children in maintaining fluency in their native language (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Conversely, it has also been found that children who are English dominant or limited bilingual experience less family cohesion, and more parent-child conflict than bilingual or foreign language-dominant students. Children are encouraged to do well in their new schools and in the context of the American school system, but their efforts can pull them away from parents' native expectations.

In many cases, schools do not know how to adequately provide for the unique needs of this population. In their surveys of teachers, Voltz and her colleagues found that teachers felt inadequately prepared to address the educational needs of culturally diverse students and did not generally see culture as a determinant in learning or behavior (2003). Teachers in McLaughlin and colleagues' community study (2002) responded similarly about immigrant LEP students, and saw the need for further professional development. Teachers also felt limited in their communication with students, and that the curriculum was not appropriate for them (McLaughlin, et al., 2002). In Delgado-Gaitan and Trueba's

(1991) ethnography of a mostly Mexican school, they found that teachers continued to use traditional teaching methods, not modifying instruction for the needs of a culturally and linguistically diverse class. They also observed that students' difficulty in interpreting expectations and understanding directions sometimes was seen as noncompliance by teachers. Teachers' cultural interpretations of minority children's behavior, learning styles and work habits have been associated with lowered expectations, special education referral, or eventual school dropout (Artiles, et al., 2001; Meyer & Patton, 2001; NCES, 2003).

Providing for Latino immigrant children's language needs can also challenge to schools. Because over half of language minority children (especially Latinos) are in schools where there is a great concentration (over 30%) of LEP students, educators and schools may not be able to meet their needs according to high new standards (NCLB) (Fix & Passel, 2003). In Gougeon's (1993) interviews with teachers with ESL students in their classrooms, many observed that focus on language acquisition detracted from students' learning in other areas, and teachers were not willing to push issues, either out of discomfort in crossing cultural boundaries or overwhelmed by and resigning to students' multiple challenges.

Environmental factors that influence risk for educational failure include school location, school characteristics and community features (Garcia, 2001; García Coll & Szalacha, 2004; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Urban schools may not offer the best quality environment and instruction (Artiles, et al. 2002). A. Valenzuela's (1999) ethnographic study of a California high school and Velez & Saenz's (2001) correlational study of high school continuation both showed that positive and community-minded school climates,

smaller school size, teacher nurturing, and visible outreach efforts to immigrants benefit immigrant and minority students' attitudes towards school and academic achievement. Alternatively, an unsafe school atmosphere and the use of high stakes testing can have a more negative influence (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Valenzuela, 2000).

Risk for Special Education

The combination of predisposing risk factors, the possibility of adjustment difficulties, and challenged academic efforts puts this group of children at risk for being identified as having a disability. Although research has not significantly addressed the identification of immigrant students, many of the factors associated with immigrant educational failure (poverty, poor schooling, limited English) are the same as those for placement in special education. Overall, poor children of color are several times more likely to receive special education services than white children (Artiles, et al., 2002; Meyer & Patton, 2001; Zhang & Katsiyannis, 2002). Although Latinos are generally not as represented in special education as other racial groups, they can be overrepresented in some states (Artiles, et al., 2002; Zhang & Katsiyannis, 2002) and in high incidence disability categories such as mental retardation (MR), learning disabilities (LD), behavioral disorders (BD), and speech language impairment (SLI) (Artiles, et al., 2002; Zhang & Katsiyannis, 2002). This increased risk may be associated with contextual factors (poverty, poor schools), but because these disability categories are determined more subjectively, there is also a possibility that cultural factors may come to play in the referral, assessment and eligibility processes for these students (Artiles, et al., 2002; MacMillian & Reschly, 1998; Zhang & Katsiyannis, 2002).

Language and culture, in particular, can contribute to educational differences that

may lead to special education referral, especially in light of school-student cultural incongruence (USDE, 1998). Gay (as cited in Garcia & Ortiz, 1988) proposes that cultural differences may invoke conflicts that may be *substantive* (different educational goals), *procedural* (incongruence in teaching and learning styles), or *interpersonal* (culturally relevant behaviors seen as problem behaviors). Culturally inappropriate instruction, expectations and perceptions may lead majority culture teachers to suspect disabilities when there may just be a cultural difference (Meyer & Patton, 2001; Voltz, et al., 2003). Teachers may interpret respectful silence as ignorance or insolence, may encourage competition rather than cooperation, or may misinterpret interpersonal interactions (Garcia & Ortiz, 1988). Children's unfamiliarity with the rules and routines of American schools and teacher expectation may appear as non-compliance or defiance, and may lead teachers to suspect behavioral difficulties (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991). Lack of appropriate programming also may contribute. For example, there is some evidence to suggest that LEP children may be overrepresented in the speech and language impairment category, especially in regions of the country where bilingual education and support are not widely available (Artiles, et al., 2002).

Immigrant parents may not be as able to advocate for their children when they are referred for special education services. In McClelland and Chen's (1997) phenomenological study of an immigrant mother and her son, teachers reported behavior in school that was uncharacteristic of the son according to his mother. The teacher's request that the child be checked by a doctor (for behavior difficulties) was misunderstood by the mother, as was his suspension. As Harry (1992) found in her ethnographic study of Latino parents in the special education system, deference to

teachers, lack of understanding of the process, language barriers and alienation by the school also can push parents out of an advocacy role where special education placement could possibly be avoided.

Lack of culturally and linguistically appropriate assessment procedures may also influence decisions to identify a Latino immigrant student as having a disability (Artiles, et al., 2002; Meyer & Patton, 2001). Pray's 2004 study revealed that even native English speakers did not score in the most proficient range on language assessments that are normally used to make special education determinations for LEP students.

The challenges facing young immigrants may also lead them to require more supplemental services, such as counseling, social work or speech/language services. If culturally and linguistically appropriate instruction, referral and assessment are realized, the school system may still need to respond to additional emotional and behavioral health needs (Shields & Behrman, 2004). As appropriate practices are implemented, schools may also need to address the stress, anxiety and family and identity issues that accompany immigration, and provide counseling and social workers services (Blake, Ledskey, Goodenow, & O'Donnell, 2001). Additionally, speech/language services may see an increase in targeting specific speech and language issues that may arise in the acquisition of a new language (Pray, 2004).

The majority of the literature regarding minority placement in special education is speculative in nature, with many gaps in knowledge still remaining. More holistic, mixed method approaches, as well as regional considerations, consistency in disability category definitions, and specific inquiry into individual influential variables affecting decisions are necessary. Although the existing research makes several connections between

minority status and special education placement, these connections cannot be applied across the board and require attention when considering specific populations and variables.

Education and School Adjustment for Immigrant Children

“The specific kind of education, the nature of the individual who receives it, and the cultural values of the society itself all determine whether, or to what extent, there are net benefits from...schooling” (Sowell, 1994, p. 24). The experience of immigrant children in the schools reflects the contextual factors that surround them. An examination of the literature regarding culture, school influence, and developmental factors gives background to an investigation of this population’s response to its circumstances.

Ecological and Developmental Considerations

Centering on culture, context, and development, this study’s inquiry was guided by Bronfenbrenner’s ecological framework (1986) with a developmental view (García Coll, et al., 1996). According to ecological theory, the development of children is shaped and affected by a variety of forces both within and surrounding them: child characteristics; the *microsystem* (the immediate environment, families, teachers); the *mesosystem* (including schools and communities); the *exosystem* (institutions and systems that affect, but don’t necessarily include the child); *macrosystem* (greater societal and cultural contexts). In the case of Latino immigrant children, these various contexts and settings often hold differing expectations and norms that may serve to complicate development in the resolution of their differences. The developmental perspective envelops Bronfenbrenner’s concepts of the child’s own characteristics (forces within the individual) interacting with the *chronosystem* (changes over time). The idea of a child’s

chronosystem takes into account changes over time within the individual, in the environment and in the interaction of the two. This concept can particularly be applied to immigrant children considering the life changes under investigation here: school entry, a normative transition, and nonnormative transitions, such as moving/migration, family separation, or trauma (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). A developmental ecological perspective, then, accounts for the interaction of developmental stages with a child's environment. External factors will influence, benefiting or hindering, a child's acquisition of specific developmental competencies depending on this interaction (Anderson & Mohr, 2003). It is therefore valuable to take into account environmental influences in the consideration of development at a particular stage (middle childhood) to examine the mediating factors in possible maladjustment (Anderson & Mohr, 2003).

Adding to the developmental ecological framework, García Coll and her colleagues (1996) have proposed an integrative model for investigating the development of minority children, specifically taking into account the centrality of social position and stratification that can particularly apply to minorities. According to this model, the importance of culture, racism, prejudice, discrimination, oppression, and segregation is stressed and integrated; "understanding the normal developmental process of children of color requires more explicit attention to the unique ecological circumstances...these children face" (García Coll et al., 1996, p. 1893). Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (2000) have conceived a similar framework, which takes into account students' resources and characteristics, cultures, social and familial networks, as well as schooling variables and perceptions, as mediators of school outcomes. The use of these conceptual frameworks to guide the current research will aid in avoiding the "lens of deficit" and

widen the focus of the topic under investigation, while specifying the concepts particular to the study of Latino immigrants in American schools.

Culture and education. The concepts of culture and education have long been intertwined. With the growing diversity in U.S. schools, and the varying performance of various ethnic groups, the two have come under greater scrutiny. Culture, as used in this dissertation, is defined as “social shared cognitive codes and maps, norms of appropriate behavior, assumptions about values and world view, and lifestyle in general” (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991, p.17). However, it is important to remember that culture is not equally shared by all members of an ethnic group, and that an individual’s micro-community—neighborhood, family, social groups—also has an important role in creating world view (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Sowell, 1994). Individual and group educational experiences play an interactive and important role in children’s development and perspectives.

The education and socialization of children is steered mainly by the adults in their early life, but is also directed by the environments in which they develop. Home and school are the two major environments in a child’s early development, and family and school personnel are critical people. The cultural mismatch of the two—involving language, cognition, values, behavior—can often attract educators’ attention and have conflicting impact on children (Cooper & Valli, 1996; Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991). This is a significant consideration in light of statistics that indicate less than 15% of teachers in American schools are minorities, whereas one third of students are of minority background (USDE, 1998). Regarding dominant culture socialization, Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba have asserted “the transmission of cultural knowledge and values is at the

foundation of problems related to the adjustment and academic achievement of ethnically and linguistically different students” (1991, p.18). Rejection of the school culture, of the home culture, or of children’s own identities may occur when there are social and cultural conflicts between home and school; rejection on any of these levels precludes children from incorporating the different planes to realize their full potential (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Ogbu, 1987; Suárez-Orozco, 2000). Ogbu’s theory of variability in minority students’ responses to education reflects the same sentiment; many times minority children may rebel against the institutions reflecting “American mainstream” culture, and in doing so disassociate themselves from education (Meyer & Patton, 2001; Ogbu, 1987). Although some immigrants may embrace education as a vehicle for success in America, others, as they develop, may reject identification with the majority and its educational values (Ogbu, 1987). To clarify this theory for minority learners, Angela Valenzuela adds her conclusion that second generation and later students may oppose schooling (“the context of their education and the way it is offered to them”) but not necessarily education, according to her studies (1999, p. 19). Immigrant children’s success in school may be tempered not by cultural or intellectual deficit, but by the failure of the schools to provide environments that maximize their potential to learn (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Meyer & Patton, 2001).

Influence of schools on children. Children’s home and school environments constitute the major contexts for development in their early life (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). After family, the school introduces the second main influential environment children encounter (Anderson & Mohr, 2003). The climate, the experiences, and the people that a child comes across in school will affect their perceptions of the host society, the

language, education, and their own identities (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Suárez-Orozco, 2000). Because of the often occurring cultural mismatch between the home and school cultures for immigrant children, the differential context of school becomes even more impacting (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991).

Teacher interactions and expectations are critical in forming children's attitudes toward schooling, ethnic identity and aspirations for the future (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000). Although this influence has not been extensively researched with younger immigrant populations, studies have documented that expectations, perceptions of ethnic group, and the nature of interpersonal interactions can have significant influence on minority students' academic and social performance. In the CILS study, Portes and Rumbaut (2001) found that better psychological well-being was correlated with student reports of high quality teaching and equitable and supportive learning environment.

In a mixed-methods study, Angela Valenzuela (1999) used participant observation, informal interviews with members of the school community, questionnaires and school and district records to study U.S.-born and immigrant Mexican origin youth in an urban high school in Texas. She arrived at two very important conclusions, the concepts of subtractive schooling and aesthetic caring. First, she concluded that American schools are structured in a way that actually divests resources from Mexican-origin youth, by devaluing their culture and language, exacerbating the dissonance between first- and second-generation students, and neglecting the teacher-student relationship. Second, aesthetic, or superficial, caring, as opposed to authentic caring dominates American school structures. She observed a focus on caring about things and ideas (grades, behavior, structure) as opposed to caring about people and relationships.

In the absence of this caring, she asserts, schooling itself becomes impersonal and lifeless to students, who are therefore less interested, invested, and care less about education.

Valenzuela makes the distinction between “schooling” and “*educación*,” the former being the American structure of imparting knowledge in schools, and the latter the Latino concept of learning “how to live in the world as a caring, responsible, well-mannered and respectful human being” (Valenzuela, A., 1999, p. 265). *Educación* is the foundation of all other learning, and based on mutually respectful relationships. As Latino students may expect school to be providers of *educación*, as opposed to schooling, they may end up apathetic, rejected and unsuccessful.

Several factors account for the greater achievement of some immigrant students in Valenzuela’s study. Immigrant youth are perceived in class as well-behaved, but are seen as such because they are quiet and subdued, polite and compliant, not expressing opinions or participating in learning in an active way. Greater social capital in immigrant groups proved to be better for them socially and academically, involving their “being available to each other as potential models for success or as providers of support” (p. 159). *Empeño* (perseverance) and social capital were identified as key to immigrant student success and encouraged a pro-school ethos. Also, immigrant students rated their teachers’ caring and school climate more positively than second and third generation Mexican students.

In another study of the influence of schools on students, Matute-Bianchi (1991) conducted interviews with 35 Mexican descent students over a 2-year period in California. Like Valenzuela (1999), she found differences between immigrant and more Mexican-oriented students and more acculturated and second-generation students,

indicating that school structures work against the school attitudes of some students. She revealed that students who maintain their Mexican ethnic identity tended to do well in school, and did better than more acculturated Chicano students, who, like the school, mostly rejected their Mexican origins. Likewise, teacher perceptions reflected this differentiation: “more Mexican” students were viewed as hard working and motivated, polite and well-behaved, quiet and respectful, and generally doing well in school. Immigrants having more difficulty in school were perceived to be challenged more by language, academics and interrupted schooling. Differences extended to students’ perceptions of the future, as immigrant students saw the connection between education and success as an adult, had hopes for the future and felt empowered to achieve it. Immigrant perceptions of future and parent success were correlated with school success.

Additional factors of how students are perceived or welcomed into the school community have an influence on their adjustment to immigration and their development in general (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000). Experiences of perceived discrimination or social isolation can negatively affect children’s development and sense of self (García Coll, et al., 1996; Suárez-Orozco, 2000). In the LISA study, discrimination was a constantly emerging theme, and noted as the hardest part of immigration (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Portes and Rumbaut’s (2001) interviews indicated that children reporting higher incidence of discrimination had reduced self-esteem. Data from the CILS study revealed that younger students who retained friendships with co-ethnics consistently achieved better in academics, although later peer group exerted less influence on high school grades and drop out (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Student minority status in schools. Theoretically, the difference that minority status can make regarding immigrant children's perceptions and experiences in school is connected to sense of self, perception of their in-group (co-ethnics) and social relationships. Triandus (as cited in Kashima, 2001) has suggested that self-conceptions are context dependent, though the strength of this relationship is unclear. He postulates that (a) culture bears on self-concept; and (b) in collectivist cultures (e. g. Latino), the public (people's concerns about how others view them) and collective (people's involvement in their in-groups) self-concepts may be more prevalent than the private self-concept (people's ideas about their personal goals) (Triandis, as cited in Kashima, 2001). Following this theory, then, it would appear that culture (of the child and of majority peers) could affect an immigrant student's self-concept in school. Further, the effect of the influence of majority peers, and of a child's own involvement in their in-group could bear more strongly on Latino children as minorities in a school. In other words, because Latinos, as collectivists, are more likely to base self-concept on contextual, group membership considerations and because of "social mirroring," the influence of class composition and group membership can potentially affect their self-concept (Suárez-Orozco, 2000; Triandis, as cited in Kashima, 2001). Additionally, if, as Triandis (1989) and Markus and Kitayama (1991) assert, "self-concepts mediate the effect of culture on psychological processes" (p. 332, as cited in Kashima, 2001) this effect on self-concept can then influence children's psychological experience of school and school-related stress.

Second, minority status may affect social identity. The social sense of self is based on self-other relationships and relationship of self with the in-group (Kashima,

2001). According to social identity theory, perception of a person's in-group affects his or her *social identity*, defined as "that part of an individual's self-concept that derives from the individual's knowledge of his or her membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel, p. 255, as cited in Yamaguchi, 2001). Therefore, if a child's perception of his or her in-group is favorable, then self-concept is more likely to be favorable; alternatively, if the perception of co-ethnics is unfavorable, self-concept may be unfavorable (Yamaguchi, 2001). A Latino immigrant child's perception of other Latinos in his or her school may be influenced by the majority group's perceptions of Latinos in the school. Further, how a child self-identifies can be affected by the ethnic composition in a school. In the CILS study, it was found that students in mostly minority schools more often adopted panethnic identities (i. e. Latino, Hispanic) than children in nonminority schools (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Third, interactions with and perceptions of peers may be affected by minority/majority status in the school setting. Research on group conceptions suggests that in-group favoritism may be stronger in collective cultures such as Latinos, than in individualistic cultures (e. g. mainstream American) (Kashima, 2001). Although these theories have mixed support, the concept of minority/majority group membership in a classroom could be influential in two ways. First, if children who are minorities in their classrooms perceive their in-group more favorably than they do others, they may have less positive associations with classmates in general (as the majority of classmates are in the out-group) than would children who are in a school with a majority co-ethnics. Secondly, if the school is mostly composed of native-born students, who, as Americans,

may tend to have more self- and in-group favoring tendencies, Latino children may not be as incorporated and viewed as favorably (Kashima, 2001). Immigrant children's views of themselves, of their co-ethnic peers and of their classmates in general, as well as the views of the school community about their ethnicity, could be associated with their perceptions of their school experiences.

There has been limited research in education treating the connection of minority/majority group status with self-concept and perceptions of others. The existing literature suggests that there may be some benefits for children who are in racially diverse schools. Hawley (2004) found that African-American and Latino students who are in schools that are majority white have more positive educational outcomes than those in mostly minority schools. Although this may have more to do with economics and resources, it is still interesting to note as associated with minority status. Additionally, diversity in school has been associated with racial tolerance. According to Orfield & Lee's (2005) report

there is clear evidence that experience with diversity produces both short and long term advantages in terms of intellectual and social development. These findings strongly suggest that exposure to more desegregated settings can break the tendency for racial segregation to become self-perpetuating for all students in later life. (p. 40)

Killen, Crystal, & Ruck (2004) found that students in heterogeneous school environments exhibited greater empathy and awareness regarding discrimination and stereotypes, as well as more positive attitudes towards fighting racism than did their peers in homogenous schools. A survey by the Civil Rights Project (Kurlaender & Yun, 2002) indicated that students (including a Latino sample) credited their experience in a diverse

school as contributing to their ability to work with and understand people from different backgrounds.

Although the research addressing minority/majority status in schools, especially for immigrant or Latino children, is limited, there is some empirical and theoretical evidence to suggest that minority/majority status could affect immigrant children's perceptions of school. In Risi and her colleagues' (2003) study of peer relationships and subsequent educational outcomes, they found that students who were ethnic minorities in their classrooms (either Caucasian or African-American) received lower social preference ratings (although this did not relate significantly to later educational outcomes). Furthermore, it was hypothesized in Brittain's (2002) interviews that Mexican immigrant students did not feel left out or discriminated against (as had Chinese students) because of lack of English proficiency, possibly because they, unlike the Chinese students, were largely in schools with high proportions of co-ethnic (i. e. Latino) English language learners. Additionally, Brittain's research indicates that immigrant students associate and rely on co-ethnics for both friendship and as a coping strategy, regardless of representation of their ethnic group in the school. Angela Valenzuela's study (1999) also revealed that *empeño* (perseverance, both collective and individual) and social capital were identified as key to immigrant student success and enable students to maintain a more pro-school ideology. She additionally concluded, "differences in schooling orientations are linked to differences in the level of social capital that students possess in the context of their friendship networks." (p. 259). It may be posited therefore, that students who are in schools with more co-ethnics may find more friendship and support than those who are ethnic minorities in their schools.

Developmental perspectives. Understanding children's school experiences early on in their education is key in the primary prevention of academic and socioemotional challenges and placement in special education. For this reason, a focus on middle childhood is necessary. Little researched in the immigrant literature, middle childhood (ages 6-12) represents a critical developmental stage; during this time children have their first real contact with structures and contexts apart from their families (Eccles, 1999, as cited in García Coll, et al., 2005). The process towards educational failure or success begins in the early years of a child's schooling; understanding the learning that takes place in the primary grades is essential in understanding the process of knowledge acquisition and socialization (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991). Additionally, among many immigrant groups today, length of residency is associated with declines in health, school achievement, aspirations and resistance to risky behaviors (Hernandez & Charney, 1998; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000), so investigation at earlier points of development and residency is important.

Early outcomes can foreshadow later achievement and well-being. A child's outcomes—academic, health and social—entering kindergarten predict third-grade achievement; further, achievement by the end of third grade predicts children's educational futures (Takanishi, 2004). Risi and colleagues (2003) used peer relationships in a longitudinal study to predict the education outcomes of a group of early elementary school students. Students who were ethnic minorities (either Caucasian or African-American) in their classrooms ranked lower in social preference by their classmates, and were less likely to graduate. Children who were less liked by peers had more negative future outcomes. The authors' results and reading of the literature suggest that poor peer

relations may lead to negative attitudes and perceptions regarding school that may influence later negative outcomes in achievement. Additionally, their findings support the need to consider the interactive and mediating factors at play in predicting later achievement.

Alexander, Entwisle, and Dauber (1993) studied the effects of classroom behavior on the long-term (4-year) school performance of almost 800 urban students. In their yearly analysis of parent interviews, school records and teacher reports, they found that Interest-Participation and Attention Span-Restlessness scores on an author-created survey could strongly predict report card grades and achievement test scores. Interestingly, Cooperation-Compliance scores showed no significant effect in predicting long-term performance. The effects of behavior ratings were large, both independently and in combination with other factors measured. The authors concluded that early performance, especially in first grade, was an important predictor of later achievement. This could bear on minority immigrant children, as they may not show interest or participate in (American) culturally established ways, and they may not sustain interest because of difficulties with the language or socioemotional factors.

Other external factors may make the younger years more significant as well. Because younger children's parents are more likely to have immigrated after the 1996 welfare reform laws (Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act), "younger immigrant children are most likely to be living under conditions of extreme hardship despite high rates of work by their parents," and these conditions can put them at risk for illness and lower achievement (Takanishi, 2004, p. 65). Young immigrant children receive low levels of governmental economic support and are less likely to be

covered by health insurance (Takanishi, 2004).

Immigrant Students' Experiences in Schools

The influence of the school experience is important to children's development, especially for children who are at risk. Elements of instruction and social aspects of schooling are both important to children's learning, and can be sources of difficulty for at-risk students (Cooper & Valli, 1996). More specifically, teacher and peer attitudes, school values, school and classroom climate are significant factors influencing at-risk children's achievement, especially those from minority backgrounds (González, 2001).

Interpersonal relations are an important part of children's school experience. Social support networks can mediate the stresses of immigration (emotional, contacts, and resources) (Suárez-Orozco, & Suárez-Orozco, 2000). Alternatively, negative interactions can have an exacerbating effect. Anti-immigrant sentiments have emerged in the research from native-born adolescents, and immigrant students note discrimination as a major challenge (Olsen, 1998, as cited in Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000; Romero & Roberts, 2003; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

In the LISA study, Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, (2000) found that when asking immigrant students about Americans' perceptions of their ethnic group, Latino children overwhelmingly responded with negative responses. Suárez-Orozco's (2000) notion of social mirroring holds that the formation of immigrant students' identities and self-worth is affected by people's perceptions that are reflected onto them. Childhood is a time of changing identities; the formation of immigrant children's identities must serve them in multiple worlds. When there is cultural dissonance, children have difficulty identifying self and become torn, pessimistic, with more responsibilities and less social

capital. Responses can include “I’ll show you,” or defending themselves, denying the stereotypes. More likely, they internalize the messages and respond with self-doubt and shame, sometimes manifesting themselves in a self-fulfilling prophecy (“They’re right, I’ll never make it” or “Let me show you how bad I can be”) (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000).

If school acts as an environment of social mirroring (Suárez-Orozco, 2000), then it is critical to explore the social factors which influence immigrant adaptation. Building on the idea of segmented assimilation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), and on the concept of transnationalism, in which immigrant communities sustain networks that cross cultural and physical borders, Brittain (2002) examined children’s perceptions of American schools based on information provided to them by co-nationals and various media. Using the sample and data from the LISA study (students 10-14 years of age, less than 3 years of residence in the U.S.), Brittain (2002) interviewed 74 Chinese and 78 Mexican students. As part of her investigation, she asked students what they would tell a cousin in their country of origin about American schools. Mexican students generally gave positive academic messages, many of which were pieces of advice, including appropriate classroom behavior, putting forth positive effort and creating awareness of the curriculum and instruction. Negative comments pertained to difficult curriculum and limited learning opportunities as compared to Mexico, which could have been associated with the poor quality of their schools here (Brittain, 2002).

Regarding English, Mexican students regarded it as difficult, but necessary to school success, but messages were more negative than positive. They saw ESL, teachers and peers as supporting their English learning. Mexican children, unlike the Chinese

sample, did not mention feeling left out because of their lack of English proficiency. This may have been because their schools were Latino-dominant, and their peers were also Spanish-speaking English language learners. Additionally, the Mexican students, who were in low-income, inner-city schools, found English as a greater challenge than the Chinese students, who were mostly in middle-class suburban schools. (Brittain, 2002).

Immigrant students in Brittain's study reported negative and positive messages about peers. The negative messages concerned negative behaviors in school, gang involvement, negative perceptions of other student ethnicities, and the need to avoid "bad" peers. Positive messages included perceptions about personalities, well-behaved students, supportive friends, choosing good friends. Racial separation was evidenced in the way both Chinese and Mexican students talked about other ethnic groups and about their co-nationals. Mexican students offered avoidance as a way with dealing with negative peers (Brittain, 2002).

Of the school messages reported by students in Brittain's (2002) study, most were positive. Positive messages included advice on orientation to the school, the presence of co-nationals in the school and telling about the resources the schools offered. Negative school messages referred to difficult transitions and dissatisfaction with school facilities. Messages about teachers were more positive than negative. Students were positive about teachers' caring personalities, student-teacher relations, academic support, and lack of corporal punishment. Negative comments included teachers' treatment of students, instruction, lack of discipline and encouragement (Brittain, 2002).

In a 2002 study, McLaughlin and his colleagues used focus group interviews and surveys with over 70 Latino immigrants. Their sample of students, parents and teachers

from seven schools (grades 3-12) in one district included mostly new immigrants, primarily Mexican, with two married parents, and low levels of education. This strong, triangulated study revealed student, parent and teacher perceptions about the school experience. As in many such studies, there was some sample bias, (as participants chose to respond to survey and participate), and limitations in the interviewing procedures.

Very few of the students thought they were doing poorly in school, but they were not as positive as their parents regarding social interactions with peers, perceptions of teachers and interest in schoolwork (McLaughlin, et al, 2002). Some students didn't feel challenged by the content of their classes, but others noted barriers in school processes. They encountered difficulty with homework and assignments because of language, noted that announcements and information at school were often unclear or misunderstood. Keeping up and keeping informed was cited as a challenge. The authors also found problems in communication between students and parents (evidenced by differing responses) and that parents felt they couldn't help with homework because of language. Parents in the study were mostly positive about communication, appreciated parent-teacher liaisons, and the schools' efforts to communicate with them in Spanish (McLaughlin, et al., 2002).

The teachers in the McLaughlin (2002) study were generally positive about English language learners, but recognized challenges for them too (inappropriate curriculum, inadequate curricular resources and communication with students). Teachers noted social isolation among the new immigrants. The authors also observed that some teachers had negative perceptions about Latino immigrants (background, stereotypes, etc), were closed-minded, or did not know how to regulate curriculum for those students.

Many teachers also did not feel prepared to teach English language learners, and recognized the need for professional development (McLaughlin, et al., 2002).).

Delgado-Gaitan and Trueba, in a 1991 ethnography of an immigrant community in California, explored the way home and school environments interact in Latino children's development. The authors looked at children in grades 1-4 in bilingual-bicultural education programs to get an early elementary perspective. Over a 3-year period, they conducted observations and interviews with children and adults at home and in school. Families in the study had immigrated from Mexico or El Salvador (some children were not immigrants themselves). They found that the children generally followed rules and procedures; however, those who did not were not clear about classroom procedures felt the consequences for violations of rules were unfair. While many of the students knew what was expected of them, others demonstrated that they did not, and did not know how to meet school expectations. Although the children put forth effort to comply with teacher expectations, students experienced some problems in understanding directions and assignments. The observed classroom interactions were very structured by teachers, and little inter-student interaction encouraged, which is foreign to Latinos' generally cooperative culture. In terms of classroom challenges, "discipline and academic problems overlapped and they perpetuated one another" (p. 131). Although the children showed readiness to learn, teachers did not appear to value or capitalize on what they brought to school and saw their differences as deficiencies.

Home observations and interviews revealed that parents supported education by encouraging children and stressing the importance of education, but actively participated very little. Parents knew education was the key for their children's success, but felt

inadequate in helping them with schoolwork; at the same time, many of these parents pursued further education in order to help their children. They saw school as a preparation both professionally and personally in terms of good manners, respect and values. An interesting observation was that sometimes the children would stay home if parents left early in the morning, or missed school because they didn't have clean clothes—absenteeism was a problem for some children. The authors concluded that “just as children need to be incorporated into the learning process as active participants, so do their parents because they are the principal parties responsible for socializing them” (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991, p. 136).

García Coll, Szalacha, and Palacios (2005) examined the psychosocial and academic orientation of children of immigrants in a wide-scale study of over 400 children in three ethnic enclaves (Dominican, Portuguese and Cambodian). Through community ethnographies, student and parent interviews, teacher reports and school records, they followed two cohorts (first and fourth grade) over three years. Generally, the children had very positive school aspirations, expectations and attitudes, but, in contrast to other studies, there was an increase in positive attitudes over time across immigrant groups. The younger cohort had more positive academic pathways (reports of progress over time). Although ethnic communities, parent characteristics and school contexts varied, there was no significant difference across immigrant groups in terms of academic pathways. The study also illustrates the variability within ethnic groups: Cambodians differed from typical Asian groups in community and family characteristics, as Dominicans differed from historical Latino immigrant outcomes.

The review of the literature shows not only the risk posed to immigrant students

in the American school system, but also the variability in outcomes and research findings. Challenges arise in experiences of immigration, the process of acculturation and language acquisition, living conditions and conflicting cultural forces. The risk factors, experiences, and outcomes for Latino immigrants in particular differ from those of native-born Latinos and other immigrant groups, and necessitate further inquiry. The period of middle childhood is a critical time in the development of all children, and is particularly worthwhile to investigate in light of the variables at play during this period for immigrant children.

Present Research

The present study addresses several areas of research need. Although there has been a focus on the outcomes of adolescent immigrants, the literature addressing younger children is scarce. Only García Coll and her colleagues' most recent study (2005) specifically addresses the topic of school experiences for immigrants in middle childhood. There is also a clear need for research that involves isolated ethnic groups instead of mixed samples. None of the studies investigating immigrant school experiences, except for McLaughlin and colleagues' (2002) study, isolates the study of Latino children, although García Coll and colleagues' (2005) design does separate their sample into three ethnic groups for data analysis and reporting. Further, the separation of first and second generation immigrants is a little researched topic and a seldom-occurring practice. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco's (2001) LISA study is limited to first generation immigrants, and Portes and Rumbaut (2001) include generational status as a differentiating variable in data analysis and results, but their samples were primarily older adolescents. (The research conducted by García Coll and colleagues (2005) may include

more comparisons in later analyses.) The specific dynamics of immigrant children as minorities in their schools also merits additional investigation, as this has not been addressed in the immigrant literature. The present research addresses the current gaps in the literature by taking an ecological and developmental perspective in a mixed methods study investigating the school stressors and experiences of specifically young, first-generation Latino children who are minorities in their schools and communities.

As in McLaughlin and colleague's (2002) study, the study reported here focused specifically on school experiences, but also included the investigation of school-related stress and the possibility of adjustment difficulties in a more psychosocial context. Unlike their study, this study had a specific focus on the sample as first-generation immigrants and as younger children in particular. This study also builds on their work by conducting more in-depth, individual interviews. The present research expands García Coll and colleagues' most recent study with a specific focus on the experiences and culture of a mixed group of Latino first generation immigrants (as opposed to their first and second generation Dominican sample).

This investigation of school experiences was designed to better understand these children's experiences in schools in light of the above personal and societal circumstances, and of their educational surroundings. More specifically, the study further expands upon the work of other authors investigating immigrant children's school experiences (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; García Coll, et al., 2005; McLaughlin, et al., 2002; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez Suarez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001) by drawing a sample of Latino immigrant children who are minorities in their schools and communities. Whereas other research has been conducted in settings with large

immigrant populations who have a history in that area, the sample in this research was drawn from a city with a relatively small immigrant population which is recent but growing. (The city's average Latino school population is roughly 5%; the schools in this study have an average of less than 20% Latino students.⁵) This is to say that Latino immigrant children in this study were minorities in their schools and classrooms, with the possibility of different school attitudes and stress than children who are majorities in their schools. Differences can lie in the resources available to a newer immigrant population, the receptiveness and attitudes of the community and school, the dynamics of the classroom, and in their peer interactions.

To conclude, the limited research addressing immigrant experiences in schools provides a firm structure and thought-provoking basis on which to expand the study of this population and the differing variables which may affect their schooling and outcomes. The present research uses this groundwork to further explore this topic and contribute to the knowledge of this group of students including variations in personal, environmental, and circumstantial factors.

⁵ In Orfield & Lee's (2005) analysis of the racial composition of schools in the U. S., they found the average Latino attends a school that is 54% Latino and that the average Latino ELL attends a school where over 3/5 of the students are Latino.

Chapter 3: Method

Purpose and Rationale

The present study follows the conceptual model in García Coll and colleagues (1996) and Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco's (2000) research, in that it is guided by a multilevel conceptual framework that takes into consideration both "incoming resources" and a variety of "host culture variables." The variables outlined in [this] conceptual framework—in various ways and with various force—are the major vectors that structure the schooling experiences and outcomes of immigrant youth. These factors help mold the emerging attitudes, identities and behaviors of immigrant students. They are codeterminants of the youth's evolving cultural models and social practices regarding schooling. (p.21)

The theory guiding this investigation is centered around Bronfenbrenner's ecological framework (1986) with a developmental view (García Coll, et al., 1996). Ecological theory states that the development of children is shaped and affected by their own characteristics and by the characteristics of their surroundings. This implies that the developmental stage of the child, along with individual variables, interact with contextual variables to affect child outcomes. In the case of Latino immigrant children, various contexts and settings often hold differing expectations and norms that can affect development. The developmental perspective takes into consideration both the developmental stage of the child, as well as the accomplishment of specific developmental tasks. A developmental ecological perspective, then, accounts for the interaction of developmental stages with the influence of a child's environment. It is therefore valuable to take into account environmental influences in the consideration of

development at a particular stage (middle childhood) to examine the mediating factors in possible maladjustment (Anderson & Mohr, 2003). Additionally, this investigation attended to the unique position of these students as cultural and linguistic minorities, as proposed by García Coll and her colleagues (1996).

To gain a fuller understanding of the school experiences of Latino immigrant children and best know their strengths and needs in order to better serve them, this investigation incorporated both quantitative and qualitative research methods. The quantitative research instrument and data analysis provides information in a relative, objective sense, in that it objectively marks the frequency of children's reported experiences of sources of stress and manifestations of stress already documented in the literature. The qualitative component then expands on this instrument, allowing the participants to provide their own perspectives, unhindered by presumed, cultured assumptions. These pieces together give a fuller picture of the topic under investigation, and give recognition to the unique contribution of the participants as data providers.

The use of a mixed-methods approach is especially appropriate and valuable in the investigation of the school experiences of Latino immigrant children for the following reasons (Brittain, 2003):

1. Because of the complexity of the phenomenon under study, and in recognition of the lack of research framing this topic, it is better to be open to multiple possibilities of responses. The literature can guide the research questions and choice of research instruments and interview questions, but the most illuminating results are found in the responses of the students themselves. By not imparting preconceived notions of the perspectives of these children, the investigation is open to the view of the informants.

Because the children in the study were young, they needed some framing structure to start their thinking, but the open-ended interviews allow for them to expand upon the questions and reveal their perspectives more genuinely.

2. Recognizing that the results of this study may not generalize to other populations, the acquisition of deeper knowledge allowed for in qualitative methods is valid in that it gives a deeper understanding of the phenomenon under investigation in a certain context.

3. Genuine and accurate information can be gained from the perspectives of the informants in their own voices. Their responses generate the themes that frame the results of the study, the answers to the questions. The informants are considered authorities on their own experiences. The quantitative research tool was used to spark their thinking; the interviews provided a space for students to relate personally to the questions at hand, and give a fuller picture of their experiences.

The use of ethnographic research methods also is especially suitable for this investigation in a function of critical inquiry and advocacy. Trueba and McLaren (2000) refer to this concept as *critical ethnography*, as it advocates for marginalized or overlooked populations by “accelerating the conscientization” of the community and “sensitizing the research community to the implications of research for the quality of life—clearly linking intellectual work to real life conditions” (p. 38). Critical ethnography uses “defamiliarization” or a disruption of what is commonly assumed to make us see in a new way, and approach issues from a new perspective, the informant’s perspective (Trueba & McLaren, 2000, p. 39). The aim of this research is to open the eyes of the research community and practitioners to the unique perspectives of a segment

of the growing Latino immigrant population, in order to shed light on opportunities for growth and to facilitate service provision.

The use of critical ethnography demands reflection on the dynamic between the researcher and the researched, especially when the researcher and participants come from different ethnic backgrounds and worldviews. Reflection on the part of the researcher is necessary in order to avoid cultural assumptions and dominance, or what Trueba and McLaren (2000) call “*white ethnography*, when the meaning horizon of the unreflexive white researcher is claimed as valid for all cultures” (p. 46). The structures of which the researcher is part need to be questioned in terms of how they may contribute to not only the situations, but also to the research contributions of the participants. Stated differently, “white ethnographers need to consider their own constitutions as ethnic subjects in reporting on the “differences” of Latino and other populations” (Trueba & McLaren, 2000, p. 48).

Researcher Statement

In ethnographic research, being subjective and inductive, any biases the researcher brings to the study inherently interact with the study. As a process of balancing the effects of bias, ethnographic researchers locate themselves socially, politically, ethnically, racially, and economically within the topic and population under study, and present these biases explicitly (Fetterman, 1998). In the writer’s revealing of location and bias, the reader is better prepared to critically judge the credibility and strength of the study. Qualitative research is both enriched and qualified by the researcher’s personal position and experience.

Over the past years, I have developed an interest in supporting immigrants and their families in education. My knowledge of Spanish has been used in schools to translate and assist Spanish-speaking students and families. My interactions with Latino immigrant families in my workplace, community, and church have led me to recognize the great task of resettlement and adjustment, and I have witnessed many examples of both resilience and struggle.

My personal, social, cultural and structural context within the topic of study has influence in the investigation. Considering language, my knowledge of Spanish can relate comfort, familiarity and identification for families in a school that is dominated by English. However, because I am not a native Spanish speaker, the parents and children may have some advantage and degree of power. My comfort and familiarity with the Spanish language and culture may make me more of an “insider,” but recognition must be given to the fact that I am a white, European-American middle-class woman. There may be a perceived and visible difference in racial, ethnic, cultural, social, economic and gendered positions.

Sensitivity and confidentiality must be considered in the issue of legal residency status of the participants and the information they may be willing to divulge. Some immigrants who do not have legal status may be distrustful of U. S. institutions and may be fearful about giving information, or how open they can be about their school. Many times this distrust, fear and hesitancy may be passed on to children. Also, the children may view me as an educator, and this may color their responses and interactions with me. Mostly, in recognizing my “location,” I hoped to cultivate comfort and openness among participants, so that they could feel at ease to express themselves. Therefore, these

differences are addressed and negotiated as to not negatively interfere with, but rather lend themselves to exploration and openness, in this project's design, interactions with participants, and the development of conclusions.

Participants

The participant sample consisted of 28 immigrant Latino children, grades 1-5 ($M=2.29$) attending various public elementary schools, and participating in a non-profit agency's cultural and educational programs in a mid-sized Eastern U.S. city. The agency conducting the programs is an education-based resource serving the Latino community. It provides English and Spanish instruction, tutoring services, and cultural and community programming. The participants for this study were drawn from the agency's after-school and Saturday School programs, which pull from a variety of public and private schools in the area. Prior to the start of the study, the researcher was present at the two programs as a volunteer tutor to become familiar with the program, children, parents, and staff.

Participants in the study were minorities within their school district and schools. In the district, Latinos comprise about 1.4% of the population; students with Limited English Proficiency comprise about 1.6% (State Report Card, 2004). Within the two schools, 20% of students are Latino, and approximately 18% are Limited English proficient (State Report Card, 2004). In both the district and schools, the majority of students are African American, with approximately 6-10% White, non-Hispanic students (State Report Card, 2004).

The criteria and rationale for participant selection were as follows: (a) *in grades 1-5*. Middle childhood is a critical stage of development, and an under researched age, as noted before. (b) *first-generation immigrant, residing in the United States less than half*

of their lives, but no more than 5 years. The sample was to consist of only children who have immigrated themselves, so as to differentiate them from children of immigrants (second generation). The length of residency criteria was included to ensure that even the youngest children in the sample lived at least half of their lives outside of the United States, but the whole sample is still recently immigrated. (c) *from a Spanish-speaking Latin American country (Mexico, Central America or South America, Cuba, Dominican Republic, including Puerto Rico).* The sample included only Latino children, to differentiate them from other immigrant groups, especially as their outcomes have historically differed from other groups' (Hernandez & Charney, 1998). Additionally, the sample was limited to Latinos as they are likely to represent a substantial percentage of the schools they attend, which could affect their experiences (Fix & Passel, 2003). (d) *one or both parents/primary caretakers is a Latino immigrant.* This limited the sample to children from Latino immigrant families, not children who were adopted into native families, or children who have native parents who lived out of the country for some time, and included children who may have immigrated with one parent only. An attempt was also made to include approximate equal amount of males and females, as gender has been shown to be associated with academic attitudes, achievement, and stress (Fuligni, 1997; Matute-Bianchi, 1991; Qin Hillard, 2003; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). These specific selection criteria, except for differences in age and generation status, have been used in other wide-scale studies of immigrant children (García Coll, et al., 2005; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

The participant group consisted of 8 males and 20 females ranging in age from 6-13 ($M=8.0$, $SD=1.54$). All but 2 of the participants attended the public elementary school

where the after-school program was held. The others attended another public school in the area. Participants' length of residency in the United States ranged from 7 months to 7 years ($M=3.00$, $SD=1.91$). The sample included 4 participants receiving special education services (14%), and an additional participant in the referral process. The majority of the students were English language learners; approximately 82% of the participants ($n=23$) received ESL instruction at school. About 68% of the sample received free or reduced lunches in the school lunch program. Additionally, there were three sets of siblings in the sample. Two of the sets were two siblings, and one set consisted of three brothers.

The participant sample approximated district and school demographics for students receiving special education services (14% in the sample, 15% in the district, 10% in school), students receiving free or reduced meals (68% in sample, 81% in the district, 80% in school) (State Report Card, 2004).

Students represented a variety of Latin American countries. The majority of the children emigrated from Mexico ($n=18$, approximately 64%). Students coming from Central American countries represented Honduras ($n = 4$) and El Salvador ($n = 1$). Additionally, 4 students were from the Caribbean: one from Puerto Rico, one from Cuba, one from the Dominican Republic. Students from South American represented Peru ($n = 1$) and Bolivia ($n = 1$). A description of the participant group can be found in Table 1.

Information regarding parents of the student participants was obtained from the Family Background Survey. In a great majority of families ($n=23$), there were two parents in the home, all of which were first generation immigrants. The majority of parents had resided in the U. S. for 5 years or less; however, the mean length of residency was longer for fathers ($M= 5.72$), than for mothers ($M=3.66$). In terms of occupations,

Table 1
Participant Characteristics

Group	<i>n</i>	%	<i>M</i>
Gender			
Male	8	29	
Female	20	71	
Grade			2.29
1	11	39	
2	6	21	
3	5	18	
4	4	14	
5	2	7	
Years U. S. Residency			3.00
<1	3	11	
1-2	9	32	
2-3	7	25	
3-4	2	7	
4-5 +	7	25	
ESL			
Yes	23	82	
No	5	18	
F/R Lunch			
Eligible	19	68	
Ineligible	9	32	
Special Education			
Services	4	14	
No services	25	89	

about half of the mothers worked in the home; the other half held jobs such as cleaning, general labor, or in restaurants. Fathers of children in the sample worked mainly in construction, service or restaurant jobs.

Parent respondents had attained various levels of education. Approximately 71% of parents completed eight years of education or less. About 19% of parent respondents completed the equivalent of high school or more. No parent indicated university attendance.

English levels for parents also varied. When asked about their level of English proficiency, none of the parents indicated that they were fluent in any of the areas (writing, reading, speaking or comprehension). The mean level of total English proficiency was approximately the score of 2, which indicated a functional level of English capacity. Fathers' English levels were slightly higher (2.0) than mothers' (1.72). Table 2 shows parent characteristics.

Sources of Data

Family Background Survey

From the developmental ecological perspective in the study of immigrant children, the influence of child, family, community, and school characteristics on children's development is of central importance (Anderson & Mohr, 2003; García Coll, et al., 1996; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2000). A brief demographic survey, available in English or Spanish, was completed by parents, providing educational and family background, as well as personal information about the family and the student participant (see Appendix A). These questions provide information about the children's exosystems that may influence school factors and development (Bronfenbrenner, 1986).

Table 2			
<i>Parent Characteristics</i>			
Group	<i>n</i>	%	<i>M</i>
Years U.S. Residency (m)	28	100%	3.67
<1 year	2	7	
1-3	15	54	
3-5	2	7	
5-7 +	9	32	
Years U.S. Residency (f)	23	100%	5.72
<1 year	1	4	
1-3	9	39	
3-5	3	13	
5-7+	10	36	
Years education (m)	27	100%	
<6	6	22	
6-8	10	37	
9-11	4	15	
12+	7	26	
Years education (f)	21	100%	
<6	4	19	
6-8	14	67	
9-11	1	5	
12+	2	9	

Note. (m) = mother; (f) = father

Parents were given the option of completing the survey with the researcher or with other staff from the community agency (who were instructed on how to complete the survey) in order to overcome any barriers in literacy or comprehension (Fetterman, 1998). Parents were asked to indicate the age, school and grade of their child, as well as their number of years in the United States, place of birth, and the language(s) spoken in the home. In a second section, parents indicated with a check (yes/no) the activities in which their child participates, both in school and in the community. This included ESL, special education, the school meal program, and other activities and services. Parents were also asked to give a brief description of their perceptions of their child's schooling. The last section included spaces for parents to give information about themselves: parents living in the home, number of years in the U. S., occupation and educational levels, country of origin and English language proficiency (on a scale of 1-4, 1 being none, 4 being fluent).

School Situation Survey

With the student participants, to prevent confusion that may arise from reading ability and speaking/listening fluency in English or Spanish, the School Situation Survey (SSS) (Helms & Gable, 1989) was read aloud to all students. Students had the choice to complete both the SSS and interviews in English, Spanish, or a combination.

The School Situation Survey (SSS) is a tool used to "assess students' perceptions of school-related sources and manifestations of stress" (Helms & Gable, 1989, manual) (see Appendix B). The instrument contains seven scales, divided into two categories, Sources of Stress and Manifestation of Stress. The choice of this instrument was to avoid using a deficit model in assessment, as the SSS identifies sources of stress and its

manifestations, but does not necessarily compare levels of stress with a majority or normed population (García Coll, et al., 1996).

The Sources of Stress scales are (Helms & Gable, 1989): teacher interactions (“students’ perceptions of their teachers’ attitudes toward them,” e.g. “I feel that my teachers treat me fairly.”), academic stress (“situations that relate to academic performance or achievement,” e.g. “I am afraid of getting poor grades.”), peer interactions (“students’ social interactions or their perceptions of their classmates’ feelings toward them,” e.g. “I enjoy doing things with my classmates.”),⁶ and academic self-concepts (“students’ feelings of self-worth, self-esteem, or self-concept relevant to perceived ability,” e.g. “I do good work in school.”).

The Manifestations of Stress scales are (Helms & Gable, 1989): emotional (“feelings such as fear, shyness, and loneliness,” e.g. “I feel upset.”), behavioral (“actions reactions, or behavior toward others, such as striking out or being hurtful or disrespectful,” e.g. “I talk back to my teachers.”), and physiological (“physical reactions or functions such as nausea, tremors or rapid heart beat,” e.g. “I feel sick to my stomach.”).

To identify stress as a continuous variable reflecting low to high levels of stress, a Likert scale is used in the SSS. Students indicated the frequency to which items apply to them, from Never to Always (1 (*never*), 2 (*rarely*), 3 (*sometimes*), 4 (*often*), 5 (*always*)). A higher numerical score indicates a higher amount of stress or more frequent manifestations of stress. Separate scores are given for each scale; there is no combined

⁶ The Teacher (TI) and Peer (PI) Interaction Scales should be interpreted with caution, as the positive and negative phrasing of items is unbalanced. In the TI scale, one of six items are stated negatively, and in the PI scale, there are four each of positively and negatively worded items. This may affect student responses.

total score. Mean scores can be figured so that scores on each scale can be compared.

Scores can be interpreted on an individual or group basis.

The SSS takes approximately 15-20 minutes to complete and can be given in large or small groups by a test administrator. For the purposes of this study, the test was administered orally in small groups, which were determined by schedules, language preference, reading ability, and individual student factors. Agency staff and the investigator's experience with the children aided in the construction of groups, but the researcher administered all tests.

Internal-consistency coefficients of the seven scales are moderate, from .68 to .80 based on the norming group. Test-retest reliability for the SSS ranges from .61 to .71, reflecting the variability of affective characteristics. The scales are sufficiently independent, with a mean intercorrelation of .23.

Although the test was originally intended for grades 4-12, it has been used with first, second, and third grade students as well (Alarcon, Szalacha, Erkut, Fields & García Coll, 2000; García Coll, et al., 2005; Helms & Gable, 1989). Translation of the test into its Spanish form was conducted for use in Alarcon, et al.'s (2000) study of Puerto Rican school children, and again in García Coll et al.'s (2005) study of immigrant children. Extensive pilot testing was conducted to ensure the adequacy of their translation and the cultural relevance of the items (García Coll, et al., 2005). This also ensured its accuracy with a Latino immigrant population.

School Attitudes Interview

The School Attitudes Interview is part of a multi-dimensional interview schedule used in García Coll et al.'s (2005) study of immigrant children's ethnic identity, social

supports and academic attitudes (see Appendix C for interview schedule). To move away from simple negatives and positives, the interview extends conceptualization of the construct to reflect deeper insights, strengths and weaknesses (García Coll, et al., 1996). The approximately hour-long interview about 70 questions and prompts in six sections: School Engagement, School Belonging and Likeness, Social Support, School/Classroom Atmosphere, Teacher Relationships, and School Attitudes and Values. All interview items in the School Engagement and School Attitudes scales are measured on a 5-point and 7-point Likert scale, respectively. Interview items in other sections are open ended, yes/no, agree/disagree, or on 7- point Likert scales. Many questions are followed with prompts for explanation or clarification.

The interview was written in English and Spanish, and translation was addressed using the back translation technique (M. Lamarre, personal communication, January 24, 2005). Back translation involves the translation of the original text into the second language (Spanish), then translated back into English by a second translator who has not seen the original document, after which the two translations are compared (Geisinger, 2003). Extensive piloting in the Latino community, of both the English and Spanish versions, was conducted to ensure accuracy in translation and cultural relevance (García Coll, et al., 2005).

Follow-up Interviews

Follow-up interviews were conducted after both the SSS and the School Attitudes interview, to clarify any information gathered, and to extend select answers. For instance, if a student indicated that s/he fights with classmates, and did not refer to it again in the interviews, then a follow-up question would address who s/he fights with, why, where,

etc. During the follow-up interviews, additional member checks were also conducted. After initial data analysis produced preliminary emerging themes, a portion of participants (approximately 1/3, $n=5$) was asked to confirm whether they'd agree or disagree with various simplified statements describing themes (e. g., "The students in my class often do not get along. "). Participants in the follow-up interviews were asked to confirm the same themes, in addition to clarifying questions targeted at individual participants regarding their SSS and School Attitudes Interview responses. Student responses were noted, but not tape-recorded. Results of this member check were used to confirm, disconfirm, or shape the emerging themes. This interview strengthens the confirmability of the data, as data and generated themes were confirmed by the informants in a process of triangulation. Table 3 displays the research questions and the sources of data used to answer them.

Procedures

Participant Selection

Participant recruitment took place in a community agency which provides educational programs for the Latino community in a mid-sized east coast city. Children attending this program were sent by their families by choice, and the programs consisted of Latino-origin students only. The program was open to all Latino families in the school (for the after school program) or in the area (for Saturday school). There was no cost to the programs and transportation was provided when needed. Because families chose to have their children participate in these programs, this may present a small amount of selection bias, as the family sample may be somehow different than the general population.

Table 3
Research Questions and Corresponding Sources of Data

Research Question	Source(s) of Data
1. What do young Latino immigrants find stressful in school? How do students report displaying this stress, behaviorally, emotionally, socially?	School Situation Survey
2. What are young Latino immigrants' attitudes towards school? How do they perceive belonging, affinity, social support, engagement, values, teacher relationships and school climate?	School Attitudes Interview Follow-Up Interview
3. To what extent are contextual factors and student characteristics, such as gender, age and English proficiency, associated with the school attitudes and adjustment of young Latino immigrants? What are the influences of length of U.S. residency, ethnicity and minority status in school on school attitudes and adjustment?	Family Background Survey School Situation Survey School Attitudes Interview Follow-Up Interview
4. What positive aspects about school and sources of support do students identify? What do young Latino immigrants recommend to improve their success in school? What implications are there for policy, research, training, and instruction regarding this student population?	School Attitudes Interview Follow-Up Interview

A process of criterion sampling, a method commonly used in qualitative research, was followed to ensure that the sample reflected the above-stated variables under consideration (Isaac & Michael, 1997). Purposive sampling serves two goals: to achieve representativeness (in the qualitative sense) of the phenomenon, and to achieve adequate heterogeneity in the group (Maxwell, 1996). Recruitment flyers describing the study and participant criteria were given to students in the programs to bring home and with a tear-off to be returned to the agency to express interest. Only children who were known to be first generation immigrants and in the criterion grades (according to agency files) were given these flyers (see Appendix D). The flyers also contained information about how parents could participate in the study, informing them of dates, times, and locations when the researcher would be at the agency's programs. Flyers could be returned with children, to the agency, or to the researcher.

When response to the above recruitment process was found to be slow, the researcher personally approached parents as they came to pick up their children from the agency programs. A description of the study, participation and incentives was shared with parents, and consent forms, parental permission forms and Family Background Surveys were many times provided. This process was more effective in recruiting participants, as only 8 parents had filled out the consent and parental permission forms and Family Background Survey at home and returned it with their children. Other parents filled out the forms with the researcher in an interview format when they came to pick up their children. Of the children who met the selection criteria, 32 completed the Family Background Survey (and consent forms) and signed parental permission forms for their child to participate. An additional 12 parents did not respond to the survey or forms, and

2 parents stated they did not want their child to participate. Of the children whose parents gave permission for them to participate, one child chose not to participate, one child left the program, and two children were unavailable for data collection. This resulted in 28 participants in the final sample.

Because of difficulties in recruitment, the recruitment process slightly changed to include more participants. Agency files which had been provided to the researcher included children who no longer attended the programs, and contained errors in grade level or place of birth. Therefore, the original pool of students to draw from, using the original criteria, was significantly smaller in actuality. In order to engage more participants without changing the intent of the criteria drastically, the following amendments were made. First, because of the high numbers of first graders participating in the program, recruitment was opened up to children in first grade, so that the participants now ranged from first to fifth grades. All of the research instruments have been used previously with first grade students (Alarcon, et al., 2000; García Coll, et al., 2005; Helms & Gable, 1989).

Additionally, first generation children who may have lived in the United States for longer than half their lives, or more than five years, were also included in the sample. Seven students were included who did not meet this initial criterion. The decision was made to include this group because this information was not initially known about students before they were recruited. Also, specific characteristics of students in this group merited their inclusion: three were receiving Special Education services, their parents' proficiency in English levels were comparable to the rest of the sample, and each

demonstrated behavioral or emotional characteristics which highlighted their presence in the group.

Data Collection

During ongoing recruitment efforts, parents of participants signed consent forms, completed the Family Background Survey, and signed the parental permission forms (see Appendix E and F for Consent Forms and Parental Permission forms, respectively).

Parents were given the opportunity to complete the survey with the researcher or with agency staff, either with assistance or in interview format. The researcher, and on one occasion agency staff, assisted 18 parents in completing the Family Background Survey and sign the forms at the agency programs when children were picked up. Alternatively, 8 parents took the surveys and forms home and returned them with children, to the agency, or to the researcher directly in an envelope provided by the researcher. Upon returning the survey, parents received local retail gift certificates and copies of consent forms. Responses were reviewed to ensure that participants met eligibility criteria.

Once parental permission was granted, student participants were gathered in small groups at the agency programs to complete the School Situations Survey (SSS). All data collection from students took place during regularly scheduled student programming, coordinated with agency staff regarding appropriate times. Students went with the researcher to an upstairs classroom (in the school) or a separate room (at the agency) to complete the SSS. Groupings were based on age, language preference, reading ability, and scheduling. Group sizes ranged from 2-5 students, and on a few occasions, because of scheduling or student characteristics, tests were administered to individuals. All students were given appropriate privacy to complete the SSS, including spacing and

dividers to cover their papers. Conditions of confidentiality, participant rights, and incentives were explained, and participants received and signed assent forms (see Appendix G). The researcher read test directions to participants, with an opportunity for any questions to be answered. For younger participants, some modeling of responses was necessary. Participants completed the survey themselves while the researcher read the test aloud. During the assessment, the researcher checked for participant understanding by giving examples intermittently (e. g. “So if I *always* get stomachaches, for this question, I would circle *I*.”) and responded to students if they appeared confused or to take a longer time responding. Also, if participants vocalized an answer, but circled a number that did not agree with their answer, the researcher would repeat the question, give context, and discretely aid the child in choosing the answer which they intended to choose. In this way, the SSS assessments were closely monitored to assure accuracy of student responses. After they completed the SSS, participants were instructed to check over their responses, and could have items repeated or explained. This procedure was repeated with small groups until all 28 participants had completed the SSS. All students who participated in the SSS received a “coupon” for a pizza party held at the end of the study in a separate space during agency programming.

The next step in data collection was the School Attitudes Interview. Interviews, like surveys, are also consonant with an exploratory or descriptive research purpose (Fetterman, 1998). Qualitative interviews address “both comparative and representative purposes—comparing responses and putting them in the context of common group beliefs and themes,” which is fitting when seeking consistent information from participants to synthesize and compare responses (Fetterman, 1998, p.38). Whereas the

SSS provided insight into student stress and stress responses, the interview expounded on student attitudes and experiences to allow participants to share their feelings, opinions and reflections with more depth and detail. The interview consisted of approximately 70 questions with prompts, grounded in the research questions proposed at the start of this paper.

A portion (12 students) of the original sample was selected to participate in the interviews. A stratified cluster sampling design, an established method in qualitative research, was used to ensure representation of grade levels and the range of results on the SSS (Maxwell, 1996). First, the original sample was divided into 3 strata: students with low, medium and high mean scores on the SSS. A process was devised to determine whole test scores.⁷

A modified random sample of students from each grade level (1-5) was then chosen from the three score strata for the interviews. The initial random selection was conducted to avoid bias in interviewee selection (Maxwell, 1996). The procedure was modified by the purposeful selection of males and females and English or Spanish dominance so that the resulting subsample was more evenly distributed by gender and language to reflect the sample as a whole. The process of random selection in qualitative research can be altered purposively to include points of view that may have otherwise been left unrepresented (Maxwell, 1996). Table 4 describes interview participants (all names used are pseudonyms).

⁷ Low, medium and high scores for the SSS are only given for subscales. As subscales means can be compared, means were taken of subscale means for each child. The new (full scale) means were put in ascending order and divided into three groups. This gave low, medium and high scores that represented the participant sample, setting an equal number of participants in each strata for score range. As the purpose of score ranges was only necessary to give representation of SSS scores across the subsample to be interviewed, this process is considered valid.

Table 4
Interview Participant Characteristics

Participant ^a	Grade	ESL	Special Education	Years U.S.	Country
Maribel	4	no	no	6	Mexico
Araceli	2	yes	no	2	Mexico
Jazmín	3	yes	no	4	El Salvador
José	3	yes	no	2.5	Mexico
Karina	4	yes	no	7 mths.	Honduras
Carlos	5	no	yes	6	Mexico
Alejandro	2	yes	yes	6	Mexico
Beto	5	no	yes	6	Mexico
Eddie	1	yes	no	2.5	Mexico
Isabel	1	yes	no	7 mths.	Mexico
Lorenzo	1	yes	no	2.5	Peru
Angela	1	yes	no	3	Mexico
Emilia	2	yes	no	1	Mexico

^a All names used are pseudonyms.

The semi-structured interviews were conducted in a small room or classroom at the school where the agency programs were held. Participants were again told of confidentiality, participant rights, and incentives to make them feel at ease, and ensure adherence to participant rights. Students were interviewed individually in Spanish, English or both (depending on the preference of the student) by the researcher. All interviews were tape-recorded, supplemented by the interviewer's notes. Most interviews,

unless they were relatively short, were conducted in two sessions on different days, to prevent participant fatigue and boredom. After the interview was completed, students were given a small treat bag.

The third phase of data collection involved the follow-up interviews. The purpose of the follow-up interviews was to clarify, confirm and augment information gained in the SSS and School Attitudes Interview. Students selected to participate in the follow-up interview were chosen in two stages. First, 3 participants whose given responses needed or merited further questioning were chosen. Then an additional 2 participants were selected based on the depth of their responses in the first interview so that approximately $1/3$ ($n=5$) of the initial interview participants was selected. Participants in the follow-up interview met with the researcher individually in a separate or quiet space in the agency's programs, and the interviews were conducted in the child's language of choice. They were first asked the questions needed to clarify their individual responses. Then, all selected participants were asked to confirm whether or not they agreed with statements that described categories of patterns emerging from initial data analysis (See appendix H for follow-up questions). Responses were noted on a card which contained all questions. In this way, responses to the follow-up interview shaped interpretation of initial responses, and served as a member check to confirm that the emerging concepts were accurate representations of the participants' views. This was done to reinforce the dependability and credibility of the data. After the interviews, students were given a second treat bag.

Data Analysis

Using the data collected from the surveys and the structured and semi-structured interviews, this study included both quantitative and qualitative methods of data analysis. The epistemological perspective which guided the data analysis is interpretative in nature, in which the school experience of Latino immigrant children is the social phenomenon to be explored in the context of the possible influences and stressors that emerge. Although the research questions are grounded in developmental ecological theory (Anderson & Mohr, 2003; Broffenbrenner, 1986; García Coll, et al., 1996), this theory served to guide the investigation, but not limit or constrict the emerging data. As data were collected and analyzed, the on-going process of interpretation allowed for the formation of explanation, themes, and theory that aids in understanding the phenomenon of Latino immigrant experiences in schools.

Family Background Surveys. Data collected from the Family Background Surveys were descriptive in nature, and were tabulated by frequency. Additionally, means were found of such variables as level of parental education and proficiency in English. The survey data give a description of the participants and their backgrounds. Data from the surveys also supplied information that was used in the final quantitative data analysis, such as gender, age, grade, number of years in the U. S., and ESL instruction.

School Situation Survey. Using the mean scores from the subscales of the School Situations Survey, descriptive analyses were first conducted to examine the mean scores for participants based on: gender, age, grade, English proficiency (as gauged by ESL instruction), school meal program participation (SES), and years of U. S. residency.

Then, one-way analyses of variance were conducted to investigate differences among respondent in terms of the above variables. Additionally, the relationships between each of those variables and each of the subscale means were examined using bivariate correlational procedures (Pearson's and point biserial).

Responses to the items on the Family Background Survey were coded for data analysis purposes. Student characteristics such as gender, ESL instruction, special education services, school meal program participation were dichotomously coded (male/female for gender, yes/no for school services). Parent variables such as educational levels were coded 1-4 (1 = <6 years, 2 = 6-8 years, 3 = 9-11 years, 4 = 12+ years). Number of parents in the home, age, grade, and years of residency were all entered as continuous variables.

Interviews. In qualitative research, data analysis begins with the very first determination of topic and observations, and involves many layers of analysis (Fetterman, 1998). According to Fetterman, "ethnographic analysis is iterative, building on ideas throughout the study" (p. 92). Qualitative data analysis starts immediately, and gives the advantage of being able to progressively focus interviews and gain "theoretical sensitivity" to the data that emerges (Maxwell, 1996, p. 77). After all interviews were completed, qualitative data analysis was conducted, involving constant comparison and the generation of themes (Glaser & Strauss, 1965). Patterns were sought in the interview data, based on the research questions, inquiry, and theory. Qualitative data analysis consisted of five stages, from transcription of the interviews to the final generation of themes:

1. Transcription (and translation): The School Attitudes Interviews were transcribed, and translated when necessary by the researcher; native Spanish speakers were consulted for clarification and reliability. In order to convey the most exact meaning from the interviews, the translated transcriptions were not necessarily verbatim translations, but translation of the most closely precise meaning in natural language, with consultation for cultural interpretations. Transcription of interviews is an opportunity for analysis, as it involves the re-reading of the data and the exact transferal of this data by the researcher (Maxwell, 1996). Additionally, tape recording interviews and verbatim transcription increases validity because it improves the accuracy of description, giving exact detail of interviews rather than notes of what was immediately noticed or felt was important (Maxwell, 1996). Audio recordings, written notes of interviews, and transcriptions recorded the whole of the data, maintaining a larger set of raw data to refer back to and be examined for consistency with emerging findings.

2. Transferal of responses to qualitative data analysis sheet: The next stage of qualitative data analysis involved transferring individual interview responses to an analysis sheet to group student responses. In this way, all participant responses were grouped under each question, so as to see the frequency of responses (for ordinal or Likert questions), and to be able to better compare given responses. As “displays constitute an additional analytic strategy” (Maxwell, 1996, p. 79), this stage also served as data reduction and presented the data as a whole, helping to compare and contrast information from participants and identify themes (Fetterman, 1998).

3. Item-level analysis: An item-level analysis of the qualitative data analysis sheet allowed for the noting of responses to interview questions, and grouping responses by

similarity. For each question, observations of frequency were counted, and similar responses were grouped. Using the ordinal (yes/no, agree/disagree) and Likert scales to tabulate frequency quantified the data in that it gave the amount of evidence supporting the emerging concepts and themes, therefore improving validity and reliability (Fetterman, 1998; Maxwell, 1996). After this stage produced emerging categories and patterns, the member checks in the follow-up interviews were conducted. Participant responses were then integrated into the next stage of analysis.

4. Coding domain categories: I then looked across answers and derived broader domain categories, referring to original transcripts as needed. Using the constant comparative approach, codes for the categories were developed, and the data was re-marked with these codes (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This process of open coding involved the managing and marking of the data to determine the relative frequency and patterns of specific ideas (LeCompte & Schensul, 1998), and the development of categories that include those ideas (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, as cited in Creswell, 1998). Categories and subcategories were delineated in this process (see Appendix I for codebook).

5. Generation of themes: Finally, looking for patterns in the categories, I elicited resulting themes using an inductive model (LeCompte & Schensul, 1998). Axial coding was used to interconnect the existing categories to further organize and define the interrelationship among categories (Corbin & Strauss, 1990, as cited in Creswell, 1998). Using the codes and concepts that developed from both the open and axial coding processes, the categories were connected to arrive at the three resulting themes and two categories.

6. Confirmation of themes: Peer debriefing was used to improve the dependability of the findings by testing emergent understanding (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). The second reviewer was given a random sample of interviews ($n = 6$, $\frac{1}{2}$ of sample, three in English, and three translated from Spanish) and the structure of coding used. The second reviewer marked instances of the occurrences of the patterns and emerging categories, and gave feedback to the researcher regarding consistency, support of findings, and definition of categories and development of themes.

Analysis of the interview data also included a quantitative component. Four sections of the interview pertaining to school engagement and teachers (and measured by Likert scales) were analyzed quantitatively. Analyses of variance were conducted for children's means on these four sections to test differences based on the above variables used to analyze the SSS. Additionally, the relationships between each of those variables and each of the interview section means were examined using bivariate correlational procedures (Pearson's and point biserial).

Quality of Data

The standards of quality of the data and findings in interpretive research can be aligned with the reliability and external/internal validity found in quantitative studies. Dependability, credibility, and transferability are comparable, respectively, to the constructs of reliability, internal and external validity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Dependability. Like reliability, dependability pertains to consistency among studies. A study is dependable if the findings are found to be consistent with those of other similar studies, and if conducted again, would produce the same results (Isaac & Michael, 1997). This standard can be reinforced by the method of overlap, like

triangulation, in which the variables under investigation are approached from different angles and by different sources in order to ensure that one set of findings agrees with another (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In this study, this was attempted in both instrumentation and procedure. First, there were essentially three measures that addressed the construct of school experience and attitudes: the SSS, the School Attitudes Interview, and the follow-up interview. The School Attitudes Interview expands upon ideas in the SSS; in turn, the follow-up interviews were used to fill in gaps in knowledge based on the first two measures, and to provide both clarification and confirmation of initial findings. Developing patterns in ethnographic data analysis is also a form of reliability and dependability (Fetterman, 1998). Further, in data analysis, multiple sources were used in the transcription and translation of interviews, and in the confirmation of themes.

Credibility. Credibility parallels internal validity in that it addresses the variables under investigation and their effect on the outcomes. Credibility refers to the question of whether or not the methodology and procedures result in findings that are believable and convincing (Isaac & Michael, 1997). Integrity of the observations was strengthened by the use of multiple and interactive sources of data and the use of peer debriefing in data analysis. Additionally, because this is a population that has not been largely researched, theoretical validity is preserved, as the investigation is open to various theoretical explanations, not biased by presuppositions (Maxwell, 1996).

Interviews and prompts in addition to the SSS provided triangulation to improve validity (to test one source of information against another to improve the quality and clarity of information and understanding) (Fetterman, 1998). The validity of interpretation is improved by the use of prompts, clarifying questions during interviews,

and references to other sources of data (SSS) to check for clarity during interviews. Member checks, the term used for soliciting feedback from participants about data and conclusions, were conducted both through the open-ended questions and prompts in the School Attitudes Interview, and also through the use of the final follow-up interview. According to Maxwell, the use of member checks with informants “is the single most important way of ruling out the possibility of misinterpretation of the meaning of what they say and the perspective they have on what is going on” (1996, p. 94).

Additionally, interpretation of the data was made more valid through the experience of observing and interacting with the students prior to the SSS and interviews (Maxwell, 1996). My observation of and time with participants as a volunteer in the program increased the integrity of the data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), as “observation often enables you to draw inferences about someone’s meaning and perspective that you couldn’t obtain by relying exclusively on interview data” (Maxwell, 1996, p. 76). On several occasions throughout the interviews, knowing specific information about the participants, having observed their behavior and social interactions, and knowing appropriate approaches in soliciting information from them helped me to interpret student responses and ask clarifying prompting questions.

Because I had assumed a role of volunteer in the program, the students saw me as a tutor or teacher. The relationship and trust I had gained with the participants improved the opportunity for comfort, openness, and honest. However, also in this case, there is the possibility that the data may be threatened by reactivity, the influence of the researcher on the participants (Maxwell, 1996). I took the following measures to decrease the probability that reactivity could threaten the validity of the SSS and interview responses.

First, I stressed that the participants should be honest, state what they think, that there are no right or wrong answers and that their answers would not be shared with anyone. Also, I responded neutrally or accepting of however students responded.

Transferability. Transferability is the qualitative equal of external validity, in that it relates to generalization. It refers to the other contexts that the study's findings can be applied (Isaac & Michael, 1997). Through pulling students from multiple schools, by gaining detailed information about their backgrounds and families, and giving thick description of data, the study's procedures allow participants to become a referent group that is more capable of being compared with other groups and settings.

Treatment of Data

Although survey and interview data had personal identifiers, participant names are not used in this paper. Data were stored in a locked file to which only the researcher had access. At the completion of the study, all personal identifiers were removed and/or replaced with identification numbers or pseudonyms and kept in the personal files of the researcher. All participants and their families, as well as agency staff, were offered a synopsis of the final paper.

Chapter 4: Results

In this chapter, I will present the findings of both the quantitative and qualitative components of the study. This section will begin with a brief description of findings from the Family Background Survey (FBS) that the parents completed. Then, findings for the results of the School Situation Survey will be presented, integrated with analysis of the School Attitude and follow-up interviews.

The information gathered from the FBS was largely demographic and was presented in Chapter 3. The results indicated that most participants lived in families with two parents; parents generally had attained relatively low levels of education and held working-class jobs. Parents, as a group, also had limited English abilities; generally, they noted functional or no English proficiency. Additionally, 16 children had one or both parents emigrate before them (8 children had both parents leave their countries before they themselves emigrated), which did not appear to influence child-parent relationships as observed in this study. Spanish was the home language for 68% of the families; 32% of families spoke both Spanish and English. Two parents were present in 82% of the children's homes.

Parents were willing to answer the questions on the FBS. However, there were some questions which they either had a more difficult time answering, or did not know how to answer. When completing the information about activities in which their child participates in school, many parents were not sure, and often asked the children if they were present. This included questions regarding participation in special education, ESL, school meal program, and school activities. Many did not have very specific reflections on the progress and performance of their children in school; they did not complain about

teachers or the school, but generally stated that they were happy with their children's education. Child participants likewise were eager to participate and respond. Their answers were surprisingly thoughtful in most cases, and appeared unaffected and honest.

The findings of this study will first be related to how they answer the study's proposed research questions. Although the actual coding of the qualitative data (interviews) was not organized by research questions or hypotheses, because the study involved a survey and interview questions, the research questions can be addressed through the analysis of the raw data. A detailed discussion of the overlying emerging themes will follow, allowing for the disclosure of results not presumed or predicted.

Research Question 1

What do young Latino immigrants find stressful in school? How do students report displaying this stress, behaviorally, emotionally, socially? The School Situation Surveys (SSS) were used to answer this question. A total of 28 students responded to the SSS. Means for each student on each subscale were computed for purposes of comparison, and given corresponding categories of stress levels (Low, Medium or High) according to the SSS instrument. Teacher interactions were reported as the greatest source of stress, with 93% of ($n = 26$) students indicating medium or high levels of stress in this area. Additionally, 82% of participants ($n = 23$) reported medium or high incidence of stress in the area of peer interaction. Academic stress levels varied (but had a high overall mean), but students appeared to have relatively lower levels of stress in their academic self-concepts. Results of the SSS perceived stress levels by subscale are given in Table 5.

In terms of manifestations of stress, respondents reported low incidence of behavioral manifestations and medium levels of emotional responses. However, 78% ($n =$

Table 5
Participant School Situation Survey Score Levels by Subscale

Subscales	Stress Levels		
	Low	Medium	High
	n (%)	n (%)	n (%)
Sources of Stress			
PI	5 (18%)	13 (46%)	10 (36%)
TI	2 (7%)	16 (57%)	10 (36%)
AS	9 (32%)	14 (50%)	5 (18%)
ASC	13 (46%)	10 (36%)	5 (18%)
Manifestations of Stress			
B	16 (57%)	9 (32%)	3 (11%)
E	7 (25%)	15 (54%)	6 (21%)
PH	6 (22%)	11 (39%)	11 (39%)

Note. Stress levels are general indicators of relative perceived stress, not diagnostic assessments. PI = Peer Interactions; TI = Teacher Interactions; AS = Academic Stress; ASC = Academic Self-Concept; B = Behavioral; E = Emotional; P = Physiological.

22) of participants reported medium or high occurrences of physiological responses to stress.

Group means for all subscales were relatively low, ranging from 1.63 ($SD = .85$) on the Behavioral Manifestations subscale to 2.77 ($SD = 1.24$) on the Academic Stress subscale. Individual student subscale means ranged from one to five.

Research Question 2

What are young Latino immigrants' attitudes towards school? How do they perceive belonging, affinity, social support, engagement, values, teacher relationships and school climate? Generally, participants were positive in expressing their attitudes towards school. Throughout the interviews, all students were consistently positive, with occasional references to negative aspects of school. Except for in a very few cases, students did not express the negative aspects in terms of complaints or criticisms; these were more presented as reflections, or as personal feelings or opinions. A thorough review of the interviews, in which positive and negative comments were tallied and categorized (spoken responses only, not Likert scale responses), revealed that students were more positive than negative about teachers, friends, learning, and activities in class and in the school. More negative responses regarded behavior (their own and of classmates) and the difficulty of school work. Table 6 shows the frequency of positive and negative responses, broken into categories.

School affinity and belonging were addressed by questions regarding what students like/dislike about school and how they felt in their classes. Tabulations by frequency of responses to a portion of these questions can be found in Table 7. Most of the children perceived their class to be a fun place where they like to be. Their perceptions of what makes their class fun reflected their teachers' structuring of activities to make class enjoyable (e.g. learning games, rewards, free time activities). Almost all of the children said they would feel sad if they had to switch out of their class. The reasons they gave were two-fold: they like their teacher and friends, and they were accustomed to their classrooms and wouldn't opt for the unknown of another class (getting used to

Table 6
Positive and Negative Responses to Interview Questions, by Frequency and Category

Category ^a	Positive		Negative	
	<i>n</i>	% ^c	<i>n</i>	% ^c
Teachers	69	31	29	27
Friends	27	13	6	6
Classmates	14	6	17	16
Class/Activities	26	12	3	3
School Enjoyment	37	17	6	6
School Work ^b	22	10	22	20
Behavior	14	6	25	23
Total	221		108	

^a These are main categories only. Other categories arose in the positive comments: quality of school (4), incentives (2), principal (6). Percentages in table include minor categories. ^b Positive comments regarded enjoyment of learning, negative comments regarded difficulty of work (17) and work in English (5). ^c Rounded values will not total 100%.

teacher, making new friends). This includes all the children whose English is more limited; they all stated that they would miss the friends they have in their current class. The two boys who stated they wouldn't feel sad if they had to switch classrooms receive special education services. One wished the teacher would pay more attention to him, and the other said he'd make new friends in a new class.

Children's perceptions of their school were also found in their description of "special things" in their classes. Several of them mentioned academic subjects as being

Table 7
Reponses to School Belonging Interview Questions

Question	Response <i>n</i> (%)	
	Agree	Disagree
“My class is a fun place to be.”	10 (77%)	3 (23%)
“Students in my class usually treat each other well.”	7 (54%)	6 (46%)
“I usually feel left out of things when I am in my class.”	6 (46%)	7 (54%)
“I feel like other students in my class like me”.	10 (77%)	3 (23%)
“I’d feel sad if I had to switch out of my class and be in a different class with different kids.”	11 (85%)	2 (15%)

special: science, projects, reading; others cited activities such as playing, drawing, or helping the teacher. Almost all of the children said that they go on field trips and have parties with their class. They enjoy these activities for various reasons: some for the social aspect of being with their friends, others because they are fun and interesting. Two second grade children stated that they felt happy during these activities. Alejandro said, “When I’m in real class,...I feel sad, but when I do that [special events], I feel happy because I can learn science fun, not science boring.” He said he was sad the other times because the kids treat him badly, but they don’t during special events.

In terms of their feelings of belonging, students felt they were liked in the class, but didn’t necessarily feel that their class was accepting in general. The group was split on their responses to the item “Students in my class usually treat each other well.”

Students who agreed with this statement were mostly girls, in the first or second grades; they expressed that their classmates were all friends. Those who disagreed were mostly boys, and older, saying that their classmates fight or bother people.

Participants were also evenly split on the question “I usually feel left out of things when I am in class.” However, there was equal representation of students with special needs and limited English, boys and girls, and grade levels in each set of responses; no pattern was observed. Children’s responses reflected that this greatly depended on the teacher. Teachers’ lack of attention and unfair treatment were seen as alienating; teachers’ encouragement, defense, help, giving privileges, and kind treatment made the children feel included in their classes. One student, a fourth grade girl, noted language as a barrier to feeling included, simply answering, “because I don’t know English...” (*como no sé inglés...*). Most students could identify positive ways the teacher could influence this, even if their initial response indicated the negative role of the teacher in their feelings of being left out.

Not surprisingly, when asked “If you had to pick one, what is your favorite subject in school?” most participants responded with more interactive, less language-based subjects, such as math, gym, science and social studies. Only two students chose Language Arts as their favorite class, a beginning reader with relatively strong English skills, and an older student with longer residency in the U.S.

Finally, when asked if there are days they don’t feel like going to school (except when sick), most students responded “no.” The few (4) children who answered affirmatively cited boredom, difficult school work, or avoiding something as reasons for

not wanting to go to school. All but one of those students said they end up going to school on these days anyway, mostly because of their parents' influence.

Students also identified and reflected on social support. There were specific questions regarding support in the interview, and those responses will be recounted here; as support also emerged as one of the themes in the data, it will be detailed further in the discussion of themes. Participants identified four main categories of social support of school (presented here in descending order of frequency): parents, teachers/school staff, family/adults, and friends. Table 8 displays student responses to the Social Support section of the interview.

Students equally identified parents and teachers as sources of support ("who helps you decide/who would you talk to...") for items regarding how hard to work in school, and if other students were mean to them. Students cited the demands of their teachers and the encouragement of their parents concerning school work. If other students were mean to them, participants said that their teacher would talk to or punish the child, or their parents would talk to the child or the child's family. Teachers were mostly cited as helping the children decide how to act in school, and as the source of support when schoolwork is hard; no parent or family member was cited for the latter. The teacher helps them by having structures or strategies in the classroom for behavior, and doing examples and explaining difficult school work. Most students stated that their parents help them decide how to act outside of school, by their verbal encouragement and discipline. Parents would also be students' support if the teacher was mean to them. Participants noted that their parent would talk to the teacher or principal, or help them to deal with the problem with their teacher.

Table 8
Responses to Social Support Interview Questions

Question (“Whom do you listen to about...”)	Response (<i>n</i>)				
	teacher	parents	family	friends	principal
how hard to work in school	5	6	0	1	0
how to act in class	7	3	0	3	1
how to act outside of school	0	7	0	1	0
if school work were hard	8	0	0	4	0
if teacher were mean	0	9	0	1	4
if kids were mean	5	4	1	1	2

Note. *n* = 13. Where row totals do not add to 13, other children’s responses were “don’t know,” “myself,” “no one,” or students named more than one person.

Participants responded to questions regarding school engagement, meaning how students interact and participate with various aspects of school. Students were asked to rate the importance of eight different components of school, on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = very important, 2 = pretty important, 3 = in between, 4 = not as important, 5 = not at all important). The results of these questions are presented in Table 9. Participants generally agreed that getting good grades, staying out of trouble, doing homework, graduating from high school, and trying hard at school are important to them. Those who labeled attendance as important cited pleasing their parents and the importance of learning as reasons. Those who did not feel it was so important cited boredom, laziness, sickness, or visiting relatives as reasons to stay home.

Table 9

Responses to School Engagement Interview Questions

Question (“How important is it to you...”)	Rating frequency ^a					Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	
that you get good grades?	13	0	0	0	0	1.00
that you stay out of trouble?	10	2	0	0	1	1.46
that your teacher likes you?	4	2	3	1	3	2.77
that you do your homework?	11	1	1	0	0	1.23
that you go to school every day?	8	1	2	0	2	1.85
that you graduate from high school?	9	3	0	0	1	1.54
that you have friends in school?	4	4	3	0	2	2.38
that you try hard in school?	9	3	1	0	0	1.38

Note. n = 13.

^a (1 = very important, 2 = pretty important, 3 = in between, 4 = not as important, 5 = not at all important)

Most interestingly, students had diverse opinions regarding the importance of having friends in school and being liked by the teacher. Although eight students felt friends were important, five responded “in between” or less. Some participants felt that friends were important for support, help in school, and to play with; others felt friends had the potential to hurt you or distract you from school, or just weren’t an important part of their school life. Similarly, when asked, “how important is it that your teacher like you?” answers were very split. A few students wanted their teachers to like them because of the way the teachers treat them, or they didn’t want to be yelled at. Other students who saw this as not so important didn’t appear to make connections between their teachers’ liking them, and their performance or learning. These students’ responses reflected the

idea that liking his/her students is not part of the teacher's job. In her follow-up interview, Maribel, a fourth grade student, clarified: "I only go to school to learn" agreeing with the opinion that a teacher's liking a student does not affect his/her teaching. José, a third grader, and Alejandro, a second grader, echoed this sentiment. "I don't care [if she likes me or not], expressed Alejandro, also agreeing that it doesn't affect the way she teaches; "sometimes they don't like us," stated José, rather indifferently, yet not disrespectfully.

In another section of the interview on school engagement, participants were asked their opinions about the acceptability of various behaviors that are not generally permitted in American classrooms ("How often do you feel it's ok to: skip school, cheat on a test, talk back to teachers, disobey school rules, copy someone's homework?"). With few exceptions, students felt that it is "never" ok to do these things, reflecting their accordance, or at least acceptance of certain expectations of the American school system.

Other questions addressed homework, attendance, and behavior. Students reported that they do get homework, and almost always complete it. The majority of respondents cited grades or pleasing their teacher or parents as reasons for doing their homework. Students reported that they are sometimes to never absent from school, and that parents are the main motivator that makes them go to school. In terms of behavior, participants reported that they are sometimes to never in trouble at school (one child said often). They want to stay out of trouble in order to avoid negative consequences in school or at home. Children who reported getting in trouble ($n = 6$) do so because they hit, play, or leave the classroom.

Two questions addressed children's motivation. Children were asked about a difficult assignment and a boring reading for homework. Only three children said they would not complete the difficult assignment, but all the others stated that they would try them, or ask the teacher for help. Children appeared to be internally motivated for the most part, saying they would finish reading a boring homework. They would complete the reading to learn more, to learn English more, because they like to read, or because it's not difficult.

To determine students' values and attitudes in school, participants were asked about their performance in school, their behavior, and their expectations for college. On a "how much" scale (1 = not at all, 4 = in the middle, 7 = very much), children were asked to rate their own, their parents', their friends' and teachers' expectations and aspirations for them in these three areas. Generally, participants perceived their teachers' and parents' expectations and aspirations higher than their own, or of their friends'. They also rated their friends' self- aspirations as lower than their own. Even though the children did not note that their friends had high achievement and aspirations, the children's own desire to work and aspirations remained high. The results indicate the possibility that neither their friends' self-aspirations, or aspirations for themselves affects participants' perceptions of their own aspirations, performance or behavior. Respondents' perceptions were less than, but more aligned with, parental and teacher aspirations. Parent and teacher expectations are clear to this group of students, in light of the fact they heavily agreed on many of the questions about expectations.

Also as part of the school values and attitudes interview, participants were asked about what students have to do to do well in school, and to go to college. Students'

responses varied to the first question, but across students, students made significantly more references to behavior factors than to work and performance. Multiple responses included “behave,” “listen to the teacher,” “follow the rules.” More academic responses applied more to work ethic or study habits than to working hard and performance. “Study,” “read,” and “pay attention” surfaced as more academic responses. Overall, there were 16 references to academic efforts, 20 to behavior; five children stated only behavioral factors. Responses were more evenly split for the question regarding college; 10 references were made each to behavioral and academic efforts. Younger children tended to have more behavioral references; the older children focused more on academic efforts.

Participants were asked questions regarding relationships with teachers, which revealed interesting results. Responses, presented in Table 10, are varied and relatively spread out on the rating scale. Most (8) students like their teachers, because of the fun activities they do, how they help them learn, or because the teachers love them. Students who don’t like their teachers very much complained they some are mean, or could not identify a reason. Participants were also asked how much they think their teachers care about them. Over half (7) indicated “in the middle” or below, but 5 indicated “very much.” According to the participants, teachers show they care by stopping fights, correcting them fairly, giving extra help, and providing fun activities. Other children stated that their teacher cared about them because of what they themselves do: doing the work, liking the teacher, or behaving. Their responses indicate that teachers do not inherently care for their students and that in some ways, that care is something to be earned by students.

Table 10
Responses to Teacher Relationship Interview Questions

Question	Rating frequency ^a							Mean
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
How much do you like your teachers?	0	2	0	1	2	0	8	5.69
How much do your teachers care about you?	2	2	1	3	0	0	5	4.31
How fair do you think your teachers are?	1	2	0	5	0	1	4	4.54

Question	Rating frequency ^b					Mean	
	1	2	3	4	5		
How many of your teachers..							
Like you?		2	2	2	6	1	3.15
Believe you can do well in school?		7	2	0	3	1	2.15
Would be willing to help you if you needed extra help on school work?		3	4	3	3	0	2.46
Do you really like?		5	2	3	3	0	2.31
Would be willing to help you with a personal problem?		7	3	0	3	0	1.92

Note. n = 13.

^a 1 = not at all, 4 = in the middle, 5 = very much. ^b 1 = all, 2 = most, 3 = half, 4 = a few, 5 = none.

Seven participants said that a few or none of their teachers liked them; six said that more than half of their teachers like them. Interestingly, although respondents were split in terms of their teacher's affinity, all but four stated that their teachers believed they could do well in school (of these four, all were older, two were LEP and two were in special education). This could be interpreted to mean that these children feel that the teacher's liking a student does not determine the teacher's confidence in the student's abilities. Students were also split in terms of whether or not they like their teachers. Most participants liked at least half of their teachers. No student responded that they liked none of their teachers. Almost all of the children said that more than half of their teachers would help them if they needed additional help on schoolwork or with a personal problem.

Some patterns were evident in these responses. For instance, only older children stated that they liked their teachers less than "in the middle"; all first graders responded "very much." Interestingly, many children who rated their teachers high for this question rated them lower for the next questions, how much their teachers care about them, and how fair their teachers were. Many of the first graders still rated their teachers high in caring and fairness. Additionally, some children who indicated they did not like their teachers very much still said they were fair. This may indicate that, at least for the older children, students may not see teacher caring or fairness as important to like their teachers, that perhaps it is based on something more. Also, some students could view teachers more objectively, perceiving them as fair even if they do not necessarily like them.

Questions regarding school climate included students' perceptions of school pride, work frustration, boredom, and comfort in school. All but one child agreed with the statement "I am proud of my school," citing teachers, students, materials, and learning as positives. Only three children agreed that they were frustrated at school; two of these were children with very limited English, and one receives special education services. Additionally, only one first grader agreed that he is bored when at school, because he can't talk with friends during lunch or class.

When asked if they agreed with the statement: "I would like my classmates to know what my grades are," the majority (9) of respondents disagreed, mostly stating that their peers would laugh if they had bad grades. Two of the children who agreed gave very distinct reasons for their peers knowing their grades. One fourth grade girl with very limited English said that she'd share her grades so that her classmates could read the report card and interpret it for her, so that she'd know what it meant, since "the grades are in English, and I can't figure out what they say" (*como están en inglés las notas, entonces yo no puedo que dicen*). She didn't feel her class would laugh at her; instead, she saw them as a resource. Another student with limited English said she'd show her class so they could see how she was doing, and not laugh at her. Because of her English skills, she thought that the class may think she does poorly, so she'd want to prove that she doesn't.

Almost all of the respondents (11) stated that they felt comfortable in school. When asked why or why not, all responses included references to people, not work, not language, but choices that people made. They cited the teacher's activities or friends' support as factors that helped them feel comfortable. Children who want to fight, the

difficulty of the work the teacher gives, boredom and substitute teachers were noted as parts of the school that made the children feel uncomfortable.

Research Question 3

To what extent are contextual factors and student characteristics, such as gender, age and English proficiency, associated with the school attitudes and adjustment of young Latino immigrants? What are the influences of length of U.S. residency, ethnicity and minority status in school on school attitudes and adjustment? Measurement of school adjustment was conducted through the SSS as a school stress measure. To examine contextual factors and individual characteristics as associated with school stress, first, one-way analyses of variance were conducted to test for differences in means between groups based on gender, age, grade, English proficiency, length of residency, special education, and school meal program participation (SES). For comparisons in which there was not homogeneity of variance (as indicated by the Levene Statistic), the Welch or Brown-Forsythe test was used as an ANOVA alternative. An alpha level of .05 was used for all statistical test, unless otherwise noted. Effect sizes for significant differences were calculated using the epsilon squared (ϵ^2) procedure to provide an unbiased estimate of the proportion of total variance explained by the independent variables, due to the small sample sizes.

ANOVA results indicated that students eligible for free/reduced school meals scored significantly higher ($M = 2.44$, $SD .79$) on the Emotional Manifestations of Stress subscale than those who were not ($M = 1.53$, $SD .52$) ($F [1, 23] = 5.85$, $p = .02$, $\epsilon^2 = .18$). Students receiving special education services ($M = 3.04$, $SD 1.06$) scored significantly higher ($F [1, 26] = 6.02$, $p = .02$, $\epsilon^2 = .16$) on the Emotional Manifestations of stress

scale, when compared with students not receiving special education services ($M = 2.05$, $SD .70$).

The ANOVA for grade revealed significant differences on the Academic Self-Concept (ASC) stress subscale means ($F [4, 23] = 4.73$, $p = .006$, $\epsilon^2 = .36$). Similarly, significant differences were found on the age variable, on the Academic Self-Concept stress subscale ($F [5, 22] = 2.95$, $p = .04$, $\epsilon^2 = .26$). A post hoc multiple comparison test, the Tukey-Kramer, was employed to determine differences between pairs of groups. The multiple comparison test revealed significant differences ($p = .015$) on the ASC subscale between students in grade one ($M = 1.43$, $SD .58$) and three ($M = 2.65$, $SD .55$), and grades one ($M = 1.43$, $SD .58$) and five ($M = 3.00$, $SD .00$) ($p = .033$). For age, significant differences ($p = .049$) were found between 6-7 year-olds ($M = 1.48$, $SD .59$) and 8-9 year-olds ($M = 2.15$, $SD .74$), and between 6-7 year-olds ($M = 1.48$, $SD .59$) and students 10 and over ($M = 3.08$, $SD .14$) ($p = .003$).⁸

No significant differences were found on subscale means on the ESL, gender or length of residency variables. Additionally, no significant differences were found among any parent variables (number of parents in the home, mother's or father's education). The low occurrence of significantly different means may be due to the small sample sizes used, and therefore the lower power of the tests. Because the resulting effect sizes were relatively small (for those differences which were found significant), the strengths of those relationships must be interpreted with caution. However, because these few

⁸ Because there was only one student at the 13 year-old level, a new ANOVA was run based on age range, in order to increase the number of participants per cell. Accordingly, the children were coded 1 = 6-7 years, 2 = 8-9 years, and 3 = 10+. The new ANOVA similarly produced a significant difference on the ASC scale ($F = [2, 25] = 7.55$, $p = .003$), and post hoc multiple comparison procedures could be conducted from this result.

differences were in fact found significant among all the other means tested, it is also useful to examine them, especially in light of other related results in both the correlation procedures and the qualitative data analysis to follow.

Bivariate correlational procedures (Pearson's and point biserial) were also conducted to explore the relationships of the above student variables to the SSS subscale means. A relatively strong negative correlation ($r = -.50, p < .01$) was found between gender and Behavioral Manifestations of stress, indicating that male gender (coded "1") tended to be related to higher scores on the Behavior scale. The coefficient of determination ($r^2 = .25$) signifies that approximately 25% of the variance in Behavior scores could be explained by the variance in gender. Grade was positively correlated ($r = .53, p < .01$) to mean scores on the Academic Self-Concept scale, indicating that higher grade level was related to more Academic Self-Concept stress ($r^2 = .28$). Similarly, a positive correlation between age and means on the Academic Self-Concept scale ($r = .50, p < .01$), reflects the grade variable results ($r^2 = .25$). Years of residency was positively correlated ($r = .40, p < .05$) to mean scores on the Emotional Manifestations of stress scale. ($r^2 = .16$). A negative correlation ($r = -.45$) was found between SES (school meal program participation) and scores on the Emotional Manifestations of stress scale as well ($r^2 = .20$). This indicates (as 1 = yes, 2 = no) that students from economically-deprived households (receiving free or reduced meals) tended to have higher scores on the Emotional Manifestations of stress scale. There was a negative correlation ($r = -.43$) found between special education and the Emotional Manifestations of stress scale. This indicates (as 1 = yes, 2 = no) that children receiving special education services tended to have higher scores on the Emotional Manifestations of stress scale ($r^2 = .18$). All of the

above r values were above .38, which for a sample size of 28 indicates a true and meaningful relationship at the .05 significance level (Gay, 1996).

No significant correlations were found for the above variables with any other subscales. Additionally, no significant correlations were found for ESL instruction, or any parent variables (number of parents in the home, mother's or father's education).

A portion of the interviews was analyzed quantitatively as well, to examine the relationships between different student characteristics and responses to interview questions. ANOVA or Welch/Brown-Forsythe tests were conducted to compare group means on the following sections of the interview: Engagement, More Engagement, Teacher Relationships, and Teacher Perceptions. For this segment of analysis, responses included for each section were those in which participants responded on Likert-style questions only.⁹

A significant difference was found between means for boys ($M = 2.97$, $SD .75$) and girls ($M = 1.89$, $SD .83$) on the teacher perception scale ($F [1, 11] = 5.95$, $p = .03$, $\epsilon^2 = .29$), meaning that boys had more negative perceptions. A significant difference ($F [1, 11] = 7.40$, $p = .02$, $\epsilon^2 = .34$) was found for the special education variable on the Teacher Perception scale, where students receiving special education services ($M = 3.25$, $SD .77$) had more negative perceptions of teachers than non-special education students ($M = 2.0$, $SD .76$). For the ESL variable, a significant difference ($F [1, 11] = 6.70$, $p = .03$, $\epsilon^2 = .32$) was found on the Teacher Relationship scale, in which ESL students ($M = 5.37$, $SD 1.38$)

⁹ Teacher Relationships scale: (negative) 1 = not at all, 4 = in the middle, 7 = very much (positive); Teacher Perceptions scale: (positive) 1 = all, 2 = most, 3 = half, 4 = a few, 5 = none (negative). No relationships were found with the Engagement sections.

had more positive relationships with teachers than did non-ESL students ($M = 3.11$, $SD = 1.01$).

Significant differences ($F [4, 8] = 7.02$, $p = .01$, $\eta^2 = .67$) were also found for grade, on the Teacher Relationship section. Post hoc multiple comparisons (Tukey-Kramer test) revealed significant differences ($p = .03$) between students in first grade ($M = 6.25$, $SD = .50$) and those in third grade ($M = 3.17$, $SD = 1.18$), and between first graders ($M = 6.25$, $SD = .50$) and fifth graders ($M = 2.67$, $SD = .94$) ($p = .01$). These results indicate that younger students perceived teacher relationships to be better than older students.

No significant differences were found on the age, years of residency, or the free/reduced meal variable. Also, unless noted above, no significant differences existed for groups on other sections of the interview.

Bivariate correlational procedures were also conducted (Pearson's and point biserial) to explore the relationships of those same variables to the interview subsection means. For gender, a negative correlation ($r = -.59$, $p < .05$) was found on the Teacher Perception section. This signifies that female gender (coded "2") was associated with more positive perceptions of teachers. The coefficient of determination (r^2) value of .35 indicates that 35% of the variance in means on the Teacher Perception section could be explained by the variance in gender. Grade had a negative correlation ($r = -.74$, $p < .01$) to Teacher Relationships, indicating that higher grade level was associated with more negative teacher relationships ($r^2 = .55$). Grade was positively correlated with Teacher Perception ($r = .64$, $p < .05$), similarly signifying that higher grade level was associated with negative perceptions of teachers ($r^2 = .41$). A similar relationship resulted with the age variable, but only for Teacher Relationships, where the negative correlation ($r = -.60$,

$p < .05$) indicated that older children tended to have more negative relationships with teachers ($r^2 = .36$). Years of residency was negatively correlated with Teacher Relationship ($r = -.72, p < .01, r^2 = .52$) and positively associated with Teacher Perception ($r = .79, p < .01, r^2 = .62$), indicating that longer length of residency was related to more negative teacher relationships and perceptions. Special education was negatively correlated ($r = .63, p < .05$) to Teacher Perceptions, indicating that receiving special education services (coded “1”) was related to more negative perceptions of teachers ($r^2 = .40$). ESL resulted in a negative relationship ($r = .62, p < .05$) to Teacher Relationships, meaning that ESL instruction was related to more positive relationships with teachers ($r^2 = .38$). There were no significant correlations for Free/Reduced lunch and any of the interview sections.

Further support for this research question can be found in the following discussion of themes, where interview data reveal further influences of contextual factors. Results for Research Question 4, concerning positive aspects of schooling, sources of support can be found in the discussion of themes. Recommendations and implications will be addressed in the next chapter.

Themes

Through analysis of the interviews, three major themes emerged: *Expectations*, *Priorities: Learning, Behavior, and Performance*, and *Supportive Relationships*. For all three themes, although there were some specific questions which asked about those topics, content related to the themes arose throughout the interviews, developing the patterns that will be discussed here. It is important to note that in all three themes, both negative and positive examples of the same concept are included, which adds detail and

definition to the theme, but also shapes the developed ideas. Also, it should be emphasized that the themes are highly interrelated. Not only does some content overlap into other themes, but the themes are connected in such a way that a fuller picture of the school experience is captured. This interrelationship will be discussed throughout the description of themes.

Additionally, two broad descriptive categories were also developed. One, *Issues of Immigration*, addresses this paper's emphasis on the immigrant experience in the context of the exploration of the school experience. The other, *Challenges*, relates the challenges that children spoke of that hinder them in school.

Expectations

Participants' perceptions regarding expectations were expressed in two ways. They expressed their expectations of others (teachers and family) and of themselves in their schooling. They also related the expectations that others have of them for their education. Further, students made references to actions and consequences, and pleasing their parents, both of which show the awareness and the importance of expectations.

The children in this study expressed what they desired and expected in a teacher. First and foremost, they want the teacher to give them attention. Several students noted the importance that the teacher "answers my questions," "she talks to me," (*me habla*), giving them desired attention. Jasmín, a third grader, said that the teacher makes her feel part of the class because "she calls on me when I want to say things, and every morning she greets me." (*me llama cuando yo quiero decir cosas, y todas las mañanas ella me saluda*). Alternatively, lack of attention was also noted. Children felt left out when the teacher paid more attention to other students, or didn't include them in activities.

Participants also talked about the way teachers support and treat their students. Students want to be treated with respect; one girl noted how the teacher calls on her when not raising her hand when she's not paying attention, others didn't want the teacher to yell at the class a lot. As Maribel stated, "I like the other teacher because she usually doesn't scream, she only explains to us." Students repeatedly mentioned that they like their teachers because "she treats me well" (*me trata bien*). Participants also expected teachers to help them learn, and help them with problems with other students.

Throughout the interviews, children also expressed their desire for teachers to be fun and to provide interesting activities. The privileges and rewards that teachers gave were also important: taking them on field trips, letting them enjoy free time, and taking them outside to study or learn. Several students expressed that a teacher shows she cares by giving fun things to her students.

Participants also revealed their expectations of their parents regarding schooling. They expected support from the parents on varying levels, and likewise expected consequences from parents when doing poorly. More specifically, students expected their parents to be advocates for them in school, to talk to school staff about problems or complaints. Aracelli, a second grader said her parents would talk to teacher if she was unjustly accused, "because they tell me that if the teacher yells at me when I don't do anything, that I tell them, and nothing will happen to me" (*Porque ellos me dicen que si la maestra luego me regaña cuando no hago nada, que yo les diga y no me pasa nada*). In the same way, Jasmín's parents would help her with a problem with the teacher: "yes, they can help me so that the teacher listens to me" (*sí, me pueden ayudar en que me oiga*

la maestra). Students would also solicit their parents' help to talk to their children's classmates when there were problems with peers. Araceli, mentioned above, said,

they also tell me that if someone does something to me, that, many times, it'll be that they'll go to talk to someone...if my mom doesn't work, she'll go and talk, and if my dad doesn't work, he'll talk...with the mothers of the children. (*ellos también me dicen que si alguien me hace algo que, muchas veces así que ellos van a hablar uno...si mi mamá no trabaja, ella va a hablar, no, y si mi papá no trabaja, el va a hablar ...pues, con las mamás de los [niños].*)

Similarly, Angela stated that her father would talk to the children who are mean to her (Porque mi papá les dice a los niños).

Children also had expectations for themselves. They had behavioral expectations for themselves in class. For instance, José said, "the good children be quiet and try to ignore them [the bad children]." Araceli also sets up expectations about behavior, how she keeps herself from getting in trouble: "I say that I'm not going to do it, that I'm not going to misbehave." (*digo que no lo voy a hacer, ya no me voy a portar mal*).

In terms of school work, students also held expectations for themselves. Eddie, a first grader said simply, "I know to work on the things the teacher left us." Isabel, another first grader responded the same, "I'm never not going to do [my work]" (Porque nunca no lo voy a hacer). Students framed their work as something they have to do, and something they want to do, in most cases. Araceli said this in regards to self-expectations: "Because I have to behave, I have to do the work, I have to do what my dad and mom tell me...and that's it." (*Porque tengo que comportarme bien, tengo que hacer la tarea, tengo que hacer lo que mi papá me diga, y mi mamá...y ya*).

Parent and teacher expectations are also clear to this group of students. Through the interviews, it became evident that there were two ways in which parent and teacher expectations were relayed to children: through their words, and through their actions. Children retold what their parents and teachers said and did, and these words and actions contained messages of expectation.

Parent messages. Children could directly quote their parents about what they say to them about education. Parent messages revolved around the value of education, working hard, and behaving.

Parents told their children about the value and importance of going to school and of learning. Several children, when asked what makes them go to school when they don't feel like going, responded that their parents made them go: "they want me to learn and know how to do stuff" (Alejandro); "[mom] encourages me by telling me... 'You won't learn nothing and when you grow up you're not going to know nothing.'" (Maribel); "she tells me to go to school, so I can learn more and don't miss any work" (Carlos); "my mom tells me that they'll teach me many things there" (*mi mamá dice que alla me enseñan tantas cosas*) (Angela).

Children also reflected parent messages about working hard in school. Children absorbed their parents' determination to perform in school. Emilia's parents tell her that she has to work ("*Me dicen que tengo que trabajar*"), and Beto's mother helps him "by telling me to listen to the teacher." Angela does her work even when it's boring "because my dad tells me to" (*porque mi papá me dice*). All students said that their parents very much want them to do well in school and follow school rules.

Parents also gave messages about behavior. Carlos's mother tells him "listen to the teacher, don't listen to your classmates all the time" and to "respect everybody in the neighborhood, help the elder people and stuff." His brother, Alejandro, says the same: "my dad tells me not to fight." Parents gave other general messages about behavior, such as Emilia's parents: "they tell me that I have to behave well" (*me dicen que me tengo que comportar bien*).

Parents demonstrated their expectations through their actions as well. Children relayed how their parents took them to school each day, set rules for them, and had them complete their homework. Maribel said her mother helps her with study habits, recopying notes from class when she's having difficulty. A few children told of how they get punished if they misbehave or do poorly in school. More than half of the children said their parents sometimes attend school meetings or teacher conferences, reinforcing the importance of school. Isabel said that her father often goes to talk to the teacher, saying "he goes and he gives her the same question...he asks the teacher if I behave myself" (*Él va y la deja la misma pregunta....le pregunta a la maestra si me comporto bien*). Even though she doesn't necessarily like it, she knows what her father expects from her at school.

Teacher messages. As with their parents, children could also perceive what their teachers expected through their words and actions. Teachers set behavioral expectations for their students. Carlos says his teacher tells them to behave and respect, and that he tries not to get in trouble "because in school they tell us 'you're the oldest ones in the school, so you should show an example for the children.'" He referred to this again when talking about why it's important not to get in trouble. His brother, Alejandro, also

responds to his teacher's expectations, saying, "first I do something wrong and she tells me to do it, calls my name and tells me to stop doing that or you're going to get in trouble. And I stop." The children recounted how their teachers always told them to behave, to listen, and to be quiet. Also, in telling about the children who their teachers do and do not like, most of the children responded with behavior in mind. Teachers get mad at children who are mean or disrespectful, don't listen or obey, fight, or do not follow rules; they like kids who are respectful, helpful, listen and obey.

Participants also mentioned teacher messages that held expectations about their performance. Teachers tell them to work hard, to learn more, to complete work and be mindful of grades. In many cases, these expectations translated to confidence for the children. Almost all of the respondents felt that all or most of their teachers believe they can do well in school, and all children said that their teachers very much wanted them to do well in school.

Though less so, children sensed that teachers also demonstrated their expectations through their actions. Through teacher incentives and punishments, children learned what was expected of them academically and behaviorally. Additionally, one student, Maribel, commented how her teacher talks about their going to college and encourages them to get good grades.

Actions and consequences. Students were motivated to strive towards expectations by connecting consequences to actions. Children talked about earning incentives for good behavior and performance. José made this connection clearly, saying, "because you have to work hard to get fun things like a present, a party" and that "the teacher gives you a present when you're good". Other children agreed with this, noting

that if you work hard and behave you can go on fieldtrips, get prizes, or get to help the teacher. Maribel also mentioned this as a motivator at home, saying that her mother will use rewards to encourage her to go to school, and how her mother “gets happy when I get certificates of attendance.” José also made connections to consequences in the future. He said this about doing well in school: “because if you get good grades, you could be a special thing when you grow up, you could be someone special.”

Participants also alluded to negative consequences. Schools shaped their students’ behavior with punishments or phone calls home, the possibility of suspension. Students felt it was important to stay out of trouble so that they wouldn’t be in trouble with their teachers or parents, or be suspended. Even in first grade, Isabel says her friend “tells me to obey, to behave, because if not they’ll put me out of school” (*me dice que obedece, que me comporta bien, porque si no, me van a sacar de la escuela*).

Wanting to please their parents was another important consequence that motivated students and kept them aware of expectations. Students talked about the importance of their teachers’ sharing their progress with their parents, giving them reports, or showing them work. This motivated them to behave well and to work hard.

Participants consistently referred to wanting to please their parents as the reason why they try to work hard and do well. Some said their parents would get angry if they didn’t have good grades, but most focused on making their parents happy. Both Eddie and Emilia said that they want to get good grades “so that your parents will be happy.” Araceli said that it was important to do well in order “to not disappoint my parents” (*para que no les haga quedar mal con mis papás*), fully aware of her parents’ expectations. A

few students even said that the reason they would go to high school and college would be because “my mom and my dad are going to be happy” (Lorenzo)

Students also wanted their behavior to please their parents. Several students noted that it was important for them to stay out of trouble so that the teacher would not tell their parents, or so they wouldn’t get in trouble with their parents, or so their parents would be proud of them.

Clearly, the children in this study have a strong awareness of what is expected of them and in many cases how to fulfill those expectations. They learn what is expected of them from their teachers and families, and see the value of working towards these expectations.

Priorities: Learning, Behavior, and Performance

The awareness and motivation of expectation shapes students’ perceptions of what is important in school. Students’ responses throughout the interviews communicated their priorities at school. Their emphasis on learning, behavior and performance demonstrates that they take school seriously, even the youngest children. A focus on the future was also evident, looking forward to jobs and further education. Their perceptions are unique because they not only tell what is important to them, but also tell what takes precedence in importance.

Learning. Participants’ responses reflected the importance of learning, and the desire to learn. When asked why it is important to get good grades, do homework, go to school, or graduate high school, often the answer was simply “to learn.” Although, as noted above, many of these factors were also tied to expectations or consequences, learning surfaced as a central purpose for many of these children. Students said they

would finish a boring assignment just for the sake of learning, or improving their English. Additionally, when asked what is needed to do well in school and to go to college, several children made references to learning.

Students also expressed the desire to learn in school; they enjoy learning. When children spoke about why they like school, field trips, or their favorite class, many times they said it was because they learn, what they learn about, and how they learn.

Behavior. Students also saw behavior as important to their schooling, making connections between behavior and education. All of them said that it is very important or pretty important to stay out of trouble, and most children said they hardly ever or never are in trouble. Almost all participants said they really wanted to follow school rules, although some admitted that they actually don't follow the rules all the time.

Seeing behavior as important, respondents reflected negatively on other students who misbehave. Two children noted that classmate's misbehavior was something they didn't like about school. When responding to the question "What makes you proud about your school?" Karina answered "what I don't like about the others is that sometimes the kids are bad" (*lo que no me gusta de las otras, es ya que a veces son malos los niños*).

Consequently, behavior was also seen as important in teacher and peer relationships. Two girls said that their teacher doesn't care about them that much because they misbehave, and when asked to describe the children the teachers like, almost all children referred to behavior and respect. For José, behavior was important in his friendships. In describing the children who get in trouble, he said "some of them are not my friends. Some are bad, they yell at the teacher, and there are some [who are

annoying].” When describing the students who the teachers like, he reported “my friends. They’re good, their kind.”

Participants viewed behavior as critical in doing well in school. When asked what people have to do to do well in school and go to college, the responses were overwhelmingly about behavior. The perception of many of these children is that you cannot do well in school if you don’t behave. Araceli reported that her teachers only “in the middle” wanted her to go to college. When asked why, she said it’s because of her behavior: “I misbehave” (*yo me comporto mal*). She went on to say that the teacher would not think she’d be able to go to college, with her behavior. Other children equated good behavior with doing well in school. Emilia said that she wouldn’t like her classmates to see her report card because it may have bad things on it and, “[they’re going to think] that I misbehave” [*van a pensar] que yo me porto mal*). José also equated the two. When asked, “How can you tell that your teachers want you to do well in school?” he answered “by them talking to you ...about your behavior.”

Performance. Working hard and doing well were also priorities for respondents. They felt that it was important to try hard in school, and many of them like when school work is difficult. They saw working hard and paying attention as pathways to doing well in school and going to college, and saw other things as interfering. Angela said her class is not fun, because “some children play [when they should be] working” (*algunos niños juegan [cuando deben estar] trabajando*). Beto echoed this saying it’s important to have friends to talk to, but it’s not very important “cause maybe they talk to you too much during class.” For this group, focusing on school work is more important to them than making friends.

Getting good grades and performing well in school were ultimate priorities for participants. They did their homework, worked hard, attended school everyday, and attempted difficult work all for the purpose of achieving good grades. Making these grades was also connected to their endeavors of passing and progressing to the next grade.

Future. Looking at participants visions and aspirations for the future somewhat overlaps with the concept of expectations; however the interviews show this topic more of an important focus for the children, than as an expectation of what will come. Whether they were referring to their next grade in school, or college and an occupation when they're older, these children were forward-thinking, and saw the future as an important reason to do well in school today.

Students saw homework completion and good grades as important steps to furthering their education. Many were focused on passing on to the next grade. Others, like Jasmin, wanted to be prepared to do the work in the next grade; she said that it's important to do homework, "because when I go to fourth [grade], I can do the work" (*Porque cuando vaya a cuarto, que pueda usar toda las planas, las tareas*). Beto, a fifth grader, said that the reason he wants to get good grades and wants to graduate from high school is "because I want to go to college." His brother, Carlos, also a fifth grader also had the same reason to graduate from high school. The viewpoints of these brothers is important for two reasons: first, there is the possibility of continuity in expectations from parents, passed on to their children; second, both these students receive special education services.

In terms of aspirations for college, almost all of the children said they want to go to college, and feel they will go to college. This is echoed in their perceptions that their teachers and parents also want them to go to college. They want to go to college to continue learning and to get a job. Araceli had a very determined response: “because I believe that school is more important than not studying” (*Porque yo creo que la escuela es más importante que andar afuera que en estudios*). Only one student thought he wouldn’t be able to go to college, saying “it’s much harder than regular school. I don’t think I could do it.”

Participants also had visions for their futures in terms of jobs. Several had aspirations to be teachers, doctors or firefighters. José tied both grades and behavior to a future job, saying

Because if you get good grades, you could be a special thing when you grow up, you could be someone special [like] a singer, or a rapper....[It’s important to stay out of trouble] because sometimes you might not be those things, like a singer or a rapper...no, cause that’s kind of the opposite, because if you be bad, you won’t get a good job.

Similarly, Alejandro also made this connection, saying that it’s important to graduate from high school “cause you can get your own job, get your own car, you can live the life you want to live...you can live anything you want.”

Supportive Relationships

In the awareness of expectations and the setting of priorities, children were supported by relationships with those around them. As was mentioned before, students identified parents, teachers, family and friends as supports in school. The support they

receive from parents and family comes in the form of encouragement, expectations, and advocacy. Family members taking action in schooling matters, or speaking with their children about the value of education, was a source of support for these students.

Examples of mothers checking book bags for homework, reviewing math at home, and parents giving clear messages about what is expected at school all point to the support families give to schooling. Children saw their parents as advocates, willing to stand for them in problems with teachers or peers. The relationships that grew out of this support appeared close, as in most cases, children's and parents ideas in education were aligned. Only in a few cases was there a mention of a gap in this relationship: children deceiving their parents about being sick, or not wanting to complete homework.

Support from teachers took on another form, as it was more work related than a personal relationship. Teachers were cited as a main source of support in academics and school-related matters, but less so for personal issues or problems. Children felt like they could go to their teachers for help on academic problems. Except for a few children, the relationship with the teacher appeared more of a professional one, in which the teacher's role is to teach, help, protect and discipline.

For a few children, though, the teacher had a more affective role in their school lives. Karina, a fourth grader, said "they are good to me. Like, they love me and I love them" (*son buenos conmigo. Como, me quieren a mi, y yo a ellas*). A fifth grade boy, Carlos, noted this role for teachers:

teachers that can really help you, like when bad kids are there they can help you with that stuff....Because sometimes they're nice and they help you...and help you when you don't feel so good and you have a bad time with your friends.

But he also noticed a lack of caring in some teachers, saying, “Some teachers don’t even, don’t care if you’re in trouble, or people hit you or bother you or do stuff to you, because sometimes they defend the other person instead of you.” He expects a more nurturing relationship. The interesting observation to make about these similar viewpoints is that they are shared by two very different children: Carlos is a fifth grade boy who has been in the U. S. for seven years, and Karina is a fourth grade girl with limited English who only arrived seven months before. The few other children who shared this idea were mostly first grade girls.

Friends as a source of support arose as an interesting topic. Students cited the support of friends less than both teachers and parents, and generally did not think it was very important to have friends in school. Of the children who mentioned friends as supports, the overwhelming majority were less English-proficient girls; only a few references were made by boys who spoke English well. For both of these boys, their comments revolved around how friends could help them more with school work, not necessarily with emotional support. “Because sometimes [my friend] helps me in all my work, the parts that I don’t understand,” said José. Carlos’s comment was more broad, saying it’s important to have friends “so that when you need help, you have friends to help you.”

For the girls with more limited English however, friends were their main source of support. One child, Isabel, identified friends as her source of support for all but one of the social support questions, saying about her friend “she knows everything” (*ella sabe todo*), because she knows English and knows the school. Their friends helped them emotionally, as Aracelli said, “so I don’t cry very much” (*para que no llore mucho*).

Their friends give them advice, help them know the rules of school, and help them communicate with the teacher. Karina said that her friends also even help her parents when there is a problem at school. Friends also help these girls with school work and learning. Isabel said that having friends was important because “they teach me English” (*me enseñan inglés*). When Karina was asked why it’s important to have friends in school, her simple response was “because they help me with everything” (*que me ayudan para todo*). It is evident that English knowledge and length of residency plays a factor in peer relationships and social support.

Issues of Immigration

Although no interview questions specifically addressed immigration, interview data were coded for references specific to issues surrounding being an immigrant, including language, to decipher the interaction of immigration with educational experience. Surprisingly, these issues did not arise very frequently in the interviews.

The two children who spoke about issues surrounding immigration were English speakers, in third and fourth grades. José, the third grader, gave this rationale for stating that it’s not so important to go to school every day: “because what if your family, that’s in another part of earth, and she comes that day of school, so we don’t go to school, cause you stay with her.” Clearly, he felt that there are valid reasons, besides being sick, to stay home from school. This is not an answer that a non-immigrant child would necessarily give. The fourth grader, Maribel, made a reference to her home country when speaking about going to college. She probably will go to college, she says, but “my dad says we’re going to Mexico in about 2 years, but I don’t think so, I might not go. I might stay with my Godmother and study hard here.” She continued, saying that she may travel back after

the university “to visit my grandmother, my family that is there.” For this fourth grader’s vision of her future education, the fact that she has immigrated plays a major role.

Not surprisingly, the majority of references to language came from those children who had very limited English. In participants’ speaking about language, two concepts emerged: English as a challenge, and English as a driving force behind education.

A few students mentioned their limited English as a source of frustration in school. As Karina, a fourth grader who came to the U. S. just 7 months before the interview, stated, [I feel frustrated in school because] sometimes I can’t do the things. So I don’t do them because I don’t know, I can’t do it. It takes effort.” (*A veces no puedo hacer las cosas. Entonces no les hago porque no sé, porque no le puedo hacer. Cuesta.*). Karina also said that she felt only a few of her teachers think she can do well in school, “because I don’t know English” (*porque no sé inglés.*). Other students reflected on the possibility of their difficulties with school work arising from their challenges with English. Angela, a first grader, gets frustrated because the teacher gives difficult work, difficult sometimes because it’s in English. Observing her in her struggles to complete homework confirmed this possibility. Another student, Araceli, doesn’t like hard work because “I think a lot, and when we need to finish, I still haven’t finished...the work” (*Que pienso mucho, y cuando hay que terminar, todavía no me termine...el trabajo*). She noted that other children finish before her, like her friend, a native-born Latina with a good command of English. When asked if she thought it difficult because it’s in English, she agreed that it might be the reason.

Limited English can complicate other components of school life as well. Two participants who were very recently arrived talked about various school events as third-

party processes, with an English-speaking friend intervening. Karina talked about needing friends for advice (“my friends...sometimes, as there are so many things, they tell me what’s best and all that” (*mis amigas...a veces, como hay muchas cosas, y entonces me dicen de cuales son mejores y algo asi*); in deciding how to act in class (“the teacher tells my friend and my friend tells me [the rules]” (*la maestra le dice a mi amiga, y mi amiga me dice a mi [las reglas]*); to read her report card (“because they tell me how I’m doing and all, because the grades are in English and I can’t figure out what they say, they tell me what it means” (*porque...todos me dicen como voy y todo, como están en inglés las notas entonces yo no puedo que dicen, entonces ellos me dicen que quiere decir*); even to facilitate parent conferences (“they never come to talk to teacher because they don’t know English. [If there’s a problem] with the teacher, I tell my friends to help me or my parents” (*No [vienen] porque no saben el ingles. [Si ellos tuvieron un problema] con la profesora... yo les dijera a mis amigas que me ayudaran a mi mamá o a mi*).

Both Karina and first grader Isabel relate how classmates are used to communicate with the teacher. Karina says, “Sometimes she tells my classmates to help me. Always when I don’t know something, she tells me they can help me with whatever....they help me with everything” (*A veces le dice a mis compañeras que me ayude. Siempre cuando no sé algo me dice que me ayudan con cualquiera....Que me ayudan para todo*). Isabel mentioned the same friend for almost all of the social support questions, even saying, “she knows everything” (*ella sabe todo*). She says, “because she also helps me to say that I want to drink water and everything” (*Porque ella también me ayuda a decir que quiero tomar agua y todo*).

Students with limited English also describe learning English as a driving force behind education; for them, it is both the reason for and the outcome of school. Jasmin, a third grader, said what she liked about school is that she likes to learn English. She also noted that it's important to get good grades "because I can learn English" (*Porque puedo aprender el inglés*). When answering the question about finishing reading a boring homework assignment, she said she would finish reading it "to learn English. I've said that a lot of times, right?" (*Aprender el ingles...¿yo he dicho esto muchas veces, no?*)

Isabel felt that it was important to go to school, "because [if not] I won't learn any English" (*porque luego no voy a aprender nada el inglés*); important to finish high school, "until we learn English, so we can learn to say and what they say" (*hasta que sacamos el inglés para que lo aprendemos a decir, y lo que dicen*); and important to have friends "because they teach me English" (*porque...que me enseñen ingles*). When asked what you have to do to go to college, her response was "go everyday, learn English well" (*todo los días ,que aprenden bien el inglés*). Learning English is of utmost importance for her in her schooling.

Finally, there were references to the ESL teacher who supported students' English learning. Past and present ESL students noted that their ESL teacher helps them and cares for them. For them, the ESL teacher was a special person in the school building.

Challenges

Although students were generally positive in their perspectives, the issue of various challenges also arose, which needs to be addressed. The school challenges that emerged from the interviews took two forms: perceived challenges and difficulties, and interferences with education. A few students talked about how they didn't like particular

subjects because they are too difficult and they don't know what to do. Two students said that the difficulty of work sometimes makes them want to avoid school. Frustration was a factor for several participants. Their efforts to work hard were frustrating, either "because I know I won't get everything right" (Alejandro), or because "I work hard, but sometimes I can't, because some work I just don't know" (*bueno, trabajo mucho, pero a veces no puedo, porque unas tareas no me la sé*) (Jasmín). Interestingly, only three children agreed that they felt frustrated at school; two were limited English proficient, one received special education services. However, more children noted that they felt frustrated or uncomfortable at school because of the difficulty of work.

Children were also challenged by distractions from school work, or things that interfered with school. Several children mentioned that they don't like when work is boring, and when you "do the same thing every day." For a few children, this boredom made them not want to come to school sometimes or complete work. Feeling lazy or wanting to play instead of work was also noted as interfering with school work. Some children expressed that they sometimes didn't want to go to school or do their homework because they wanted to play, watch TV or have fun. When parents weren't around, the children noted, they were able to avoid their work and play instead. Also, one child noted that sometimes he doesn't do homework because he has to watch his brothers when his parents are not there.

The mixed-methods design of this investigation produced a variety of results which aid in the understanding of Latino immigrants' experiences in elementary school. A discussion of the meaning of the results and their implications follows.

Chapter 5: Discussion

In this discussion, I will review the results of the study as they relate to the goal of this research and make connections to past research endeavors. The results will be discussed in terms of the proposed research questions, and the study's limitations will be addressed. I will end with the study's implications for research, policy, and practice.

Although there is a growing body of research investigating the school experiences of immigrant youth, the extension of this research to multiple contextual factors is still needed. The increasing numbers of immigrant students, and their variety of strengths and needs demands that research and practice address the dynamics of this population and their interactions with education. The goal of this research was to contribute to the awareness of immigrant experiences in schools, specifically focusing on young, Latino, first-generation immigrants who are minorities in their schools. Towards that goal, the study was successful in the inclusion of participants with these characteristics, and gaining information about their school experiences and attitudes. In the analysis of this information, attempts were made to explore differences and influences among the contextual variables under examination in this study.

The first research question concerned these immigrant students' school stress. As a group, participants had relatively low levels of stress and manifestations of stress, as indicated by the School Situations Survey.¹⁰ Combined with data from the score means for each subscale, tabulations of scores in the high range indicate that this group experiences stress in this (descending) order: peer interactions, teacher interactions, and

¹⁰ For individual students, 8 of 28 children did not have any high scores on any subscale; 8 had 1 score in the high range. So, 12 children had at least two subscale scores (out of seven) in the high range. Scores in the high range were most frequently in the Physiological manifestations, Peer Interactions and Teacher Interactions subscales.

academic stress, and less in academic self-concept. This is consistent with interview data, which indicated some students had difficulty communicating with or complying with teachers, that fighting and getting along was a concern for some students, and some children were challenged academically. However, students felt supported by the relationships and expectations of their parents and teachers, which could ameliorate any strains on academic self-concept, and school stress in general.

Also, physiological manifestations of stress were more common than either emotional or behavioral responses. This last result could be explained possibly by the instrument and the age of the children; young students experiencing stomachaches or headaches may not be able to differentiate the source of the symptom as stress-related or physical. Perhaps follow-up or clarification questions could have been used in conjunction with the SSS to more specifically address the issue of stress and its manifestations. Additionally, the proportion of girls to boys could have lessened the occurrence of behavioral manifestations of stress, as boys are more likely to externalize their stress (Kauffman, 1997).

The second research question addresses the school attitudes and experiences of the immigrant children in this study. Students were generally positive about teachers, friends, learning, and the school. This is consistent with past research with other populations of immigrant students, especially recent arrivals (Brittain, 2002; Garcia Coll, et al., 2005), but inconsistent with some results from older or mixed-aged samples (McLaughlin, et al., 2002; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). It is possible that students may have been hesitant, or too respectful to critique school or teachers. Like the students in the McLaughlin study, children felt liked by their class, but not necessarily accepted and

treated well. Students also made frequent mention of fighting in their school; this is also a common finding among immigrant students and the schools they attend (Brittain, 2002; Jaycox, et al., 2002, Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Some evidence indicates that the attitudes of immigrant students about aspects of school differ from those of American-born students. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco's (1995) study of adolescent school attitudes and achievement demonstrated that white American and Mexican American youth were more likely to be ambivalent or negative about their school and teachers than immigrant students. Also, a common complain among native students was boredom, which was not an issue for immigrants in their study or in the present study.

Students in this study identified various sources of social support for their education, most prominently, teachers and family. Support from family has been documented in the literature (Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), but support from teachers has not. A possible explanation is that teachers who have a smaller population of immigrant students in their classrooms can offer more support to them than could a teacher overwhelmed by these students' needs.

As in studies with older children, the participants in this investigation valued education and saw the importance of working hard and getting good grades (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). However, their emphasis on behavior as a vehicle for school success may be a result of their age. Their apparent compliance and agreement with academic and behavioral expectations of the American school system may be a product of their focus on behavior, or of their young age. To compare with an older U. S.- born sample, the native students in Suárez-Orozco &

Suárez-Orozco's (1995) were less likely than immigrants to note learning, studying or doing well as important to school. White American students were more likely than immigrants to focus on finishing school, or simply getting through.

The children's diverse opinions regarding the importance of having friends in school, and being liked by the teacher were most interesting. As this has hitherto not been addressed in the literature, it is worth further investigation. For children who had very limited English, friends were a significant source of support and help; for other children, peer friendship was not as important to their school experience as focusing on their work. It is interesting to note that in Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco's (1995) study, Latino immigrant students were much more likely than native-born white or Latino students to agree that school work was more important than friends.

Also, while students communicated that their teachers can affect their affinity for school, they did not see it as important to be liked by the teacher. This result merits further inquiry, as a caring teacher who has a personal relationship with students was seen by Angela Valenzuela (1999) as the determining factor in an immigrant students' education. It is possible that in this study, the children's attitudes could actually present as a defense mechanism; not having a personal, warm relationship with their teachers may have led some students to regard that relationship as unimportant, so as to diminish possible feelings of rejection. Alternatively, these students possibly see the teacher-student relationship as more of a professional relationship, in which the teacher's job is simply to teach. The students' perceptions of their teachers is particularly interesting in this case, as the teachers of the majority of these students were under great pressure by the school district, because the school had been classified as an underperforming school

by the state department of education.. At the conclusion of the study the school was actually reconstituted by the educational system, at which point all teachers were required to reapply for their positions in the school. As many Latino immigrant students are in urban, underperforming schools, it is important to consider not only the quality of teaching, but also the stress the teachers are under, their reactions to the pressure to perform, and the consequent relationships with their students.

Students in this study were aware of their teachers' and parents' high expectations for them, and reflected this with their own positive aspirations. This is consistent with several other studies involving adolescents (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001), and in Garcia Coll and colleagues' (2005) study of younger children. Similarly, in the U. S.-born samples in both Portes and Rumbaut's (2001) and Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco's (1995) studies, the students generally had high expectations for themselves, and second-generation students' parents talked to their children regularly about their educational futures. Students also appeared to be unaffected by their perceptions of their friends' aspirations; this is important as peer influence may be a factor in the decline in motivation for many immigrant children (Hernandez & Charney, 1998; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

Contextual variables and student characteristics were the focus of the third research question. Although only a few relationships proved to be significant, several of the relationships on the SSS were corroborated in the ANOVA and correlation tests. Both SES (as indicated by school meal program participation) and special education were related to higher levels of emotional responses to stress. This may indicate that the lives

of these children are already somewhat stressful, and school stress may be additive, and manifest itself in an emotional response.

Additionally, older grades and ages were both related to more academic self-concept stress. This could either be a reflection of the difficulty of schoolwork, or of the fact that both fifth graders received special education services and their confidence in their academic skills diminished.. Also, as students get older, they could develop a different understanding of school demands—perceiving more competition, greater differences in performance, the connection between achievement and its consequences—which causes them to view their own abilities differently. Perhaps they realize at these older ages that simply “behaving” and “listening to the teacher” are not enough to achieve academically in their schools. Further, the demands at the older grades may be additive. For students who have immigrated earlier, there may be a continuous building-up of frustrations and deficiencies year to year; for more recent immigrants, the more academic demands of the higher grades may be even more frustrating and confounding when presented in another language. It would be interesting to examine this change with age, as well as the differences between students’ perceptions of their achievement and their actual achievement, as this may reveal further information about their attitudes towards school and their progress.

A gender difference was also found, in that boys tended to have higher levels of behavioral responses to stress than girls. As mentioned earlier, this difference may have been a result of the smaller sample of males and boys’ externalizing tendencies. Additionally, gender differences have been consistently evident in school attitudes (Fuligni, 1997; García Coll, et al., 2005; Qin-Hilliard, 2003).

One result that is rather interesting is that length of residency was correlated to more emotional responses to stress. Gender should not be a factor, as the children with longer terms of residency were about evenly divided between girls and boys. The length of residency variable in general merits much more investigation. Surprisingly, analysis did not show ESL instruction and parent variables as having a relationship with school stress. Investigations with larger sample sizes and even more diversity and range of variables could clarify the nature of these possible relationships.

In the analyses of student characteristics and the interview data, it is interesting to note that no characteristic had a significant relationship with the Engagement or More Engagement sections of the interview. However, for most of the relationships concerning Teacher Relationships and Perceptions, associations were found in both the ANOVA and correlation tests. Girls were more likely to have positive teacher perceptions, but not necessarily relationships. This could be explained by the gender of their teachers (mostly female) or the aptitude for relationships that girls may have. Older children in higher grades were more likely to have negative perceptions of their teachers, which could be a reflection of acculturation, or the demands of work. Likewise, length of residency was related to negative teacher perceptions, possibly connected to the latter result.

Additionally, although ESL instruction was associated with more positive teacher relationships, special education was related to more negative teacher perceptions. This result could point to the support that ESL students seek in their teachers, and the challenges that children who receive special education services may encounter.

From the interview data, a few contextual influences emerged. First, the challenges of children who are limited English proficient led to academic frustration and

greater dependency on friends. Language and communication have been cited by older students as challenges in school (McLaughlin, et al., 2002) and English proficiency has been linked to better mental health outcomes for immigrants (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).

Additionally, older children and those with longer lengths of residency were more likely to focus on academics than behavior, but also tended to have more negative views of teachers, classmates and school in general. The first result is consistent with Garcia Coll study (2005) that did not show the typical decline in older students' aspirations and achievement. The second result is more consistent with Hernandez and Charney's (1998) and Portes and Rumbaut's (2001) observation that perceptions of teachers and school deteriorate as immigrant children become more assimilated.

Finally, the matter of minority status in schools, though it was not measurable in the quantitative data, did appear to have some influence, as observed in the interviews. The fact that children may be minorities in their schools is a definite factor in the education of students with limited English. Because they depend so heavily on friends for academic and social support and communication, it would appear that more co-ethnics in their schools would translate to more opportunities for friendship and support.

Additionally, for a few children race and culture did matter, and was noted by a child as young as six. For Karina, whose English was very limited, it mattered to her that there were only a few Spanish-speakers in her class, although she also said that she sometimes used the English-speaking students as supports as well. Another child, a first grader, was definitely aware of race in her classroom. She commented on the race of her teacher, that she liked her because she was "*blanca*" (white); also, she liked only the white and Latino students in her class. José noticed discrimination at his school, saying

that children say mean things to others, talk “about their skin”. He later clarified for me that it was “black kids to Hispanic kids.” The effects of discrimination, as discussed in the beginning of this paper, can be harmful, but could also be ameliorated by a stronger (Latino) group presence and identity.

The overrepresentation of Latino students in special education was not evident in this study; the percentage of the sample that was identified did not exceed the percentage of the general population in the school that was identified as eligible for special education services (14% of the sample, 15% of the school).¹¹ Although the students receiving special education services tended to be slightly more challenged academically and more negative about schoolwork and teachers, it is difficult to discern whether this was due to cultural factors or factors related to their immigrant status. Although it cannot be concretely asserted, upon assessing the quality of these schools, it is not difficult to imagine that the instructional approaches used may not have adequately addressed both these students’ academic needs and unique circumstances as immigrants.

The consideration of a minority Latino population in a school (as opposed to a majority) is an important factor in explaining the possible routes that teachers of immigrant students may take in making referral decisions. In schools where there is a high Latino population, teachers may be overwhelmed by the needs of their learners and refer challenged students because they can’t provide for them academically, and assume their difficulties are the result of a disability and not of a cultural, linguistic or instructional difference. On the other hand, in schools where Latinos are the minorities,

¹¹ The small sample size must be considered; what is being illustrated here is a face-value assessment. A better measure, however, would compare the percentage of Latinos in the school to the percentage of Latinos in special education (Artiles, et al., 2002).

teachers may hesitate in referring language minority students, as they may see the cultural and linguistic differences as the primary challenge. In this case, teachers may actually under refer students, not wanting to label as a disability a problem with acculturation or language acquisition. In a sense, they may give immigrants an “excuse” for their academic difficulties, but not more accurately assess their challenges, being more unfamiliar with their circumstances as immigrants.

Although generally the outcomes of this study were positive, there were a few challenges that emerged that could point towards possible special education referral. First, demographic, interview, and observational information indicated a few risk factors for referral, including low levels of parental education, high levels of poverty, limited English, academic challenges, and poor quality of schooling. There were also very few Spanish-speaking or bicultural personnel at the school who could help facilitate the teacher-student learning process, taking language and culture into consideration; this can allow for more cultural misunderstandings and misdiagnoses (Meyer & Patton, 2001; Voltz, et al., 2003) Also, students’ conceptions of doing well in school—behaving and listening to the teacher—could detract their focus from more rigorous academic behaviors and may delay their progress. Further, behavioral responses on the SSS for boys was more prevalent than for girls; if these boys are challenged academically and acting out, their teachers may more readily see this as cause for referral. Although it cannot be assumed that these factors will lead to special education referrals, they are worthy of attention when considering prevention and supports.

Last, to maintain focus on the strengths of these children and their families, several protective factors can be noted. Students’ overall positive attitude towards school

can first be counted as a point of resilience. Recent immigrants have generally noted more positive attitudes towards school than native-born or long-term residents, and this has been associated with better academic outcomes (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Also, the school support received from family could also protect these students from negative outcomes (Henderson & Mapp, 2002).

Additionally, teachers', students', and families' high expectations and aspirations for students are also resiliency factors which could indicate more successful academic outcomes (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995, 2001).

As seen in the discussion of the influence of contextual factors, the conceptual and theoretical framework guiding this investigation appear to apply to the results. The ecological-developmental theory proposed by Bronfenbrenner (1986) and García Coll and colleagues (1996) apply to several areas of influence on students' school attitudes and adjustment. In this investigation, because of the developmental stages of these children, parents and teachers were particularly influential, as evidenced by these children's awareness of adult expectations for them. Not surprisingly for this age level, the influence of peers was secondary to that of adults.

The influence of school social environment (minority status in schools) was less evident, except for the English language learners, as they relied heavily on other Spanish speakers in their school. This is a factor that merits further consideration, possibly as a control variable in a comparative study.

To the extent that parents' work schedules and English-speaking abilities and instances of racism influence these children's school experiences, these components of their exosystem and macrosystem also came to bear on their school lives. Additionally,

cultural influences of parent messages and expectations also had an effect on children in this study. Younger children are particularly affected by the variables which affect their parents; in later developmental stages, they may have further resources and abilities to draw from.

It is crucial to remember that the purpose of this study was not to generalize the results to all Latino immigrants, but to capture and explore the perceptions of this group of young Latino immigrants as minorities in their schools, perspectives which have not previously been investigated. To the extent that the sample reflected the characteristics and variables under investigation and the selection was purposive, the study has what Maxwell (1996, p. 97) calls internal generalizability, the generalizability of conclusions within the setting or group studied. In a qualitative sense, the external generalizability (the results being representative of the larger population) of the results lies in the assumption of “face generalizability” (Maxwell, 1996, p. 97). That is, there is no obvious reason not to believe that the results apply more generally. Additionally, the value of the resulting theories can be generalized (Maxwell, 1996). It is also important to consider the regional differences that may exist among immigrant populations. Though this study differentiated students as minorities in their schools, these results may not generalize to other areas of the United States where the immigrant population is also growing. Attitudes and policies towards immigrants may be different, as well as available resources and other region-specific considerations. This is an important factor to consider in future research, as well as interpreting the results of existing research.

Limitations of the Study

As in all studies, this investigation had limitations. The study was limited by time, as 6 months of observation and interviews cannot give an adequate reading of every aspect of the school experience involved in the study. A full school year may have been beneficial in providing a fuller picture of the group's school experiences and attitudes. It was helpful that the study took place toward the end of the school year, and that I had time to observe and interact with participants before the assessments and interviews were conducted.

Observing the students in their after-school program as opposed to their classrooms could also have limited the study's findings. Being able to observe students' interactions, activities and performance in the classroom may have given more shape and color to their reflections in answering my questions.

Although my interactions with the participants prior to data collection allowed for more comfort and openness in the interviews, my role as a volunteer tutor in their after-school program may have constricted some of their answers. Especially in light of these students' desire to please and respect, some responses may have been tempered by the fact they were speaking to an educator.

Limitations also existed in the study's design. The hesitancy and reservedness of immigrant parents made participant recruitment slow and limited, resulting in a small sample size. Better statistical comparisons and broader viewpoints could be achieved with a larger group of students. Also, a comparison group, of either native-born Latinos or other native peers, could have provided a fuller context for understanding the results of this study. Further, the research questions involved multivariate inquiries which were

addressed by bi-variate analyses, limiting the conclusions that can be drawn regarding isolated variables.

Implications

In the original research questions, it was proposed that the study's participants may have recommendations to improve their success in school. Although very few examples of recommendations arose directly from the interviews, the children's views of the positive and negative aspects of school and their perceived challenges and sources of stress can point to recommendations for not only practice, but also research, policy and training.

Implications for Research

Following the results of this study and its strengths and limitations, there remains great need for research with this population, to broaden and expand upon what is already known, and to continue to pursue answers to questions that persist:

1. What is the nature of immigrant children's perceptions of their immigrant experience and its interaction/influence on their education and school experience?
2. How do the school attitudes and perceptions of native-born children differ from that of young Latino immigrants, especially in terms of support, relationships, and achievement motivation?
3. Regarding the high achievement motivation of these children, and the documented decrease in motivation as immigrant children age, what are the resiliency factors that play a part in maintaining this momentum? What are the pathways towards adolescent success, including the influence of schools, families and peers?

4. What are the educational experiences and outcomes of specific groups in the immigrant population, including students receiving special education services, very recently arrived immigrants, and children with interrupted educations? What similarities and differences are there in these areas when comparing children who are minorities in their schools and those in schools with a majority of co-ethnics? How do schools in the same district, but with different populations, compare?
5. What interventions have been beneficial in the education of immigrant students? Have interventions had any effect on the academic performance, mental health and special education referrals of immigrant children?

Additionally, to track the different pathways that immigrant children take, there is a need for more longitudinal and comparative studies. Specifically addressing issues of immigration with children may also produce clear pictures of their perceptions and experiences, and give understanding to families and practitioners. Last, the pursuit of more in-depth, qualitative studies in which immigrant children's voices are made strong and clear, can both empower the immigrant community and give deeper meaning to the experiences and perceptions they share.

Further implications for research consider sampling, selection, and measurement. There needs to be consistency and care in the sampling procedures, to ensure there is even representation and no bias in the selection process. Latino immigrant children should be compared to native controls with similar characteristics, and with resident children of the same ethnicity. In this way, the immigration variable could be more isolated. Additionally, more studies which separate ethnicities will comment more on the cultural functioning of the family, and allow for a more focused study of backgrounds,

pathways and outcomes (Garcia-Coll & Magnuson, 1997). It is valuable to continue to analyze data by models of mediation and confounding factors, although the difficulty in separating some variables completely may be impossible (Athey & Ahearn, 1991; Garcia-Coll & Magnuson, 1997). More multivariate comparisons can explore the influence of specific variables, while controlling for others. The field is also in need of studies that measure positive coping strategies and other positive influences of the culture, family ties, and experience may have on child outcomes (Fuligni, 1998; Garcia-Coll & Magnuson, 1997).

Implications for Practice

Implications of this study for practice involve both families and educators. Because parents and families were cited by children in this study as primary motivators of their children's education, they need to be encouraged, supported, included and informed in their children's education. If immigrant children are keen to their families' messages and actions regarding education, the schools would benefit from keeping the parents informed about the expectations of the school, the progress of their children, and how best to support their academic and social growth. Instead of alienating immigrant parents, schools that include and support parents can harness the energy of their motivation and influence, and collaborate with them to best serve immigrant students.

In this study, it appeared that children greatly depend on their parents and had high expectations of their support; however, at the same time, children reported that their parents did not come to the school or talk to their teachers often. Research has noted many barriers to parent involvement that could make supporting their children in school more challenging (Bernhard & Freire, 1999; Harry, 1992; McLaughlin, et al., 2002). Addressing this issue could be two-fold: education and support of parents, and the

provision of additional supports in the school where parents are not able yet to provide (e.g. homework help, acculturation counseling, advocates and translators).

For teachers, this study demonstrates that children, no matter what their English skills or abilities, turned to their teachers for help. Many teachers have expressed hesitancy in knowing how to best be able to support immigrant children (McLaughlin, et al., 2002; Voltz, et al., 2003), but it appears in this study that children use many of their own strategies to get help. This is not to imply that the responsibility of adaptation is solely the child's, but that the strategies they do have in place should not be ignored. In simplest terms, the message for educators would be: don't be afraid to help, be creative and innovative, and don't alienate students because of your fears or frustrations.

Additionally, as students in this study were very aware of their teachers' messages about expectations, educators should capitalize on this, knowing that these children are listening to their teachers about education and the future. Teachers should talk with their students about what is required to do well in school, the steps they should take for the future. Because many of the children in this study focused on behavior and English acquisition as their vehicles to success, teachers should discuss the specifics of academic success, including homework, studying, asking questions, further reading, repeated practice and educational planning. This direction is also important as many immigrant parents do not have an educational background themselves, or are unaware of the expectations and pathways to success in American schools. Finally, immigrant students need to hear from their teachers that, not only are they expected to go to college, but also that they are able; hearing this from their educators can impact their views of the future and align them with their parents' expectations (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001).

Implications for Policy and Training

Implications for policy and training include both educating and empowering those systems and individuals who affect the educational experiences of immigrant children, including communities, teachers, schools and school systems.

Both teachers and ESL instructors, as main sources of support for immigrant children, should receive professional development in the area of immigrant children's development, in order to have a clear concept of their growth, progress and needs. These educators should be able to appropriately assist immigrants with their assimilation into the U. S. school system, while still valuing their cultures, languages and backgrounds.

Teacher candidates should be clearly aware of the strengths and needs of the immigrant population in their classrooms. Introductory education classes should provide information on immigrant children's experiences and backgrounds, and build awareness of their language, academic and emotional development, and of the complications that immigration may bring. Pre-teaching classroom experiences should include settings with a diverse group of learners, and candidates should be specifically challenged to address the variety of needs in the classroom.

Strategies for school systems include a specific tracking of immigrant children's progress and development. To maintain the momentum of motivation, and to ensure teachers are more able to serve immigrant children, the use of progress reports specific to immigrant development could be effective. Often, children gain adequate levels of English, are dismissed from ESL, and their specific needs are not monitored. As was evident in this study, even children who are proficient in English still may struggle in some academic areas, especially in more language-based subjects. Similar to the concept

of an IEP (Individual Education Program), these progress reports could have particular focus on some key areas of immigrant children's growth, such as language, academic needs, and social development, and give general benchmarks that would assist teachers in assessing the progress of their students. These last three recommendations could also potentially reduce the possibility of inappropriate special education referrals for this group of children, allowing educators to have more accurate assessments of immigrants' performance, and not confusing cultural, linguistic and emotional factors for a disability.

Additionally, implementing mentorship programs for immigrant youth could have positive effects on children, young adults and the immigrant community at large. Engaging immigrant adolescents and young adults of high school age or older as mentors for younger children can give both parties a sense of belonging, purpose, and hope. Older students who are pursuing high school or college diplomas can serve as examples and encouragement, and give strategies and support for academic and social success. This could possibly prevent the decline in motivation and success that many immigrants experience (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995, 2001), maintain the positive attitudes of their youth, and promote mental health in general.

Conclusion

In asking these students about the stresses, experiences and challenges they encounter at school, we can begin to picture education the way *they* see it. From the information gathered in this study, it is evident that many factors are part of this picture, the extent to which still requires further inquiry for this population. It appears that these students show some resiliency to the risk factors facing them, yet there are still gaps in servicing their unique needs.

The results of this research highlight the struggles and strengths of young Latino immigrants in schools. The study paints a picture of the perceptions of a group that has largely been unknown in the research world, and many times ignored in the school setting. The validation of their voices and the acknowledgment of their experiences illustrates their contribution to American schools, and colors their futures with the hope found in their resiliency.

Appendix A: Family Background Survey

Family Background Survey

Child's Name _____ (ID _____)
 Age _____ School _____ Grade _____

Number of years in the U.S. _____ (explain, if necessary)

Country of birth _____ Language(s) spoken at home _____

Program participation

School: Please check whether your child participates in the following. Provide explanations or comments where needed. (Only for child participating in the study)

program/service	yes	no	comments
ESL			
Special Education			
Counseling			
Recreation activities			
Other (explain)			

Community: Please check whether your child participates in the following. (Outside of school, only for child participating in study)

program/activity	yes	no	comments
Cultural			
spiritual/religious			
Recreational			
Educational			
other (explain)			

Please tell about how you think your child is doing in school. Tell about his/her school experiences until now, and currently, thinking about teachers, classmates, behavior and academic performance.

Parent Information: Please provide the following information for the people mainly responsible for your child. (If you completing a survey for more than one child, you only need to fill out this section once, unless the information is different for each child.)

	mother / guardian	father / guardian	comments
name			
living with this child			
# of years in U.S.			
# of years of education			
current occupation			
country of origin			
English Proficiency (1=not at all 2= functional 3=proficient 4=fluent)			
speaking			
understanding/listening			
reading			
writing			

Encuesta de Historia Familiar

Nombre del niño _____ (ID _____)

Edad _____ Escuela _____ Grado _____

Numero de años en los Estados Unidos _____ (explique, si es necesario)

País de nacimiento _____ Idioma(s) hablado(s) en la casa _____

Programas en que Participa

Escuela: Por favor, indique si su niño participa en lo siguiente. Explique o comente si es necesario. (Solamente para el niño participando en el estudio)

programa/servicio	sí	no	comentarios
ESL			
Educación Especial			
Terapia/Consejera			
Actividades Recreativas			
Otro (explique)			

Comunidad: Por favor, indique si su niño participa en lo siguiente. (Afuera de la escuela, solamente para el niño participando en el estudio)

programa/actividad	sí	no	comentarios
cultural			
espiritual/religioso			
recreativo			
educacional			
otro (explique)			

Por favor describa lo que piensa de lo siguiente: Como le va a su niño en la escuela?
Describa sus experiencias en la escuela cuando acababa a empezar, actualmente. Describa sus pensamientos acerca de sus maestros, que clase de notas ha ganado, su comportamiento, y también de sus compañeros de clases.

Información sobre padres de familia: Por favor, dé la siguiente información sobre las personas responsables por su niño. (Si está llenando este encuesta para más de un niño, solamente tiene que llenar esta parte una vez, excepto si la información es diferente.)

	Madre/guardian	padre/guardian	comentarios
nombre			
Está viviendo con este niño (si o no)			
numero de años en los Estados Unidos			
nivel de educación			
ocupación			
país de nacimiento			
Capacidad en ingles (1=nada 2= funcional 3=capacitado, 4=fluyente)			
Hablar			
Comprender			
Leer			
Escribir			

Appendix B: School Situation Survey

THE SCHOOL SITUATION SURVEY

(Helms & Gable, 1989)

Here are a number of statements that students use to describe the way they feel in school. Please listen to each sentence and use the following scale for your answers. The choices are, always, often, sometimes, rarely and never. Do you have any questions?

1=Always, 2 =Often, 3 =Sometimes, 4=Rarely, 5=Never

1. I enjoy doing things with my classmates at school	1	2	3	4	5
2. I feel that some of my teachers don't like me very well	1	2	3	4	5
3. I get into fights at school	1	2	3	4	5
4. I feel upset at school	1	2	3	4	5
5. I worry about not doing well in school	1	2	3	4	5
6. I get headaches at school	1	2	3	4	5
7. I do well in school and get good grades	1	2	3	4	5
8. Other students make fun of me at school	1	2	3	4	5
9. I feel that some of my teachers expect too much from me prompt: I feel that some of teachers want me to do more than I can do	1	2	3	4	5
10. I talk in class when I should be quiet	1	2	3	4	5
11. I feel mixed up at school prompt: I feel confused at school	1	2	3	4	5
12. I get along well with my classmates	1	2	3	4	5
13. Some of my teachers call on me when they know I am not prepared just to embarrass me.	1	2	3	4	5
14. I pick on other students at school	1	2	3	4	5
15. I feel frustrated at school prompt: I feel upset when something is really hard for me at school	1	2	3	4	5
16. I am afraid of getting poor grades	1	2	3	4	5
17. I feel sick to my stomach at school	1	2	3	4	5
18. I feel that I learn things easily	1	2	3	4	5
19. I am among the last to be chosen for teams at school	1	2	3	4	5
20. I feel that some of my teachers don't really care about what I think or how I feel	1	2	3	4	5
21. I yell at my classmates at school	1	2	3	4	5
22. I feel like crying at school	1	2	3	4	5
23. I enjoy talking to my classmates at school	1	2	3	4	5
24. I feel that my teachers treat me fairly	1	2	3	4	5
25. I talk back to my teachers	1	2	3	4	5
26. I feel nervous at school	1	2	3	4	5
27. I worry about taking tests at school	1	2	3	4	5
28. I get stomach aches at school	1	2	3	4	5

29. I do good work in school	1	2	3	4	5
30. I have many friends at school	1	2	3	4	5
31. Some of my teachers yell at me for no reason	1	2	3	4	5
32. I try to get attention by acting silly in class	1	2	3	4	5
33. I feel angry at school	1	2	3	4	5
34. School work is easy for me	1	2	3	4	5

1=Always, 2 =Often, 3 =Sometimes, 4 =Rarely, 5=Never

THE SCHOOL SITUATION SURVEY

(Helms & Gable, 1989)

Estas son unas frases que estudiantes usan para describir como se sienten en la escuela. Por favor, escucha cada frase y usa la escala para dar tu respuesta. Puedes escoger de: siempre, frecuentemente, a veces, casi nunca, nunca. Tienes alguna pregunta?

1=siempre, 2 =frecuentemente, 3 =a veces, 4 =casi nunca, 5=nunca

1. Disfruto haciendo cosas con mis compañeros de clase en la escuela	1	2	3	4	5
2. Siento que varias de mis profesoras no me quieren mucho	1	2	3	4	5
3. Me meto en peleas en la escuela	1	2	3	4	5
4. Me siento desgustado en la escuela	1	2	3	4	5
5. Me preocupo de no hacer bien en la escuela	1	2	3	4	5
6. Me dan dolores de cabeza en la escuela	1	2	3	4	5
7. Me va bien en la escuela y saco buenas notas	1	2	3	4	5
8. Otros niños se burlan de mi en la escuela	1	2	3	4	5
9. Siento que varias de mis profesoras esperan demasiado de mi <i>prompt:</i> Siento que varias de mis profesoras quieren que yo haga mas de lo que yo puedo	1	2	3	4	5
10. Hablo en clase cuando debo de estar callada/o	1	2	3	4	5
11. Me siento confundido/a en la escuela	1	2	3	4	5
12. Me llevo bien con mis companeros	1	2	3	4	5
13. Algunos de mis profesores me escogen para responder cuando saben que yo no estoy preparado/a, solamente para humillarme.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Yo molesto a otros estudiantes en la escuela	1	2	3	4	5
15. Me siento frustrado/a en la escuela <i>prompt:</i> Me siento disgustado/a cuando algo es muy dificil para mi en la escuela	1	2	3	4	5
16. Tengo miedo de sacar malas notas	1	2	3	4	5
17. Estoy tan nervioso/a en la escuela que me dan dolores de estomago	1	2	3	4	5
18. Siento que aprendo cosas facilmente	1	2	3	4	5
19. Soy entre los ultimos en ser escogido para los equipos en mi escula	1	2	3	4	5
20. Siento que varios de mis profesores realmente no les importa lo que yo pienso ni como me siento	1	2	3	4	5
21. Les grito a mis compañeros de escuela	1	2	3	4	5
22. Quiero llorar en la esuela	1	2	3	4	5
23. Disfruto hablando con mis compañeros en la escuela	1	2	3	4	5
24. Siento que mis profesores me tratan justamente	1	2	3	4	5
25. Les contesto mal a mis profesores	1	2	3	4	5

26. Me siento nervioso/a en la escuela	1	2	3	4	5
27. Me preocupo sobre coger exámenes en la escuela	1	2	3	4	5
28. Me dan dolores de estomago en la escuela	1	2	3	4	5
29. Hago buen trabajo en la escuela	1	2	3	4	5
30. Tengo muchos amigos en la escuela	1	2	3	4	5
31. Algunos de mis profesores me gritan por ninguna razon	1	2	3	4	5
32. Trato de atraer atencion actuando gracioso/chistoso en la clase	1	2	3	4	5
33. Me siento con rabia en la escuela	1	2	3	4	5
34. El trabajo escolar es facil para mi	1	2	3	4	5

1=siempre, 2 =frequentemente, 3 =a veces, 4 =casi nunca, 5=nunca

Appendix C: School Attitudes Interview and Scales

SCHOOL BELONGING AND LIKENESS

(Questions 1-2 are adapted from Engagement Group, UMich)

1a. Tell me, what do you like about school?

1b. Then, what don't you like about school?

Please read:

Now I'm going to read you some sentences, and I want you to tell me if you agree or disagree with them.

1c1. If someone says, "My class is a fun place to be." Would you agree or disagree?

Agree (1)

Disagree (2)

If child says "agree," then ask:

1d2. A lot or a little?

A lot (1) A little (2)

1c3. Why is your class a fun place to be? / Why isn't your class a fun place to be?

1d1. If someone says, "Students in my class usually treat each other well." Would you agree or disagree?

Agree (1)

Disagree (2)

If child says "agree," then ask:

1d2. A lot or a little?

A lot (1) A little (2)

1d3. Why do you think that students in your class treat each other well? / Why don't you think that students in your class don't treat each other well?

1e1. If someone says, "I usually feel left out of things when I am in my class." would you agree or disagree?

Agree (1)

Disagree (2)

If child says "agree," then ask:

1e2. A lot or a little?

A lot (1) A little (2)

1e3. Why do you feel left out of things in class? / Why don't you feel left out of things in class?

1e4. Does your teacher do anything to help you feel like you are an important part of the class?

1f1. If someone says, "I feel like other students in my class like me". Would you agree or disagree?

Agree (1)

Disagree (2)

If child says "agree," then ask:

1f2. A lot or a little?

A lot (1) A little (2)

1f3. Why do you feel like other students in your class like you? / Why do you feel like other students in your class don't like you?

1g1. If someone says, "I'd feel sad if I had to switch out of my class and be in a different class with different kids." would you agree or disagree with this statement?

Agree (1)

Disagree (2)

If child says "agree," then ask:

1g2. A lot or a little?

A lot (1) A little (2)

ONLY If the subject agrees s/he would feel sad:

1g3. Why would you feel sad if you had to switch out of this class?

ONLY If the subject says s/he would not feel sad:

1g4. What would you want your new class to be like?

1h1. Are there any special things that you do in your class?

yes (1) no (2)

1h1a. What are those things?

1h1b. Do you have parties?

yes (1) no (2)

1h1c. Do you go on field trips?

yes (1) no (2)

1h2. What do you like about these things?

1i1. If you had to pick one, what is your favorite subject in school?

1i2. Why do you like (S's answer)?

1i3. What kinds of things do you like to do in (S's answer)?

2. Besides when you feel sick or tired, are there days when you wish you did not have to go to school?

yes (1) no (2)

*If "NO," proceed to the next section.
If subject answers yes, ask:*

a. Why don't you want to go to school on these days

b. Do you end up going to school on these days anyway?

yes (1) no (2)

If subject answers yes:

2b2. Why do you go? (What makes you go to school?):

SOCIAL SUPPORT - "WHOM DO YOU LISTEN TO"

please read the following:

OK, now we are going to do something else. I want to know about the people whom you listen to, including yourself. I'm going to write down the different people that you say on different cards. OK? Tell me, whom do you listen to when you are trying to decide stuff like how to act or what to do.

- *Write the list of names in the numbered spaces below*
- *Write the name of the person and relationship to the child on a blank index card.*
- *Make an index card with "myself" written on it.*
- *Make a index card with "no one."*
- *Read off each card as you put it down in front of the subject. Make sure they are not placed in a line of any kind, but instead are scattered.*

write down the list of people here:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.

please read the following:

Now I'm going to ask you whom you would listen to in some different situations. You can pick from these cards, or you can tell me somebody else. It is o.k. to pick the same person more than once. Do you understand? OK, let's start.

1. Who helps you decide how hard to work in school?
 - a. How does (S's answer) help you decide how hard to work in school?
2. Who helps you decide how to act when you are in class?
 - a. How does (S's answer) help you decide how to act when you are in class?
3. Who helps you decide how to act when you are not at school?
 - a. How does (S's answer) help you decide how to act when you are not at school?
4. If you were having a problem at school because the work was really hard for you, who would you talk to?
 - a. Why would you go to (S's answer)?
5. If you were having a problem at school because your teacher was mean to you a lot, who would you talk to?
 - a. Why would you talk to (S's answer)?
6. If you were having a hard time at school because some kids were being mean to you, who would you ask for help?
 - a. Why would you go to (S's answer)?

ENGAGEMENT

(Item #12 was adapted from a survey by the Consortium on Chicago School Research.)

Show the child the Very Important, Pretty Important, In between, Not As Important, Not at All Important Scale and please read the following: Now I am going to ask you how important some things are to you. I want you to answer by pointing to one of these circles. If you point here it means that it's very important to you. If you point here, it means that it is pretty important to you. If you point here, it means in between important. If you point here, it means it's not that important, and if you point here, it means it's not at all important. For example, I think that having a pet is very important to me, so I point here.

Point to the largest (very important) circle.

Do you have any questions?

1. How important is it to you that you get good grades?

1 2 3 4 5
Very Imp. Pretty Imp. In between Not As Imp. Not at All Imp.

a. Tell me why it's to get good grades. Remember, I want ONE
 very good reason.

Prompt: Why do you/don't you want to get good grades?

2. How important is it to you that you stay out of trouble at school?

1 2 3 4 5
Very Imp. Pretty Imp. In between Not As Imp. Not at All Imp.

a. Tell me why it's to stay out of trouble at school. Remember, I
 want ONE very good reason.

Prompt: Why do you/don't you want to stay out of trouble at school?

3. How important is it to you that your teacher like you?

1 2 3 4 5
Very Imp. Pretty Imp. In between Not As Imp. Not at All Imp.

a. Tell me why it'sthat your teacher like you. Remember, I want
 ONE important reason.

Prompt: Why do you/don't you care if your teacher likes you?

4. How important is it to you that you do your homework?

1 2 3 4 5
Very Imp. Pretty Imp. In between Not As Imp. Not at All Imp.

a. Tell me why it's to do your homework. Remember, I want ONE
 very good reason.

Prompt: Why do you/don't you want to do your homework?

5. How important is it to you that you go to school every day?

1 2 3 4 5
Very Imp. Pretty Imp. In between Not As Imp. Not at All Imp.

a. Tell me why it'sthat you go to school every day? Remember, I
 want one good reason.

Prompt: Why do you/don't you want to go to school every day?

6. How important is it to you that you graduate from high school?

1 2 3 4 5
Very Imp. Pretty Imp. In between Not As Imp. Not at All Imp.

a. Tell me why it'sto graduate from high school.

Prompt: Why do you/don't you want to graduate from high school?

7. How important is it to you that you have friends in school?

1 2 3 4 5
Very Imp. Pretty Imp. In between Not As Imp. Not at All Imp.

a. Tell me why it's to have friends in school. Remember, I want ONE very good reason.

Prompt: Why do you/don't you care if you have friends at school?

8. How important is it to you that you try hard in school?

1 2 3 4 5
Very Imp. Pretty Imp. In between Not As Imp. Not at All Imp.

a. Now tell me why it's that you try hard in school.
Remember, I want ONE very good reason.

Prompt: Why do you/don't you want to try hard in school?

MORE ENGAGEMENT QUESTIONS

(adapted from a survey by the Consortium on Chicago School Research.)

Show the child the Always, Often, Sometimes, Hardly Ever, Never SCALE. Please read the following:

I want you to use this scale to answer the next few questions. You should point to your answer on the card and say it. The choices are, always, often, sometimes, rarely and never. Do you have any questions? Remember, I am not going to tell your answers to your parents, friends, or teachers.

13. How often do you feel it's OK to..... *(Please circle the subject's answer)*

a. Skip school for a day?

always (1) often (2) sometimes (3) hardly ever (4) never (5)
doesn't apply (6) IDK (0)

b. Cheat on tests?

always (1) often (2) sometimes (3) hardly ever (4) never (5)
doesn't apply (6) IDK (0)

c. Talk back to teachers?

always (1) often (2) sometimes (3) hardly ever (4) never (5)
doesn't apply (6) IDK (0)

d. Disobey school rules?

always (1) often (2) sometimes (3) hardly ever (4) never (5)
doesn't apply (6) IDK (0)

e1. Do you get homework?

If they answer yes, ask question e, if they do not get homework, ask question f.

e. Copy someone's H.W.?

always (1) often (2) sometimes (3) hardly ever (4) never (5)
doesn't apply (6) IDK (0)

For 1st graders or those who say they don't get homework:

f. Copy someone's work in school?

always (1) often (2) sometimes (3) hardly ever (4) never (5)
doesn't apply (6) IDK (0)

SCHOOL/CLASSROOM ATMOSPHERE

(Questions 1-7 adapted from UMich engagement group)

please read the following:

Now we are going to talk about your school. I am going to read some sentences, and I want you to tell me if you agree or disagree. OK?

1. If someone said, "The principal or assistant principal at your school (*or whoever they say is the enforcer in the school*) always tries to be fair". Would you agree or disagree?

Agree (1)

Disagree (2)

- a. *If the subject answers "agree," ask :*

Do you agree a lot or a little?

A lot (1) A little (2)

2. If someone said, "I am proud of my school." Would you agree or disagree?

Agree (1)**Disagree (2)**a. *If the subject answers "agree," ask :*

Do you agree a lot or a little?

A lot (1) A little (2)

b. Why did you say that?

c. What makes you proud?

3. *First ask if the subject knows what the word "frustrated" means. If s/he says yes, ask him/her to explain it to you. If s/he says no, or if the definition s/he gives you is wrong, substitute the definition for the word "frustrated" in the question. Circle the option you use.*

If someone said, "I feel frustrated at school." or "I feel upset when something is really hard for me at school".

Would you agree or disagree with this statement?

Agree (1)**Disagree (2)**a. *If the subject answers "agree," ask*

Do you agree a lot or a little?

A lot (1) A little (2)

b. When do you feel frustrated?

c. What makes you frustrated?

4. If someone said, "I feel bored when I am at school." Would you agree or disagree with this statement?

Agree (1)**Disagree (2)**a. *If the subject answers "agree," ask*

Do you agree a lot or a little?

A lot (1) A little (2)

b. When do you feel bored?

c. What makes you bored?

5. If someone said, "I would like my classmates to know what my grades are." Would you agree or disagree?

Agree (1)**Disagree (2)**a. *If the subject answers "agree," ask*

Do you agree a lot or a little?

A lot (1) A little (2)

b. Why would/wouldn't you want them to know your grades?

c. Would they think your grades are too good or too bad?

6. If someone said, "I am comfortable when I am at school." Would you agree or disagree?

Agree (1)

Disagree (2)

a. *If the subject answers "agree," ask*

Do you agree a lot or a little?

A lot (1) A little (2)

b. Why do you/don't you feel comfortable at school?

c. What/Who makes you comfortable/uncomfortable?

7. If someone said, "I like it when schoolwork makes me work really hard." Would you agree or disagree?

Agree (1)

Disagree (2)

a. *If the subject answers "agree," ask*

Do you agree a lot or a little?

A lot (1) A little (2)

b. Why do/don't you like schoolwork that makes you think really hard?

Show the subject the Always Often Sometimes Hardly Ever Never Scale again.

8i. How often do your parents come to school?

Always (1) Often (2) Sometimes (3) Hardly Ever (4) Never (5)

a. When they come to school, why do they come?

8ii. How often do your parents talk to your teacher?

Always (1) Often (2) Sometimes (3) Hardly Ever (4) Never (5)

TEACHER RELATIONSHIPS

(adapted from UMich engagement group)

Display the How Much Scale again.

please read the following:

OK, now we're going to talk about your teachers. We are using this scale again for the next few questions. . When I read each question, I want you to tell me a number. If you think the answer is "not at all," point to number one and say "Number one."

If you think the answer is “in the middle,” point to number four and say, “Number four.” If you think the answer is “very much,” point to number seven and say, “Number seven.” You can also pick the numbers in between the boxes if you want. Do you understand? When you answer, think about all of your teachers and answer for them as a group.

1. How much do you like your teachers?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

 - a. Why do you like your teachers this much? *Point to the number they chose.*
2. How much do your teachers care about you?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

 - a. Why do you think your teachers care about you this much? *Point to the number they chose.*
3. How fair do you think your teachers are?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

 - a. Why do you think your teachers are fair/unfair? *Point to the number they chose.*
4. Without telling me any names, can you describe the kinds of kids who get into trouble with your teachers?
 - a. What kind of kids do your teachers get mad at?
5. Again without telling me any names, can you tell me what kind of kids are your teachers’ favorites?
 - a. What kind of kids do your teachers like?
6. Besides your teachers, are there any other adults at your school who help you?
 - a. Is there any one special who cares about you?

(#7 adapted from a survey by the Consortium on Chicago School Research)

Replace the first scale with the second (Show the All Most Half A Few None Scale) and read the following:

We are going to use a different scale now. I want you to point to your answer. If I think all of my friends are nice, I’d point here (point at #1, “all”), and if I think only a few of my friends are mean, I’d point here (point at #4, “a few”). Does this make sense?

7. Tell me, [name], how many of your teachers this year...

- a. like you?
all (1) most (2) half (3) a few (4) none (5)
- b. believe you can do well in school?
all (1) most (2) half (3) a few (4) none (5)
- c. would be willing to help you if you needed extra help on school work?
all (1) most (2) half (3) a few (4) none (5)
- d. do you really like?
all (1) most (2) half (3) a few (4) none (5)
- e. Sometimes people have personal problems, for example maybe there is a kid in your class who always teases you at recess. How many of your teachers would be willing to help you with a personal problem if you had one?
all (1) most (2) half (3) a few (4) none (5)

MORE ENGAGEMENT QUESTIONS

1. How many times a week do you get homework?
1 2 3 4 5 (TIMES A WEEK)

<i>Show the Always Often Sometimes Hardly Ever Never Scale again</i>
--

2. How often do you do your homework?
always (1) often (2) sometimes (3) hardly ever (4) never (5)
3. When you do your homework why do you do it?
4. When you don't do your homework, why don't you do it?
5. How often are you absent from school?
always (1) often (2) sometimes (3) hardly ever (4) never (5)
6. Why are you usually absent from school?
7. Why do you usually go to school?
8. How often do you get in trouble at school?
always (1) often (2) sometimes (3) hardly ever (4) never (5)
9. When you are not in trouble, why do you try to stay out of trouble?
10. When you do get in trouble, what is it usually for?

11. Let's pretend that your teacher has given you a worksheet to do. The first two problems are really easy, and you answer them right away. But the next problem is really hard, and you don't know how to answer it. You look at the next few problems, and they are really hard too.

What do you do?

Why do you do this?

12. Now let's pretend that your teacher has given you a reading assignment to do at home, it's really boring.

What do you do? (Prompt: Do you finish reading the story? Do you do something else instead?)

Why do you do this?

Please read the following:

Remember, there are no right or wrong answers to any of the questions or activities. I just want to know what you think and how you feel. I am going to write down your answers so I can remember them later. Do you have any questions? OK. Let's begin.

SCHOOL ATTITUDES/VALUES - "EXPECTATION CONGRUENCY SCALE"

please read the following:

I would like you to answer a few questions about what you want to do and what other people want you to do. It's okay to repeat the same answers, but you don't have to. I want you to tell me how much different people want you to do different things.

Show subject the How Much Scale.

When I read each question, I want you to tell me a number. If you think the answer is "not at all," point to number one and say "Number one." If you think the answer is "in the middle," point to number four and say, "Number four." If you think the answer is "very much," point to number seven and say, "Number seven." You can also pick the numbers in between the boxes if you want. It is o.k. to pick the same number more than once. Do you have any questions? OK let's begin.

1a. How much do you actually do well in school?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1b. How much do you want to do well in school?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

- 1c. How much do your best friends do well in school?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 1d. How much do you think your parents want you to do well in school?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 1e. How much do you think your teachers want you to do well in school?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 1f. How much do your best friends want you to do well in school (to get good grades)?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

The next few questions are about going to college.

- 2a. How much do you want to go to college?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 2b. How much do your best friends want to go to college?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 2c. How much do you think your parents want you to go to college?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 2d. How much do you think your teachers want you to go to college?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 2e. How much do you think your best friends want you to go to college?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

The next few questions are about following rules at school.

- 3a. How much do you actually follow school rules?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 3b. How much do you want to follow rules at school?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 3c. How much do your best friends break school rules?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 3d. How much do you think your parents want you to follow school rules?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 3e. How much do you think your teachers want you to follow school rules?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

*For this part, use Very True... Scale. Point to each circle and say the word for the child.
 "Very true" is 1; "not at all true" is 5.*

4. "I will go to college." How true do you think this is for you?

Very	Kind of	In Between	Not really	Not at all
1	2	3	4	5

5. "My best friends will go to college." How true is this for you?

Very	Kind of	In Between	Not really	Not at all
1	2	3	4	5

6. "My parents think I will go to college." How true is this for you?

Very	Kind of	In Between	Not really	Not at all
1	2	3	4	5

7. "My teachers think I will go to college." How true is this for you?

Very	Kind of	In Between	Not really	Not at all
1	2	3	4	5

8a. Tell me, what do people have to do to do well in school?

8b. Now, what do people have to do to go to college?

8c. Why do you/don't you want to go to college?

SCHOOL BELONGING AND LIKENESS

(Questions 1-2 are adapted from Engagement Group, Umich)

1a. Dime, ¿qué te gusta de la escuela?

1b. Pues, ¿qué cosas no te gustan de la escuela?

Please read:

Ahora te voy a leer unas frases, y quiero que me digas si estás de acuerdo o no estás de acuerdo con ellas.

1c1. Si alguien dice, “Mi clase es un lugar divertido en donde estar.” ¿Estarías de acuerdo o no estarías de acuerdo?

De acuerdo (1)

Si joven dice “de acuerdo,” pregunta:

1c2. ¿Mucho o un poco?

Mucho (1) Un poco (2)

1c3. ¿Por qué es tu clase un lugar divertido en donde estar? /

No de acuerdo (2)

If child says “no de acuerdo,” pregunte

1c3. ¿Por qué no es tu clase un lugar divertido en donde estar?

1d1. Si alguien dice, “Los estudiantes en mi clase usualmente se tratan bien.” ¿Estarías de acuerdo o no estarías de acuerdo?

De acuerdo (1)

Si joven dice “de acuerdo,” pregunta:

1d2. ¿Mucho o un poco?

Mucho (1) Un poco (2)

1d3. ¿Porqué piensas que los estudiantes en tu clase se tratan bien?

En desacuerdo (2)

1d3. ¿Qué te hace pensar que los estudiantes en tu clase no se tratan bien?

1e1. Si alguien dice, “Usualmente me siento dejado/a fuera de cosas cuando estoy en mi clase.” ¿Estas de acuerdo o no estarías de acuerdo?

De acuerdo (1)

Si joven dice “de acuerdo,” pregunta::

1e2. ¿Mucho o un poco?

Mucho (1) Un poco (2)

1e3. ¿Porqué te sientes dejado/a fuera de cosas en clase? / ¿Porqué no te sientes dejado/a fuera de cosas en clase?

1e4. ¿Tu maestra hace algo para ayudarte a tí a sentirte que eres una parte importante de la clase?

En desacuerdo (2)

Si el joven dice “no de acuerdo” pregunta:

1e3. ¿Porqué no te sientes dejado/a fuera de cosas en clase?

1e4. ¿Tu maestra hace algo para ayudarte a sentirte que eres una parte importante de la clase?

1f1. Si alguien dice, “Yo siento que les caigo bien (les gusto) a otros estudiantes en mi clase”. ¿Estarías de acuerdo o no estarías de acuerdo?

De acuerdo (1)

Si joven dice “de acuerdo,” pregunta::

1f2. ¿Mucho o un poco?

Mucho (1) Un poco (2)

1f3. ¿Porqué sientes que le caes bien (le gustas) a otros estudiantes en tu clase?

En desacuerdo (2)

Si el niño dice “no de acuerdo” pregunta:

1f3. ¿Porqué sientes que no les caes bien (le gustas) a otros estudiantes en tu clase?

1g1. Si alguien dice, “Me sentiría triste si tuviera que irme de mi clase y tuviera que estar en una clase diferente con niños diferentes.” ¿Estarías de acuerdo o no estarías de acuerdo?

De acuerdo (1)

Si joven dice “de acuerdo,” pregunta::

1g2. ¿Mucho o un poco?

Mucho (1) Un poco (2)

1g4. ¿Porqué te sentirías triste si tuvieras que irte de esta clase?

En desacuerdo (2)

Si el sujeto dice que no se sentiría triste:

- 1g4. ¿Como quisieras que sea tu nueva clase?
 1h1. ¿Hay algunas cosas especiales que haces en tu clase?
sí (1) no (2)

1h1a. ¿Qué son esas cosas?

1h1b. ¿Tienen fiestas?
sí (1) no (2)

1h1c. ¿Salen en excursiones?
sí (1) no (2)

1h2. *(If at least one “sí” to above 3 questions)* ¿Qué te gusta de estas cosas?

1i1. Si tuvieras que escoger, ¿qué es tu materia favorita en la escuela?

1i2. ¿Por qué te gusta (respuesta de S)?

1i3. ¿Qué tipo de cosas te gusta hacer en (respuesta de S)?

2. Aparte de cuando te sientes enfermo/a o cansado/a, ¿hay días que deseas que no tuvieras que ir a la escuela?

sí (1) no (2) *(Si “no,” continue con la proxima sección)*

Si el sujeto responde “si”, pregunta:

- a. ¿Porqué no quieres ir a la escuela en esos días?
 b. ¿Acabas de todas maneras yendo a la escuela en esos días?
sí (1) no (2)

Si el sujeto responde “si”:

2b2. ¿Porqué vas? (¿Qué te hace ir a la escuela?):

SOCIAL SUPPORT - “WHOM DO YOU LISTEN TO”

please read the following:

Bien, ahora vamos a hacer algo más. Quiero saber sobre las personas a quienes tu escuchas, incluyendote a ti mismo/a. Voy a escribir las diferentes personas que digas en diferentes cartas. ¿Está bien? Dime, ¿a quien escuchas/le haces caso cuando intentas decidir cosas como, como comportarte o que hacer?

Write the name of the person and relationship to the child on a blank index card.

- *If the child does not mention him/herself, make sure to also make a index card with “mi mismo” written on it.*
- *Also make a index card with “nadie.”*

- *Then read off each card as you put it down in front of the subject. Make sure they are not placed in a line of any kind, but instead are scattered.*

write down the list of people here:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.

please read the following:

Ahora te voy a preguntar a quien le escucharías (a quien le harías caso) en varias diferentes situaciones. Puedes escoger de estas tarjetas, o puedes decirme de alguien más. Esta bien escoger la misma persona más de una vez. ¿Entiendes? Bueno, vamos a comenzar.

1. ¿Quién te ayuda a decidir que duro trabajas en la escuela?
 - a. ¿Cómo te ayuda (respuesta de S) a decidir que duro trabajas en la escuela?
2. ¿Quién te ayuda a decidir como comportarte cuando estás en la clase?
 - a. ¿Cómo te ayuda (respuesta de S) a decidir como comportarte cuando estás en la clase?
3. ¿Quién te ayuda a decidir como comportarte cuando no estás en la escuela?
 - a. ¿Cómo te ayuda (respuesta de S) a decidir como comportarte cuando no estás en la escuela?
4. Si tuvieras (estuvieras teniendo) un problema en la escuela porque el trabajo fuera muy difícil para tí, ¿con quién hablarías?
 - a. ¿Porqué irías a (respuesta de S)?
5. Si tuvieras un problema en la escuela porque muchas veces tu maestro/a fuera malo/a contigo, ¿con quién hablarías?
 - a. ¿Porqué hablarías con (respuesta de S)?
6. Si estuvieras pasándolo mal en la escuela porque unos niños/niñas eran malos/as contigo, ¿a quién le pedirías ayuda?

- a. ¿Porqué irías a (respuesta de S)?

ENGAGEMENT

(Item #12 was adapted from a survey by the Consortium on Chicago School Research.)

Show the child the Muy Importante, Importante, En Medio, No Tan Importante, No Importante Scale and please read the following:

Ahora te voy a preguntar que importante son unas cosas para tí. Quiero que respondas señalando a uno de estos círculos. Si señalas aquí significa que es muy importante para tí. Si señalas aquí, significa que es importante para tí. Si señalas aquí, significa en medio importante. Si señalas aquí, significa que no es tan importante, y si señalas aquí, significa que no es importante. Por ejemplo, yo pienso que tener un animal domesticado es muy importante para mí, entonces señalo aquí.

Point to the largest (very important) circle.

¿Tienes alguna pregunta?

1. ¿Cuan importante es para tí sacar buenas notas en la escuela?

1	2	3	4	5
Muy Imp.	Imp.	En Medio	No Tan Imp.	No Imp.

- a. Dime porqué es sacar buenas notas. Recuerda, quiero solo UNA muy buena razón.

Prompt: ¿Porqué quieres/no quieres sacar buenas notas?

2. ¿Cuan importante es para tí que no te metas en problemas en la escuela?

1	2	3	4	5
Muy Imp.	Imp.	En Medio	No Tan Imp.	No Imp.

- a. Dime porque es que no te metas en problemas en la escuela. Recuerda, quiero solo UNA muy buena razón.

Prompt: ¿Porqué quieres/no quieres mantenerte fuera de problemas en la escuela?

3. ¿Cuan importante es para tí que le caigas bien/le gustes a tu maestra/o?

1	2	3	4	5
Muy Imp.	Imp.	En Medio	No Tan Imp.	No Imp.

- a. Dime porqué esque le caigas bien/le gustes a tu maestra/o. Recuerda, quiero solo UNA muy buena razón.

Prompt: ¿Porqué te importa/no te importa si le gustas a tu maestra/o?

4. ¿Cuan importante es para tí que hagas tu tarea?

1 2 3 4 5
Muy Imp. Imp. En Medio No Tan Imp. No Imp.

a. Dime porqué es hacer tu tarea. Recuerda, quiero solo UNA muy buena razón.

Prompt: ¿Porqué quieres/no quieres hacer tu tarea?

5. ¿Cuan importante es para tí ir a la escuela todos los días?

1 2 3 4 5
Muy Imp. Imp. En Medio No Tan Imp. No Imp.

a. Dime porque esque vayas a la escuela todos los días. Recuerda, quiero solo UNA muy buena razón.

Prompt: ¿Porqué quieres/no quieres ir a la escuela todos los días?

6. ¿Cuan importante es para tí que te gradues de la escuela secundaria (high school)?

1 2 3 4 5
Muy Imp. Imp. En Medio No Tan Imp. No Imp.

a. Dime porqué es graduarse de la escuela secundaria. Recuerda, quiero solo UNA muy buena razón.

Prompt: ¿Porqué quieres/no quieres graduarte de la escuela secundaria?

7. ¿Cuan importante es para tí tener amigos en la escuela?

1 2 3 4 5
Muy Imp. Imp. En Medio No Tan Imp. No Imp.

a. Dime porqué es tener amigos en la escuela. Recuerda, quiero solo UNA muy buena razón.

Prompt: ¿Porqué te importa/no te importa tener amigos en la escuela?

8. ¿Qué importante es para tí que te esfuerzes mucho en la escuela?

1 2 3 4 5
Muy Imp. Imp. En Medio No Tan Imp. No Imp.

a. Ahora dime porqué es que te esfuerzes mucho en la escuela. Recuerda, quiero solo UNA muy buena razón.

Prompt: ¿Porqué quieres/no quieres esforzarte mucho en la escuela?

MORE ENGAGEMENT QUESTIONS

(adapted from a survey by the Consortium on Chicago School Research.)

Muestrele al niño/niña la ESCALA de Siempre, Frecuentemente, A Veces, Casi Nunca, Nunca. Por favor lea lo siguiente:

Quiero que uses esta escala para contestar las próximas preguntas. Deberías señalar tu respuesta en la tarjeta y decirla. Las opciones son, siempre, frecuentemente, a veces, casi nunca, y nunca. ¿Tienes alguna pregunta? Recuerda, yo no le voy a decir tus respuestas a tus padres, amigos, o maestros/as.

13. ¿Cuan a menudo sientes que esta bien..... *(Please circle the subject's answer)*

a. ¿Faltar a la escuela por un día?

Siempre (1) frecuentemente (2) a veces (3) casi nunca (4) nunca (5)
no aplica (6) no se (IDK) (0)

b. ¿Copiarle en exámenes?

Siempre (1) frecuentemente (2) a veces (3) casi nunca (4) nunca (5)
no aplica (6) no se (IDK) (0)

c. ¿Contestarle con desafío a las/los maestras/maestros?

Siempre (1) frecuentemente (2) a veces (3) casi nunca (4) nunca (5)
no aplica (6) no se (IDK) (0)

d. ¿Desobedecer las reglas de la escuela?

Siempre (1) frecuentemente (2) a veces (3) casi nunca (4) nunca (5)
no aplica (6) no se (IDK) (0)

e1. ¿Te dan tarea (asignaciones) la escuela?

Si responden si, pregunta e, si no reciben tarea, pregunta f.

e. ¿Copiarle la tarea (asignación)de alguien?

Siempre (1) frecuentemente (2) a veces (3) casi nunca (4) nunca (5)
no aplica (6) no se (IDK) (0)

Para los del primer grado o los que dicen que no reciben tarea:

f. ¿Copiarle el trabajo de alguien en la escuela?

Siempre (1) frecuentemente (2) a veces (3) casi nunca (4) nunca (5)
no aplica (6) no se (IDK) (0)

SCHOOL/CLASSROOM ATMOSPHERE

(Questions 1-7 adapted from Umich engagement group)

por favor lea lo siguiente:

Ahora vamos a hablar de tu escuela. Voy a leer unas oraciones, y quiero que me digas si estas de acuerdo o no estas de acuerdo. ¿Bien?

1. Si alguien dijera, “El director o el asistente al director en tu escuela (*o quien se diga que es la persona que manda mas en la escuela*) siempre intenta ser justo/imparcial (?). ¿Estarías de acuerdo o no estarías de acuerdo?

De acuerdo (1)

- a. Si el sujeto responde “de acuerdo,” pregunta:
¿Estas de acuerdo mucho o un poco?

Mucho (1) Un poco (2)

No de acuerdo (2)

2. Si alguien dijera, “Yo estoy orgulloso/a de mi escuela.” ¿Estarías de acuerdo o no estarías de acuerdo?

De acuerdo (1)

- a. Si el sujeto responde “de acuerdo,” pregunta:
¿Estas de acuerdo mucho o un poco?

Mucho (1) Un poco (2)

- b. ¿Porqué dijiste eso?
- c. ¿Qué te hace orgulloso/a?

No de acuerdo (2)

3. Primero pregunte si el sujeto sabe que significa la palabra “frustrado.” Si dice que sí, pregunte que se lo explique a usted. Si dice no, o si la definición que el/ella le da es incorrecta, substituye la definición de la palabra “frustrado” en la pregunta. Circula la opción que uses.

Si alguien dijera, “Me siento frustrado/a en la escuela.” O “Me siento mal cuando algo es muy difícil para mí en la escuela”.

¿Estarías de acuerdo o no estarías de acuerdo con esta declaración?

De acuerdo (1)

- a. Si el sujeto responde “de acuerdo,” pregunta:
¿Estas de acuerdo mucho o un poco?

Mucho (1) Un poco (2)

- b. ¿Cuando te sientes frustrado/a?
- c. ¿Qué te frustra/te hace sentir mal?

No de acuerdo (2)

4. Si alguien dijera, “Me siento (?Siento que estoy...) aburrido cuando estoy en la escuela.” ¿Estarías de acuerdo o no estarías de acuerdo con esta declaración?

De acuerdo (1)

- a. *Si el sujeto responde “de acuerdo,” pregunta:*
¿Estas de acuerdo mucho o un poco?
Mucho (1) Un poco (2)
- b. ¿Cuando te sientes aburrido?
- c. ¿Qué te aburre?

No de acuerdo (2)

5. Si alguien dijera, “Me gustaría que mis compañeros de clase supieran mis notas.” ¿Estarías de acuerdo o no estarías de acuerdo?

De acuerdo (1)

- a. *Si el sujeto responde “de acuerdo,” pregunte:*
¿Estas de acuerdo mucho o un poco?
Mucho (1) Un poco (2)
- b. ¿Porqué quisieras que sepan tus notas?
- c. ¿Pensarían que tus notas son muy buenos o muy malos?

No de acuerdo (2)

- b. ¿Porqué no quisieras que sepan tus notas?
- c. ¿Pensarían que tus notas son muy buenos o muy malos?

6. Si alguien dijera, “Yo me siento confortable cuando estoy en la escuela.” ¿Estarías de acuerdo o no estarías de acuerdo?

De acuerdo (1)

- a. *Si el sujeto responde “de acuerdo,” pregunte:*
¿Estas de acuerdo mucho o un poco?
Mucho (1) Un poco (2)
- b. ¿Porqué te sientes confortable en la escuela?
- c. ¿Qué/Quien te hace sentir confortable?

No de acuerdo (2)

- b. ¿Porqué no te sientes confortable en la escuela?

c. ¿Qué/Quien te hace sentir inconfortable?

7. Si alguien dijera, “Me gusta cuando el trabajo de la escuela es duro.” ¿Estarías de acuerdo o no estarías de acuerdo?

De acuerdo (1)

a. Si el sujeto responde “de acuerdo,” pregunta:
¿Estás de acuerdo mucho o un poco?

Mucho (1) Un poco (2)

b. ¿Porqué te gusta que el trabajo de la escuela te haga pensar bien duro?

No de acuerdo (2)

b. Porqué no te gusta que el trabajo de la escuela te haga pensar bien duro?

Muéstrele al sujeto la Escala de Siempre, Frecuentemente, A Veces, Casi Nunca, Nunca otra vez.

8i. ¿Cuan a menudo vienen tus padres a la escuela?

Siempre (1) Frecuentemente (2) A Veces (3) Casi Nunca (4) Nunca (5)

a. Cuando vienen a la escuela, ¿porqué vienen?

8ii. ¿Cuan a menudo hablan tus padres con tu maestra/o?

Siempre (1) Frecuentemente (2) A Veces (3) Casi Nunca (4) Nunca (5)

TEACHER RELATIONSHIPS

(adapted from Umich engagement group)

Muestre la Escala de Cuanto otra vez.

Por favor lea lo siguiente:

Bueno, ahora vamos a hablar sobre tus maestros/maestras.

Vamos a usar esta escala de nuevo para las próximas preguntas. Cuando lea cada pregunta, quiero que me digas un numero. Si cres que la respuesta es “nada,” señala al número uno y dí “Número uno.” Si cres que la respuesta es “en el medio,” señala al numero cuatro y dí “Número cuatro.” Si piensas que la respuesta es “mucho,” señala al numero siete y dí “Número siete.” También puedes escoger los números entre medio de los cuadros si quieres. ¿Entiendes? Cuando respondas, piensa en todos/todas tus maestros/maestras y responde como si fueran un grupo.

1. ¿Cuanto te gustan tus maestros/maestras?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

a. ¿Porqué te gustan tus maestros/maestras así de mucho? *Señala el numero que escogió.*

2. ¿Cuanto te aprecian (le gustas a) tus maestros/maestras?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 a. ¿Porqué cres que tus maestros/maestras te aprecian (le gustas) así de mucho? *Señala el numero que escogió.*
3. ¿Qué justos/imparciales piensas que son tus maestros/maestras?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 a. ¿Porqué piensas que tus maestros/maestras son justos (imparciales)/injustos (no son imparciales)? *Señala el número que escogió.*
4. Sin decirme nombres, ¿puedes describir las clases de niños que se meten en problemas con tus maestros/maestras?
 a. ¿Con qué tipo de niños se enojan tus maestros/maestras?
5. De nuevo sin decirme nombres, me puedes decir, ¿que tipo de niños son los favoritos de tus maestros/maestras?
 a. ¿Qué tipo de niños les gustan a tus maestros/maestras?
6. ¿Aparte de tus maestros/maestras, hay algunos otros adultos en tu escuela que te ayudan?
 a. ¿Hay alguien especial que te aprecia(le gustas mucho)?

(#7 adapted from a survey by the Consortium on Chicago School Research)

Reemplaza la primera escala con la segunda (muestra la Escala de Todos, La Mayoría, La Mitad, Unos Pocos, Ninguno) y le lo siguiente:

Vamos a usar una escala diferente ahora. Quiero que señales tu respuesta. Si yo pienso que todos mis amigos son amables, señalaría aquí (señala al #1, “todos”), y si pienso que solo unos pocos de mis amigos son malos, señalaría aquí (señala al #4, “unos pocos”). ¿Comprendes?

7. Dime, [nombre], ¿cuantos de tus maestros/maestras este año...
- a. ¿tú le gustas?
Todos (1) la mayoría (2) la mitad (3) unos pocos(4) ninguno (5)
- b. ¿creen que puedes salir bien en la escuela?
Todos (1) la mayoría (2) la mitad (3) unos pocos(4) ninguno (5)
- c. ¿estarían dispuestos a ayudarte si necesitaras ayuda adicional con tu trabajo de la escuela?

Todos (1) la mayoría (2) la mitad (3) unos pocos(4) ninguno (5)

d. ¿de verdad te gustan?

Todos (1) la mayoría (2) la mitad (3) unos pocos(4) ninguno (5)

e. Algunas veces personas tienen problemas personales, por ejemplo, a lo mejor hay un niño/niña en tu clase que siempre te molesta durante el recreo. Cuantos de tus maestros/maestras estarían dispuestos a ayudarte con un problema personal si lo tuvieras.

Todos (1) la mayoría (2) la mitad (3) unos pocos(4) ninguno (5)

MORE ENGAGEMENT QUESTIONS

1. ¿Cuántas veces a la semana recibes tarea?

1 2 3 4 5 (VECES A LA SEMANA)

Muestra la Escala de Siempre, Frecuentemente, A Veces, Casi Nunca, Nunca de nuevo.

2. ¿Cuan a menudo haces tu tarea?

Siempre (1) frecuentement (2) a veces (3) casi nunca (4) nunca (5)

3. ¿Cuando haces tu tarea, porqué la haces?

4. ¿Cuando no haces tu tarea, porqué no la haces?

5. ¿Cuan a menudo faltas a la escuela?

Siempre (1) frecuentement (2) a veces (3) casi nunca (4) nunca (5)

6. Usualmente ¿porqué faltas a la escuela?

7. ¿Porqué vas usualmente a la escuela?

8. ¿Cuan a menudo te metes en problemas en la escuela?

Siempre (1) frecuentement (2) a veces (3) casi nunca (4) nunca (5)

9. Cuando no estás en problemas, ¿porqué intentas mantenerte fuera de problemas?

10. Cuando estas en problemas, ¿usualmente porqué es?

11. Vamos a imaginar que tu maestro/maestra te ha dado un “worksheet” para hacer. Los dos primeros problemas son bien facil, y los contestas rapidamente. Pero el siguiente problema es bien dificil, y no sabes como contestarlo. Miras los siguientes problemas, y también parecen ser muy dificiles.

¿Qué haces?

¿Porqué haces esto?

12. Ahora imaginemos que tu maestro/maestra te ha dado una asignación de lectura en la casa y es bien aburrida.

¿Qué haces? (Prompt: ¿Terminas leyendola ¿Haces algo diferente (en vez)?
¿Porqué haces esto?

SCHOOL ATTITUDES/VALUES - "EXPECTATION CONGRUENCY SCALE"

please read the following outloud:

Me gustaría que contestes algunas preguntas sobre lo que tú quieres hacer y lo que otras personas quieren que tú hagas. Esta bien si repites las mismas respuestas, pero no lo tienes que hacer. Quiero que me digas cuantas veces las personas mayores quieren que tu hagas cosas diferentes.

Show subject the How Much Scale.

Cada vez que yo te leo una pregunta, yo quiero que me contestes diciéndome un número. Si tu piensas que la respuesta a la pregunta es "nunca", señala el número uno y responde "Número Uno". Si piensas que la respuesta es "termino medio" o "a veces", señala el número cuatro y responde "Número Cuatro". Si tu piensas que la respuesta es "siempre", senala el número siete y responde "Número siete." Si tu quieres también puedes escoger los números en el medio de los que te dije. No te preocupes si escoges el mismo número mas de una vez. ¿Tienes alguna pregunta antes de empezar? OK. Vamos a comenzar.

1a. ¿Cuántas veces obtienes buenas notas o calificaciones en la escuela?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1b. ¿Cuánto tu quieres obtener buenas calificaciones en la escuela?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1c. ¿Cuántas veces tus mejores amigos obtienen buenas notas o calificaciones en la escuela?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1d. ¿Cuánto tu piensas que tus padres quieren que tu obtengas buenas notas/calificaciones en la escuela?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1e. ¿Cuánto tu piensas que tus maestras quieren que tu obtengas buenas calificaciones en la escuela?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1f. ¿Cuánto tus mejores amigos quieren que tu obtengas buenas calificaciones en la escuela?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Las próximas preguntas tienen que ver con la universidad/colegio.

- 2a. ¿Cuánto tu quieres ir a la universidad/colegio?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 2b. ¿Cuánto tus mejores amigos quieren que tu vayas a la universidad/colegio?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 2c. ¿Cuánto tu piensas que tus padres quieren que tu vayas a la universidad/colegio?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 2d. ¿Cuánto tu piensas que tus maestras quieren que tu vayas a la universidad/colegio?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 2e. ¿Cuánto tu crees que tus mejores amigos quieren que tu vayas a la universidad/colegio?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Las próximas preguntas tienen que ver con seguir instrucciones o reglas en la escuela.

- 3a. ¿Cuántas veces tu sigues las reglas de la escuela?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 3b. ¿Cuánto tu quieres seguir las reglas de la escuela?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 3c. ¿Cuántas veces tus mejores amigos rompen o no siguen las reglas de la escuela?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 3d. ¿Cuánto tu crees tus padres quieren que tu sigas las reglas de la escuela?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- 3e. ¿Cuánto tu crees tus maestros quieren que tu sigas las reglas de la escuela?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

For this part, use Very True... Scale. Point to each circle and say the word for the child. "Very true" is 1; "not at all true" is 5.

4. "Yo voy a ir a la universidad/colegio." ¿Cuán cierto tu crees que es en respecto a ti?
Bien cierto un poco cierto medio cierto un poco falso falso
 1 2 3 4 5
5. "Mis mejores amigos van a ir a la universidad." ¿Cuán cierto es para ti?
Bien cierto un poco cierto medio cierto un poco falso falso

- | | | | | | |
|--|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|--|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
6. “Mis padres piensan que yo voy a ir a universidad.” ¿Cuán cierto es para ti?
- | | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| Bien cierto | un poco cierto | medio cierto | un poco falso | falso |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
7. “Mis maestros piensan que yo voy a ir a la universidad.” ¿Cuán cierto es para ti?
- | | | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|--------------|
| Bien cierto | un poco cierto | medio cierto | un poco falso | falso |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
- 8a. ¿Dime que tienen que hacer las personas para tener buenas notas o calificaciones en la escuela?
- 8b. ¿Que tienen que hacer las personas para ir a la universidad?
- 8c. ¿Quieres tu ir a la universidad?
1. ¿Por qué tu quieres ir a la universidad? O
¿Por qué no quieres ir a la universidad?

Appendix D: Recruitment Flyer

You, and your children, can receive gift certificates and gifts for filling out surveys and participating in interviews. I invite your children to participate in a study investigating the experiences of children as Latino immigrants in the schools here in the United States. You will fill out a short survey, and your children will participate in a survey and interviews with me.

If your child:

- ☐ Is in 2nd-5th grade...
- ☐ Is an immigrant from a Latin American country (was born in a Latin American country)...
- ☐ Has spent less than half of his/her life (but no more than 5 years) here in the United States...

If you, as a parent or guardian:

- ☐ Were born in a Latin American country...

If you'd like your child to participate, please sign the bottom of this page, and bring it or send it with your child to EBLO staff. Next week, I will be at the EBLO programs so you can fill out the survey and sign permission forms for your children. If you have questions, ask in EBLO, or call me at 410 675-4639. **Thank you very much!!**

Elizabeth Obara, Universidad de Maryland, College Park

I am interested in participating in this study and wish to complete the survey and forms next week at my child's program.

Name_____ Child(ren)'s name(s)_____

Usted, y sus niños, pueden recibir un certificado de regalo y presentes por llenar unas encuestas y participar en unas entrevistas. Les invito a sus niños a participar en un estudio para investigar las experiencias de niños inmigrantes latinos en las escuelas aquí en los Estados Unidos. Usted llenará una encuesta breve, y sus niños participarán en una encuesta y unas entrevistas conmigo.

...Si su niño o niña:

- ☐ Está en el grado 2-5
- ☐ Es inmigrante de un país latinoamericano (nació en un país latinoamericano)
- ☐ Ha pasado menos de la mitad de su vida (pero no más de 5 años) aquí en los Estados Unidos

...Y si Usted, como madre, padre, o guardian:

- ☐ nació en un país latinoamericano

Si quiere que su niño o niños participen, por favor, firme la parte baja de este papel con su nombre, y puede entregarla personalmente o enviarla con su niño a alguien de EBLO. La próxima semana, voy a estar en el programa de EBLO, para que Usted pueda llenar la encuesta y dar permiso para sus niños. Si tiene alguna pregunta, hágalo con alguien en EBLO, o llámeme a 410 675-4639. **¡Muchísimas gracias!**

Elizabeth Obara, Universidad de Maryland, College Park

Estoy interesado en participar en este estudio y quiero completar la encuesta y formas la próxima semana en el programa de mi niño en EBLO.

Nombre_____ Nombre de niño(s)_____

Appendix E: Consent Form

Investigator: Elizabeth Obara

Instructor: Dr. Peter Leone (Phone number: 301 405-6489) **Department:** Special Education

My name is Elizabeth Obara, and I am finishing the Doctoral Program in Special Education at the University of Maryland, College Park. As part of my program, I am conducting a study titled: Latino Immigrant Students' Experiences in U.S. Schools: Attitudes, Stressors and Supports. The study's purpose is to explore the perspectives of immigrant children regarding their educational experiences in the United States. I am interested in their viewpoints, as students, immigrants and Latinos, concerning their likes/dislikes, challenges, and interactions with their classmates and teachers. I am hoping that this information will help schools better service and support students and understand their experiences. I would also like to ask you as parents to give some information about your family to help me get to know your children better. Please read the following information, consider your voluntary participation, and sign below if you choose to participate in the study.

The study will involve your completing a brief (15 minute) written survey asking about basic family information and involvement in education, to help the researcher know your child and family better. The survey will include questions about your country of origin and education, as well as activities and services in which your child is involved. You may complete the survey at EBLO or at home. If you prefer, the investigator or EBLO staff can assist you in completing the survey. You may return the survey directly to the investigator or place it in a sealed envelope and give it to EBLO staff to give to the investigator. We may need to meet more than one time to clarify or confirm information. Upon completion of the survey, you will receive local retail gift certificates.

This project is not designed to help you personally, but to help the investigator increase knowledge in the field. Potential benefits to others may result from the knowledge gathered from your and your child's participation in this research study. Your decision to participate, refuse to participate or withdraw from the study, and any information you give will not negatively affect you or your child in the school or community. Any risks associated with participating in this study are minimal; this includes the slight risk of fatigue or discomfort during the completion of the survey. Please know that you may choose to withdraw from the project, ask any questions at any point in time, or refuse to answer specific questions if you wish.

All information learned from this study will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by law. Please understand that the information you provide will be grouped with information others provide for reporting and presentation and that your name will not be used. The surveys will be coded with pseudonyms to protect your confidentiality; they will also be kept in a locked file to which only the investigator will have access. At the end of the study, all identifying information on any documents will be removed and destroyed. The final project will be presented to the investigator's professors and may

later be submitted for publication and/or presentation. I will be happy to share a copy of the final paper at your request.

Please sign this form noting your decision and return it to me, or place in a sealed envelope to leave at EBLO.

Sincerely, Elizabeth
Obara

I, _____, state that I am over 18 years of age and agree to participate in the program of research detailed above, conducted by Elizabeth Obara in the Department of Special Education at the University of Maryland, College Park. The researcher has offered to and has answered any and all questions regarding participation in this study. I have been informed of the risks and benefits of participation in the project, and that my participation in this study is completely voluntary. I am free to withdraw consent for participation in the study at any time. If I have any further questions I can contact the University professor whose information is noted at the top of my copy of this consent form. I understand that the project is being conducted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctoral program at the University of Maryland, College Park (UMCP).

Print Participant's Name _____ Date _____

Participant's Signature _____ Date _____

Researcher's Signature _____ Date _____

If you have any further questions, you may contact me at any time (410) 675-4639 during the day (M-F), or email me (eobara@umd.edu). Thank you for your time and consideration.

If you have questions about your rights as a research subject or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact: Institutional Review Board Office, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, 20742; (email) irb@deans.umd.edu; (telephone) 301-405-4212

Forma de Consentamiento

Investigadora: Elizabeth Obara

Profesor: Dr. Peter Leone (301) 405-6489

Departamento: Educación Especial

Mi nombre es Elizabeth Obara, y estoy terminando el Programa de Doctorado en Educación Especial en la Universidad de Maryland, College Park. Como parte de este programa, voy a hacer una investigación titulada: Las Experiencias de Estudiantes Inmigrantes Latinos en las Escuelas de los E.U.: Actitudes, Estresares, y Apoyos. La propuesta del estudio es saber las perspectivas de los niños inmigrantes sobre sus experiencias en las escuelas aquí en los Estados Unidos. Quiero saber sus opiniones (como estudiantes, Latinos e inmigrantes) con respecto a lo que les gusta y disgusta, sus dificultades, y las interacciones con sus compañeros de clase y sus maestros. Tengo la esperanza que esta información les ayude a las escuelas a servirle mejor a sus niños, ofrecerles más apoyo, e entender sus experiencias en la escuela. También me gustaría pedirles a los padres alguna información sobre su familia, para que pueda conocerse más a sus niños. Por favor, lea la información que sigue, considere su participación voluntaria, y firme este papel indicando su decisión.

La investigación incluye una corta encuesta escrita (de 15 minutos), que le preguntará a usted sobre información familiar básica e historia educacional, ayudará a la investigadora a conocer a sus niños y su familia un poco mejor. La encuesta incluye preguntas sobre su país de origen y educación, también de las actividades y servicios en los que su niño participa. Puede llenar la encuesta en EBLO o en su casa. Si prefiere, la investigadora o el personal de EBLO le podría ayudar a llenar la encuesta. Se puede entregar la encuesta directamente a la investigadora, o entregela en un sobre sellado al personal de EBLO para dárselo a la investigadora. Tal vez será necesario que nos reunamos más de una vez, para clarificar o confirmar información. Al llenar y entregar la encuesta, usted recibirá unos certificados de regalo a algunas tiendas en el area.

El proyecto no es diseñado a beneficiar a usted personalmente; es para aumentar el conocimiento de la investigadora. Otras personas podrían beneficiarse del conocimiento obtenido de su participación. Su decisión a participar, rehusar a participar o retirarse del estudio, y cualquier información que usted dé no le afectará negativamente en ninguna manera en la escuela ni en la comunidad. Los únicos riesgos envueltos en este estudio son mínimos; incluyen un riesgo mínimo de fatiga o incomodidad durante el proceso de la encuesta o entrevista. Por favor sepa que usted se puede escoger dejar el proyecto, rehusar a contestar algunas preguntas, o hacer cualquier pregunta en cualquier momento si lo desea.

Toda la información obtenida en este estudio será mantenida bajo la más estricta confidencialidad permitida por la ley. Por favor sepa que la información que usted dé será juntada con la información de otros participantes para reportar y presentar los resultados. Su nombre ni el nombre de su niño no será usado. Las encuestas serán puestas con seudónimos para asegurar su anonimato; también serán mantenidas en una caja asegurada la cual solo podrá tener acceso la investigadora. Al final de este estudio, toda

la información de identidades en cualquier documento será removida y destruida. El proyecto final será presentado y leído por mis profesores y es posible que sea entregado para ser publicado o presentado en publico. Al final del proyecto, si usted quisiera una copia del proyecto final, sería para mi un gusto compartírselo. Por favor firme este forma indicando su decisión y regrésela a mi o en un sobre sellado a EBLO.

Atentamente, Elizabeth Obara

Yo, _____, declaro que tengo más que 18 años de edad y estoy de acuerdo a participar en el estudio indicado, dirigido por Elizabeth Obara del Departamento de Educación Especial de la Universidad de Maryland, College Park. La investigadora ha ofrecido y ha respondido a toda mis preguntas respecto a mi participación en este estudio. He sido informado de los riesgos y beneficios de participación en el proyecto, y que mi participación es completamente voluntaria. Yo puedo dejar de participar en este estudio en cualquier momento. Si yo tengo cualquier pregunta yo puedo contactar al profesor Leone que su información está escrita en mi copia de este forma. Yo entiendo que el proyecto es parte de los requisitos del programa Doctorado en la Universidad de Maryland, College Park (UMCP).

Nombre del Participante _____ Fecha _____

Firma del Participante _____ Fecha _____

Firma de Investigador _____ Fecha _____

Si usted tiene cualquier pregunta, usted. me puede contactar a cualquier hora durante el día entre semana (410) 675-4639, o escríbame un correo electrónico (eobara@umd.edu). Gracias por su tiempo y consideración.

Si usted tiene cualquier pregunta sobre sus derechos como participante o quiere reportar un daño conectado a la investigación, por favor contacte: Institutional Review Board Office, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, 20742; (correo electrónico) irb@deans.umd.edu; (teléfono) 301-405-4212.

Appendix F: Parental Permission Forms

Investigator: Elizabeth Obara

Instructor: Dr. Peter Leone (Phone number: 301 405-6489)

Department: Special Education

My name is Elizabeth Obara, and I am finishing the Doctoral Program in Special Education at the University of Maryland, College Park. As part of my program, I am conducting a study titled: Latino Immigrant Students' Experiences in U.S. Schools: Attitudes, Stressors and Supports. The study's purpose is to explore immigrant children's perspectives of their educational experiences in the United States. I am interested in their viewpoints, as students, immigrants and Latinos, concerning their likes/dislikes, challenges, and interactions with their classmates and teachers. I am hoping that this information will help schools better service and support students and understand their experiences in schools. Please read the following information, consider your child's voluntary participation, and sign below if you permit your child to participate in the study.

The study will involve your child's participation in one assessment and possibly two interviews with the researcher. All activities will take place at EBLO. The 20-minute assessment will be read to children in small groups, and asks children to rank to what extent they experience stressful situations and show stress in school. If your child is needed to return for the interviews, the individual interviews with the investigator will last about one hour each and will be audiotape recorded. In the interviews, your child will be asked about his/her experiences in school (what they like, what is difficult, what they think about their classmates and teachers, etc.). We may need to meet more than twice for the interviews. At the end of the study, there will be a pizza party for children who participate. At the end of the interviews, your child will receive small treat bags.

This project is not designed to help your child personally, but to help the investigator increase knowledge in the field. Possible benefits of this research study include the opportunity for your child to voice opinions or concerns about school. Potential benefits to others may result from the knowledge gathered from your child's participation in this research study. Your decision to allow, refuse, or withdraw your child's participation, and any information your child gives will not negatively affect you or your child in the school or community. Any risks associated with participating in this study are minimal, including the slight risk of fatigue or discomfort during the completion of the assessment or interview. Please know that you or your child may choose to withdraw from the project, refuse to answer specific questions, or ask any questions at any point in time if you (or your child) wish.

All information learned from this study will be kept confidential to the extent permitted by law. Please understand that the information your child provides will be grouped with information others provide for reporting and presentation and that your child's name will not be used. Assessments, tapes, and transcriptions of interviews will be coded with pseudonyms to ensure anonymity and will be kept in a locked file to which only the investigator will have access. At the end of the study, all identifying information

on any documents will be removed and destroyed. The final project will be presented to the investigator's professors and may later be submitted for publication and/or presentation. I will be happy to share a copy of the final paper at your request.

Please sign and return this form to me or in a sealed envelope to EBLO.

Sincerely, Elizabeth Obara

I, _____, state that I am over 18 years of age and give permission for my child to participate in the study detailed above, conducted by Elizabeth Obara in the Department of Special Education at the University of Maryland, College Park.

___ I give permission for my child to be audio taped during participation in this study.

___ I do not give permission for my child to be audio taped.

I have been informed of the risks and benefits of participation in the project. I know that my child's participation in this study is completely voluntary. I am free to withdraw consent for my child's participation in the study at any time. The researcher, Elizabeth Obara, responsible for this research has offered to and has answered any and all questions regarding participation in this study. If I have any further questions, I can contact the University professor whose information is noted in my copy of this parental permission form. I understand that the project is being conducted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctoral program at the University of Maryland, College Park (UMCP).

Print Child's Name (participant) _____

Parent's Signature _____ Date _____

Researcher's Signature _____ Date _____

If you have any further questions, you may contact me at any time (410) 675-4639 during the day (M-F), or email me (eobara@umd.edu). Thank you for your time and consideration.

If you have questions about your child's rights as a research participant or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact: Institutional Review Board Office, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, 20742; (email) irb@deans.umd.edu; (telephone) 301-405-4212

Forma de Permiso Parental

Investigadora: Elizabeth Obara

Profesor: Dr. Peter Leone (301) 405-6489

Departamento: Educación Especial

Mi nombre es Elizabeth Obara, y estoy terminando el Programa de Doctorado en Educación Especial en la Universidad de Maryland, College Park. Como parte de este programa, voy a hacer una investigación titulada: Las Experiencias de Estudiantes Inmigrantes Latinos en las Escuelas de los E.U.: Actitudes, Estresares, y Apoyos. La propuesta del estudio es saber las perspectivas de los niños inmigrantes sobre sus experiencias en las escuelas aquí en los Estados Unidos. Quiero saber sus opiniones (como estudiantes, Latinos e inmigrantes) con respecto a lo que les gusta y disgusta, sus dificultades, y las interacciones con sus compañeros de clase y sus maestros. Tengo la esperanza que esta información les ayude a las escuelas a servirle mejor a sus niños, ofrecerles más apoyo, e entender sus experiencias en la escuela. Por favor, lea la información que sigue, considere la participación voluntaria de su niño, y firme este papel indicando su decisión.

Esta investigación incluye una encuesta, y tal vez dos entrevistas con la investigadora. Todas las actividades del estudio llevará acabo en EBLO. La encuesta es breve, de 20 minutos, y será leída a su niño en un grupo pequeño. La encuesta preguntará sobre el estrés que su niño encuentra en la escuela, y como es que demostraría su estrés. Si a su niño se le invita a regresar para las entrevistas, cada una durará aproximadamente una hora y estará grabada en casete. En las entrevistas, le preguntaré respecto sus experiencias en la escuela (que le gusta, que se le es difícil, que opina de sus compañeros y sus maestros, etc.). Tal vez será necesario que nos reunamos más de dos veces para las entrevistas. Todos los niños participantes asistirán una fiesta de pizza. Al fin de cada entrevista, su niño recibirá una bolsita con premios.

El proyecto no es diseñado a beneficiar a su niño personalmente; es para aumentar el conocimiento de la investigadora. Los beneficios posibles de esta investigación incluyen: la oportunidad para sus niños poder expresar sus opiniones o preocupaciones sobre la escuela. También, otras personas podrían beneficiarse del conocimiento obtenido de la participación de su niño. Su decisión a dejar a su niño que participe, su rehúso que participe, o retirarse del estudio, y cualquier información que su niño dé no les afectará negativamente de ninguna manera en la escuela ni en la comunidad. Los únicos riesgos envueltos en este estudio son mínimos; incluyen un riesgo mínimo de fatiga o incomodidad durante el proceso de la encuesta o entrevista. Por favor sepa que usted o su niño puede escoger dejar el proyecto, rehusar a contestar algunas preguntas, o hacer cualquier pregunta en cualquier momento si lo desea.

Toda la información obtenida en este estudio será mantenida bajo la más estricta confidencialidad permitida por la ley. Por favor sepa que la información que su niño dé será juntada con la información de otros participantes para reportar y presentar los resultados. Su nombre ni el nombre de su niño no será usado. Encuestas, grabaciones y transcripciones de las entrevistas serán puestas con seudónimos para asegurar su

anonimato; también serán mantenidas en una caja asegurada la cual solo podrá tener acceso la investigadora. Al final de este estudio, toda la información de identidades en cualquier documento será removida y destruida. El proyecto final será presentado y leído por mis profesores y es posible que sea entregado para ser publicado o presentado en publico. Al final del proyecto, si usted quisiera una copia del proyecto final, sería para mí un gusto compartírselo.

Por favor firme este forma y regrésela a mí, o en el sobre sellado a EBLO.

Atentamente, Elizabeth Obara

Yo, _____, declaro que tengo más que 18 años de edad y doy permiso que participe mi niño en el estudio indicado, dirigido por Elizabeth Obara del Departamento de Educación Especial de la Universidad de Maryland, College Park.

___ Yo doy permiso para que mi niño sea grabado en casete de audio en este estudio.

___ Yo no doy permiso para que mi niño sea grabado en casete de audio.

La investigadora ha ofrecido y ha respondido a toda mis preguntas respecto a la participación de mi niño en este estudio. He sido informado de los riesgos y beneficios de participación en el proyecto, y que la participación de mi niño es completamente voluntaria. Mi niño y yo podemos dejar de participar en este estudio en cualquier momento. Si yo tengo cualquier pregunta yo puedo contactar al profesor Leone que su información está escrita en mi copia de este forma. Yo entiendo que el proyecto es parte de los requisitos del programa Doctorado en la Universidad de Maryland, College Park (UMCP).

Nombre del Participante (niño) _____ Fecha _____

Firma del Padre/Madre _____ Fecha _____

Firma de Investigador _____ Fecha _____

Si usted tiene cualquier pregunta, usted. me puede contactar a cualquier hora durante el día entre semana (410) 675-4639, o escríbame un correo electrónico (eobara@umd.edu). Gracias por su tiempo y consideración.

Si usted tiene cualquier pregunta sobre sus derechos como participante o quiere reportar un daño conectado a la investigación, por favor contacte: Institutional Review Board Office, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, 20742; (correo electrónico) irb@deans.umd.edu; (teléfono) 301-405-4212.

Appendix G: Assent Forms

Investigator: *Elizabeth Obara*

Instructor: Dr. Peter Leone (Phone number: 301 405-6489)

Department: Special Education

My name is Elizabeth Obara, and I am finishing the Doctoral Program in Special Education at the University of Maryland. I am working on a study titled: Latino Immigrant Students' Experiences in U.S. Schools: Attitudes, Stressors and Supports. In the study, I want to know what immigrant kids think about being in school in America. I am interested in learning what you like and dislike, what you think is difficult, and what you think about your classmates and teachers.

The activities for the study will happen during EBLO programs. In the study, I will read a 20-minute survey to you and other children in a small group, and you will mark your answers on paper. The survey will ask questions about things that may happen in school and how you feel in school. I may also ask you to do one or two interviews with me on another day. You and I will talk for about an hour, and I will ask you more questions about school, like what's fun, what you don't like, who helps you, how you get along with your teachers and classmates. This time I will tape record our conversation and I will write down some notes as we talk. We may meet to talk more than once. You will get to come to a pizza party for participating, and you may receive small treat bags too.

This study is not made to help you in school, but will help me understand what it's like to come from another country and be at school in the United States. Other people might also learn from what you and other children tell me. You may get a little tired or uncomfortable during the survey or interviews, but nothing else bad should happen to you because of the study. You can agree to be in the study or choose not to be in the study, and nothing bad will happen to you because of what you decide. If you don't want to answer a question, if you want to stop doing something, or if you want to quit being in the study, you can let me know. Also, you can ask me any questions at any time.

According to the law, everything you tell me will be safe with me, because I am not going to put your name, your family's name or your school's name on anything. Only I will be able to use the surveys, tapes and notes that record your answers. At the end of

the study, I'll make sure that any papers I have from the study do not have any children's names on them. When I write a paper at the end of the study, I will group the information you tell me with information that other children tell me, but your names will not be used. I will share that paper with my teachers at the University, and other people may read it too. If you'd like, I can also give a paper to your family.

Do you have any questions?: ☐ yes ☐ no

The researcher has told me about what I will do in the study, what may happen and what I can choose to do during the study. I can choose to participate or not participate, and I can ask to stop the study if I want to. The researcher, Elizabeth Obara, has asked me if I have any questions and has answered all my questions about the study. If I have any further questions I can contact the University professor whose information is noted at the top of this assent form. I understand that the study is part of the researcher's studies at the University of Maryland, College Park (UMCP).

☐ I agree to participate in this study.

☐ I do not agree to participate in this study

☐ I agree to be tape-recorded during this study.

☐ I do not agree to be tape-recorded.

Your name _____ Date _____

Researcher's Signature _____ Date _____

If you have any further questions, you may contact me at any time (410) 675-4639 during the day (Monday-Friday), or email me (eobara@umd.edu). Thank you for your time and helping me with this study.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant or wish to report a research-related injury, please contact: Institutional Review Board Office, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, 20742; (email) irb@deans.umd.edu; (telephone) 301-405-4212

Forma de Asentimiento

Investigadora: Elizabeth Obara

Profesor: Dr. Peter Leone (301) 405-6489

Departamento: Educación Especial

Mi nombre es Elizabeth Obara, y estoy terminando el Programa de Doctorado en Educación Especial en la Universidad de Maryland, College Park. Voy a hacer una investigación titulada: Las Experiencias de Estudiantes Inmigrantes Latinos en las Escuelas de los E.U.: Actitudes, Estresares, y Apoyos. En este estudio, quiero saber lo que piensan los niños inmigrantes sobre estudiar en las escuelas aquí en los Estados Unidos. Quiero saber lo que te gusta y no te gusta, que te parece difícil, y como te llevas con tus compañeros de clase y tus maestros.

El estudio se llevará acabo en EBLO. Les voy a leer una encuesta de 20 minutos a ti y otros niños en un grupo pequeño, y vas a marcar tus respuestas en un papel. Te preguntaré sobre lo que podría pasarte en la escuela, y como te sientes en la escuela. Es posible que te voy a pedir que hagamos uno o dos entrevistas también. Si te pido esto, tú y yo vamos a platicar por una hora, y te voy a preguntar más sobre la escuela, como que es divertido, que no te gusta, quien te ayuda, y como te llevas con tus maestros y compañeros de clase. Voy a grabar esta conversación en audio grabadora, y voy a escribir algunas notas mientras que platicamos. Es posible que nos reunamos más de una vez para las entrevistas. Recibirás una fiesta de pizza si participas, y quizás también unas regalitos.

Este estudio no está hecho a ayudarte en la escuela, sino para ayudarme a mi a entender como es venir de otro país y asistir una escuela en los Estados Unidos. Otras personas quizás aprenderán de la información que tú y los otros niños me den. Es posible que te cansarás o te incomodarás un poco durante la encuesta o entrevistas, pero nada más malo debería pasarte por medio del estudio. Tú puedes escoger participar en el estudio, o no, y nada te pasará mal dependiendo en lo que tú decidas. Si no quieres contestar una pregunta, o si quieres parar en cualquier momento, o si quieres dejar de participar en el estudio, por favor dímelo. Además, me puedes hacer cualquier pregunta en cualquier momento.

Cuando yo escriba el proyecto final, y cuando le diga a otra gente tus ideas o palabras, no les diré tu nombre, el nombre de tu familia o escuela. De acuerdo con la ley,

todo lo que me cuentes se mantendrá seguro conmigo, y solamente yo puedo usar las encuestas, casetes y notas que tienen tus respuestas. Al final del estudio, me aseguraré que los papeles que yo tenga del estudio no tengan los nombres de ningún niño. Cuando escriba el proyecto final, voy a juntar la información que tú me des con la información que otros me den, y sus nombres no serán usados. Voy a compartir este proyecto con mis profesores en la Universidad, y otras personas quizás lo leerán también. Si quieres, puedo compartir una copia del estudio con tu familia.

¿Tienes alguna pregunta? _____ si _____ no

La investigadora, Elizabeth Obara, me ha contado lo que voy a hacer en el estudio, que me pasaría, y lo que puedo escoger cuando participe en el estudio. Puedo escoger participar o no participar, y puedo dejar de participar en el estudio si quiero. La investigadora me ha preguntado si yo tengo alguna pregunta, y ha contestado mis preguntas sobre el estudio. Si tengo más preguntas, puedo llamar al profesor de la Universidad que tiene su información en la primer parte de este forma. Yo entiendo que este estudio es parte del curso de la investigadora en la Universidad de Maryland, College Park (UMCP).

___ Quiero participar en este estudio.

___ No quiero participar en este estudio.

___ Estoy de acuerdo a ser audio grabado en este estudio.

___ No estoy de acuerdo a ser audio grabado en este estudio.

Tu nombre _____ Fecha _____

Firma de la investigadora _____ Fecha _____

Si tiene cualquier otra pregunta, me puede contactar 410 675-4639 durante el día (lunes a viernes), o mandarme un correo electrónico (eobara@umd.edu). Gracias por tu tiempo, y ayudarme con el estudio.

Si tiene preguntas sobre sus derechos como participante o quiere reportar un daño conectado a la investigación, por favor contacte: Institutional Review Board Office, University of Maryland, College Park, Maryland, 20742; (correo electrónico) irb@deans.umd.edu; (teléfono) 301-405-4212.

Appendix H: Follow up questions

Students were asked if they agreed with the following statements:

1. It is very important to me to make my parents proud of me in school. (more than teachers).

2. Focusing on school work is more important to me than making friends at school.

Can having friends in school help you in any way? How?

3. In order to get good grades and be a good student, you have to behave and work hard.

If I behave and work hard, I will be successful in school.

I *like* school more or less depending on:

- Who my teachers are
- The kinds of kids who are in my class
- How hard the work is
- Who is available to help me

I can do better in school (behavior and grades) depending on:

- Who my teachers are
- The kinds of kids who are in my class
- How hard the work is
- Who is available to help me

Appendix I: Codebook for Qualitative Data
Analysis

<u>Major categories</u>	<u>Subcategories</u>	<u>Subcategories</u>	<u>Theme</u>
Immigration	Language issues	ESL language challenges	<i>(Immigration Issues)</i>
	References to other countries		
Expectations	Expectations	students' expectations of selves, teachers, parents	<i>Expectations</i>
		messages from teachers and parents regarding expectations	
	Actions and Consequences	incentives pleasing adults	
People	Support	friends teachers family	<i>Supportive Relationships</i>
	Relationships	teachers family	

		friends classmates	
Important things at school	what's important	work learning behavior doing well	<i>Priorities: Learning, Behavior, Performance</i>
	Future	education jobs	
School climate	like about school	fun positive aspects	<i>(Positive and Negative Reflections on School Climate)</i>
	don't like about school	fighting positive aspects	
	challenges		<i>(Challenges)</i>

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