The Relationship Between the Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Latino Youth and Their Parents

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF LATINO YOUTH AND THEIR PARENTS

by

Andrew O. Behnke

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

Family and Human Development
ABSTRACT

The Relationship Between the Educational and Occupational Aspirations of Latino Youth and Their Parents

by

Andrew O. Behnke, Master of Science
Utah State University, 2002

Major Professor: Dr. Kathleen W. Piercy
Department: Family and Human Development

This study used the qualitative technique of focused interviewing to understand the educational and occupational aspirations of ten Latino youth and their parents in a small town in rural Utah. The qualitative nature of this study allowed for an in-depth look into each parent’s aspirations for themselves and for their youth, each youth’s aspirations, the barriers to aspirational attainment for both parents and youth, the perceived parental support in these families, and their perceived needs for aspirational attainment. This study used two open-ended interview forms and a 12-question demographic questionnaire to collect data from each of the 30 persons.

This sample was made up of primarily Mexican immigrants, with five youth of each sex and a mean age of 14.6 years. Using modified analytic induction and the organizational capabilities of QSR NUD*IST, a qualitative
software package, themes and subthemes were created from the interview transcripts. These themes were examined as to their interrelatedness within families, and in relation to all the families in the study.

Most Latino parents’ aspirations were found to transfer to their youth. However, only half of the parents were aware of their youth’s aspirations, and few parents had discussed them with their youth. Though all parents wanted their youth to go to college, they did not know how to get them there.

Parents felt that a lack of understanding of the pathway to their aspirations, a lack of English proficiency, and a lack of time were real barriers to realizing their aspirations. Youth and their parents indicated that parental educational support was rather limited due to parents’ insufficient English abilities. Parents indicated that they needed education and access to information to achieve the aspirations they had for themselves. Continued work needs to be done to provide Latino families with additional education and training so that these families may attain their aspirations. Programs for youth and families are needed to help foster these aspirations and the understanding of how to achieve them.

(126 pages)
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

Recently, Latino youth were reported to have the highest percentage of dropouts among U.S. high school students (Kaufman, Kwon, & Klein, 1999). Another report by the Urban Institute showed that “risky behaviors” had doubled among 9th- and 10th-grade Hispanic youth over a 6-year period of time (Coles, 2000). These youth were shown to have participated in five or more risky behaviors, such as regular binge drinking, regular tobacco use, marijuana use, other illegal drug use, physical fighting, suicide attempts, and sexual risk-taking, within the last 3 months (Coles). These concerns only reflect the difficult problems faced by a diverse population of Latinos in our modern U.S. culture.

To emphasize the needed expediency to ameliorate these problems, current demographics have shown that the Latino population is the second largest and fastest growing minority group in the United States (Marger, 1997). The Hispanic population, including Puerto Ricans, Cubans, Mexicans, and both South and Central American descendents, will be the largest ethnic group in the U.S. by 2050 (Staveteig & Wigton, 2000). It is also projected that the Latino population will account for over 25% of the U.S. population by the year 2050 (Shinagawa & Jang, 1998). In fact, the fastest growing
ethnic group cited by age grouping is that of Latino youth, ages 0-19 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1998). These statistics hold true here in Utah and in Cache Valley, as well. From recent 2000 census data, it is estimated there are more than 201,000 Latino individuals in Utah, comprising over 9% of the state’s population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000). From 1980 to 2000, the Latino population in Cache Valley has increased over 400%, and currently numbers more than 5,786 individuals. This same census data shows that more than 2,446 Latino youth now live in the Valley.

The local school systems struggle with the heightened influx of non-English speaking Latino youth. For example, according to Dr. Grace Huerta (personal communication), Lincoln Elementary School estimates that more than 40% of their students are Latino, and their enrollment has increased by 79% from 1993-1998. These numbers are low estimates due to the numbers of Latinos that cannot be counted because of nonregistered residency status. These various statistics point out that with this growing population of youth, some of whom are likely to engage in the above-mentioned behaviors, come greater social concerns for them and their communities.

Recent literature points to a definite relationship between the Hispanic youth’s problematic behaviors and their low aspirations, low self-esteem, lower socioeconomic status, and lower literacy, as compared to their African-American and Anglo counterparts (Gumbiner, 1998; Hernandez, 1998). Other researchers also have found that Latino parents are
significantly less involved in their children’s schoolwork, and have lower aspirations for their children than do Caucasian parents (Sandefur, 1998). Though many of their problem behaviors often may be attributed to their lower socioeconomic status, studies have shown that youth’s low self-esteem and educational aspirations predict these behaviors even better than income (Hernandez). These aspirations or future orientations of Latino youth and their parents have been explored recently through various contexts (Gumbiner; Qian & Blair, 1999; Yowell, 2000), but more research is needed.

**Rationale and Purpose of Research**

The growing population of Latino families in the Cache Valley area underlines the importance of work to understand and help these families achieve goals to which they aspire. In search of ways to motivate and create higher future-oriented aspirations among Latino youth in this area, this research project examined familial connections that affect the youth’s aspirations. This study explored the relationship between parent’s educational and occupational aspirations, both for themselves and their 11-16 year-old children, and compared these with the aspirations their children have for themselves. A strong relationship between child and parent aspirations implies that among Latino populations, intervention to motivate youth to continue their education should be focused on both parents and their children.
Various studies (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988; Hernandez, 1998; Kao & Tienda, 1995; Rumberger, 1983) have shown that one of the best predictors of academic achievement and/or dropping out of school is the youth's educational aspirations. For example, it has been shown that heightened aspirations lead to greater success in school and occupations in the general population (Paul, 1997; Schoon, 2001). Kao and Tienda and Mau and Bikos (2000) in their nationally representative samples of high school youth, found that Hispanic Americans had markedly lower educational aspirations than their Caucasian and African American counterparts, supporting the trend documented by other researchers (Educating, 1996; George, 1990; Mau, 1995; Sandefur, 1998). In other words, on average, Latinos have lower educational goals than other racial and ethnic groups in these studies, leading to lower academic and occupational achievement, and higher dropout rates in high school.

A number of studies have shown that parents who are involved, aware, knowledgeable, and encouraging of their youth have children who have more positive attitudes towards school and higher aspirations, get higher grades in school, have lower rates of drugs use and sexual risk-taking, and have less likelihood of dropping out of school (Delgado-Gaitan, 1988, 1992; Okagaki & Frensch, 1995; Sealy, 2000; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, and Buriel (1990) conducted a study that investigated the literature on ethnic families' ecologies, including
parent/child relationships, home environments, socialization practices, and parent/child perceptions, finding a controversial deficit of literature on the topic. Little is known about how Latino families encourage their youth’s school achievement and attainment of their goals.

In that same light, little has been done to understand the vital connection between the aspirations of Latino youth and their parents. Teachman and Paasch (1998) stated that “about three quarters of the variance in aspirations lies between families” (p. 712); in other words, 75% of the variance in the aspirations of Latino youth can be explained by the relationships within their families. Numerous studies (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988; Qian & Blair, 1999; Sandefur, 1998; Soto, 1989) have shown that parents have the greatest impact on their youth’s aspirations. However, no study to date has explored how these parents foster the aspirations of their youth, and to what extent these aspirations transfer across families and within communities.

It is hoped that the results of this research will create a greater understanding of how aspirations are developed so that Latino families may be supported to achieve their aspirations, as well as improve our understanding of what Latinos need to bridge the gap between what they hope to attain and actual attainment of those goals.
While the overall purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between Latino parental and youth aspirations, this general idea was broken into four research questions:

1. What are the parents’ educational and occupational aspirations for their youth and themselves? What are the youth’s own educational and occupational aspirations?

2. What are the barriers to obtaining the aspirations these parents and youth have for themselves?

3. How do parents perceive they are supporting their child in their educational and occupational aspirations, and how do the youth perceive they are supported?

4. What do Latino parents and youth feel they need to attain the aspirations (such as higher levels of education and employment) they have for themselves?
CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

This review of literature was assembled to create an understanding of the current state of Latino youth in the United States, and the research on their educational and occupational aspirations, and those of their parents. This review examines the relationship between two areas of the literature; namely, the prevalence of and reasons for high Latino dropout rates, and the effect of parental influence on child's future aspirations. The overarching influence of social status on familial aspirations also is discussed in the context of these two areas.

Prevalence and Reasons for Latinos Dropping Out of School

*The Prevalence of Latino School Dropout*

Dropping out of school is a real concern for Latinos. The 2000 U.S. Census data shows that 49% of Mexican Americans over the age of 25 had not graduated from high school (Therrien & Ramirez, 2000). In 1992, the U.S. Department of Education reported that Latinos were the ethnic group most likely to drop out of high school. In fact, they estimated that Latinos dropped out of school at a rate 35.3%, versus 8.9% for non-Hispanic whites, and 13.6% for African Americans. Other recent estimates indicate that as many as 50% (and in some states as high as 70%) of Latino youth have dropped out of high school, and this trend continues (Chavez, Oetting, &
Swaim, 1994; Rumberger, 1995). Of the previously listed studies, only Rumberger's controlled for socioeconomic status (SES). This may be due in part to the nature of census-based reports like these in which SES factors are not included in the data analyses. The oversight of controlling for SES in these studies limits their ability to rule out the importance of low socioeconomic conditions on the educational performance and continuance of Latinos.

This low level of educational attainment has been shown to affect job prospects and lead to higher rates of poverty. In the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth, lower amounts of education were shown to correlate positively to a higher actual number of unemployment spells, a higher number of jobs held, and a lower length of employment (Veum & Weiss, 1993). The converse also was found to be true; Latino youth have lowered aspirations because of their lowered earning potential. For example, Latino college graduates were less likely to get and keep jobs and had lower starting salaries than their Caucasian counterparts (Veum & Weiss, 1993). This study looked specifically at prior socioeconomic status of their parents in relation to its outcomes.

Why Latinos Drop Out of School

Some of the reasons for the High dropout rate among Latino youth include: school influence, low academic performance, parental support deficits, immigration, teenage pregnancy and substance abuse, and low
educational aspirations. In most regions of the country, schools struggle with cultural and ethnic differences that limit their ability to help Latino youth (Eccles & Harold, 1993). Their study indicated that school, teacher, and family practices were more important than parent education, and other social status variables, in determining the children’s educational success.

Dropout of Latino youth is related to the lowered expectations and racism of school faculty in the United States. Katz (1997, 1999) followed eight junior high school students to explore the ways schools perpetuate lower expectations and criminalization of Latino youth. She found that the institutionalized racism was even more detrimental than the racism of individual teachers. Falbo (1996) also demonstrated that school practices, rather than parent influence, were the primary cause of dropping out. The study found that practices such as retention in grade, grouping students by standardized scores, and exit-level testing were the biggest impediments to Latinos graduating from high school.

Latinos also have been found to be the ethnic group most delayed in academic performance. Compared to other racial and ethnic groups, Latinos are the least proficient in reading, math, and science, as measured in 9 year-olds by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (Condition of Education, 1995). In recent years, academic standards have been rising, resulting in schools further alienating the subpopulation labeled “at risk,” because these youth fell farther behind in their academic performance as the
standards rose (Reyes & Valencia, 1995). This is just one of the reasons Latinos are more likely than white students to drop out of high school (Davalos, Chavez, & Guardiola, 1999).

Jordan, Lara, and McPartland’s (1996) recent research indicated that these youth’s plans to gain an education were leading predictors of dropping out of school. More Latino adolescent dropouts were found to have no plans for getting a GED or returning to a regular school compared to other ethnic groups. They controlled for SES and found the two factors independent of one another. Some of this low academic performance in turn can be explained by the parent’s inability to help these youth due to the parent’s limited English proficiency. Other struggles relate to parents’ inability to help their children with homework (which often is in a foreign language to them), and inability to make conversation in English (Hidalgo, 1994; Majoribanks, 1991; Melby & Conger, 1996). According to Melby and Conger, parental support of homework has been found to be one of the best predictors of academic success.

Other struggles are the late entrance of Latinos into schools due to immigration or previous alien status. For example, the group of highest concern is Latino youth born outside the United States; among this group, approximately 74 percent never complete high school (Condition of Education, 1995). The economic status of Latino Americans, particularly immigrant families, must also be taken into consideration with respect to
their aspirations for education. Compared to the high unemployment rates and low possible wages in parts of Latin America, working for $7.50 an hour, which equates to over $60,000.00 over three years, makes much more sense to some Latinos than paying money to go to school. Understanding this crucial point helps us to realize that Latino youth may not have “lower” aspirations, but rather a different contextual view of education.

Teen pregnancy and substance abuse are two other problems that lead to heightened dropout rates among Latino youth (14-21 years of age). Current data indicates that nearly 10% of girls in the United States ages 15 to 19 become pregnant, and though these rates seem to be declining, they remain a problem (AGI, 1999; Henshaw, 1999; Politics, 2001). In fact, 13% of all births in the United States are to teenagers (Ventura, 1997). The rate of Latino teen pregnancy, 21%, is the highest of any ethnic group, higher than the current frequency of 19.7% among the African-American population (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2000). Three in ten Hispanic females drop out of school because of teen-pregnancy (Condition of Education, 1995). Consequently, these young parents have predictably lowered educational and occupational attainment (Ascher, 1984, 1985).

In a national sample of youth ages 12-21, it was reported that “Mexican American male youth (48.9 percent) were the most likely to be current [alcohol] drinkers of all the race-ethnic-sex groups examined” (Health-risk, 1992, p. 9). The study’s authors also reported the greatest
prevalence (4.1%) of repeated cocaine use and highest frequency of lifetime cocaine use, (9.4%) in this 12-21 year-old group (Health-risk, 1992). Drug and alcohol abuse have been shown to decrease educational and occupational attainment among a longitudinal sample of 1,222 youth (Kandel, Mossel, & Kaestner, 1987). This phenomenon has been shown to be related to the heightened rates of school dropouts.

Mau and Bikos (2000), in their nationally representative sample of 10th grade youth, found that Hispanic Americans had markedly lower educational aspirations than their Caucasian and African American counterparts. This study controlled for educational and financial status of the parents, and found results supporting the trend shown by other researchers (George, 1990; Mau, 1995). The authors did not study the reasons for this dissimilarity, but they did state that poor academic success and dropping out of school were related to lessened occupational possibilities, earning potential, and educational aspirations.

Latino Parental Relationships with Youth and their Effects on Aspirations

Parent/Child Indicators of Educational Achievement

Numerous studies have shown the relationship between a youth's educational attainment and parental characteristics such as parental supportiveness (reinforcement), parent/child relationships (connectedness), and parental involvement (Eccles et al., 1993; Hess & Holloway, 1984;
Marjoribanks, 1979, 1980). Research has shown that youth of all ethnicities have more positive school attitudes, higher aspirations, and achieve higher grades in school when their parents are involved, aware, knowledgeable, and encouraging of their schoolwork (Epstein, 1992).

One example of this relationship in Latino families is found in the work of Kao and Tienda (1995), which examined the difference between recent immigrant and native parents' effects on their children's scholastic achievement. Though they found little difference between the two groups of parents, parental participation in scholastic activities was correlated positively with high-achieving youth.

Teachman has studied longitudinally the effects of parent involvement on school performance and educational attainment. He has argued that parents who use their resources (human, financial, and social capital) to create home environments that are conducive to educational pursuits have children with better school achievement, lower dropout rates, and increased educational attainment (Teachman, 1987; Teachman, Paasch, & Carver, 1996).

In a study using the National Educational Longitudinal Survey, Teachman found that various family patterns such as parental interaction with children (connectedness) and children changing schools predicted the level of youth dropping out of school (Teachman et al., 1996). He found that having highly connected parents and families with fewer school changes led
to lower levels of school dropout among their youth. They found that family and socioeconomic factors such as parental income could describe three quarters of the variation in youth’s educational aspirations, and that parent’s education accounts for only a negligible portion of this variation. They do admit, however, that the broad range of socioeconomic influences could not be studied in the scope of their research.

Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, and Darling (1992) found that children’s academic achievement was positively correlated with three parental indicators: authoritative parenting, parental involvement in schooling, and parental encouragement to succeed. These results were obtained using a sample of approximately 6,400 socioeconomically and culturally heterogeneous adolescents ages 14 to 18. These results were reexamined a few years later by Herman, Dornbusch, Herron, and Herting (1997), using more elaborate theoretical models and more sophisticated statistical procedures, focusing on the effect of parental involvement. They found similar results, showing a positive relationship between parental involvement and academic achievement.

Other work done by Otto and Atkinson (1997) used a smaller data set of 362 high school juniors, with an over-sampling of ethnic minorities to explore the role of parental involvement in adolescent development. Results showed that high levels of parental involvement predicted academic achievement by “as much as 50% to 70%” (Otto & Atkinson, p. 82). They also
concluded that high levels of parental monitoring had a negative effect on the youth’s academic achievement, and that two other indicators of parental involvement had a positive effect on academic achievement: namely, parent/child agreement, and parent/child discussions. The authors indicated that it is possible that the negative effect of parental monitoring may be due to reversed causation, in which low academic performance may motivate greater parental supervision.

Melby and Conger (1996), in their study of 347 adolescent seventh graders and their parents, found that various parental behaviors resulted in increased academic performance. They found that the setting and reinforcement of behavioral standards by parents increased their youth’s academic performance, and demonstrations of parental hostility reduced academic performance.

The qualitative work of Hickman, Greenwood, and Miller (1995) also showed that parents who attempted to be knowledgeable supporters of their youth were from higher socioeconomic strata than those that did not, as would be expected. However, they also showed a strong relationship between home-based parent participation and youth’s academic achievement, with higher rates of participation predicting higher academic achievement.

**Parent/Child Relationships in Latino Families**

Though many studies have been done with multicultural groups
concerning parent/child relations and their effects on school achievement, little work has been done exclusively on Latino families. For example, Harrison et al. (1990) conducted a study that investigated the literature on ethnic families’ ecologies, including parent/child relationships, home environments, socialization practices, and parent/child perceptions. They found a controversial deficit of literature on these topics central to Latino families.

A positive outcome of Latino parental interaction with children is increased academic success. Okagaki and Frensch (1995) studied 82 Latino parents of fourth and fifth graders to determine factors that contributed to academic success in their children. They found that parents who read in front of their children, who felt they effectively helped their children with homework, and who set higher expectation levels for their children’s academic performance, had youth who did consistently better in their schooling than their peers.

The ethnographic researcher, Delgado-Gaitan (1988, 1992, 1994) studied the effects of Latino familial support on various aspects of academic success. In one study of school dropout, she found that those who stayed in school differed “qualitatively in the emotional and social parental support they received regarding school rules and conflicts” (Delgado-Gaitan, 1988, p. 377). Families that valued schooling and had higher levels of parental
involvement had lower levels of dropout and better student educational achievement.

Another study by Delgado-Gaitan (1992) observed that although Mexican American parents provided encouragement for their children to do schoolwork, desired their children to do well in school, and helped their children with their homework, they did so with wide-ranging effectiveness. She ascertained that higher parental education and familiarity with the school system predicted their ability to help their child with schoolwork, and that these two things were not necessarily a function of parents' desires to help their children succeed in school. This can be explained partially due to the fact that many of those studied were immigrants. So often recent immigrants come from Latin American communities that allow little to no access to their schools and thus may have a very different way of supporting their youth, as compared to those of native U.S. residents.

Using a culturally and socioeconomically heterogeneous sample of 6,400 adolescents ages 14 to 18, Steinberg, Dornbusch, and Brown (1992) concluded that Caucasian students benefited from the combination of authoritative parenting and peer support for academic achievement; whereas Hispanic students had to deal with the negative impact of parental authoritarianism and reversed peer pressure (the effect of peers going against the ideals and values of the parents). They found parental authoritarianism lead to lowered levels of academic performance.
The Role of Acculturation

Another important aspect affecting the family's internal relationships is that of acculturation, or the level of acceptance of cultural learning, and behavioral adaptation into the mainstream culture. Latino families are often divided into three stages, those who are in the low acculturation stage (marginalization), the biculturalization stage (integration), and the high acculturation stage (Phinney, Madden, & Ong, 2000).

Depending on the stage of acculturation of the individual and family, various difficulties arise (Phinney, Romero, Nava, & Huang, 2001). Discontinuity between parent and youth acculturation often plays out in further parental alienation from youth and youthful acting out (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001; Sabogal, Perez-Stable, Otero-Sabogal, & Hiatt, 1995). In fact, higher incidence of substance abuse and sexual promiscuity was found to be related to lower acculturation among Latino teenagers (Chavez & Swaim, 1992; Markides, Ray, Stroup-Benham, & Trevino, 1990; Sabogal et al.). Those parents who have achieved lesser degrees of acculturation than their youth may be less apt to support and understand the needs of their children, and are less likely to prevent these risky behaviors.

The Role of Positive Parent/Child Relationships

Recent research has shown that a positive and nurturing parental relationship is correlated with fewer risky behaviors in Hispanic youth. In
Coombs, Paulson, and Richardson's (1991) study of 446 Anglo and Hispanic 9-17 year-olds, both racial groups were found to have nearly equal rates of healthy parental relationships (defined as open communication, parental support, and mutual awareness), and those who had these relationships were less involved in drug use and deviant peer groups. Thus it can be inferred that positive parent-child relationships may lead to lower levels of risky behaviors in youth.

Sealy (2000) showed that heightened levels of parental support (praise, encouragement, and/or physical affection) were found to have a statistically significant correlation with lowered alcohol consumption by Hispanic adolescent males. On the other hand, increased parental control (strict rules, withdrawal of privilege, and/or physical punishment) had a significant impact on both the increased frequency and quantity of alcohol consumed during Latino’s adolescence.

Parents who are involved, aware, knowledgeable, and encouraging of their youth tend to have youth with more positive school attitudes and higher aspirations, achieve higher grades in school, lower levels of risky behaviors, and are less likely to drop out of school. A child’s orientation to the future can also impact academic performance.

Future Orientation among Latino Youth

The term future orientation has been used in the literature for over
twenty years to describe the educational and occupational aspirations of youth. A review of the Condition of Education (Educating, 1996) showed that "Hispanics have lower educational aspirations, despite having college recommended at similar rates" as their peers (p. 17). For example, Hispanic youth aspired for high-school diplomas or less 14% of the time, compared with the 9% of their white peers. In fact, only "47 percent of Hispanic [high school] sophomores aspired to a bachelor's degree or higher, compared to 61 percent of whites" (Educating, p. 17).

Rumberger (1983) explored differences in race, gender, and family background and their effects on dropping out of school. Results showed that heightened educational aspirations reduced the likelihood of dropping out of high school in all groups, regardless of race or ethnicity.

Quiroz (1997) conducted a longitudinal study of 47 Latino adolescents and found that the majority of her sample had a great deal of difficulty coping with the anxiety of schooling, and therefore develop defeated and disengaged senses of self. However, she also established that students with positive aspirations were better suited to use all of their resources in achieving the goals they set for themselves. For example, Latino students that desired to go on to education past high school were more likely to accomplish their goals to do well in school, despite the negative actions of their teachers.
Other findings by Kao and Tienda (1998) showed that there is a great discrepancy in educational aspiration among race and ethnic groups, with Hispanics rating lowest. These educational aspirations were also found to affect scholastic achievement, with black and Latino youth having the lowest levels of achievement.

Factors That Influence Future Orientation

Recent work by Yowell (2000) explored the future orientation of 38 Latino youth in a cross-sectional study of 13- and 14-year-olds. She studied specifically the youth’s academic and occupational aspirations in terms of optimism, confidence, priority (what took precedence), and internality (what they internally valued). Results showed that though the males did report higher levels of optimism and priority in the occupational domain than the females, both groups scored high across all domains. She found heightened aspirations predicted improved academic achievement on report cards. In fact, Yowell (personal communication) plans on continuing this work through a 4-year longitudinal study of the same youth. Along the way she has found that heightened academic achievement leads to future occupational and educational success.

Hernandez (1998) used seven independent measures to study nine different factors relating to academic achievement among high school Latinos. She found the best predictors of academic achievement were their self-concept of abilities and educational aspirations.
Bieri and Bingham (1994) and Yowell (1999) also have shown that including future planning through journal writing, essays, and research reports influenced the actual preparation for and attainment of these goals. However, work needs to be done to examine the relationships between the youth, their parents, and their educational institutions (Yowell, 2000). This kind of work would improve understanding of how to best increase the educational and occupational aspirations of the youth. This study responds to Dr. Yowell’s call for more research in this area.

Finally, Clayton (1993) examined the role of family in educational and occupational decisions for teens of various multiracial groups, 66 percent of which were of Latino origin. She found that Latino parents had more influence over their children’s educational and occupational decisions than did any other ethnic group. Though not explicitly noted, this study suggested that Latino parents have a great effect on their children’s educational aspirations.

Parental Relationship Literature Focusing on Youth Aspirations

The future orientations of Latino youth and their parents have been explored recently in various contexts. Qian and Blair (1999) showed that one measure of social capital—parental involvement in school activities—had a powerful impact on the educational aspirations of Hispanic youth. Using the National Education Longitudinal Study, they found that Latino parents with
increased involvement in their child’s school activities had children with higher educational aspirations than their peers.

Among the few studies of Hispanics with a delineated focus on academic future orientations is a longitudinal survey conducted by Sandefur (1998). He found that Hispanics had lower academic aspirations overall, and related this to the fact that they were less likely to have their schoolwork monitored by their parents, and had less conversation with their parents than did their Caucasian counterparts in the study.

Buriel and Cardoza (1988) studied the relationship between academic aspirations and academic performance of mothers and daughters for three generations of Hispanic women. They found that the child’s aspirations had a strong positive correlation to achievement across all three generations.

Soto (1989) indicated similar relationships in her study of Puerto Rican mothers and their youth. She found that mothers of higher achieving youth had significantly higher parental aspirations for their youth, and greater levels of reinforcement of their youth’s aspirations than did the mothers of lower achieving youth.

Solorzano (1986) found that Latino parents have higher educational aspirations for their children than white parents, when controlled for social class. He found that though Latino and white students of both sexes have similar educational aspirations, these aspirations do not translate into more education or higher status occupations for these Latinos. These results show
that though expectations may be high for these parents and youth, their actual attainment is lower than that of their white counterparts. Though this study is nearly twenty years old, research still has not answered the question, "What do Latinos need to attain what they aspire for?"

As could be deduced from the previous studies done specifically on Latino educational aspirations, much of the focus was placed on the relationship between mother and child in the transfer of aspirations. This is due in part to a body of literature establishing that mothers in fact have a greater impact than fathers on the academic success of their child (Gandara, 1995; Hernandez & Vargas-Lew, 1994). However, little work has been done to identify the effect of the Latino father on his child's educational aspirations.

Additionally, it has been shown that Latino parents who were actively involved in their child's education had youth who succeeded in academics. These studies, however, did not explore the effect of the Latino father or the father/mother dyad's educational aspirations and their relation to the child's aspirations. For this reason I have set out to explore the intrinsic educational aspirations of both parents as they relate to those of their youth.

Summary

This review of the literature has shown the serious nature of the problems Latinos face today in the United States. For example, this group's
heightened level of teen-pregnancy, premarital sex, and drug use is related to school drop out and lowered educational and occupational attainment. Latino youth’s heightened levels of academic failure and dropping out of school are predictive of lessened occupational possibilities and earning potential.

To counteract these trends, it was found that when parents are involved, aware, knowledgeable, and encouraging, then their youth have more positive school attitudes, higher aspirations, achieve higher grades in school, and are less likely to drop out of school. Latino parents who read in front of their children, who felt they effectively helped their children with homework, who set higher expectation levels, and who were more involved in their youth’s education, had youth who succeeded in academics. However, it was also found that Latino parents have obstacles that need to be addressed so their children may attain greater academic achievement. For example, Latino parents were more likely than their Caucasian peers to be authoritarian, to have a lower educational background and socioeconomic status, and a lack of familiarity with the school system, factors that predicted lowered academic aspirations and performance among their children.

This review also highlighted the predictive power of academic future orientation in helping Latino youth achieve goals and find greater success in school. The parents’ aspirations, the parents’ involvement in schooling, and the parent/child relationship were found to affect the aspirations for their
youth. However, more needs to be done to understand the disparity between Latino’s aspirations and actual goal attainment. This study attempted to discover how the educational aspirations of both parents affected those of their youth, looking at both the parents’ aspirations for themselves and for their children, and at what these youth and their parents feel they need to attain their goals. This study also attempted to answer Yowell’s (2000) call for additional research on family relationships and aspirations, and Sandefur’s (1998) solicitation of further work on family communication and how it affects youth’s aspirations.

Theoretical Framework

In their adaptation of Darwin’s ecological framework to the study of families, Bronfenbrenner (1979) and Hawley (1986) created various propositions that guided this study. First, “the individual grows and adapts through interchanges with its immediate ecosystem (the family) and more distant environments such as school” (Klein & White, 1996, p. 223). Though this theory relies heavily on the ontogenetic predispositions passed on to the child, this theory also recognizes that interaction in the family is the dominant context in which the child develops. Bronfenbrenner (1979) developed this idea further to argue that both genetic endowment and family environment have nearly equal impact on the child’s development.
“Corporate units tend to replicate the structural properties of the parent ecosystem” (Hawley, 1986, p. 86). This is to say, parents tend to follow the same organizational principles their parents did when they were raised. In this case, the proposition could be interpreted to mean that though there may be new constraints or conditions in the parents’ lives, many of the childrearing principles of their parents would be carried out in similar fashion, producing similar results.

A sub-framework of the ecological framework is the cultural-ecological perspective developed by Ogbu (1992) among populations of Latino immigrants. This perspective takes into account the idea that immigrants are struggling in a dominant Caucasian culture both to survive with their culture of origin, and be a part of their new found culture. He has suggested that although Latino parents may verbalize that education is important, there is less pressure from parents and other community members to do well in school. “For example, there rarely is any stigma attached to being a poor student” (Ogbu, p. 11).

An interesting example of this cultural-ecological perspective looks at how Latino parents deemphasize doing well in school. For example, if parents perceive a job ceiling and lack of social mobility through educational achievement, it is possible that parents will not encourage children to work hard at school because they don’t perceive any of its benefits. This theoretical standpoint often is used within the academic achievement literature;
however, it is in its infancy theoretically and could use further delineation and examination.

Researcher’s Frame of Reference

As a Caucasian American from a suburban town in Texas, I come into this study with a unique point of view. I grew up struggling with dyslexia, with a mother who said it would never hold me back. My mother always believed in me and said, “You’ll make it to wherever you dream to go.” I believed it and she supported me to overcome various hurdles like her divorce and change of religion. I had aspirations of changing the world through being a musician and invoking people to take action and do the right thing. With age, I came to understand the lifestyle that accompanied this professional venue, and chose instead to be a teacher. I knew I wanted to teach subjects that would impact the ways that people raise their children and treat their spouses. I have always felt that families are becoming more and more undervalued, and I became firmly convinced that sharing the importance of the family was indeed the cause for which I wanted to stand up.

I realize that families in this study may not share my perspective, and for this reason I listened empathically and learned to understand where they were coming from. Growing up I had little contact with those of Hispanic descent. I was fairly out of touch with what it meant to be Latino and live in
the United States. I grew up in a White middle/upper class neighborhood that had few minorities and little socioeconomic diversity. When I entered high school and created associations with other youth from the urban center, I began to experience and perceive to some degree how Latino families lived. A few years later I served a two-year LDS mission to various parts of Mexico, where I began to be much more involved in the lives of many Latino families. I speak Spanish fluently and have access to a large group of Latino families through the work I do, under the direction of Marcelo Diversi.

I realize my observations are tinted by my life experience; however, I hope to be rather descriptive due to my outsider stance. As brought out by Peled (1998), the researcher's nonnative status among the group of study encourages honesty and additional inquiry due to the researcher's relative ignorance. This status also legitimizes questioning and probing that would otherwise be deemed fake or inappropriate for native researchers.
CHAPTER III
METHODS

This study explored the relationship between parents’ educational and occupational aspirations both for themselves and for a selected child, and compared these aspirations with the aspirations of their child. Though this study had not been done before, it incorporated some of the methodology used by other scholars with similar interests (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988; Qian & Blair, 1999; Soto, 1989). This chapter discusses the project design, sample, measures, procedures, and data analysis used in the study.

Research Design

This study used a qualitative approach to assess the educational and occupational aspirations of Latino parents and youth. Due to the exploratory nature of this study, qualitative methods were used to investigate selected family characteristics (Daly, 1992). The heart of this study focused on the perceptions and relationships of intact family members, which lent itself to a qualitative design and analysis (Rosenblatt & Fischer, 1993). This study used naturalistic face-to-face focused interviews with both parents and their youth, followed by a verbal or written response to a brief demographic questionnaire.
Sample and Recruitment

A convenience sample of 10 families was obtained by inviting participants in the Latino Youth Project (LYP), directed by Dr. Marcelo Diversi, to participate in the study, and then asking them to refer other potential participants to the study. A brief description of the Latino Youth Project follows.

The Latino Youth Project was begun in the Cache County, Utah area to develop identity and support structures for local Latino youth. The LYP program is based primarily on one-on-one mentoring by college-age mentors, with some group mentoring, and after-school activity groups. Through this program, at-risk youth create friendships with mentors who serve as role models to help them stay in school and out of trouble. The program initially was designed as a multi-year project to pair the teacher-selected Latino youth (ages 9-18) and their families with young-adult mentors. At the time of this study, the Latino Youth Project was in its pilot stage, with 53 Latino youth, 86 Latino parents and 30 mentors participating in the program. An established ESL teacher in the Cache County School District initially referred the at-risk youth to LYP. The sample was comprised of these youth who defined themselves as Latinos, Hispanics, or Chicanos, notwithstanding their generation and immigration status.

Through the student investigator’s involvement in the program, ten Latino youth and their parents were invited to participate in the study. The
youth and both of their parents were formed into triads to assess the influence of both parents on their youth. Only one child (between 11-16 years of age) per family was selected for the study. The eldest child was selected if more than one child in this age group was available, due to the fact that future orientation becomes more stable at older ages. Parents with whom the youth were in regular contact were interviewed, including stepparents or other guardians. Only those families with both male and female parent-figures were included in this study to assess the influence of both parents on the youth's aspirations.

To expand the size of the sample, these initial youth and their parents were invited to refer their friends and relatives to participate in the study. These friends came from neighborhood relationships, local churches, work relationships, and other Hispanic organizations. Twelve families (triads) were invited to participate in this pilot study. Two families did not satisfy the requirements because there was no father figure in the home. The remaining ten families were willing to participate in the study and did so completely. These youth average 14.6 years of age and were comprised of mainly 14-16 year olds. Youth participants were equally divided, with five of each gender. These families are mainly first-generation immigrants from rural Mexico (8 families), Central America (1 family), and one was a second-generation Mexican-American family. Each of these were rather large families, with an average of 4.2 children in the household, and eight of the ten families had
both parents working the equivalent of 1 full time job or more. The youth and parents completed a demographic questionnaire that showed the diversity among this population.

Demographics of the Sample

The modified version of Traudt’s (1999) demographic measure revealed some interesting data about the Latino families in this study. The survey asked about the civil status of the parents, parent/child relationship, level of parent’s educational attainment, parent’s knowledge of English, language used in the home, annual family income, current parental occupations, children in household, years living in the U.S., and sending context (cultural origin, immigration status, etc.). The sample was comprised of twenty adults and ten youth. Married parents headed eight of the ten families, and two sets of parents had married previously (Table 1). The parents in two families were cohabiting, and three of the families had stepfathers that were not the biological fathers of the youth in the study (Table 1 and 2).

The parents’ education was rather limited, with only two individuals having attended some college (Table 3). Eleven of the parents never finished Elementary school, and another seven did not graduate from high school (Table 3). The father’s and mother’s knowledge of English was mostly little or none respectively, as rated on a four-point Likert scale (Table 4).
Table 1

Civil Status of Parents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family no.</th>
<th>Single marriage</th>
<th>Cohabitating</th>
<th>Multiple marriages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family 1</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 3</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 4</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 5</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 6</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 7</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 8</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 10</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One family reported proficiency in both spoken and written English. English was spoken in only one home, with the other nine families using only Spanish.

Latino families historically have larger than average families, which was reflected in this sample. The average number of children in each household was 4.2, with over half of the families having young children of less than five years of age in their household (Table 5). The average age of the
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family 1</th>
<th>Two biological parents in home</th>
<th>Biological mother and other adult</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 3</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 4</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 5</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 6</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 7</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 8</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 9</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 10</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Youth in this study was 14.6, with all of them between the ages of 14-16, except one 11 year old (Table 5). Half of the youth in the sample were female and the other half were male (Table 5).

The reported annual family income in this sample was high, with a mean yearly income of $34,700.00 (Table 6), much higher than the current poverty level of $24,260.00 a year for families with four children (Federal
Table 3

Educational Attainment of Parents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family no.</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>Elementary</th>
<th>Some high school</th>
<th>Some college</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family 1</td>
<td>Mother &amp; father</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 2</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td></td>
<td>Father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 3</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mother &amp; father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mother &amp; father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 6</td>
<td>Mother &amp; father</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 7</td>
<td>Mother &amp; father</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 8</td>
<td>Mother &amp; father</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 10</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Register, 2002). However, these data include three families who earn $20,000.00 or less, and qualify for public assistance (Table 6).

It was also interesting to note that all parents except two worked a full time job. Including the two mothers that were not currently employed, the average number of hours worked by mothers was 36 (Table 7). Excluding these two women from the mix, women on average worked 45 hours per week (Table 7). The average number of hours worked by fathers was 55 per week, equaling approximately six 10-hour days a week (Table 7).
Eight of the families in this sample were first-generation immigrants from Mexico, with another family from El Salvador/Guatemala, and one second-generation family from the United States (Table 8). The sample was primarily immigrated from a rural area (9 of 10 families) where the fathers worked in agriculture (11 of 20 parents). Most mothers did not work for a living prior to their immigration to the United States. Of these immigrant families, eight of nine explained that they immigrated to the United States for economic reasons, and six indicated they came to help their children or family progress (Table 8). The average time of parent’s residing in the United States was...
Table 5

Number, Ages, and Gender of Children in Household

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family number</th>
<th>Number of children</th>
<th>Ages of children</th>
<th>Age of youth participant</th>
<th>Gender of youth participant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family 1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12, 15, 19</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4, 7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4, 8, 13, 16, 19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1, 7, 10, 13, 14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6, 10, 11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3, 10, 13, 14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7, 9, 11, 13, 16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5, 8, 14, 15, 17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4, 11, 14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10, 16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( M \)   4.20 4.20 14.60 years 5 of each gender
\( SD \)  1.45 1.45 1.51 years

States was 13.5 years, with one participant family having resided in the U.S. only for 8 months (Table 9).
### Table 6

#### Annual Family Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family no.</th>
<th>Annual income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family 1</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 2</td>
<td>$50,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 3</td>
<td>$45,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 4</td>
<td>$30,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 5</td>
<td>$30,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 6</td>
<td>$45,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 7</td>
<td>$18,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 8</td>
<td>$20,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 9</td>
<td>$40,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 10</td>
<td>$19,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>M</strong></td>
<td><strong>$34,700.00</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SD</strong></td>
<td><strong>$12,885.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 7

**Current Parental Occupations and Hours Worked Per Week**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family number</th>
<th>Father's occupation</th>
<th>Hours worked per week</th>
<th>Mother's occupation</th>
<th>Hours worked per week</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family 1</td>
<td>Meat factory</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Meat factory</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 2</td>
<td>Appliance factory</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Appliance factory</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 3</td>
<td>Meat factory</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Meat factory</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 4</td>
<td>Treadmill factory</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Meat factory</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 5</td>
<td>Meat factory</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 6</td>
<td>Treadmill factory</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Treadmill factory</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 7</td>
<td>Treadmill factory</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Meat factory</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 8</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Meat factory</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 9</td>
<td>Explosives factory</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Meat factory</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 10</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Homemaker/bedridden</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$M$</th>
<th>55.00</th>
<th>45.00</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$SD$</td>
<td>7.07</td>
<td>7.56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 8

**Sending Context**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family no.</th>
<th>Country of origin</th>
<th>Rural or urban</th>
<th>Work done there</th>
<th>Reason for immigrating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family 1</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Money, help children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 2</td>
<td>El Salvador/Guatem.</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Money, bad situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 3</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Merchant/sales</td>
<td>Money, religion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 4</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Maintenance technician</td>
<td>Money, family, opprt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 5</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Money, family, educ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 6</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>Electrician</td>
<td>Money, family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 7</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Money, family, opprt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 8</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Money, help children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 9</td>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Factory/secretarial</td>
<td>Non-immigrant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 10</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Agriculture/sales</td>
<td>Opportunity, explore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mode</td>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Money, family</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 9

Years Living in the U.S.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family no.</th>
<th>No. of years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 2</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>Family 3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 6</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 7</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 9</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$M$ 13.5

$SD$ 7.74

Data Collection

The following section has two parts. The first part discusses the measures used for data collection, and the second part discusses the procedures used in this qualitative study.

Measures

This study used two measures; a focused interview, followed by a
demographic questionnaire. Focused interview questions were designed to be used with two groups, necessitating both a parent and a youth protocol. To facilitate a smooth flow throughout the interview, questions were organized logically, and not in sequence of the research questions.

The parent interview form (Appendix C) included 17 questions that focus on various aspirational concepts, and address three of four research questions. The first research question, addressing the parents’ educational and occupational aspirations for their youth and themselves, was explored in questions 4, 5, 6, 12, 14, 15, and 16 of the parent interview. In order to answer research question two, perceived barriers to parental aspirations, interview questions 6, 7, 12, and 17 were asked. The third research question, “How do parents perceive they are supporting their child in their educational and occupational aspirations?” was addressed by interview questions 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 13. Finally, the fourth research question, “What do parents and youth need to attain their aspirations?” was addressed through questions 7 and 17. Question 1 of the interview protocol was used simply as an introduction to give context to the interview.

The youth interview form (Appendix C) included ten questions parallel to those asked of the parents. Research question one, “What are the youth’s own educational and occupational aspirations?” was addressed by interview questions 6, 7, 8, and 9. In order to answer research question two, perceived barriers to yourh’s aspirations, interview questions 6, 9, and 10
were asked. Research question three, "How do youth perceive their parents to support them in regards to their aspirations?" was addressed by questions 2, 3, and 4 of the youth interview. The fourth research question, "What do parents and youth need to attain what they aspire for?" was addressed by youth question 5. As before, the first question was used as an introduction to give context to the interview.

Following the interview, the twelve-question demographic measure was filled out with help from the principal investigator to assure completeness. This measure was modified from the questionnaire used by Traudt (1999) in her dissertation on Hispanic mothers' empowerment and involvement in their children's education. These twelve pertinent questions were adapted to obtain information about the entire family. Questions about family makeup, education, employment, and sending context (i.e., origin and immigration issues) were the focus of this demographic measure (see Appendix C).

Prior to their implementation, these materials were translated into Spanish using the accepted methods described by Herrera, DelCampo, and Ames (1993). Translation from English to Spanish was conducted by skilled, bilingual translators who worked both sequentially (individually) and as a team (Hansen, 1987; Herrera et al.; Prieto, 1992). The sequential process was first conducted involving one person translating the instrument and then passing it on to a second and then a third reviewer. After various successions
of this sequence, two members approached the same translations as a team to produce an agreed-upon version (Herrera et al.).

Procedures

After determining which initial families were eligible to participate in this study, the data collection process began. As outlined previously, all families in this study were required to have both a male and female parental-figure who had resided together for a minimum of three years, regardless of their marital status. Visits were arranged via phone calls to the parents, establishing briefly whether or not they met the criteria to participate in the study (see Appendix A). The language of preference and time best suited for data collection also were determined during the phone call. Parents were informed that each participant would receive ten dollars to thank them for their time. Pizza and childcare also were offered at each domicile to allow the parents sufficient convenience to participate.

The data were collected through a face-to-face interview and the administration of a one-page demographic questionnaire by the student investigator and three other trained research assistants, following the procedures outlined in Appendix B. Two females and two males conducted the interviews, with the youth being interviewed by someone of their same gender. Participants were given a packet including one demographic questionnaire, an informed consent letter to be signed by each participant, and two cassette tapes, one for parents and one for the youth (Appendixes C
Assigning each family a number and placing all of the family's paperwork in a manila envelope with their number on the outside maintained confidentiality. At the outset of data collection, all participants signed the informed consent form detailing the risks, confidentiality, and purpose of the study. Following a few minutes of small talk as noted in Appendix B, the investigators began the interview, following the script.

All materials and interviews were administered in the language of preference of the participants, either English or Spanish. In most situations, the parents preferred to be interviewed in Spanish and the youth preferred to speak in English. The investigator interviewed the two parents and the youth individually without other family members present to assure confidentiality. Interview formats for both youth and parent interviews are contained in Appendix D.

The participants were told beforehand that the interview session would be recorded on audiocassette. The investigator took no notes during the session in order to make conversation as natural as possible. The youth's parents were interviewed conjointly for the first three interviews, and from that point on were interviewed individually, to allow the mother to contribute more information to the dialogue. The rationale behind conjoint interview of the parents was to maximize honesty about family relationship issues that may be portrayed inaccurately or incompletely in individual interviews. However, putting this into practice limited responses on the part
of the women, indicating that the men were speaking for both, and were not allowing the women to voice their opinions and concerns completely. For this reason, conjoint interviews were discontinued and replaced with individual interviews.

Both parents were interviewed out of earshot of the children to secure the confidentiality of their responses. The youth were interviewed separately from their parents by an interviewer of the same sex to encourage trust and rapport. At the conclusion of the interview, the demographic questionnaire and audiocassette were sealed in a provided manila envelope. Each family was given ten dollars per individual for their participation in the study.

Data Analysis

The transcribed data from the interviews were analyzed using the modified analytic induction technique of Bogdan and Biklen (1992). This approach, which is widely accepted among qualitative researchers of education, forms hypotheses about the relationships among concepts under study. This type of analytic induction differs from that of grounded theory in its realization that the researcher comes to the problem with general hypotheses about the research question.

The researcher approached this project with various hypotheses about Latino families and their educational and occupational aspirations. For example, he was under the impression that with the intimate nature of
Latino “familianismo,” parents would have good understanding of their child’s aspirations. With this in mind, however, the researcher came to this study knowing that such hypotheses would need to be adjusted considerably as the results from the data were found.

After the investigator transcribed and organized the data into both English and Spanish texts, he imported them into the qualitative software package entitled NUD*IST 5.0 by Qualitative Solutions and Research (Gahan & Hannibal, 1998; Ns, 2000). To analyze the data, he started by reading through the data twice to familiarize himself with it and to understand the content. The third time through the data, the researcher identified statements and concepts that stuck out in the transcription and marked these in NUD*IST 5.0. Next, he focused on recurring phrases and words that identified certain concepts and ideas of the participants.

Through subsequent readings of the compiled ideas and concepts, several themes were extracted to describe the data. Various interconnections between concepts and issues were helpful in developing these themes within the interview text. Consequently, further reading elaborated and corrected the placement of certain phrases and comments into themes that were best suited for the description of the data.

Thirteen distinct concepts made up the four main themes or branches of the tree. The first theme, aspirations was composed of concepts coded as jobs, aspirations for youth, general aspirations, and educational
aspirations. The second theme, barriers was made up of concepts labeled pathway, time, and work. A third main theme called parental support was comprised of both perceived support and family relationship now. The fourth branch, aspirational needs consisted of main needs, financial needs, educational needs, and personal needs.

In conclusion, these identified themes were found and described as to their relationships within each family’s individual responses, looking for connections and differences between family members. These same themes were also examined in relation to all families in the study, to verify their commonality.

Trustworthiness Issues

This study used various techniques outlined by Guba and Lincoln’s (1982) discussion of naturalistic inquiry to substantiate the concepts and themes found in the study. Some of these techniques were the use of a reflexive journal to describe the process of the formation of the study through its completion. Persistent observation also was used to create more specific questions, and to find out more than the initial responses of the participants.

Other techniques were used to show that other investigators could perform this study with equivalent results. This was accomplished through peer debriefing with two professors experienced in qualitative research and
with similar interests. One or more committee members also checked the
data coding insuring the reliability of the coding scheme. The focused
interview questions (Appendix C) also allowed other researchers to ask the
exact same questions in the same manner.

In making this study of use to other interventionists, the researcher
studied families that were designated by their youth’s teachers as at-risk and
in need of assistance. These Latino families have similar demographics to
those of various subpopulations throughout the United States (largely
Mexican with a sprinkling of Central American background).
The purpose of this study was to examine the relationships between Latino parent's educational and occupational aspirations both for themselves and their youth, and compare these with the aspirations their children have for themselves. The study intends to create a greater knowledge of how aspirations are developed so that entire Latino families may be supported to have high aspirations, and this study also intends to improve our understanding of what Latinos need to bridge the gap between what they hope to attain and actual attainment of those goals.

While the overall purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between Latino parental and youth aspirations, this general idea was broken down into four research questions:

1. What are the parents' educational and occupational aspirations for their youth and themselves? What are the youth's own educational and occupational aspirations?

2. What are the barriers to obtaining the aspirations these parents and youth have for themselves?

3. How do parents perceive they are supporting their child in their educational and occupational aspirations, and how do the youth perceive they are supported?
4. What do Latino parents and youth feel they need to attain the aspirations (such as higher levels of education and employment) they have for themselves?

The results have been divided into the aspirations of parents and youth, the barriers to aspirational attainment, perceived parental support, and needs for aspirational attainment.

To provide rich description, quotes in this chapter have been made in the original language of the interview and where needed are translated into English parenthetically. In each of these sections the mother's dialogue is indicated by bold text, the father's by regular text, and the youth's by italics. Each reference is cited in parentheses indicating from which family the quote was derived. For example, (F:3,7) indicates that the data comes from both the third and seventh families interviewed.

Research Question One: Aspirations of Parents and Youth

Though the youth and parents in this sample had a diverse mixture of educational and occupational aspirations, a definite relationship between the parents and youth was found. Table 10 demonstrates the diversity and continuity of high and low educational aspirations in these families. The educational aspirations the parents had for themselves often coincided with the types of aspirations youth had. Those families with more expressed
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family number</th>
<th>Current education</th>
<th>Educational aspirations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 1</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 2</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>Some high school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 3</td>
<td>Some high school</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 4</td>
<td>Some high school</td>
<td>Some high school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 5</td>
<td>Some high school</td>
<td>Some high school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 6</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 7</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 8</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 9</td>
<td>Some high school</td>
<td>Some college</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 10</td>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>Elementary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
interest in becoming more educated had children with a greater degree of interest in college, as documented by the number of occurrences of talk about education and the coded content of the educational aspirations. For example, the majority of parents with low or no educational aspirations, had youth with similarly low or nonexistent aspirations. On the other hand, those families with parents that sought to go on to a technical or college education in the future tended to have children with desires to go to college.

Another application is the comparison of parents’ current education to that of their educational aspirations and those of their youth. Taking parent’s current education into consideration creates a better picture of the pattern of education in these families. Lower education attainment is often related to lower youth and parent aspirations. It should be noted that Father 10 had attended college in Mexico, but his aspirations did not transfer to his stepdaughter.

The current and aspirational occupations of parents and youth showed some degree of diversity within the sample, as seen in the comparison on Table 11. Only one couple indicated they would be happy with any occupation, and three mothers and one youth indicated they really did not aspire for any job. The relationship between the parents and youth’s occupational aspirations becomes clear through this table. For example, one mother that wanted to be an EMT had a daughter that wanted to be an
Table 11

Current Occupations and Occupational Aspirations of Parents and Youth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family number</th>
<th>Current occupation</th>
<th>Occupational aspirations</th>
<th>Youth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 1</td>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>Mechanic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 2</td>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>Computer technician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 3</td>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>Painter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 4</td>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>Mechanic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 5</td>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>Home maker</td>
<td>Electrician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 6</td>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>Electrician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 7</td>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>Supervisor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 8</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>Mechanic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 9</td>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>Factory worker</td>
<td>Game warden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family 10</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Home maker</td>
<td>Any job is fine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


anaesthesiologist or a radiologist technician. Two fathers that desired to be auto mechanics also had youth that desired the same profession.

One mother and daughter showed the similarities between their educational and occupational aspirations in the interview. The mother expressed these thoughts:

**Me quisiera graduar, sacar mi GED de high school, aprender bien ingles, y sacar mi GED, agarrar una carrera de 3 anos o algo asi [como] asistente de enfermera.**

**I would just like to graduate, get my GED from high school, learn English really well, and get my GED, get an education of like 3 years, or something like assistant to a nurse. (F:4)**

The daughter expressed similar ambitions: “I’m gonna go to college and be a doctor... I want to be the kind of doctor that does all kinds of surgeries” (F:4). This is one demonstration of the relationship between the parent’s current job and the youth and parent’s job aspirations.

Looking at and comparing Tables 10 and 11 also demonstrates the continuity between the youth and parents’ educational and occupational aspirations. For example, those youth and parents who desired professional or technical occupations also desired to go to college or at least a technical school. Those that were less interested in furthering their education were equally less interested in jobs that required such education, and in many regards were unrealistic about these goals. For example, a few youth wanted to be soccer players and secretaries yet lacked the skills necessary (i.e., soccer skills, English proficiency, and typing skills).
After some prompting, all parents were able to report their own aspirations, both currently and retrospectively at their child’s ages. However, only slightly more than half (11 of 20) of the parents were capable of reporting their child’s aspirations for education and specific jobs, as validated by the youth’s responses in their interviews. Many of the parents responded that they didn’t know what their youth aspired to do or how much education they desired to get.

The parents in this study had quite high aspirations for their youth. These families thought of their children as “100% American” (100% American; F:10), and believed their children could do whatever they aspired for. Many of the parents discussed how their child would be able to get the jobs they wanted without much difficulty, because they “saben ingles” (know English; F:7).

In contrast to their parents’ aspirations for them, the youth had generally low academic aspirations for themselves. Only two youth expressed intrinsic motivation to go on to a college education, though with further probing a majority of the youth (8 of 10) said it would be a good idea. All youth reported that their parents would like them to go on to college upon graduation from high school, which was validated by the parent’s responses as well.
Research Question Two: Barriers to Aspirational Attainment

Latino parents and youth felt that there were various barriers that kept them from the goals that they aspired for themselves. The main barriers that the parents and youth faced were a lack of understanding of aspirational pathway, a lack of English abilities, and a lack of time.

*Parental Barrier # 1: Understanding the Pathway*

Parents in the sample felt they didn’t know how to access information to understand and realize their aspirations. One father said:

Nuestra gente lo que mas necesita es informacion acerca de los estudios que se pueden ofrecer a Latinos aqui en este país. Las ayudas economicas, los ayudas personales y de orientacion, y educacional es lo que mas necesitamos nosotros

(The one thing our people need most is information about the educational outlets that are offered to Latinos here in this country. The economic help, personal help and direction, and educational help is what we need most; F:5)

Four of the twenty parents possessed some understanding of how to actualize the aspirations they had for themselves (F:5, 9). The individuals in the sample doubted they would ever be able to attain these goals they had set out for themselves, because they had no idea what path to take to attain such jobs (F:1-4, 6-8, 10). Parents understood that education was required to be able to get where they wanted, but the type of education and how to get it remained elusive to them. Most parents desired to go on to further schooling but felt like they couldn’t do so at the time of the interview.
Parental Barrier # 2: Proficiency with the English Language

We found that all of the parents indicated that they wanted to learn English to go to school, get better jobs, and help their children with school more. One mother describing English as the barrier to becoming a cosmetologist shared:

Y si yo he preguntado también cuando voy al colegio yo digo a los chavas ques estan allí cortando el pelo, “Y mire aquí tiene que saber ingles?” “Si,” me dicen pues “las clases son en ingles,” “Y hay que pagarle?” “El gobierno le ayudan” me dicen. Entonces despues que sacar la carera pues que le va pagando el dinero, hay pero si no habla ingles no

(I have asked, when I go to the beauty college, of the ladies that are cutting hair, “Do you have to know English here?” “Yes,” they tell me “the classes are in English.” “Do you have to pay for them?” “The government helps out,” they say. So after you graduate you start paying the money back, but the problem is if you don’t speak English they won’t help you; F:2).

Her husband added, “Mi sueno es muchismo, yo quisiera ser tecnico en computacion pero es duro proque el ingles, verdad” (I dream big, I would love to learn to be a computer technician but it’s hard because of so much English; F:2). Similar situations to these were repeated by nearly all of the families, suggesting that without English proficiency these parents feel thwarted in realizing their dreams.

Another way in which lack of faculties in English affects these parents is the inability to help their children with homework. Each parent and most youth reported this deficiency. One father reported, “[Mi hijo] decia, ‘Me
puede ayudar con mi homework?' Pero por la ingles que uno no sabe, no es suficiente para poderles ayudar'([My son] would say, ‘Can you help me with my homework?’ But because one doesn’t know English, you just can’t help; F:2).

Four parents felt that they were not able to learn like they used to, and used this as a viable reason to why they could not learn English. Others indicated that they did not have anyone to practice English with, and felt isolated by the larger U.S. native community.

*Parental Barrier # 3: Time Constraints*

As could be anticipated, many parents felt they faced numerous barriers to learning English, the largest of which was time. Sixteen of the twenty parents felt they could learn English; however, the task appeared daunting, because they lacked time away from work. One couple put it like this:

Pues llega uno cansado de trabajar y no creo que es igual. Aye, todo el dia trabajar. **Todo el dia.** A llegar y que no voy a la escuela, mejor se pone una a dormir a descansar porque otra dia otra vez verdad? Y esta mejor,a si. **Si....** Yo a mi lo que mas me gustaria seria aprender mecanico; pero llego cansado de trabajar, por todo el dia trabajarme verdad? Como decirle, no piensa no tengo tiempo piensan en esto.

*(One comes home tired after work. Aye, we work all day! **Yeah all day.** By the time we get home there’s no way I could go to school instead you’d rather go to sleep and rest because the next day it just starts over again, right? And it’s better that way. **Yeah....** The thing I would love the most would be to learn to be a mechanic; it’s just that I get home so tired from work, for working all day, right? Like I said, one doesn’t think about such things, you don’t have time to; F:1)*
In the case of the family above both parents work over ten hours a day.

Another father shared similar concerns about time.

Pero el tiempo es el dificil aqui, y con tantos ninos hay que trabajar mas y mas y cuando hay oportunidad pue de que dicen al uno quieres trabajar dos horas mas uno se queda pro necesidad que uno tiene.... Y esto me gustaria pero el tiempo es muy dificil

(But time is the difficult thing here, and with so many children one has to keep working more and more, and when there is an opportunity where they ask you if you would like to work two extra hours, you stay for because of one's necessity.... I would love to [go to school] but there's simply no time; F-2).

These parents feel “stuck” without the dominant language and without the time to get this tool that would make other occupations more possible than at present. “No pues nostros no horita ya no ya no podemos estudiar aun que prefiremos trabajar mejor. Trabajar, Si. Si mejor trabajar” (No, well, right now we can’t possibly study. We’d rather prefer working. Yeah, working. Yeah working is better; F:1).

Youth Barriers

The youth in this study met with somewhat different barriers than their parents. Three of these that were often discussed in the interviews were lack of understanding of the pathway to what they aspired for, racism, and the effects of low English proficiency. On two occasions, parents stated that their youth had no idea of how to get to the goals they desired for themselves. One family said:
[Mi hijo] dice que “mama si que no, yo no puedo entrar la universidad, puedo sacar algo en [el centro de la comunidad].” Entonces yo digo, “Pues mientras piense en algo de la escuela de hacer algo....” Pero yo le digo que somos que piense en la universidad, yo digo, “Bueno ya el día que si llegas que tu tienes que entrar una universidad tu sabes si no tiene uno lo suficiente entendimiento para la universidad.”

([My son] says “Mom if I can’t, I can’t make to the University, I can get some training at [the community center].” Well then I say, “Well at least he’s thinking about school some....” But let me tell you that we’re the ones that think about college, I say, “Well the day will come that you arrive at that point where you have to enter the university, you know that you don’t understand how to get to there.” F:6)

Many youth in the sample indicated that they didn’t know the path to the jobs they desire (F:1-8,10). Even though many youth had high aspirations for careers such as soccer players and doctors, they had little or no understanding of how to get there. One demonstration of this is the use of “I don’t know” in response to the question “What is the path that will get you to those goals?” Five of the seven youth that answered this question responded with “I don’t know” as their answers. Many of these youth understood that they had to “keep studying” (F:8) to be able to get where they wanted professionally. However, with further probing most of these youth did not understand specifically what continuing their education involved.

Racism was a difficult barrier for over half of the youth in the sample. For example, one youth shared, “Some teachers are racist.... They like won’t help you and stuff and when you ask them and you raise your hand first
before others then they’ll call on the other people and stuff” (F:2). This type of racism in the schools hinders the youth from achieving in school like their Caucasian peers.

Another youth said, “Sometimes they believe the white people more than us, like if we tell them the truth they don’t believe us, which is really difficult” (F:6). This suggests that many of the youth feel a great lack of trust. Many youth indicated that it was the specific police officer in their school that created much of the racial conflict (F:2, 4, 7, 9-10).

Many of the youth expressed a great deal of difficulty with their schoolwork due to their limited knowledge of English. Seven of 10 youth had real struggles with English they faced in schools, though the majority (8/10) had at least good grasp on conversational English. This lack of familiarity with much of written English resulted in these youth needing extensive help in the way of after school tutoring. Various youth expressed that their Caucasian peers made fun of the way they talked. One young lady expressed the subtle form of racism that is related to youth’s low English proficiency.

*Cuando yo entre la escuela, se me reían de mí porque yo no entendía nada, y cuando me preguntaban algo, yo me quedaba callada, o sea todos se reían de mí los Americanos.*

(When I started going to school here, everyone laughed at me because I didn’t understand anything, and when they asked me something I didn’t know how to respond, in other words everyone laughed at me, all the Americans; F:9)
Research Question Three: Perceived Parental Support

All parents admitted they were unable to give much more than simply verbal support to their youth, a finding that was validated by their youth. The youth in this study mentioned that their parents were unable to help them with their homework, and for this reason, felt a lack of school support from parents. Many youth felt their parents could not help them with their homework, because their English proficiency and academic skills were lacking. A number of the youth admitted that they often didn’t show their parents all of their homework and/or grade reports.

However, many of the families tried to attend parent conferences at school, and a few others used incentives such as gifts to motivate their child in their schooling. Of additional concern was the finding that all of the parents had not talked with their child about their plans after high school graduation. These findings seem to show that many of the parents are not highly involved in their youth’s school aspirations. Like one youth said, “I never talk to them about school, except when I have homework or grades to sign” (F:2).

Parents indicated that the greatest reason for this was a great difficulty in talking to their youth, a phenomenon that is common among many ethnic immigrant groups (Lanz & Iafrate, 1999). This difficulty could be explained by the disconnection between youth and parent acculturation.
Parents also indicated lack of confidence in advocating college. For example, one mother said,

_Bueno yo no se, en el momento en que realmente ya en este etapa ya no lo que yo quiera, ya va ser lo que ella quiera ya no usualmente no podria consejar la y todo, pero la decision va ser de ella_

(Well I don’t know, at the moment that she really is in that stage its not going to be what I want but rather what she wants, I can’t give her advice on that and all, but rather the decision will be up to her; M:5).

Research Question Four: Needs for Aspirational Attainment

When parents and youth were asked directly what they thought they needed to actually attain what they aspired for, their responses clustered around their need for further education. This answer incorporated two sub-themes; personalized help with their learning (i.e., tutoring; F:1,3,6,8), and additional educational resources such as videos or technical classes (F:1,2,4,7-10). These families made it clear that educational help would help them attain their goals. One parent pointed it out this way:

_Hay que estudiar. Porque si tu tienes un buen estudio vas a tener una buena carrera, vas andarte bien. Vas a tenerse limpio una ropa mejor que se vea que tienes estudio. Yo le digo mire como ando, se ve la diferencia en una personas que no tiene estudios y uno que tiene estudios (mostrando al entrevistador). Como el, verdad? Si es logico, un mejor caro, en un oficina y mejor limpiasitos y si querra. Entonces pienso que tambien por esto estudiaste por esto tu tienes una carrera. O como ves, no es por esto hay que estudiar?_

(You have to study. Because if you get a good education you will have a good career, you live well. You will have clean and nicer clothes that show that you have an education. I’m just saying, look how I
dress. You can see the difference in a person that has no education and one that does (pointing at the interviewer). Like him, right? Yes it is logical, a nicer car, an office job, and clean clothes, and whatever else. Well then I think that because you study you’re able to have a career. Or how do you see it, is that not enough reason to study? F:6).

All in all, these parents and youth believed that an education would get them where they want to be; however, they had little understanding of how to progress towards getting an education.

Another great need that surfaced throughout the interviews was for information. Many of the youth did not “exactly know” (F:10) what would be most beneficial to them. In other words various youth indicated they needed direction. Many of these families felt isolated from the broader Caucasian community, and felt this made them unable to find assistance to get education, training, and eventually better jobs. One father summed up the concern saying:

Nuestra gente lo que mas necesita es informacion acerca de los estudios que se pueden ofrecer a Latinos aqui en este piaz. Las ayudas economicas, los ayudas personales y de orientacion, y educacional es lo que mas necesitamos nosotros

(The one thing our people need most is information about the educational outlets that are offered to Latinos here in this country. The economic help, personal help and direction, and educational help is what we need most; F:5).
CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the ways to motivate and create higher future-oriented aspirations among Latino youth by exploring the familial connections that influence the youth’s aspirations. This study investigated the relationship between parent’s educational and occupational aspirations both for themselves and their youth, and compared these with the aspirations their children have for themselves. The study contributes to a greater knowledge of how aspirations are developed so that Latino families may be supported to have high aspirations, and also improves our understanding of what Latinos need to bridge the gap between what they hope to achieve and actual attainment of those goals.

This discussion has been divided into the aspirations of parents and youth, the barriers to aspirational attainment, the perceived parental support, the needs for aspirational attainment, the theoretical implications of the study, the limitations of the study, and general conclusions.

Aspirations of Parents and Youth

The educational and occupational aspirations the parents had for themselves often coincided with the types of aspirations desired by the youth, supporting the findings of Teachman and Paasch (1998). For example, fathers that desired to be auto mechanics often had youth that desired the
same profession. Those families with more expressive interest in becoming more educated had children with a greater degree of interest in college (Buriel & Cardoza, 1988; Sandefur, 1998; Soto, 1989), as documented by number of occurrences of talk about education and the coded content of educational aspirations. Parents and youth with higher academic goals aspired for similarly higher level occupations. Those youth with parents that aspired for occupations that required a higher education were more likely to have higher educational aspirations themselves. This provides an excellent example of Bandura’s (1986) principle of modeling, in which parents act as a model for aspirations and their youth emulate similar aspirations.

A finding of particular interest in this study was the great similarity between a few of the youth and their father’s aspirations, something that had not previously been noted in the literature. For example, two fathers that wanted to be mechanics had both sons and daughters that desired to be mechanics themselves. Latino fathers, though their aspirations were more difficult to access, were found to speak very clearly for their family. These fathers’ indications of their youth’s aspirations corresponded with those of the youth even more than those of their mothers.

A continuing relationship was found from the parent’s current educational attainment to the educational aspirations of the parents, and on to their youth. However, little relationship was found between the parent’s current occupations and the youth and parent’s occupational aspirations.
This appears to be more a reflection of many of the parents’ lack of English proficiency than their educational or occupational abilities. Not speaking the dominant language limits these parent’s possibilities for employment.

Reversing the way one looks at this subject seems to indicate that helping the parents aspire for and achieve realistic academic goals may similarly help the transfer of heightened aspirations to their youth, and thus their ability to realize these goals. The relationship found between the aspirations of the youth and parents seems to imply the need for interventions that focus on both youth and parents; however, no study or program was found that expressly focuses on supporting entire Latino families in forwarding their youth’s education.

The youth in this sample generally had low academic aspirations for themselves, with only three planning to at least try to get a bachelor’s degree. Though only two youth expressed an intrinsic motivation to go on to a college education, with further probing, a majority of the youth (8 of 10) decided it would be a good idea.

Taking into consideration the youth’s responses prior to further probing, this finding supports the results of various researchers (George, 1990; Mau, 1995; Mau & Bikos, 2000) that Latino youth have rather low educational aspirations when compared to their Caucasian peers. All youth expressed that their parents would like them to go on to college upon graduation, which the parent’s validated. This outcome also seems to
validate the finding that Latino parents view education as the primary need they have for themselves and their youth.

Every parent was able to report their own aspirations both, currently and retrospectively, at their child’s ages. However, only about half (11 of 20) of the parents were capable of reporting their child’s aspirations for education and specific jobs, as validated by the youth’s responses in their interviews. Many of the parents responded that they didn’t know what their youth aspired to do or how much education they desired to get. This response was normally followed by the indication that their children didn’t talk to them about such things. Eight of the 20 parents independently indicated that they had difficulty talking with their youth, and related this problem to why they knew little of their youth’s aspirations. Parents attributed their difficulty in speaking with their youth about their goals to both the language barrier and their youth’s acculturation. Youth had accessed a very different world from the one their parents understood. This took forms of speaking the foreign language of English, and being integrated into a culture much more than their parents. This issue of acculturation as a barrier to parent-child communication has been noted previously by Sabogal et al. (1995), and may apply to this sample.

Though not exactly apparent at first, many of the parents showed that they are at least approaching the bicultural stage of acculturation (Phinney et al., 2000). Most parents demonstrated an understanding of both cultures,
especially in their acceptance of the vital importance of education for their youth.

**Barriers to Aspirational Attainment**

Latino parents and youth felt that there were various barriers that kept them from the goals to which they aspired. The main barriers that the parents and youth faced were a lack of understanding of the paths to achieve their aspirations, a lack of English abilities, and the time constraints of having both parents working full time jobs.

**Barrier # 1: Understanding the Pathway**

Parents in the sample felt they did not know how to access information to understand how to realize their aspirations. Little could be found in the literature to substantiate this finding; however this seems to be one of the most salient findings in the study. For example, only four of the twenty parents had some understanding of how to actualize the aspirations they had for themselves. The individuals in the sample doubted they would ever be able to attain these goals they had set out for themselves, because they had no idea what path would provide them with such jobs. I believe that understanding that these parents feel “stuck” and not likely to progress in their current economic situation, indicates that much can be done to give these families hope and access to escape poverty.
One such program that has been instituted in Texas is Project AVANCE, a program helping hundreds of parents from predominantly low-income Hispanic neighborhoods go to classes that not only help them but also their children. AVANCE and six other successful community-based family support programs that enable families and their children to overcome the cycle of poverty are discussed in an illustrative book by Shames and Wolf (1997). Another program with similar focus to help individuals out of poverty is the Ohio based Learning, Earning and Parenting Program (Granger & Cytron, 1999). Though not specifically targeting Latinos, this program helps new parents to learn the skills and gain the ability to increase their earnings and create healthy families.

Parents understood that education was required to be able to get where they wanted, but what type of education and how to get that type of education remained elusive to them. Thus, providing these families with information on how to gain further education and High School completion would definitely benefit these families. Two parents stated that their youth had no idea of how to pursue the goals they desired for themselves. This finding indicates that some of the youth, like their parents, may similarly lack an understanding of how to achieve their aspirations. In this study, many youth indicated that they did not know the path to the jobs they desired.
Like their youth, many of the parents in the sample desired to go on to further schooling, but felt like they could not do so at the time of the interview. The “why” behind these parents’ inability to go to school is discussed below.

Barrier # 2: English

We found that all of the parent respondents indicated that they wanted to learn English to go to school, get better jobs, and help their children with school more. In nearly all of the families, parents said that they felt they would be able to obtain better jobs if only they knew English. Lambourne and Zinn (1993) substantiated this in their discussion of the outcomes of Latino parent’s limited English proficiency. It appears from this study that without English, these families feel isolated from their communities at large and to some extent from their aspirations.

Another way in which lack of facility in English affects these families is the inability to help their children with homework, supporting findings of Hidalgo (1994), Melby and Conger (1996), and Sandefur (1998). Each parent and most youth reported this deficiency, which directly affected the youth’s ability to complete homework and do it correctly. It seems that even though many parents in the study indicated that they looked over their youth’s homework to see that it is completed, parents had great difficulty knowing that it was completed correctly.
Barrier #3: Time

Many parents felt they faced numerous barriers to learning English, the largest of which was time. Sixteen of the twenty parents felt they could learn English; however, the task appeared daunting, especially with the lack of free time they had with so much work. Many families discussed how worn out they felt when they returned from work, and indicated this as the reason they would have difficulty learning English.

We only got a brief glimpse of these individuals lives, understanding that these men and some women work ten-hour days, six days a week. Latino parents understand that they need English to get their GED or to graduate from high school or a technical school. However, many feel they don’t have the time and energy to learn enough English to get to the next step on the ladder. These parents feel “stuck” without the dominant language and without the time to get this tool which would make their goals more possible.

One solution that would certainly help these families is employer-supported English training. Employers in large factories and plants certainly could help their communities immensely by simply offering English proficiency training as a part of their employee enhancement strategies. Through this type of program, employers would gain more capable employees and probably a larger influx of motivated workers, and their communities would be more likely gain greater community solidarity.
Barrier # 4: Racism

Another barrier that was apparent in the lives of the youth was racism. Both parents and youth shared numerous instances of how the youth had been prejudiced against as were previously noted. This study supported the findings of Katz (1997, 1999) that show how deleterious racism within the school’s can be on Latino youth’s expectations and, in fact, how they are almost “pushing” these youth to dropout of school. The youth’s perception in this study was that the school police officers, teachers, and many youth treated them in discriminatory ways.

The youth in this sample perceived this racially discriminatory atmosphere to affect their ability to succeed in and graduate from high school. Working with the teachers and police officer in this school towards creating a more accepting and supportive atmosphere certainly would make a great deal of difference in these youth’s lives. Though it cannot be shown that racism is affecting their grades and dropout rates directly, the common expression of this problem at least identifies a need for improvement and other possible avenues for helping these youth.

Perceived Parental Support

Another main finding in this study is the limited academic support given by Latino parents. All parents admitted they were unable to give much more than simply verbal support to their youth, a response that was
validated by the youth. These families felt unable to help their children with their homework, and thus felt they had very little effect on their youth's educational success. Many of the youth admitted that they often did not show their parents all of their homework and/or grade reports. Findings also supported those of Sandefur (1998), that Latino parents showed significantly lower involvement in their child's schoolwork than their Caucasian counterparts. He postulated this low parental involvement was due to less monitoring of their child's schoolwork and less conversation with their children than parents of other ethnic and racial groups.

Another finding with important implications was that all of the parents independently responded that they had not talked with their child about their plans after graduation from High School. Parent's great difficulty in talking to their youth is a phenomenon that is common among many ethnic groups (Lanz & Iafrate, 1999). However, this phenomenon appears to be augmented by a discontinuity in acculturation between parents and youth (Sabogal et al., 1995).

These findings have direct implications for the youth's academic achievement and success. One of the largest implications is the relationship between low parental supportiveness and involvement, and youth's lowered educational attainment (Epstein, 1992; Herman, 1997; Hess & Holloway, 1984; Kao & Tienda, 1995; Marjoribanks, 1980). This relationship has been substantiated in various ethnic groups and among diverse populations.
These results imply that if parents are as uninvolved in their youth’s education as the findings seem to indicate, then these youth are at risk for low academic achievement. These findings also support Okagaki and Frensch’s (1995) work that found that parents who were able to effectively help their youth with homework and who set higher academic expectations of their youth, had youth with greater school success.

Various researchers’ (Melby & Conger, 1996; Otto & Atkinson, 1997; Steinberg, Lamborn, et al., 1992) findings seem to indicate that if certain parental behaviors can be instilled in the parents, their youth will improve in their academic performance. They found that various parental skills were successful, including: setting and reinforcing behavioral standards, encouraging parent/child agreement, and discussions, and the use of authoritative parenting and encouragement. These skills can be taught, and through their teaching would help Latino parents and their youth succeed.

In the current study, most of the families pointed out that they did try to attend parent conferences at school, and a few others used incentives such as gifts to motivate their child in their schooling. Many parents indicated that they observe their child’s homework, and are present to answer content answers that they might know. However, several parents indicated that their youth have more education than they do, and they often feel unable to answer even simple questions. Latino parents are undoubtedly in need of educational support, so they in turn may help their children. One project in
Ohio is currently doing this, called the Even Start Family Literacy program. This program focuses on teaching entire migrant families in English and advancing parent’s abilities to be involved in their children’s education (Tao, Khan, & Arriola, 1998).

Needs for Aspirational Attainment

One last question that has not been addressed in the literature is, “What do Latinos need to attain what they aspire for?” When parents and youth were asked directly what they thought they needed to actually attain their aspirations, their responses clustered around their need for further education. It was also interesting to see that they mentioned two issues: personalized help with their learning, and additional educational resources such as videos or technical classes. These families made it clear that educational help would assist them in attaining their aspirations.

The finding that these families really desired education over anything else is very encouraging. All in all, these parents believed that an education would get them where they wanted to be; however, they had little understanding of how to progress towards getting an education. Recognizing these families’ needs for both personal help and more educational resources makes it clear that continued efforts are needed to make this goal a reality. Certainly, parents can help their youth to gain higher aspirations if they have
the resources to gain access to their goals and dreams. However, youth also need greater access to resources within and outside of their schools.

Even with a great emphasis in the Cache school system on helping Latino youth stay in school, little could be found by way of improving the access to teachers and written/bound resources for these youth. However, Dr. Marcelo Diversi (personal communication, April, 2002) indicated that various mentoring programs seeking to support these youth in their studies have been implemented in the last three years.

Another great need that surfaced throughout the interviews is for information. These families felt isolated from their community as a whole and unable to find assistance to get education, training, and eventually better jobs. One father summed up the concern saying, “The one thing our people need most is information about the educational outlets that are offered to Latinos here in this country. The economic help, personal help and direction, and educational help is what we need most” (F:5).

Though Cache Valley may be somewhat behind in offering support to these families than other communities with larger Latino populations, many efforts have been made. According to Juan Carlos Vasquez (personal communication, March, 2002), Logan’s multicultural outreach coordinator, various programs have been developed to help Latino parents gain access to both their own and their children’s educations. For example, parents are offered free GED classes in Spanish, simplified English classes, computer
training, legal services (immigration and driver’s license), and interpreter services to help them gain access to schools and local government.

Theoretical Implications

A sub-framework of the ecological framework known as the *cultural-ecological perspective* developed by Ogbu (1992) was very helpful in understanding the finding of low parental support in this study. One of Ogbu’s propositions was that immigrant parents may give verbal support to their youth, but may lack many other forms of educational support. For example, Ogbu’s observation that “there rarely is any stigma attached to being a poor student” (p. 11), helped to explain why some of these parents did not help their children more directly when they were failing their classes. Though Latino parents verbalized that education was important, they were found not to look down on or censure their child’s poor school performance.

One of Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) tenets also helps to explain the relationship between the barriers of racial discrimination within the schools and youth’s aspirational development. He described that youth were influenced most by microsystems (roles and relations) and mesosystems (interrelations between two or more settings) in their environment. In this study, various parents and youth reported that school officials and teachers were the main source of racial prejudice. The discriminating school institution (mesosystem) affected directly the way these youth were
perceived, and the way the youth perceived themselves (microsystem). Youth then used these perceptions to create their roles as students. These families (microsystem) also were affected by the institutional prejudice of the school (mesosystem). Parents felt less capable of supporting their youth's aspirations due to the racial barriers that impeded them.

This study also found one of the propositions of social learning theory very helpful to understanding the transfer of aspirations between parents and their youth. This proposition was that people learn new expectations and perform new behaviors by observing the behavior of others and the consequences of that behavior (Bandura, 1986). The finding that low educational attainment and aspirations of parents were transferred to their youth may be explained using this proposition. Those mothers and fathers with low educational attainment and aspirations may have lower expectations and act in ways that promote education less than those parents that have higher attainment and aspirations. It also could be that these parents have few expectations and few behaviors that promote education, whereas those parents with higher educational aspirations have higher expectations and more educationally supportive behaviors.

Implications for Practice

First of all, interventionists need to understand that the aspirations of many Latinos are contextually different from those of their peers from other
backgrounds. Many Latino parents and to some degree their youth have a vantage point that they brought with them from other countries. Compared to the low wages in parts of Latin America, working for $7.50 an hour in a factory, which equates to over $60,000.00 in four years, to some Latinos makes much more sense than continuing their education. Discerning this crucial point helps us to realize that Latino youth may not have “lower” aspirations, but rather a different contextual view of education.

Future work still needs to be conducted to better understand more specifically how aspirations are transferred among Latino families and how parents foster their youth’s aspirations. However, it is clear that parents that are more supportive and involved in their youth’s education and personal lives often have youth with higher aspirations and greater academic success. Parents with better understanding of how to accomplish their dreams are also more likely to transmit these understandings to their youth. The relationship found between the aspirations of the youth and parents seems to imply the need for interventions that focus on both youth and parents. Because no studies were found that expressly focus on supporting entire Latino families in their youth’s education, more work should be done on implementing and evaluating such a program.

Continued work also must be done to provide more outlets for Latino parents to attain the education and support they need, so as to help their children attain heightened aspirations. Youth as well need additional venues.
These families need resources to realize the dreams they desire for themselves.

Limitations

The purpose of this qualitative research project was to describe as many aspects of aspirations, barriers, and connections between the aspirations of Latino parents and youth as possible. Our discovery of common elements within and across the Latino families in this study lends credibility to these findings. We acknowledge, however, that the study's design, sample size, and composition necessitates caution when interpreting its results.

Future research using a larger sample that is more diverse in socioeconomic status, family makeup, geographic makeup, and sending context is suggested for several reasons. Because Latino family's academic and occupational aspirations are likely to vary greatly according to their current and previous socioeconomic status, length of time in the U.S., and other factors particular to the part of the U.S. in which they reside, it is important to replicate this study among a more diverse socioeconomic group with differing socioeconomic histories. It should be noted that the patterns observed in this study may be unique to the sample due their sending context, history, and current socioeconomic status.
Additionally, the finding that most parents in the study expressed strong desires for their youth to continue on to a college education may reflect the community’s college town status. The finding that the majority of these families have immigrated to their current residence from rural Mexico, limits the ability for this study to address the greater Latino and Mexican-American population living in the United States. The inclusion of families of all types (i.e., single parent, legal guardianships, etc.) would broaden our understanding of these relationship’s effects on Latino youth’s aspirations.

Conclusion

The results of this study affirm the importance of studying the relationship between the aspirations of Latino parents and youth. Latino parents’ aspirations were found to transfer to their youth. However, only half of the parents were aware of their youth’s aspirations, and few parents had discussed them with their youth. Though all parents wanted their youth to go to college, they did not know how to get them there, and youth did not understand their parents’ desires. A majority of the youth did not share this desire to go onto college when first asked. This discontinuity could use further study to find out why parent’s aspirations for their youth’s educations aren’t internalized by their youth.

Parents felt that a lack of understanding of the pathway to their aspirations and those of their youth hindered their ability to realize their
aspirations. Also, parents' lack of English proficiency and the accompanying limited hands-on school support seemed to retard their youth's school achievement and aspirations. These barriers to parents' aspirations seem to keep them from acquiring the education they desire.

Taken together, these findings indicate that Latino youth and their parents need enhanced support to develop higher educational aspirations and achievement. These parents want and need further education and access to information to improve their outlook, both for themselves and their youth. In this way, these findings point to the need for a greater educational support structure for these families, as well as implementation and evaluation of programs developed to address these needs. Continued work needs to be done to understand how aspirations are transferred and fostered in these families, and how best to support the aspirations of parents and youth.
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APPENDICES
Appendix A. Calling Script In Spanish
Calling Script In Spanish

*If No Answer*

If no answer on the first call, leave no message.
If there is no answer on second call do leave a message on the answering machine (if possible).

Hola, estoy llamando por el señor o la señora _________. Me llamo - _________. Hoy estoy llamando para averiguar si ustedes van a poder participar en una entrevista concerniente a su familia y la participación de su hijo/a en el Proyecto De Jovenes Latinos (si aplica). Yo les llamaré un otro día. Si es posible, llámame a mi numero telefónico _________. Y deja un mensaje si no me encuentras. Muchísimas Gracias.

*If Answer*

(Please use some form of this dialogue as deemed appropriate).

Hola, estoy llamando por el señor o la señora _________. Esta una de ellos? ... Hola, me llamo _________, trabajo con el Doctor Marcelo Diversi, con el Proyecto De Jovenes Latinos. Hoy estoy llamando para averiguar si ustedes van a poder participar en una entrevista concerniente a su familia y la participación de su hijo/a en el Proyecto De Jovenes Latinos (si aplica). Hay un tiempo cuando puedo pasar a hacerles algunas preguntas, podemos compensarles
cinco dólares por persona en esta entrevista. Legustaria participar en esta inquista? ... Excellent! Hay un tiempo cuando puede estar usted, su esposo/a, y hijo/a? Que hora seria mejor? Ok, voy a pasar _________ y gracias por su tiempo. Anhelo conocerles. Bye-bye.
Interview Social Skills

- Respect is of utter importance; we must treat the individuals with kindness and gentility. Say thank you often and use words that do not belittle or diminish their role as host of the study.

- From the initial contact, establish good relationship, through genuine interest in the individuals, acute listening to their dialogue, and energetic disposition. Begin with small talk about how they were chosen to be contacted, and establish trust through affirming connections to others in the Latino community, sports, occupations, etc.

- Maintain a professional stance, as you are a researcher and represent Utah State University. This means dressing in casual-business attire, using professional language, and showing confidence in the importance and relevance of the study. It will benefit us to be concise and clear in our presentation to show confidence in the study.

- Your disposition shows more than your words. Eye contact and confident gestures should be accompanied by relaxed and comfortable posture.
Confidentiality and Environment Issues

- Participants are to be interviewed in a non-judgmental manner in an appropriate setting (e.g., private and confidential).

- Participants are informed that they can reschedule their appointment at any time, and may choose any setting for the interview that they deem private. Indicate that any questions that the individual finds sensitive in nature do not have to be answered and that the investigator will just move on.

- Unique codes will be established to distinguish the youth and parents from one another. Tapes also will be given codes and kept in a locked filing cabinet. These codes will be used throughout the transcription process and contained only in a secured file requiring a password for entry. Care should be taken in the presentation of the research findings so as to ensure that no one individual or community can be identified.

- Participants will be asked not to use their child’s name except in instances where two children had both been involved in the program.

- The place for the interview will generally be in the family’s private residence in the kitchen or living room. Interviews should not be conducted in closed rooms; however, they should be conducted out of earshot of other family members. When possible outside settings for the interview may be suggested. Participants will be encouraged to
have no television, music, or environmental distractions during the time of the interview.

- Interviews are to be done individually, with few possibilities for interruption by children or others.
- Explain to each participant the process of the interview and how confidentiality has been written into the study's design, as mentioned above.

**Leading**

- Wait for the participant to answer completely, do not interrupt or paraphrase to shorten digressions.
- Clearly restate the question a second time if not understood initially. Clarification restatements should be written out and used verbatim in cases where they are necessary. Don't use examples unless used every time.
- Follow Interview Protocol verbatim, and guide the interview in the direction it should take if the participant gets sidetracked.

**Interview Procedure**

- Before you leave for the interview be sure to call and make sure the family is going to be there. Reschedule if necessary, trying to get both parents and at least one youth at each family visit.
- Make sure you have consent forms, all interview scripts, recorder, and cassettes.
- Arrive on time!!!
- Explain the goal of the interview (an example is on the beginning of each YFP Interview).
  - Start by introducing yourself to the family and explaining your involvement in the program.
  - Small talk about how and/or why they were chosen to be contacted.
  - Establish trust through affirming connections to others in the Latino community, sports, occupations, etc.
  - Briefly explain the process of the interview (i.e., microphone and cassette recorder, individual nature, confidentiality and environment issues).
  - Assure them that their responses will be confidential, their names and specific information that would identify them will be changed to make it impossible to recognize them.
- Make sure an informed consent form has been signed by both parents and the child.
- Pay the family up front the five dollars per person and ten extra per family that has two parents and at least one child present.
• To assure confidentiality, find separate rooms to do the interviews in and go to these separate places for the interview.

• Test the equipment!!!
  o Batteries or AC adapter.
  o Is it recording?
  o Loud enough?
    o Blank tape has ID#, Date, and Interviewers name on it.

• Start the interview by pressing RECORD and following the interview scripts.
Appendix C. Consent Forms
Introduction/Purpose

Latinos have become the fastest growing segment of the United States population. As the Latino population increases, there is a great need to understand the unique processes and contexts in which Latino youth develop. Professor Marcelo Diversi in the Family and Human Development Department at Utah State University is conducting a study to learn more about the development of Latino youth. You have been asked to take part of this project because you are Latino/Hispanic and have a child, or children, between 9 and 18 years of age. We would like you to let your child(ren) be part of our mentoring and research program. There will be approximately 100 participants in this research project across Cache Valley.

Procedures

If you agree to let your child(ren) take part in this research project, your child(ren) will participate in a mentoring program for up to five years (or until the end of high school). The mentoring program will involve two aspects: 1) the actual mentoring of your child(ren) by a trained and supervised mentor, and 2) two interviews per year about how it feels to grow up as a Latino/Hispanic youth in the United States. The mentoring will be a weekly one-on-one hour with a trained mentor, in which the mentor will offer help with homework, school issues, and encourage pro-social behavior and positive choices. The interviews will be informal and will take place during the mentoring times. You, as a parent, will also be asked to participate in an informal interview some time in the first year of the mentoring program. Dr. Diversi or a research assistant will come to your home to ask you about your views on education and the future of your child(ren). This informal interview will be conducted in the language of your preference (English or Spanish) and will take approximately one hour.

Your child, or children, may also be invited to participate in group activities with other Latino youth and their mentors, as well as in mixed-race activities (games, educational workshops, sports, field trips) with youth from around the valley. Dr. Diversi and/or his research assistants will closely monitor all activities.

Risks/Benefits

No or minimal risks are anticipated. Mentors will be trained and will have passed background check. There is a slight risk records can be subpoenaed. The mentoring program may help your child, or children, to do better in school, decrease involvement in risky behaviors, and develop higher educational aspirations. In addition, the information from the interviews may help the investigator to learn more about the realities of growing up as a Latino youth in the United States. This knowledge may benefit others in the future.

Voluntary nature of participation and right to withdraw without consequence

Participation in this research is entirely voluntary. You may refuse to have your child participate or withdraw him/her at any time without consequence. Your child(ren) may be withdrawn from this study without your consent by the investigator if the mentoring relationship is not positive.
Confidentiality

Research records will be kept confidential consistent with federal and state regulations. Only the investigator and his assistants will have access to the data, and it will be kept in a locked file cabinet in a locked room. All names and identifying traits and circumstances will be changed to maintain your confidentiality. The data will be kept indefinitely. The audio tapes from the interviews will be destroyed within three months of transcription.

IRB Approval Statement  The Institutional Review Board (IRB) for the protection of human subjects at Utah State University has reviewed and approved this research project. If you have questions about the project at any time, you can call 797-1180 to express your concern.

Copy of consent  You have been given two copies of this Informed Consent. Please sign both copies and retain one copy for your files.

Investigator Explanation  The research study has been explained to potential participants, who understand the nature and purpose, the possible risks and benefits associated with taking part in this research study. Any questions that have been raised, have been answered. If there are other questions or research-related problems, Professor Diversi may be reached at 797-7140.

Signature of PI

Dr. Marcelo Diversi
Principal Investigator
797-7140

I, as a parent, understand that participation is voluntary and can be interrupted at any time, and I agree to let my child(ren) participate in the study:

Signature of Parent(s)  Parent’s signature  Date

Child/Youth Assent:
I understand that my parent(s) is(are) aware of this research study and that permission has been given for me to participate. I understand that it is up to me to participate even if my parents say yes. If I do not want to be in this study, I do not have to and no one will be upset if I don’t want to participate or if I change my mind later and want to stop. I can ask any questions that I have about this study now or later. By signing below, I agree to participate.

Signature of Child  Date
Creciendo Latino en USA.: Un acercamiento Etnográfico Narrativo de Formación de Identidad

Introducción/Propósito

Los latinos se han convertido en el segmento de población de mayor crecimiento en los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica. Conforme la población Latina crece, hay una mayor necesidad de entender el proceso único y el contexto en el que la juventud Latina se desarrolla. El profesor Marcelo Diversi del departamento de Desarrollo Humano y Familiar de la Universidad del Estado de Utah, está conduciendo un estudio para aprender más acerca del desarrollo de la juventud Latina. A usted se le ha propuesto formar parte de este proyecto, porque usted es Latino/Hispano y tiene un hijo o hijos entre las edades de 9 y 18 años de edad. A nosotros nos gustaría que usted dejara a sus hijo(s) ser parte de nuestro programa de mentores así como ser parte del programa de investigación. Habrá aproximadamente 100 participantes en este estudio de investigación a lo largo del Valle de Cache.

Procedimientos

Si usted accede a dejar a su hijo(s) ser parte de este proyecto de investigación, su hijo(s) van a participar en un programa de mentores hasta por 5 años o (hasta que acaben el high school, preparatoria). El programa de mentores, involucra dos aspectos: 1) el de su hijo(s) estar involucrados con un mentor que estará supervisado, y el 2) y el de dos entrevistas por año acerca de como se siente crecer como un Latino/Hispano joven en los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica.

El mentor (entrenado), se pondrá en contacto con su hijo(s) una vez por semana, en esta junta, el mentor ofrecerá ayuda con la tarea, cuestiones escolares, fomento del comportamiento social y decisiones positivas. Las entrevistas son informales, y tendrán lugar durante el tiempo que el mentor pase con su hijo(s). A ustedes como padres, también se les pedirá participar en una entrevista informales durante el primer año del programa. El Doctor Diversi o uno de sus asistentes de éste estudio, los visitarán en su casa para preguntarles acerca de sus puntos de vista en educación y en el futuro de su hijo(s). Esta entrevista informal, será conducida en el idioma de su preferencia (Inglés o Español) y tomará aproximadamente una hora.

A su hijo, o hijos, talvez se les invite también a participar en actividades de grupo con otros jóvenes Latinos y sus mentores, así como otras actividades involucrando una mezcla de razas (juegos, talleres educativos, deportes, y excursiones) con jóvenes de este valle. El Doctor Diversi y/o uno de sus asistentes supervisarán estas actividades.

Riesgos/Beneficios

No riesgos o riesgos mínimos se han anticipado. Los mentores serán capacitados y deberán haber pasado un chequeo de antecedentes. El programa de mentores, puede ayudar a su hijo(s) a mejorar en la escuela, disminuir se involucre en actos con riesgo o peligrosos. Desarrollar y aspirar a niveles superiores de educación. En adición, la información de las entrevistas pueden ayudar al investigador a aprender más acerca de la realidad de crecer Latino en los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica. Este conocimiento puede beneficiar a otros, en un futuro.

Participación de naturaleza voluntaria y derecho a salirse sin alguna consecuencia

La participación en este programa es completamente voluntaria. Usted se puede negar a dejar participar a su hijo(a) a salirse del programa en cualquier momento sin ninguna consecuencia. Su hijo(s) pueden salirse de este programa de estudio sin el consentimiento del investigador, si la relación con el mentor no es positiva.
Consentimiento Informativo: Creciendo Latino en los EEUU.

Confidencia:
La información del estudio es confidencial con regulaciones federales y estatales. Solamente el investigador y sus asistentes tendrán acceso a esta información, y se mantendrán bajo llave en un locker, en un cuarto bajo llave. Todos los nombres y las identidades y las circunstancias serán cambiadas para mantener su confidencialidad. La información se mantendrá indefinitivamente. Los audio cassettes de las entrevistas serán destruidos en un lapso de tres meses.

IRB Comunicado de aprobación El (IRB) Institutional Review Board, creado para la protección de los sujetos en la Universidad del Estado de Utah, ha repasado y aprobado este proyecto de investigación. Si usted tiene preguntas acerca de este proyecto en cualquier momento, puede llamar al 797-1180 para expresar su opinión.

Copia de consentimiento A usted se le han dado dos copias de este Informe de Consentimiento. Por favor firme ambas copias para que usted se quede con una.

Explicación del Investigador El estudio de investigación ha sido explicado a participantes con potencial, que entienden la naturaleza y el propósito de los riesgos y posibles beneficios asociados al tomar parte de este estudio de investigación. Todas las preguntas que han surgido han sido contestadas. Si hay otras preguntas o problemas asociados con el proyecto, el Profesor Diversi puede ser contactado al 797-7140.

Firma de PI

Dr. Marcelo Diversi
Investigador Principal
797-7140

Yo, como padre de familia, entiendo que la participación es voluntaria y que puede ser interrumpida en cualquier hora, y estoy de acuerdo en dejar a mis hijo(s) participar en el estudio:

Firma del Padre(s) ______________ Firma del padre(s) ______________ Fecha ______________

Asentimiento del Niño/Jóven:
Entiendo que mis padre(s) está(n) al tanto de este estudio de investigación y que se les ha dado permiso para que yo participe. Yo también entiendo que se deja a mi consentimiento participar, aunque mis padres accedan. Si yo no quiero formar parte de este estudio, no tengo que formar parte de este, y nadie se va a enojar, asimismo si aún dentro de este quiero renunciar. Yo puedo preguntar cualquier tipo de pregunta que tenga acerca de este estudio ahora o después.

Al firmar en la línea, yo acepto participar.

Firma del Niño ______________ Firma ______________ Fecha ______________
Estimados Señor y Señora:

Como ustedes saben, nosotros estamos trabajando de mentor con su hijo/a. Desde hace algunas semanas él/ella ha demostrado un esfuerzo por mejorar sus calificaciones y yo deseo seguir ayudándolo con sus tareas y preparación para los exámenes. Si ustedes están de acuerdo en que yo hable acerca de su hijo/a y su mejoramiento escolar con sus maestros de las materias, por favor firmen este documento en el espacio abajo de sus nombres. Si tienen alguna pregunta con respecto a esto, pueden llamarme al teléfono 797-7140 cualquier día durante la tarde.

Sinceramente

Profesor Marcelo Diversi
Departamento de Desarrollo Humano y Familiar
Utah State University
Logan Utah, 84322-2905

Estoy de acuerdo:

______________________________

Señor

______________________________

Señora

English translation:

Dear Parent(s),

As you know, I have been mentoring your son/daughter for a few weeks. He/she has shown eagerness to improve his/her school grades and I would like to help him/her more with homework and preparation for exams. If you agree to let me talk about your son/daughter’s school performance with his teachers, please sign in the space above your names. If you would like to talk to me more about this, please call 797-7140 any day in the evening.
Appendix D. Interview Forms
This section discusses your experience with schooling.

1. Tell me about your school experiences?
   (What classes are you in and how do you like them?)

2. Do your parents know what you think about school?
   How do you know?

3. Do your parents encourage you in your schooling?
   In what ways do each of them encourage you?

4. How much time do you spend with your parents daily?
   What do you together?

5. Will you go on to graduate from high school?
   Why?
   Do your parents want you to?

6. What do you plan to do after high school (or dropping out)?
   Why?
   How much schooling would you like to pursue?
   Why?
   What is the path that will get you to those goals?

7. What do your parents want you to do after high school?
   How do they communicate that to you?

8. If you could do any job you wanted after graduation what would it be?
   Why is that?

9. What kind of job do you think you will actually get when finish your schooling?
   Why?

10. What do you need to get the education and/or job you want?
    (What would be more helpful: financial help, help with school, or other supportive people? Or what?)
    Why?
This section discusses some of you and your child's experience with schooling.

1. Tell me about the experience you had when you were in school?
   How was it, how did you like it?

2. Did your parents know what you thought about school?
   How do you know?
   How did your parents help you achieve the goals you had for yourself?

3. Did your parents encourage you in your schooling?
   In what ways did each of them encourage you?

4. What did you plan to do when you were your child's age?
   Why?

5. Today, how much schooling would you personally like to pursue?
   Why?
   Does your child know how much more schooling you would like to get?
   How do you know?

6. If you could do any job you wanted what would it be?
   Why is that?
   What is the path that will get you to those goals?
   Does your child know what job you would like to get?
   How do you know?

7. What would you need to get the education and/or job you want?
   (What would be more helpful: financial help help with school, or other supportive people? Or what?)
   Why?

Now I would like to ask some questions about your child.

8. Tell me about the experience your child has in school?
What classes is he/she in and how does he/she like them?

9. Do you know what your child thinks about school?
   How do you know?

10. Do each of you encourage your child to do well in school?
    (If Yes) How?
    (If No) Why not?

11. How much time do each of you spend with your child daily?
    What do you do together?

12. Do think your child will go on to graduate from high school?
    Why or why not?
    Do you want them to?

13. Have you talked to your child about their plans after high school (or dropping out)?
    (If Yes) What does your child plan to do after high school (or dropping out)?
    How much schooling would they like to pursue?
    (If No) Why not?

14. What would you like your child to do after he or she is finished with school?
    How do you communicate that to them?

15. If your child could do any job he/she wanted after graduation what would it be?
    What is the path your youth will take to get to these goals?

16. What kind of job do you think they would actually get when finish their schooling?
    Why?

17. What do they need to get the education and/or job they want?
    (What would be more helpful: financial help, help with school, or other supportive people? Or what?)
    Why?
This last set of questions provides us with a little information about you and your family. Please provide the following information that best describes your family.

1. Marital status of parent(s) | Living together | Married | Remarried
---|---|---|---
Two biological parents in home | Biological mother only in home
Biological mother and other adult | Biological father only in home
Biological father and other adult | Lives with other guardian
Other:__________________________

2. Household makeup | Check two |
---|---|
Two biological parents in home | Biological mother only in home
Biological mother and other adult | Biological father only in home
Biological father and other adult | Lives with other guardian
Other:__________________________

3. Highest education (Check two)

| Mother | Father | Mother | Father |
---|---|---|---|
None | None | None | None |
Grade school | Grade school | Some college | Some college |
Some college | Some college | Grad school | Grad school |
Grad school | Grad school |

4. Your yearly family income $________

5. Employment

| Father's Occupation: | Mother Occupation: |
---|---|
Not working | Not working |
Part-time: where: | Part-time: where: |
what type of work: | what type of work: |
Full-time: where: | Full-time: where: |
what type of work: | what type of work: |

6. Primary language used at home | Spanish | English | Both: Why?________
---|---|---|---|
Spanish | English | Both: Why?________

7. Amount of English

| Father: | Mother: |
---|---|
Speaks a little | Speaks a little |
Reads a little | Reads a little |
Writes a little | Writes a little |
Speaks some | Speaks some |
Reads some | Reads some |
Writes some | Writes some |
Speaks fluently | Speaks fluently |
Reads fluently | Reads fluently |
Writes fluently | Writes fluently |

8. Age of children 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(Circle all that apply) 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 Other________

9. Youth involved in the Latino Youth Project? Yes No

10. Years having lived in United States?________

Jobs held there?__________________________
Reason for coming to the US?__________________________
Esta sección, se trata acerca de la experiencia escolar de usted.

1. Dígame cuál es tu experiencia en la escuela.
   (¿Cómo es, te gusta?)

2. ¿Sus padres saben que es lo que tu opinas acerca de la escuela?
   ¿Cómo sabes?

3. ¿Sus padres te apoyan en cuanto a lo que lo escolar respecta?
   ¿De que maneras te apoyan cada uno?

4. ¿Cuanto tiempo pasas con tu padre y madre?
   ¿Qué haces?

5. ¿Seguirás a graduar del High School?
   ¿Por qué?
   ¿Quieren esto sus padres?

6. ¿Qué es lo que tu planeas hacer después del High School o de salirse de este?
   ¿Por qué?
   ¿Cuánta escolaridad más te gustaría perseguir?
   ¿Por qué?
   ¿Cuál es la manera que le llevaría a estas metas?

7. ¿Qué es lo que tus padres le gustarían que hiciera después del High School o de salirse de este?
   ¿Cómo lo(a) comunican esto a ti?

8. Si tu pudiera hacer cualquier trabajo que tu quisiera, ¿cual sería?
   ¿Por qué opinas eso?

9. ¿Qué tipo de trabajo crees tu que realmente puedes conseguir cuando acabe la escuela?
   ¿Por qué?

10. ¿Qué es lo que necesitas para conseguir la educación o trabajo que tu deseas?
    (¿Qué es lo que te ayudaría más?: ayuda financiera, ayuda escolar, u otro tipo de ayuda personal, u que?)
    ¿Por qué?
Esta sección trata de algunos de los atributos de su hijo/a y su experiencia en la escuela.

1. Dígame cuál fue su experiencia cuando asistía a la escuela
   ¿Cómo fue?

2. ¿Sus padres sabían que es lo que usted opinaba acerca de la escuela?
   ¿Cómo sabe?

3. ¿Qué eran sus planes de la escuela y del trabajo cuando tenía la edad de su hijo(a)?
   ¿Por qué?

4. ¿Sus padres lo(a) apoyaban en cuanto a lo que lo escolar respecta?
   ¿De qué maneras lo apoyaban?
   ¿Cómo ayudaron sus padres a alcanzar las metas que tenía?

5. Hoy en día, que tanta más escolaridad o educación le gustaría perseguir?
   ¿Por qué?
   ¿Sabe su hijo(a) cuánto más escolaridad usted legustaría obtener?
   ¿Cómo sabe?

6. Si usted pudiera hacer cualquier trabajo que usted quisiera, ¿cual sería? (su trabajo de sueno)
   ¿Por que opina eso?
   ¿Cuál es la manera que le llevaría a esta meta?
   ¿Sabe su hijo(a) cual trabajo usted legustaría obtener?
   ¿Cómo sabe?

7. ¿Que es lo que usted necesitaría para obtener la educación o el trabajo que usted quiere?
   (¿Que es lo que te ayudaría más?: ayuda financiera, ayuda escolar, u otro tipo de ayuda personal, u que?)
   ¿Por qué?

Ahora quisiera preguntarle algunas preguntas acerca de su hijo(a).

8. Platíqueme más acerca de la experiencia escolar de su hijo(a).
¿En qué clases está? y que tanto le(s) gustan?

9. ¿Sabe lo que su hijo piensa acerca de la escuela?
   ¿Cómo sabe?

10. ¿Cada uno de ustedes (padres) apoya a su hijo a mejorar en la escuela?
    (¿Sí?) ¿Cómo? (Pregunta a cada quien)
    (¿No?) ¿Por qué no?

11. ¿Cuánto tiempo pasa cada uno de ustedes con su hijo/a?
    ¿Que hace?

12. ¿Cree que su hijo siga estudiando después de graduarse del High School?
    ¿Por que, o por que no?
    ¿Usted desearía que si siguieran estudiando?

13. ¿Ha hablado con su hijo(a) acerca de sus planes para después de graduarse del High School, o acerca de no terminarlo?
    (Sí) ¿Que es lo que su hijo planea hacer después del High School o de salirse de este?
    ¿Cuánta escolaridad más les gustaría perseguir?
    (No) ¿Por que no?

14. ¿Que es lo que a usted le gustaría que su hijo(a) hiciera después de que termine la escuela?
    ¿Cómo se comunica con sus hijos?

15. ¿Si su hijo pudiera hacer cualquier trabajo que el/ella quisiera, cuál sería?
    ¿Cómo llegaría su hijo a estas metas?

16. ¿Que tipo de trabajo cree usted que realmente puedan conseguir cuando acaben la escuela?
    ¿Por que?

17. ¿Que es lo que necesitan para conseguir la educación o trabajo que ellos desean?
    (¿Que es lo que te ayudaría más?: ayuda financiera, ayuda escolar, u otro tipo de ayuda personal, u que?)
    ¿Por que?
Este último set de preguntas nos proveerá con un poco de información acerca de su familia. Favor proporcione la información adecuada.

1. Estado civil de los padres(s)  Conjuntos  Casados  Múltiple casamientos

2. Información del hogar  Dos padres biológicos en la casa  Madre biológica (sólomente)  Padre biológico solamente  Vive con otro tutor
Madre biológica y otro adulto  Padre biológico y otro adulto
Otro: ______________________

3. Nivel educacional terminado:
   (Marque uno)
   Madre  Padre  Madre  Padre
   Ninguno  Pimaria
   Secundaria  Preparatoria
   Algo de colegio  Terminó el colegio
   Algo de Maestría  Masterado

4. Su ingreso familiar annual $ ______

5. Empleo  Ocupación del Padre:
   No trabaja  No trabaja
   Medio-tiempo: dónde: _________________ Medio tiempo: dónde: _________________
   qué tipo de trabajo: _________________ que tipo de trabajo: _________________
   Tiempo completo: dónde: _________________ Tiempo completo: dónde: _________________
   que tipo de trabajo: _________________ que tipo de trabajo: _________________

6. Idioma que se habla en el hogar  Español  Inglés  Los dos: Por qué? ______

7. Conocimiento del Inglés  Padre:  Madre:
   Habla un poco  Habla un poco
   Lee un poco  Lee un poco
   Escribe un poco  Escribe algo

8. Edad de los hijos  1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  9  10  11
   (Círcule los que se apliquen)  12  13  14  15  16  17  18  Otros ______

9. ¿Su hijo forma parte del Proyecto de Juventud Latina?  Si  No

10. Años viviendo en los E.U. ___ años

11. Origen cultural  País  Rural  Urbano
   Trabajos que trabajó allá ___________________________
   Razón para emigrar a los E.U. ___________________________