THE EXPERIENCE OF LATINO ADULT LEARNERS IN THE STATE OF WASHINGTON

Veronica Willeto
Politics 401
Whitman College
November 18, 2005

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION

The Latino population is the largest minority group in the state of Washington and their numbers are expected to continue to grow. With their ever increasing presence it is necessary to examine their experience in American society, specifically with the educational system. In a nation where the workforce is becoming more and more competitive, education, specifically adult literacy, is vital. Unfortunately, Latinos are falling out of the educational pipeline. Daniel Solorzano, in his article published in the *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, finds that Chicanos/as are at an economic and educational disadvantage compared to Whites and, in many cases, compared to other minority groups. The response of the state and educational scholars has been to improve the quality of education for Latino children in hopes of closing the gaps of inequality for future generations. While this is a central and necessary approach, adult education is also a vital component for improving child education and achieving equality for Latinos/as.

The focus of the following research is on Latino adult education at community and technical colleges in Washington State. Educational scholars perceive community and technical colleges as being the institutional space for meeting the specific needs that Latino adult learners have. I will examine how exactly community colleges serve Latino adult learners and what kinds of improvements are needed to provide higher quality of education for Latinos/as. The questions being addressed are: What are the challenges faced by adult learners? What type of support by the community college is available to the students? What type of support is provided by the state? How well is this support communicated to the students so they are informed? Are adult education programs adequately meeting the needs of Latino/a adults? What needs to change in order for the quality of education to improve for Latino adult learners at community and technical colleges?

In seeking out the answers to these questions I researched the national and state data on the condition of adult education through the Washington State databases on Community and Technical Colleges and the Office of Adult Literacy. I also referred to sources like the Pew Hispanic Center and the Literacy Information and Communication System. My research was then narrowed in on the Walla Walla Community College (WWCC) as a case study. I was assisted to a great degree by my community partners: Dr. Victor Chacon, Director of Multicultural Studies at WWCC and Cynthia Suede, a representative of Washington State University with an office at WWCC. With their direction I connected with ESL instructors, Adult Basic Education Instructors, Transitional Learning administrators, and Latino Student advisors at WWCC. I was also able to interview students in Dr. Chacon's Basic Job Skills class in the Transitional Department.

In my research I found that Latinos in adult education are still lacking adequate school and governmental support necessary for them to access and thrive in their local community colleges. Thus, it is my recommendation that changes in institutional and customary practices be made. On the state level there is a need for an increase of funding that will remedy the economic disadvantage of Latinos. The state should also refrain from taking a color-blind approach to the study of adult learner progress and to the consideration of policies for improving adult education programs. At the community college level affirmative action should be taken to create a bicultural and bilingual learning environment for Latino adult learners in the classroom as well

as in the student services offices. Community colleges should also keep track of the progress of Latino adult learners and address the barriers that prevent them from succeeding. In doing so, Latinos adult learners will be more supported and accepted by all members of the institution and they will be able to reach their highest potential.

II. A LITERATURE DISCUSSION

Latino adult education is more than teaching an older group of college students. Adult education instructors have to teach people who did not have proper literacy or job skills earlier in their lives. In a sense, adult education instructors are conducting the patchwork in the educational pipeline; however, the job is not easy for the teacher or the student. Latino adult learners face the challenge of "race-neutral' laws and institutional structures, practices, and policies [that] perpetuate racial/ethnic educational inequality."[1] Policymakers and educational leaders ignore the reality that Latinos are systematically discriminated against in the workforce and in the educational system. Thus, a color-blind approach to education for Latinos is problematic because it fails to address the racism that exists. Solorzano explains that it is important to view "policies and policy making within a proper historical and cultural context" in order to "deconstruct their racialized content."[2] What may seem to be color-blind policies may prove to be discriminatory against minority groups who have historically been oppressed. Even though there have been minority movements to address the inequality of between whites and minorities but there is still evidence of "ethnic differences in earnings and employment." Much of the disparity in the workforce is the result of the "differences in cognitive skills" among racial groups.[3] Thus, it is imperative that Latinos are receiving the kind of education that will improve their cognitive skills and allow them to be better prepared for the modern market.

In a report published several years ago in the *Harvard Educational Review*, researchers determined that social origins determine the school experience of Latinos, which in turn effects employment and earnings.[4] Social origin is defined as "social class, gender, and ethnic, cultural, or linguistic background."[5]The social origin of Latinos in the United States causes them to experience the discrimination and marginalization that stem from a history of institutional and customary racism in this country. As a result, their educational attainment and literacy levels are less than equitable to whites.

According to the report in the *Harvard Educational Review*, educational inequality has commonly been addressed by the quantitative measurement of educational gaps between minority groups and whites, however, improvement should not just be based on quantity such as the years of school attended and the number of Latinos who have obtained degrees. Instead, more emphasis should be placed on the quality of education Latino adult learners receive. The report points out how Latino adult learners are often encouraged to "preference" occupations that do not have the best job security or earnings. The logic is that adult learners find these programs more suitable to their literacy skills and employment backgrounds but the common options are jobs that limit the mobility of Latino adults in the workforce and in society in general. The occupational selection available to adult learners should be expanded so Latinos are not concentrated in specific vocations. Simply having a list of vocations available in the course catalog is not enough to ensure that Latino adult learners are aware of their options and are given

[1] Solorzano, 274.
[2] Solorzano, 274.
[3] Raudenbush, Stephen W and Rafa M. Kasim. "Cognitive Skill and Economic Inequality: Findings from the National Adult Literacy Survey." *Harvard Educational Review* (1998): 33.
[4] Raudenbush, 33.
[5] Raudenbush, 33.

encouragement and guidance toward a greater variety of jobs. The need to take affirmative action is essential because "disadvantaged groups are systematically denied access to better jobs via occupational, industrial, and residential segregation"[6]

The social origin of Latinos in the United States determines their accessibility to education. If Latinos come from low-wage jobs they do not have access to resources to ensure their educational advancement. Lucia Buttaro discusses the obstacles for adult Latinos in her study of 8 adult Hispanic females who immigrated to the United States in 2002. She determines that the "most frequently cited [barriers in obtaining education for] adults are lack of time and cost."[7] Highlighting the ESL program, Buttaro also found that "being in mixed-level classes, fear of speaking, fear of ridicule, lack of child care, difficult classes, and programs that did not offer flexible scheduling and thus were too demanding" discouraged the Latina women from participating.[8] What makes it possible for some Latina females to succeed in ESL programs are the "emotional support and positive encouragement from the […] program," having an "English-language environment," the impact of their culture on their study habits, and "having their teacher's understanding in times of academic difficulty."[9]

In most cases Latino adult learners have the task of learning a second language while improving their literacy skills and/or completing their vocational programs, therefore, they need learning environments that will help them engage in English.. This is ideally the reason for bilingual programs. Buttaro concludes that to create a learning environment for illiterate adults with English as a second language "programs must acknowledge the existing cultural-linguistic capital possessed by adult Hispanic women."[10] The culture that Latino adult learners have should be used as an asset and a resource in the classroom. Buttaro also states, "more emphasis should be placed on pursuing community-based literacy programs serving immigrant families that are dedicated to their children and their personal growth."[11] It is more adequate to give "attention to the cultural and social knowledge needs of families" and not just base understanding of literacy needs on "isolated assessments of basic reading and writing skills in English or in Spanish.[12]" The teaching curriculum of Latino adult learners should be adjusted according to their cultural, linguistic, and social background. This can be done by "[building] on the experiences and languages of the learners, inviting them to discuss their experiences" in the classroom.[13]

One cultural asset Latino adult learners have is their dedication to their children. In Menard-Warwick's article on the narratives of two English learners, she tells how a Latina woman started taking ESL classes when she realized "both the possibility and the necessity of pursuing English classes."[14] The woman states:

---

[6] Raudenbush, 36
[7] Lucia Buttaro. "Second-language Acquisition, Culture Shock, and Language Stress of Adult Female Latina Students in New York." *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education* (Jan 2004): 22. 3: 21-49.
[8] Buttaro, 31-2.
[9] Buttaro, 32-3.
[10] Buttaro, 36.
[11] Buttaro, 36.
[12] Buttaro, 36.
[13] Buttaro, 36.
[14] Menard-Warwick, Julia. "I Always Had the Desire to Progress a Little': Gendered Narratives of Immigrant Language Learners." *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* (2004): 304.

> My son was asking me a lot of words in English and I didn't know what to tell him…[…] And so now I began to think of them…that maybe if I begin [to learn English], like to show them a little…that I want to get ahead, so that they also see that I am making a little more effort.[15]

Parents are important agents in their children's education. They help them with their homework, become actively involved in school activities, and read to their children at a very young age. All these efforts are encouraged by educational scholars because they find that parents are the first teachers in their children's life. Thus, the literacy of Latino adults is fundamental to the literacy of their children. In an article in the Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy, researches convey that the reason parents do not read to their children is because they lack the necessary literacy skills in their first language or in English. Researchers also point to the economically disadvantaged status of Latino parents as a factor in whether they read to their children or not because being economically disadvantaged means there is more hours on the job, little benefits, and thus minimal access to adult literacy programs. Thus, illiterate Latino adults are at a disadvantage when it comes to ensuring their children are literate because they themselves are not equipped to offer proper support for their children.

With economic disadvantage being the primary reason Latino adults are unable to improve their literacy, economic support from the state crucial. State support in financial aid to students and to adult education programs at community & technical colleges is one of the primary focuses of this research. The second focus is the adequacy of support provided by the two-institutions. Illiterate Latino adults need flexible support due to the obstacles they are faced with. Two-year institutions need to accommodate for the likelihood that Latino adult learners will be working long hours at low-wage jobs in order to support their families. There is also a need for cultural support by the institutions in order for Latino adult learners to succeed. Finally, the third focus is on the adequacy of adult education programs in providing quality education. The economic status of Latino adult learners can only be improved by improving their literacy level. If the individual adult education programs are not adequately teaching Latino adult learners, then they fail to achieve their purpose and the economic and social inequality will persist.

[15] Menard-Warwick, 304.

III. METHODS

Community colleges are said to be the key to addressing the educational and economic inequality for Latinos because they provide accessibility. However, although access to community college has relatively improved for Latinos in Washington, the basic skills rate and the rate of students completing adult education programs is still below whites. Thus, the focus of this research is to analyze the accessibility and success of adult education programs. Community colleges are the main institutions that provide adult education programs, especially for the Latino population, so the support provided by two-year institutions is a key issue. From an assessment of the published reports of the Washington Community and Technical Colleges, the conclusion is that Latino adult learners are not receiving adequate support. The factors contributing to the Latino experience with adult education are the lack of financial aid, inadequate program structures, and the lack of school and home support.

The quantitative data for adult education and literacy status in Washington was acquired through the publicly published reports and research results found on the Washington State Board for Community and Technical Colleges (WSBCTC) online database. Other data was gathered from the research and scholarly reports published by the Pew Hispanic Center, Seattle Jobs Initiative, Washington State Office of Adult Literacy, National Institute for Literacy, Literacy Information and Communication System (LINCS), and scholarly articles.

The primary source I used was the WSBCTC because it provided annual progress reports and data specific for Washington community and technical colleges so that I was able to assess the data according to the three major objectives of community colleges: "to prepare students for academic transfer, to provide workforce preparation, and to provide adult basic skills and literacy education." The data was analyzed by determining how well the community and technical colleges in Washington State were reaching their objectives and how these three objectives work for the Latino population. Thus, my information is narrowed in on community colleges, specifically on Walla Walla Community College. However, the sources had a few limitations because they provided only limited statistical information for WWCC. Also, some sources did not highlight the Latino population or did not provide demographical information. None of the sources provided gender demographics.

During my research I searched for three main adult literacy data categories: Adult Basic Education (ABE), General Education Degree (GED), and English as a Second Language (ESL). The three categories were chosen in order to evaluate the three specific objectives for community colleges. The Adult Basic Education program deals with the basic literacy of Latino adults. The GED program works with students in meeting the requirements necessary to pass the GED testing. English as a Second Language helps with the English language skills needed to succeed in both educational programs and in the workplace.

I relied upon my community partners to assist me in finding potential interviewees. They provided a few options but the interviews provided in this report was made possible by Victor Chacon, Director of Multicultural Services at Walla Walla Community College. He teaches a class on Basic Job Skills. He allowed for four of the students in his students to be individually interviewed by me during his afternoon class period. I have transcribed one of those interviews.

A couple students took the option of not being recorded because they were shy about their Englishh speaking skills while the rest of the persons interviewed were not recorded due to technical difficulties. The classroom interview that was recorded and transcribed for this report took place in another afternoon class period with the same students. In this classroom interview questions were asked to an entire class and members of the class provided responses.

The students in this adult education class were chosen because their experience reflects the challenges of Latino adult learners in many respects. First of all, the majority of them were laid off from the Simplot food processing plant. Many Latino adults work in the food processing industry and find themselves enrolling at the local community college because they lose their job or they just simply want a better one. Secondly, the students in this class are under the Worker Retraining program. Their struggle is often overlooked because while the program is helping them learn new job skills in order to re-enter the regional job market, they leave the program with meager literacy skills, only improving slightly from when they began. Finally, these students are in multiple literacy programs which include any combination of adult basic education, ESL, GED, and technical training. Their experiences allow me to have a more comprehensive insight into the various adult education programs available for Latinos.

The two interviews was conducted at Walla Walla Community College in Walla Walla, Washington during. The classroom interview was in both Spanish and English. I asked questions in English and Dr. Chacon repeated them in Spanish when necessary. When some of the students responded in Spanish, Dr. Chacon translated what they were saying. The classroom interview was taped by having each student speak into the recorder when they wanted to speak.

IV. DATA ON THE STATE OF LATINOS AND ADULT EDUCATION

The State of Washington is experiencing a growing population of Latinos/as, largely due to the high immigrant and refugee settlement with which the United States is currently faced. According to the Pew Hispanic Center, Washington has the fifth largest number of refugee and immigrant settlement and the it is the state with the second highest number of secondary settlements. The Hispanic population has now grown to 7.5% becoming the largest minority population in the state.[16] Consequently, Adult Education is now in high demand as many immigrants and refugees lack the skills necessary to compete in a high-demanding workforce.

Literacy on a National Scale

According to the National Institute for Literacy, immigrants in the United States have lower literacy and educational attainment than the native-born population. Of the foreign-born population, 33% were not high school graduates compared to 13.4% of the native population. Only 25% of the foreign-born population were high school graduates while 34.3% of the native population were. In a 1992 survey:

- The United States ranked 16th out of 17 countries with having an average composite literacy score of Level 1 for foreign-born adults
- The United States ranked 10th out of 17th with having an average composite literacy score of Level 3 for native-born adult.

When comparing the literacy rankings for the foreign-born and native-born adults in the U.S. it is evident that the United States needs to improve the literacy skills of its foreign-born population. The majority of the foreign-born population comes from South America, Central America, and Mexico. For the majority of foreign-born adults between the ages of 18 and 64, the primary language is Spanish.[17]

Literacy on the State Level

To bring it home to the State of Washington we find that statistics shows 35% of adults have low literacy skills.[18] Only one in three adults has a high school diploma or less. Washington Administered the State Adult Literacy Survey that estimated 200,000 to 500,000 adults 16 years of age or older were deficient in the basic skills need for their roles as parents, workers, and citizens.[19] In result, 15% of all state support instruction is provided in basic skills. Latinos are the largest minority group in basic skills.[20]

---

[16] "State & County Quick Facts: Washington." *U.S. Census* Bureau, 2000. <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/53000.html> (24 October, 2005).
[17] "National Institute for Literacy: English as a Second Language Literacy." *International Adult Literacy Survey* (2002). http://www.nifl.gov/lincs/ facts_statistics/facts_statistics.html> (27 October, 2005).
[18] Case, Annette. "Beyond the Bottom Line: Expanding Economic Opportunities for Washington's Working Families." *Seattle Jobs Initiative* (October 2004): 13.
[19] "Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community and Technical Colleges." *Washington State Board for Community and Technical Colleges: Research Report No. 01-2* (November 2001): 2.
[20] Case, 3.

Access to Education for Latino Adults

Community and technical colleges are seen as the answer to improving the literacy skills of adults in Washington. Seventy-five percent of the total increase in college enrollment in the state took place at two-year colleges.[21] A number of the students are enrolled in Adult Basic Education, English as a Second Language and GED courses. The median ages for students in ESL, ABE and GED are 33, 27, and 23 respectively. The median age for students in all adult education programs is 29.[22] According to the Pew Hispanic Center, Latinos who are enrolled in community colleges "attend college part-time, commute to college, work, are first-generation college students, are low-income, [and] have less academic preparation than their peers." These are all factors that prevent Latino adults from enrolling in adult education even when community colleges have an open door policy. They are also reason Latinos struggle to complete and succeed in the programs they are able to enroll in.

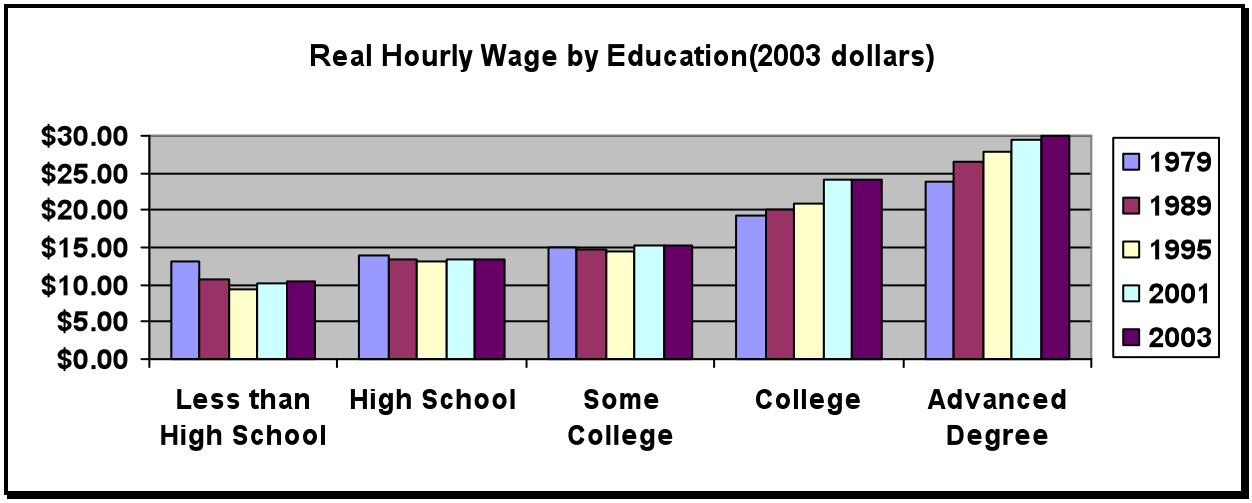
There are 34 community and technical colleges in the state of Washington. The relative state tuition for these state institutions is $2,142. The average full-time enrollment cost for tuition plus books, transportation, room and board is$12,000 a year. Many times access to education is limited for Latino adults enrolled in basic skills programs because 2/3 of them earn an income below the poverty line.[23] They do not have the economic means for education be an option. Most times they do not even qualify for financial aid that is available to cover the tuition cost and other expenses because they are not full-time students. The majority of adults in basic skills cannot afford to attend full-time because they work in addition and have children. One in four community and technical college students works full-time. One in three is a parent and one in ten is a single parent.

The part-time status of adult learners is not the only requirement that keeps them from receiving aid. Even with programs that are suppose to be designed to provide financial assistance to adult learners there are requirements that limit the assistance. For example, WorkFirst is a program that provides assistance for parents who are 50% below the federal poverty level.[24] First of all, the poverty line is not an inadequate measure of the financial need of a family if low income families who are above the poverty line have to spend a third of their income on housing alone. With that big of a fraction of their income on housing there is not much left to pay for their education at a community college. The cost of living and providing for their family is just too high. If the poverty line is too low of a measure for the means of a family, how much more inadequate it is to require that adult learners be 50% below the poverty line in order to qualify for financial assistance when they realistically require assistance even when they are above the poverty line.

[21] Solorzano, 276.
[22] "Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community Colleges," 2.
[23] "Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community and Technical Colleges," 3.
[24] Case, 16.

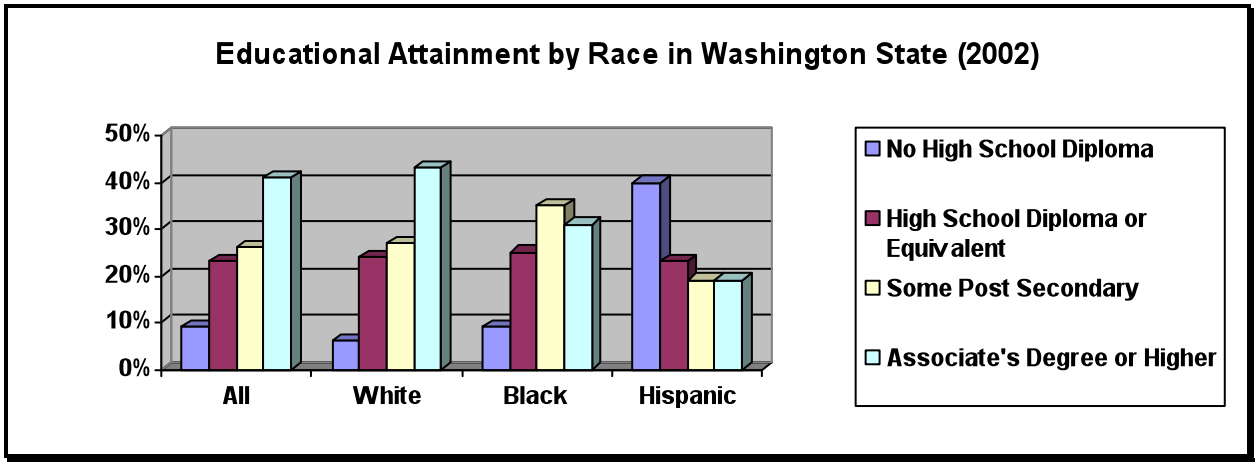
Educational Attainment and Economic Status

According to a report by Seattle Job Initiatives, "One in four working families in Washington State—about 170,000 families—does not earn enough to cover basic needs and lives below 200% of the federal poverty level"[25] About ¼ of these families (40,000) have jobs but still live below 100% of the poverty line. The federal poverty line for a family of four in 2002 is equal to an annual income of $18,392.[26] Having a low economic status is largely connected to having low educational attainment.



The more education attained the higher hourly wages will be. Unfortunately, not enough workers are receiving higher and adequate education. In a survey conducted by the Seattle Job Initiative, one in four Employers in the state of Washington cannot find qualified applications. As a result, "70 percent reduced their output, 69 percent lowered their overall productivity and 31 percent were prevented from expanding" because they did not find qualified applications.[27] A large fraction of the population lacking the education to be qualified applicants is Hispanic.

[25] Case, 2.
[26] Case, 2.
[27] Case,12.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2002 Supplemental Survey. For persons age 25-54.

Forty percent of the Hispanic population is lacking a high school diploma compared to 6% of Whites. Thus, Hispanic families are often below the poverty line or low-income families. As a result, Hispanics are more likely to work long and hard hours with little pay or benefits or live without certain privileges that families with higher incomes have. For instance, 33% of low-income families having a working parent without health coverage and 61% of low-income working families spend more than 1/3 of their income on housing.[28] With such economic constraints obtaining education is more difficult and sometimes even impossible to access, yet it is higher education that will improve the living conditions of Hispanic families. Educational scholars are, consequently, turning to community colleges to meet the needs of Hispanic families.

State Support for Latino Adult Learners

According to the Pew Hispanic Center report on Federal Policy and Latinos in Higher Education, the average tuition and fees have risen by about 15% for students at both public baccalaureate and community colleges in the 2003-2004 fiscal year.[29] The majority of students are paying for their education by receiving some form of federal financial aid, but data from the Department of Education reveals that "a decreasing portion of federal aid is distributed according to need" and "low-income students [are receiving] a declining share of grants for financial aid."[30] The combination ofhigher education costs and insufficient and limited availability of financial aid is discouraging Latinos students, who comes from low-income backgrounds, from pursuing higher education. The case is worse for Latino adult learners who sometimes cannot qualify for federal financial aid due to their part-time enrollment status and in some cases their legal immigration status.

[28] Case, 3.
[29] Santiago, Deborah A. and Sarita Brown. "Federal Policy and Latinos in Higher Education." *Pew Hispanic Center Study* (June 2004): 1.
[30] Deborah, 2.

State support for Latino students come in the form of institutional aid and development programs that are under the Higher Education Act (HEA). Support from the state under the HEA is also in the form of grant and loan programs accessible to individual students. There are no state programs that are specifically for Latino adult learners. In fact, Latinos receive the lowest average amount of state financial assistance compared to any other racial group.

Federal Financial Aid to Full-Time, Full-Year Undergraduate Students

Race/Ethnicity	Any Aid	Grants	Loans	Work Study
HIspanic	$5,335	$2,680	$4,926	$1,650
White, non-Hispanic	$6,261	$2,382	$4,781	$1,658
Black, non-Hispanic	$6,517	$2,669	$4,950	$1,598

Federal Financial Aid to Part-time or Part-Year Undergraduate Students

Race/Ethnicity	Any Aid	Grants	Loans	Work Study
HIspanic	$3,807	$1,717	$4,249	$1,816
White, non-Hispanic	$4,213	$1,498	$4,324	$1,556
Black, non-Hispanic	$3,983	$1,649	$4,510	$1,456

These two charts do not even give specifics about the amount of aid Latino adult learners at community colleges are receiving but these figures signify that in most cases Latino undergraduate students in general receive less student financial aid than other racial group on the average. Thus, it is fair to assume that Latino adult learners receive even less than other Hispanic students because they are more likely to be part-time students.

State Support: Worker Retraining

Washington Community and Technical Colleges are making an effort to meet the financial and circumstantial needs of Hispanic adult learners. In this effort, the state has initiated the Worker Retraining program. The program was established in 1993 with the purpose of assuring "jobless workers have immediate access to job retraining for a new career if they are not able to work in their current field. It also has built the capacity of colleges to provide training in higher-demand, higher-wage fields."[31] Although this is not a program for only Latinos, it does make this a popular option for them because the program deals with unemployed adults.

According to the most recent report, 80% of adult learners in the Worker Retraining program have been re-employed. Workers that have completed this program have obtained jobs that

[31] "Worker Retraining: Seventh Accountability Report for the Worker Retraining Program." *State of Washington: State Board for Community and Technical Colleges* (May 2003): i.

provide them 86% and 114% of the hourly wages they earned before entering the program.[32] Also, the report finds that a worker is 9% more likely to be employed with $2,080 more in annual earnings.[33]

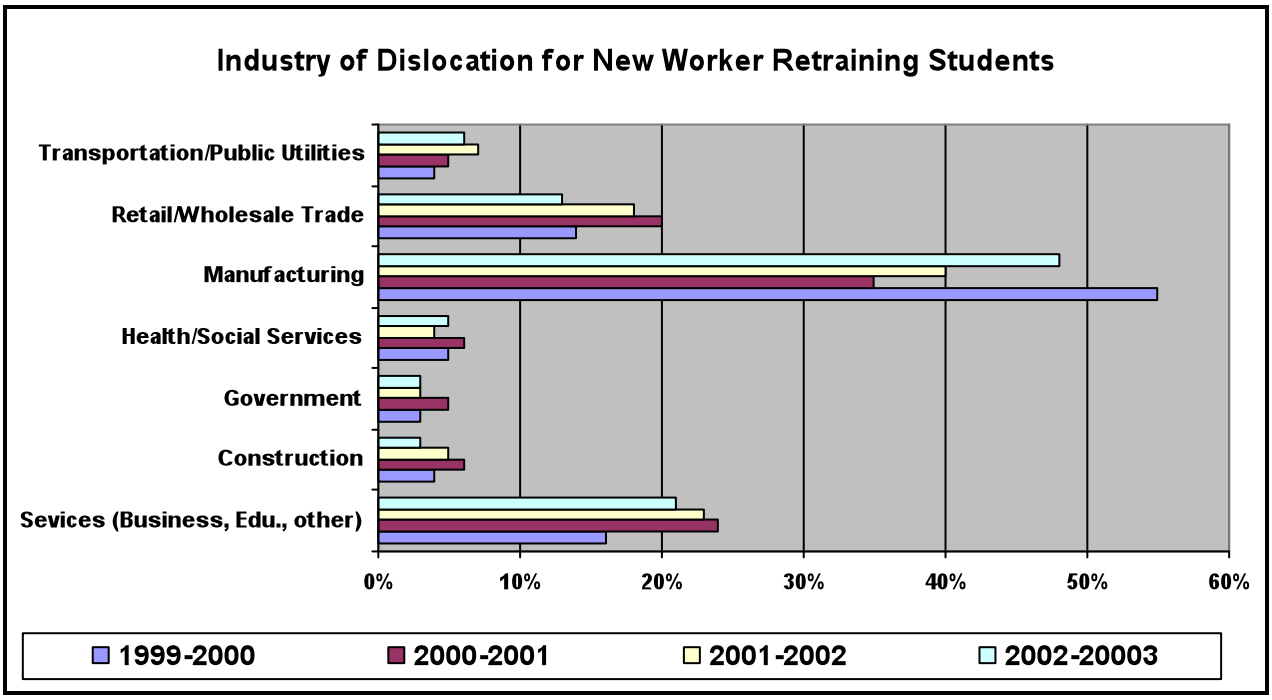
Employment, Wages, Recovery Rates and Job Retention of Program Participants Seven to Nine Months After Training[34]

	1998-1999	1999-2000	2000-2001
Number of Students Leaving Program	5,790	6.491	6,883
Number Employed	4,7222	5,321	5,477
Percent Employed	82%	82%	80%
Median Wage per House	$12.49	$13.15	$13.11
Median Estimated Annual Earnings	$22,869	$24,487	$23,182
Job Retention	88%	82%	Not available

By looking at the various measurements of success over a period of three years the program has proven to be making steady improvements, however, the only concern is that the data does not give any information about the Latino adult learner.

Hispanics adults are in the Worker Retraining program because they were laid off from their job after change in the economy of Washington state. As apparent in the following graph, the majority of the participants of the Worker Retraining program came from manufacturing jobs.[35] Studies have shown that large concentrations of the Latino population are employed in manufacturing firms. As is the case for a group of Latino adult learners at the Walla Walla Community College, the most popular manufacturing firms of which laid-off workers come from are apple and potato factories.

[32] "Worker Retraining: Seventh Accountability Report for the Worker Retraining Program," i.
[33] "Worker Retraining: Seventh Accountability Report for the Worker Retraining Program," ii.
[34] "Worker Retraining: Seventh Accountability Report for the Worker Retraining Program," 10.
[35] "Worker Retraining: Seventh Accountability Report for the Worker Retraining Program," ii.



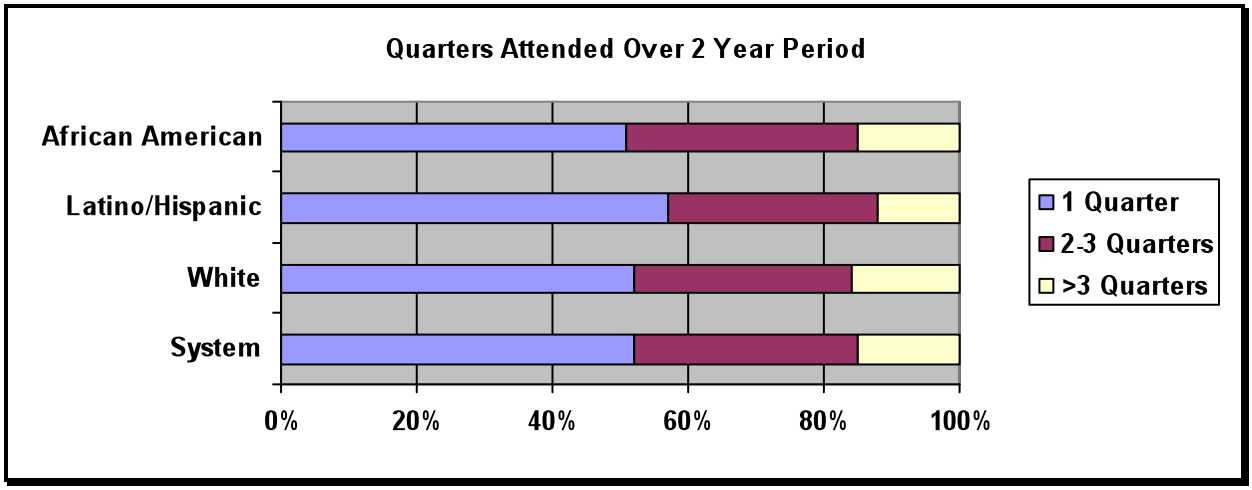
After completing the Worker Retraining program, Latino adult learners have re-entered the workforce in more technically demanding industries. Information technology has been the largest higher-wage program at 50% of new enrollments. Enrollment in nursing has also increased by 147%. [36]

The relative success of the Worker Retraining program brings high hopes to improving the status of low-income families of Washington State in general, however, the report lacks demographical information to determine how Hispanics compare to Whites in the retention rate and measures of the program. Another issue with the program is that unemployed workers have to pay the tuition as other community and technical college students. Only half of these unemployed workers receive a small amount of financial aid.[37] Thus, Latino adults who could most benefit from the Worker Retraining program are the ones who cannot afford to pay the tuition. Therefore, programs that are concerned with helping the unemployment rate of Latinos or the overall economic status of the Latino population in practice work against these objectives.

The Quality of Adult Education Programs

The Washington State Community and Technical Colleges reports an improvement in the access to education as being close to parity for Latinos students in comparison to White students. Despite an almost equal access to education for Latino adult learners, the following graph shows that the retention rate is not as successful.[38]

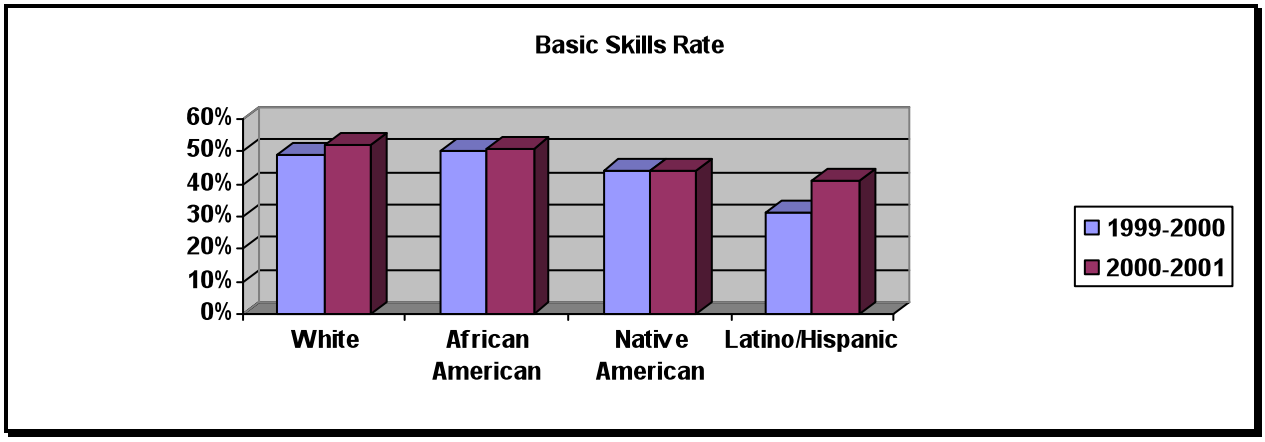
[36] "Worker Retraining: Seventh Accountability Report for the Worker Retraining Program," ii.
[37] "Worker Retraining: Seventh Accountability Report for the Worker Retraining Program," i.
[38] "Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community and Technical Colleges," 7.



More Latinos/Hispanics retained only one quarter compared to Whites. Latinos also have lower retention rates than the rate for all basic skills students. Forty-eight basic skills students retained for more than one quarter while it was 44% for Latinos.[39] Thus, not only is there a disparity between the retention rate of Latinos and Whites, there is also an overall concern that nearly half of all basic skills students only retain for one quarter. This reflects the quality of basic skills programs across the state. In order for the Washington State Community and Technical Colleges to obtain their goal of an 80% retention rate they must improve the retention rates of Hispanics and other minority groups because 57% of basic skills participants are students of color.[40] This can be done by assessing the individual program quality and how they are meeting the needs of Latino adult learners.

Of those students enrolled in basic skills education at community and technical colleges, 42.6% are White and 31.1% are Latino.[41] The fact that these figures do not reflect the state demographics suggests that Latinos are more likely to lack basic skills compared to Whites. What is even more disparaging is that Latino/Hispanic students also have the lowest rate of progress in basic skills at community and technical colleges. The following graph shows what percent of all students enrolled in Adult Basic Education and English as a Second Language instruction make substantive skills gain during the year.[42]

[39] "Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community and Technical Colleges," 7.
[40] "Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community and Technical Colleges," 2.
[41] "Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community Colleges," 2.
[42] "Access and success for System Goals for People of color in Washington Community and Technical Colleges: Eighth Progress Report." *Washington State Board for Community and Technical Colleges: Research Report No. 02-3* (June 2002): 6.



Latino/Hispanic students are making the least amount of progress in Adult Basic Education (ABE). Granted that progress is being made, there is still the question of why Latinos are making slower progress compared to the other racial groups.

Assessment: English as a Second Language

ESL is the largest adult education program in the state with a growth rate of 6% each year and 53% full-time enrollment. Hispanics make up 49% of ESL students. Adults with the lowest level of language proficiency are taught basic direction and survival English. Fifty-seven percent of Level 1 proficiency students are Hispanic. The Washington State Community and Technical Colleges provide no further assessment about the state of Latino students in the ESL program.[43]

If ESL is such a large program, the low rate of success for Latino students is alarming when considering the largest population of students in the program is Latino/Hispanic. If they are making the least amount of progress, what does this say about the program's efficiency in addressing the needs of Latino adult learners? If adult education programs are not efficient, how does this effect the ability of Latinos to be successful in the labor market where English is paramount?

Assessment: Adult Basic Education

Twenty-seven percent of Full-Time Enrollment is in ABE. The primary service of the program is to students with skills below the ninth grade level. Six percent of the students in ABE are Latino. This is an interesting statistic considering Latinos are the largest minority of illiterate adult in the state. Access to the ABE programs may account for the low percentage of Latinos compared to Whites. One way community colleges are trying to provide more access to education is by offering their programs off-campus. Fifty-five percent of all off-campus programs are ABE programs.[44] Most of these off-campus program sites are at elementary schools and work places so that Latino adults with children or who are working full-time can enroll in ABE programs. As

[43] "Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community and Technical Colleges," 4-7.
[44] "Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community and Technical Colleges," 4-7.

to whether Latinos take advantage of these off-campus ABE programs still depends. Many Latino adults who could enroll in off-campus ABE programs are still restricted by their work schedules and financial status. Thus, being that the number of Latinos students enrolled in ABE programs is 6% means that there are still other barriers that prevent Latinos from enrolling in ABE programs that are still not being overcome by the convenience of off-campus programs.

Assessment: General Education Degree

With a look at the percentage of instruction offered for adult education programs, GED instruction varies from 3% to 27% across the state. The type of instruction also varies as GED provides two levels of test preparation beyond the preparation provided by ABE. In the state of Washington, more than ¾ of GED instruction is provided below the ninth grade level even though GED test preparation is aimed at providing instruction above the ninth grade level. The number of Latino students enrolled is low at 4% despite 50% of GED instruction being off-campus.[45] Thus, as is the concern with ABE programs, GED programs are not being taken advantage of by Latinos because there are other barriers that off-campus program centers do not address. With the assessment of the GED programs being relatively color-blind there is not real way to determine why there is a low enrollment of Latinos, but even with the Latinos who are enrolled the effectiveness of the GED programs are still questionable when instruction is only provided below the nine grade level.

Data Analysis

Various studies have shown that state support and school support are important factors in the success of Latino adult learners. As conveyed in the preceding data, state support is needed in all forms including funding institutional aid and development programs under the Higher Education Act and funding Latino students individually through grant and loan programs. With economic disadvantage being one of the biggest barriers Latinos face, support through funding from the state is highly necessary for them to access and succeed in adult education programs.

Another important key to ensuring Latino adult learners succeed is by the support of the community colleges they are enrolled in. As is conveyed by educational scholars, Latino adult learners need an environment that is supportive of their needs. This kind of environment can be created by offering various programs of financial assistance that are not counterintuitive. More financial support overall is also needed by students who are not eligible for federal aid.

Finally, the adequacy of ABE, ESL, and GED needs to be assessed in greater detail with more studies concentrating on the experience of Latino adult learners. In doing so, a bilingual and bicultural learning environment that caters to the specific needs of Latino adult learners can be created.

[45] "Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community and Technical Colleges," 4-7.

V. CASE STUDY: WALLA WALLA COMMUNITY COLLEGE

I chose to conduct my case study on the Walla Walla Community College (WWCC) for several reasons. First of all, the convenience of location made obtaining personal interviews possible. Also, my community partners shared their information about the college and were able to connect me with sources of information about the community college. In my investigation I have learned of a few facts about WWCC.

Other facts about WWCC that indicate the kinds of students served at WWCC.[46]

- A total of 1,171 Latino/Hispanics were enrolled in the college during the 2003-4 academic year. There were 4,664 Whites enrolled.
- Eight percent of the population are immigrant, refugee, and temporary legal residents.
- Forty-nine percent of the students are attending part-time.

From my interviews I have learned that a bilingual and bicultural environment within the college is needed for Latino adult learners to succeed. When their culture is understood and taken into consideration they are less likely to feel marginalized and, thus, more encouraged to complete their programs and succeed. Unfortunately, there is limited bilingual and bicultural support.

- There are only three Latino adult advisors on campus.
- Latino students are more likely to receive help from Latino advisors/instructors
- Latino adult learners are more likely to receive help from Spanish speaking advisors/instructors
- Latino adult learners receive encouragement from instructors who have knowledge about their social origin.
- Latinos engage more in the classroom when their examples or references are made about their culture and history.

Walla Walla Community College offers Adult Basic Education, ESL, and GED preparation. Most Latino adults at the college are enrolled in these programs. The specific demographics for within these programs are not available and I was unable to obtain an assessment conducted by the college of these programs.

[46] "Enrollments & Student Demographics." *Washington State Board for Community & Technical Colleges* (2004) http://www.sbctc.ctc.edu/data/AcadRpts/ayr0304/3_Enroll_0304.pdf. 11 Nov 2005.

VI. INTERVIEWS

The main point brought about by the classroom interview is the low educational attainment of many of the adult learners. Carlos spoke to how he never attended school while growing up in Mexico or even when he immigrated to the United States. Instead, he worked low-wage labor jobs. Rosa also speaks of never going to school but only learning simple things like how to spell her name and her ABC's. Adult education scholars speak to the challenge of educating adult learners who do not even have basic knowledge, skills, or experience being taught in an educational system. The result is a wide range of programs geared toward teaching Latino adults the basic skills and knowledge in an unconventional setting. As the instructor of Carlos and Rosa expresses, it is difficult to teach a group of adults who have not grown up in a structured educational setting. Thus, many adult education programs are now geared toward unconventional approaches such as one-on-one tutoring and family literacy. However, in an effort to provide for the needs of adult learners, community colleges are trying to develop their adult education programs. Unfortunately, the support needed from the institutions and the state is not adequately meeting the needs of Latino adult learners.

The inadequate support of Latino adult learners is most often overlooked by the Latino adult learners themselves. In the classroom interview, the perception of the Transicion Program is that it gives Latino adult learners access to education when they otherwise would not have the opportunity. The response of one student, Carlos, makes this apparent:

> "The door is always open. The school is always open for anybody. It depends on you. That's what I think."

This is an important aspect of the interview to take into consideration because it shows how policies and practices can seem irrelevant to the conditions adult learners see themselves in. Only one student, Adrian, expressed direct criticism about the institutional discrimination.

> "If the government gave us extension another two or four years we could do a better job. He say you go to school for two years. One hour every day for training not enough […]. You don't learn that much. The training programs I am expected a lot from just one hour. They talk for 45 minutes and I don't understand that much. I say what did you say? I couldn't understand."

Adrian conveys the frustration many adult learners have with not having adequate preparation or study skills and the limited time they are given to get that preparation. In Adrian's case, he is one of the adult learners who was laid off from the Simplot plant and given the option to retrain in another field. The case with Adrian, as well as the other Simplot workers, is that he is simultaneously taking ESL and Adult Basic Education courses as he works to complete a vocational program. The pressure to succeed is unreasonable.

> Everything is new. All the skills are new, all the auto parts, everything. We never learned. It doesn't matter that we are working in another language, everything is hard. (Miguel)

> I cannot present to the whole class, how to use it, the parts, to the whole class. We need someone to explain a little bit to us how to go about finding things in the books… I didn't go to school over there in Mexico, I didn't go to school here but I learned it in the streets. I can speak English. I can read English, but slow, slow. I can understand English. It's the doing it [in the books] that is the hard part for me. (Carlos)

The stress of having to learn new skills is exacerbated by not being adequately prepared with basic skills like reading comprehension and study skills. The adult learners in this class feel the pressure to succeed but they lack sufficient preparation and support from instructors to meet the pressure.

As Miguel pointed out, the challenge is not only succeeding in a second language but in the overall expectations they are faced despite not having the tools to meet them. Nevertheless, the issue of English as a Second Language is an important factor expressed by the adult learners. Juan explains for him it is the hardest part about going back to school. He only went to school up to the third grade and it is difficult for him to understand what he is being taught in a second language. Adult education scholars find that the difficulty with ESL programs is that many of them fail to be bilingual or bicultural. In elementary education Spanish-speaking students are encouraged to progress into English, leaving their Spanish speaking skills and comprehension behind. The result is that many Latino high school students are struggling to succeed because they lack the literacy in both Spanish and English languages. They never received the proper foundations in either of them; instead the focus was to have Spanish-speaking children become English speaks as quickly as possible with the assumption that in doing so the students will be able to integrate into the mainstream English-speaking classes. The issue is similar for adult learners. The ESL programs in classroom settings have the same objective of making Spanish-speakers learn enough English to simply get by. They are taught the English they will be using in the vocation they are pursuing. They are also expected to do so in a limited amount of time.

All the adult learners in the class appreciate the opportunity they have to go to college. They see their success as being solely dependant on their own ability and determination. They are hesitant to speak against the conditions because they appreciate that they are learning. Rose states: "College is college, and if you go to college the expectation is that you go." In essence, however, the adult learners who succeed in their programs do so without much support. Rosa mentions that there is sometimes a lack of support at home because the perception is that they are not fit to attend college. She explains, "but my kids say I should have gotten my English skills improved before I started this program." Other responses about how their children feel about their return to school were not encouraging either: "They say just stay home. You're too old now." Only Alicia said that her children were happy she was going back to school but the majority of the responses speak to the identity of adult learners.

Adult learners are expected to be done with school. They are suppose to be working or staying at home, not learning a new trade or making plans to acquire their bachelor's degree. For Latino adult learners, the identity of being workers or outside of the educational system runs deeper due to the marginalization of Hispanics in America society. Latino adult learners identify with being Spanish-speakers and immigrants. Whether they have lived in the states for months or for years

they have a strong connection with their native country. The identity of being foreign-born can even be expressed by second generation Latinos. There is a sense of comradery from knowing that there are others who struggle with being second-class citizens. As a result, they form sub-American identities so while adult learners do not find support from the college institution or government, the adult learners in this classroom find support in one another. This classroom is where a strong sense of group identity, of being unconventional minority learners, is nurtured.

The determination of each student in the class to succeed speaks to the value of their experiences. They grew up without many opportunities but were able to overcome the obstacles. It is their voice that speaks to the need to include their culture and language, instead of marginalizing them. Thus, the movement to create a bicultural and bilingual learning environment for adult learners is crucial. It's time for the experience and background of Latino adult learners to be valued and used as a tool to meet their educational needs.

VII. TYING IT ALL TOGETHER

With economic disadvantage being the primary reason Latino adults are unable to improve their literacy, economic support from the state is crucial. State support in financial aid to students and to adult education programs at community & technical colleges is one of the primary focuses of this research. The second focus is the adequacy of support provided by the two-institutions. Illiterate Latino adults need flexible support due to the obstacles they are faced with. Two-year institutions need to accommodate for the likelihood that Latino adult learners will be working long hours at low-wage jobs in order to support their families. There is also a need for cultural support by the institutions in order for Latino adult learners to succeed. Finally, the third focus is on the adequacy of adult education programs in providing quality education. The economic status of Latino adult learners can only be improved by improving their literacy level. If the individual adult education programs are not adequately teaching Latino adult learners, then they fail to achieve their purpose and the economic and social inequality will persist.

The Latino experience in the state of Washington is one of marginalization and disparity. They are the racial group with the highest number of low-income and below poverty families. The need to provide adult literacy is thus pressing but statistics show that Latino adult learners are not receiving the adequate support they need to succeed in literacy programs.. The result, instead, is a classroom full of Latino adult learners who struggle with the lack of cultural, economic, and academic support. Access to community and technical colleges has improved but the supported need to retain adult learners is still an issue. Not much progress has been made in that field. Latino adult learners still have the second lowest retention rate of adult education students.

State support has been limiting in terms of providing Latino adults more access to funding. In an effort to improve this there are a number of state funded programs that are able to serve the Latino population (i.e. Worker Retraining). These programs give Latino adults opportunities to improve their economic status by giving financial assistance for these adults to enroll in vocational programs that train them in better paying occupations. However, there are a few problems with these programs. First of all, the requirements are limiting due to the inaccurate measure of economic status. Secondly, the programs are also limiting in terms of time period given for adult learners to meet the goals of the program. Thirdly, the programs are narrowly focused on training Latino adults in specific occupations with the literacy skills necessary to get by in that occupation. Thus, the focus of the state is on providing a workforce rather than improving the literacy levels and quality of education for Latino adult learners. The support from the state is not only limiting in providing Latinos access to state funded programs, but the state is also decreasing the amount of funding given to the programs that do provide some assistance to Latinos. WorkFirst reported receiving a reduction of funding from the state in 2002. This reduced funding resulted in a shorter duration of training that was only meant to meet specific hiring needs. Thus, the need to put out a workforce for the state has taken precedence over ensuring Latino adult learners are given proper job skill and literacy instruction. As a result, Latinos adult learners are not encouraged to transfer to baccalaureate institutions or even to have the option of taking college-level courses outside of vocational training. With this being the case, Latinos will continue to have unequal access to higher literacy skills. This is where the racism that Solorzano becomes apparent. Policies, practices and customs are perpetuating the socioeconomic disadvantage of Latinos in society.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

To improve the access and success for Latinos in adult education, current policies and practices need to be reformed. In regards to the access to adult education for Latinos, state funding plays a major role because of the economic disadvantage of many Latino adults in Washington. It is important for adult education to be given more attention by increasing budget allocations. This past year has brought a budget cut to adult education programs in the state. Such decrease in funding affects not only affects the progress of literacy programs but also the progress of closing the gap between Latinos and Whites in wages and employment. Also, increasing funding for programs such as WorkFirst and Worker Retraining is also needed because these programs reach out to a sector of the Latino community that would otherwise not have the opportunity to receive higher education. Despite the need to support such programs, there is also a need to analyze the objectives of such programs. Many adult learners are being steered toward vocational occupations without much emphasis on providing them with quality literacy skills. As a result, their experience with education at the community and technical colleges are discouraging as they struggle to meet the expectations of the adult education programs they are enrolled in.

The economic disadvantage of Latino adults is not the only obstacle that needs to be remedied. Another obstacle is the marginalization of Latino culture in American society. This marginalization manifests in the failure to validate their cultural identity. As apparent in the classroom interview, Latinos have cultures that often times are suppressed when they could be an asset to their learning curriculum. As one study discovered, Latino adults are more successful when their experiences and background are used as a reference in their learning. Also, especially in ESL programs, Latino adults gain better literacy and English language skills when the goal is not to simply get them to speak survival English as early as possible. Thus, adult education programs need to be based on true bilingual and bicultural curriculums. There needs to be affirmative action taken to increase the number of Spanish speaking staff, administrators, and instructors. Members of the institution in all sectors also need to be educated on the cultural differences and backgrounds of Latinos. School support is necessary for Latino adults to succeed but such support can only be provided when staff, administrators, and instructors validate the Latino cultures, both through cultivating a bilingual school environment and educating school community members on the social origin and cultural values of Latino adults. Thus, any policy or practices that are re-evaluated should aim to make the culture of Latinos an asset to their educational success instead of assuming that color-blind policies and practices will result in equality for all groups.

In an effort to close the education gap for Latinos there should be better assessment of the state of Latinos in adult education. One recommendation for doing so is to look at the adequacy of each adult education program in more detail. The areas of improvement vary in ESL, GED, and ABE programs across the state, especially when the trend is to shape an adult education program according to the needs of the community. Scholars find it necessary to move away from grouping ESL, GED, and ABE programs together when conducting research. It is important to have an overall adult education assessment but looking at each program in more depth is equally necessary. This is ostensibly the case about research conducted by Community and Technical Colleges. Not only does each adult education program need to be independently assessed, but there also needs to be more affirmative action taken to analyze the demographics of each

program. Taking a color-blind approach to assessment practices is not helping meet the needs of Latinos at the Walla Walla Community College. Thus, with more research on the demographics of their programs, community colleges can determine how to meet the needs of the growing Latino population that they serve.

IX. APPENDIX A:

Interview Questions for Students in an adult education classroom
Walla Walla Community College

1. What is difficult about going back to school?
2. What is your employment history?
3. Are you currently employed?
4. How do you support your family or yourself if you are unemployed?
5. Does your English language skill cause a problem in your vocational programs?
6. Do you have insurance?
7. Does your spouse have insurance?
8. How does your return to school effect your children?
9. What do your children say about you being in school?

XI. APPENDIX C

Latino Adult Learner Interview Questions
Walla Walla Community College

1. What types of classes are you enrolled in?
2. Do you like your classes?
3. How much time do you spend on homework?
4. What is difficult about your classes?
5. Why are you in School?
6. Why are you in the programs you are in?
7. What do you like about school?
8. What do you not like about school?
9. Who do you go to for help with your work?
10. Who do you go to if you have a problem?
11. Do you feel like you can go to your instructor ?
12. What encourages you to stay in school?
13. Does it matter if your instructor or person you go to for help is a Latino/a?
14. Do you feel more comfortable with a Latino or a white person?
15. How are you paying for school?
16. Do you work?
17. Do you have children/spouse to support?
18. Is what you earn enough to support them?
19. How much time are you able to spend with your children?
20. How much are you involved in their school?
21. Do you read to your children?
22. What do your children think about you being in school?

XIII. APPENDIX E

Questions and Answers for Latino Adult Advisors/Instructor #1
Walla Walla Community College

1. What reasons do Latinos have for pursuing these particular programs? Do Latinos pursue these programs to increase their income or improve their job status?

- Adult learners may have been recently laid off and have been given the option by the state of Washington to return to school and do job retraining
- Some are "empty nesters" or older, non-traditional students who want to go back to school and get the degree they never had a chance to complete when they were younger
- Some are in programs toupgrade their job skills, wanting a "financial leg up" in their current job interest
- Some take courses because they are fun and they enjoy learning new things

2. Are there any specific examples of these reasons?

There are currently some 12 students in an Occupational Support Class (OCSUP 101 – Job Psychology) who commute from Hermiston, Oregon to Walla Walla each week. These people (ages 40 somethings) have recently been laid off by the Simplot Company in Hermiston. They are in school for a two year term.

One woman that I had as a student two years ago told me she was back in school because as a young woman she had gotten married to a successful businessman and had children. After a long marriage, the couple divorced and now, back in school, the woman is re-starting her life doing something she had always longed to do when she was younger: get her Associate Degree with the idea of transferring to a four-year college.

One particular student has returned to school to get his nursing degree after a few years as a professional nursing assistant. Another person, a woman, is taking business technology classes as a way of starting her own business in cosmetology. Years ago she graduated from WWCC with a degree in Cosmetology, but lacked business skills.

One elderly woman, a member of a local church, takes courses either enrolled or by audit each quarter. She has been in three classes that I have taught over the course of two years. Her reason: they're fun and it gets her out of the house.

3. What type of administrative/program support do they receive within these specific programs?

Adult learners receiving advising and counseling support through the WWCC Student Support Services Program and the TRIO Federal Programs (including the Educational Talent Search Program). Many of these students are given orientation to college training at the beginning of their respective programs. This year WWCC has instituted orientation in Spanish for those who need translation and interpreting versions to college orientation.

4. What type of financial support do they receive within these specific programs?

Adult learners receive state support (TANF), WorkFirst, Federal Financial Aid, and Community College Foundation monies to complete their education. Student Services also supports many of these students' needs (the Multicultural Services Program) with regard to materials and textbooks.

5. How well are these programs funded by the state?

Aid for Adult Learner programs have been and continue to be relatively well funded, considering Washington state budget shortfalls this past fiscal year. The Federal Aid program Pell Grants and other related support continue to be the main source of money that Adult learners count on.

6. What stumbling blocks do Latinos face when trying to pursue these particular programs at the Walla Walla Community College?

Challenges faced by Latino students come in many forms. Problems related to family and jobs are the most common. Personal, peer, and financial pressures are other big concerns. Student attrition is also attributable to child care concerns (numbers of WWCC students are married with children, unlike Whitman students). Finally, numbers of students drop classes because they lack study skills, or have failed to anticipate the amount of time and cost it takes to be a successful student. Tutoring services tries to offset some of these needs, but in many cases students themselves do not seek out the help they need.

7. What other issues do you see concerning academic counselors, such as yourself, at the Community College in terms of Latino adult education in Washington and in terms of these programs?

Employed staff of color at WWCC is woefully underrepresented. At present there are three Latino advisors: Fernando Villagomez (part-time employee in the Transicion Program), Carlos Jaques (in charge of the Transicion Program), and Victor Chacon as Director of Multicultural Services. When you consider the overall student population (some 6,000 day and evening FT registered) and numbers of full-time faculty (127), you can appreciate the disparity and under-representation. Also, available funding for students who DON'T qualify for Federal Financial Aid because of their immigration status is practically non-existent. Out of the Multicultural Services office each year, I support an average some 25 students of color with small Foundation awards ranging from $75 and $200 per quarter. Last year, $5,500 in awards was given to students of color based on financial need. When you consider the overall college budget, that's a ridiculously low number. Finally, campus climate tends to be the elephant in the room we prefer not to talk about too much at WWCC. Increasing numbers of students of color, mostly 1st and 2nd generation, monolingual Latinos are entering our programs, and without being overt about it, both faculty and students (no so much staff) find it increasingly difficult to accept the changes, yet they withhold comment in public. What commentary and opinion there is tends to be aired indirectly and selectively.

XIV. BIBLIOGRAPHY

"Access and success for System Goals for People of color in Washington Community and Technical Colleges: Eighth Progress Report." *Washington State Board for Community and Technical Colleges: Research Report No. 02-3* (June 2002): 1-12.

Buttaro, Lucia. "Second-language Acquisition, Culture Shock, and Language Stress of Adult Female Latina Students in New York." *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education* (Jan 2004) 3: 21-49.

Case, Annette. "Beyond the Bottom Line: Expanding Economic Opportunities for Washington's Working Families." Seattle Jobs Initiative (October 2004): 1-31.

Cassidy, Jack et al. "A Learner-centered Family Literacy Project for Latino Parents and Caregivers." *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy* (March 2004) 47:6, 478-488.

Chacon, Victor. *Interview* (20 October, 2005).

"Enrollments and Student Demographics." *Washington State Board for Community & Technical Colleges* (2004) http://www.sbctc.ctc.edu/data/AcadRpts/ayr0304/3_Enroll_0304.pdf. 11 Nov 2005.

"Enrollments, Student Characteristics, Progress and Success for Basic Skills Students in State Support Instruction in Community and Technical Colleges." Washington State Board for Community and Technical Colleges: Research Report No. 01-2 (November 2001): 1-7.

"Employment Outcomes of Non-Transferring Students." *Washington State Board for Community and Technical Colleges; Education Division, Research Report No. 99-4* (October 1999): 1-7.

Huerta-Macias, Ana G. "Meeting the Challenge of Adult Education: A Bilingual Approach to Literacy and Career Development." *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy* (Nov 2003) 47:3, 218-226.

Menard-Warwick, Julia. "I Always Had the Desire to Progress a Little': Gendered Narratives of Immigrant Language Learners." *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* (2004): 295-311.

"National Institute for Literacy: English as a Second Language Literacy." *International Adult Literacy Survey* (2002). http://www.nifl.gov/lincs/ facts_statistics/facts_statistics.html> (27 October, 2005).

Orange, Carolyn and Rosalind Horowitz. "An Academic Standoff: Literacy Task Preferences of African American and Mexican American Male Adolescents Versus Teacher-expected Preferences." *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy* (September 1999) 43:1, 28-39.

"Preparing Students To Be On the Transfer Path in Community and Technical Colleges." *Washington State Board for Community and Technical Colleges, Research Report No. 04-2* (December 2004): 1-6.

Rubinstein-Avila, Elilane. "Conversing with Miguel: An Adolescent English Language Learner Struggling With Later Literacy Development." *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy* (Dec 2003/Jan 2004) 47:4, 290-301.

Raudenbush, Stephen W and Rafa M. Kasim. "Cognitive Skill and Economic Inequality: Findings from the National Adult Literacy Survey." *Harvard Educational Review* (1998): 33-79.

Solorzano, Daniel. "Educational Inequities and Latina/o Undergraduate Students in the United States: A Critical Race Analysis of Their Educational Process." *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education* (July 2005): 272-294.

"State & County Quick Facts: Washington." *U.S. Census Bureau, 2000*. <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/ 53000.html> (24 October, 2005).

Students of Walla Walla Community College. *Interview*. (20 October, 2005).

"Worker Retraining: Seventh Accountability Report for the Worker Retraining Program." *State of Washington: State Board for Community and Technical Colleges* (May 2003): 1-16.