THE FUTURE OF THE CHILDREN OF IMMIGRANTS:
A STUDY OF LATINO HIGHER EDUCATION ASPIRATIONS AND ABILITIES

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*"**L**et us think of education as the means of developing our greatest abilities, because in each of us there is a private hope and dream which, fulfilled, can be translated into benefit for everyone and greater strength for our nation."*

John F. Kennedy *35th president of US 1961-1963 (1917 - 1963)*

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DEFINITIONS

Undocumented: an adult or child born outside of the United States who lives here without the permission of the federal government. Undocumented people have also been referred to as "illegal" or "unauthorized", but for the purposes of this study the previous terms will be replaced by the "undocumented" definition.

Documented: is a legalized adult or child who has acquired permission from the federal government to reside in the United States. This includes a person who has permanent resident status or becomes naturalized through a federally approved process.

1.5 Generation: immigrant children who straddle the old and the new worlds but are fully part of neither. They are not first-generation immigrants because they did not choose to migrate (usually in the early teens or younger), but neither do they belong to the second generation because they were born and spent part of their childhood outside of the United States.

Second-generation: children born in the United States who, thereby, possess legal documentation and have at least one immigrant parent.

Immigrant children: children of the 1.5 generation who are below the age of eighteen and migrated to the United States possibly without proper documentation.[1]

Children of immigrants: refers to both U.S.-born and foreign-born children with at least one immigrant parent.[2]

INTRODUCTION

These are the voices of the children of immigrants:

> [3]Manuel, an undocumented student: "I was born in Michoacán…my dad came here for a better life and an education for me…. There were a total of eight of us [hidden in the back of a truck] and I was at the bottom. I lost feeling of my body because I couldn't move. I don't know how I managed to stay like that for four and a half hours."[4]
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> Alejandra, a legal resident and student: "[My undocumented friends] ask me if I have papers and I lie to them. I tell them that I also crossed a desert and that it was hard. I feel like I am part of them, I don't see a difference between us."[5]

[1] Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 1-2.
[2] Ibid., 2.
[3] All names used in this study are pseudonyms regardless of the immigration status of a participant.
[4] Manuel, Personal Interview, November 5, 2009.
[5] Alejandra, Personal Interview, November 7, 2009.

> Enrique, a U.S. citizen and child of an undocumented mother: "I don't want to wake up early everyday and go to work in the fields….I want to be a car designer. I want to go to college."[6]

According to the Urban Institute, by 2010, children of immigrants are estimated to be at least a quarter of all children in the nation.[7] Manuel, Alejandra and Enrique are part of the 55 percent of children of immigrants who are Latino.[8] They are part of largest and youngest growing minority group in the United States: one-in-four newborns is Latino.[9] Children of immigrants, moreover, are estimated to be on average 22 percent of the nation's student population in kindergarten through high school.[10] However, Latino children of immigrants continue to experience a severe gap in their educational careers. The dropout rate for Latino immigrant children is 32.9 percent and 9.9 percent for native-born Latino children; both experience higher dropout rates than Black, Whites or Asians.[11] Among those Latino students who graduated from high school, only 38.8 percent of Latinos ages 16 to 24 enrolled in college compared to 45.6 percent of all high school graduates in 2009.[12]

In 2006, Washington State was ranked the 9th most populated state by children of immigrants; twenty-two percent of all children in the state have at least one immigrant parent.[13] Furthermore, the Latino population in the state is estimated to be 9.4 percent and rapidly growing. "The largest regions of demographic growth for Latinos include the following counties: Yakima, Adams, Franklin, King, and Pierce."[14] However, only 56.9 percent of Washington State's Latino students completed high school in 2005 which is significantly lower than the Latino national rate of high school completion (77.2 percent) in 2009.[15] Thus, Latino children of immigrants are experiencing more severe educational outcomes in Washington's high schools than the national average.

Children of immigrants also experience close contact with issues of immigration status. The Pew Hispanic Center estimates that there are 11.5 million undocumented immigrants in the United States from which approximately 150,000 reside in Washington State – the 15th most populated state by undocumented immigrants in the nation.[16] As new immigration trends emerge, however, more immigrants are making their lives in the Washington State. Seventy-three percent (4 million) of children of immigrants, in effect, have at least one parent who is undocumented.[17] Furthermore, 22 percent of Latino youth between the ages of 16-25 are estimated to be

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[6] Enrique, Personal Interview, November 11, 2009.
[7] The Urban Institute, "Children of Immigrants: Facts and Figures," Washington DC: May 2006, 1.
[8] Karina Fortuny, Randy Capps, Margaret Simms, and Ajay Chaudry, "Children of Immigrants: National and State Characteristics," Washington DC: The Urban Institute, November 2009, 4.
[9] Pew Hispanic Center, "Between Two Worlds: How Young Latinos Come of Age in America," Washington, DC: December 11, 2009, 1.
[10] Fortuny et al, "Children of Immigrants: National and State Characteristics," 22.
[11] Pew Hispanic Center, "Between Two Worlds: How Young Latinos Come of Age in America,"46.
[12] Ibid., 47.
[13] Fortuny et al, "Children of Immigrants: National and State Characteristics," 17.
[14] Patricia Gándara, and Frances Contreras, "The Education Crisis: the Consequences of Failed Social Policies" (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 226-227.
[15] Pew Hispanic Center, "Between Two Worlds: How Young Latinos Come of Age in America," 47.
[16] Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, "A Portrait of Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States", Washington DC; Pew Hispanic Center, April 2009, 2.
[17] Ibid., 2.

undocumented.[18] Because these statistics are estimated to continue growing throughout Washington State and the nation, it is of the most importance to study the current conditions of children of immigrants. Moreover, an up-to-date state analysis of children of immigrants is, therefore, essential for future planning and implementing health, housing, labor, and specifically education policies. The children of immigrants, including Manuel, Alejandra and Enrique, are the future of the community, state, and nation. By force of numbers alone, the higher education aspirations and abilities, as well as outcomes, of young Latino children of immigrants will shape the future of the United States. Therefore, this study aims to answer the following questions:

- How do various factors related to immigration affect Latino high school students' personal aspirations and practical abilities[19] to go on to higher education?
- What are the determining factors, with respect to immigration, that motivate Latino students to achieve academic success?
- In turn, how do factors related to immigration influence students' levels of achievement and their participation in college preparatory activities?
- Finally, what policies and practices to promote Latino college enrollment should be enacted, given the impact of immigration-related factors on Latino students' academic potential?

This endeavor utilizes a two-part approach to answer the preceding questions. By systematically analyzing existing literature regarding the current conditions of children of immigrants, their aspirations and abilities, this study connects immigration-related factors to access to higher education. As my primary research method, I conducted 24 face-to-face semi-standardized interviews with documented and undocumented Walla Walla High School (WWHS) Latino students as well as parents. WWHS, located in Walla Walla, Washington, has a Latino student body of approximately 34 percent[20] in a county where Latinos make up about 19 percent of the local population.[21] WWHS's Latino student population growth and its proximity to Walla Walla Farm Labor Camp – a source of migrant labor – present model demographics to test the foregoing questions of the study. Most importantly, WWHS students offered a fruitful group of children of immigrants with astounding descriptions of immigration-related factors in and outside the school.

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[18] Pew Hispanic Center, "Between Two Worlds: How Young Latinos Come of Age in America," 7.

[19] Here I use personal aspirations to mean any personal motivation (like wishes, hopes and dreams), while practical ability means actual achievement required to get a higher education (e.g. good grades, sports, community service, etc.) or any institutional factor that makes a student unable to achieve higher education (e.g. ineligibility for federal financial aid).

[20] Interview with Matthew Bona, conducted by Lyndsey Wilson, October 20th 2009. See: Lyndsey Wilson, "Towards Closing the Achievement Gap: Increasing Academic Efficacy and Ambition among Latino Students", December 18, 2009 < http:\\www.walatinos.org>
Note: The Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction: Washington State Report Card reports a smaller Latino student body population in October 2008 of 29.9%
<http://reportcard.ospi.k12.wa.us/summary.aspx?groupLevel=District&schoolId=3000&reportLevel=School&orgLinkId=3000&yrs=&year=2008-09>

[21] Washington State Commission of Hispanic Affairs, "2007 Washington State Latino/Hispanic Assessment", 8.

My community partners were Bill Erickson, community volunteer for WWHS Club Latino, and Diana Erickson, Bilingual Coordinator of Walla Walla School District. They provided access to potential interview participants, in addition to a copious wealth of secondary literature. Their continual support throughout the study was a key factor for the outcome of the study.

Through the interviews, I found that all fifteen student participants, regardless of their legal status, aspired to go to a college or university. All of the parents shared the same aspirations for their children, regardless whether the child was documented or undocumented. All of the students understood key concepts for college admission as: good grades, sports, community service or other extracurricular activities. However, although their aspirations are high, their achievement and abilities do not match their aspirations. Using segmented assimilation as an analytic framework, I find that a potential reason for the lack of conversion from aspiration to abilities is in part due to their parents' low pre-immigration human, social and cultural capital.[22] Without the academic help available at home, the student participants rely on outside sources, like teachers, to obtain the knowledge they need for a higher education. However, this does not mean that parents do not motivate or help their children otherwise. Parents and students frequently expressed parental support through parents' self-sacrifice at work; Latino parents bestow upon their children motivation to never stop working and aspiring for the dream of an education.

Another immigration-related factor that I find affects both the aspirations and abilities of Latino high school students move on to higher education is the mode of incorporation – the reception by a host society for an immigrant group. I find that both students and parents feel marginalized at school and at work respectively due to the initial lower-working class segment of society that immigrant parents assimilated into. Thus, directly and indirectly, parent and student marginalization hinders their access to sources of human, social and cultural capital necessary for a higher education.

However, the most evident immigration-related factor that affects WWHS's children of immigrants' personal aspirations and practical ability, with regard to higher education, is undocumented status. On the one hand, immigrant children – undocumented children – are

[22] Human capital is "identified as formal education and occupational skills" of an immigrant, according to: Alejandro Portes, and Patricia Fernández-Kelly, "No Margin for Error: Educational and Occupational Achievement among Disadvantaged Children of Immigrants," *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 620(2008): 13.
Social capital is "the ability to command scare resources by virtue of membership in networks or broader social structures", according to: Alejandro Portes, "Children of Immigrants: Segmented Assimilation and its Determinants," in *The Economic Sociology of Immigration,* edited by Alejandro Portes, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1995), 257.
Cultural capital is "the intangible set of values and knowledge of cultural forms in [one's] demeanor" that particularly "facilitate children's access to education," according to: Alejandro Portes, "The Two Meanings of Social Capital," *Sociological Forum* 15(2000): 2.

denied federal financial aid to support their higher education which limits the ability to enroll in college. As a byproduct, governmental restrictions on aid also decrease the aspirations of three of the five undocumented students in the study. On the other hand, documented students are also impacted by the status of their parents: students who reported to have an undocumented parent, have a lower GPA than students who have documented parents. Lastly, fear of deportation affects the aspirations of all children of immigrants. While participants do not directly connect deportation and lower educational aspirations, their narratives express that deportation is psychological and emotional distress that distracts participants from their aspirations and thus limits their abilities to go to college.

Therefore, I recommend the following policies:

- Federal, state and city governments should implement college-ready programs that specifically target Latino immigrant parents' low levels of human, social and cultural capital beginning at the pre-school and elementary schools.[23]
- Scholars must rearticulate the current definition of cultural capital[24] to include and value 'the immigrant drive' and minority cultural knowledge.
- The federal government should stop nationwide immigration raids, at least until a fair and comprehensive immigration reform with a path of legalization is passed by Congress.
- Washington State should implement a progressive and conscious effort to advertise and promote Washington State House Bill 1079 at all public schools and beginning at the elementary schools.
- Washington State legislature must pass a bill similar to H.B. 1706 (introduced January 2009) that allows undocumented students to be eligible for existing state need-based financial aid.
- Congress should pass the DREAM Act: a federal legislation that would give qualified undocumented students a path toward legalization and financial opportunities.

SCHOLARLY LITERATURE REVIEW

This scholarly review will cover the following five areas to comprehensibly understand the current scholarly discourse on factors related to immigration that affect the aspirations and practical abilities of children of immigrants for higher education:

I. A Portrait of the Current Children of Immigrants in the United States
II. Segmented Assimilation: Generational Differences in Latino Educational Potential
III. Personal and External Factors Affecting Immigrant Youth's Academic Potential

[23] See also: Lyndsey Wilson, "Towards Closing the Achievement Gap: Increasing Academic Efficacy and Ambition among Latino Students", December 18, 2009 < http:\\www.walatinos.org>
[24] Cultural capital, according to Portes, is "the intangible set of values and knowledge of cultural forms in [one's] demeanor" that particularly "facilitate children's access to education."

IV. Understanding Immigrant Parental Attitudes about School: How Parents Define Academic Expectations
V. Financial Barriers to College for Immigrant Students: Existing Policy Solutions

First, I begin by examining the current demographics (e.g. population size and location), the definition and current situation of children of immigrants—documented and undocumented— in the United States and Washington State, including a brief view of the academic achievement gap. I, then, progress to analyze factors related to immigration that affect children of immigrants' academic potential, particularly a comparison between classical assimilation theory and segmented assimilation theory in the United States. Next, I examine studies that investigate personal and external factors that affect student aspirations and the practical ability to go to college. An exploration of research on parental attitudes about their children's education follows this discussion. Lastly, I conclude by looking at literature that evaluates existing state and federal policies specially affecting undocumented students.

I. A Portrait of the Current Children of Immigrants in the United States

This study is particularly interested in the effects of immigration-related factors on children of immigrants. However, before identifying the factors, one must first understand who the children of immigrants are, where they live and their current situation. The following scholarly literature unfolds the contemporary portrait of children of immigrants.

In 2009, Passels and Cohn estimate that there are currently 11.9 million undocumented immigrants in the United States from which 150,000 reside in Washington State – the 15th most populated state by undocumented immigrants in the nation.[25] As new immigration trends emerge, however, undocumented immigrants are settling in states where the immigrant population is low and therefore the immigrant population is expected to continue to grow in Washington State in the near future. Furthermore, as more immigrants make their lives in the United States, immigrants unite their families by migrating with their foreign-born children, sending for their children in their countries of origin to migrate alone, or having children who are born in the U.S.; thus immigration becomes a family process that deeply affects the children of immigrants.

Immigrant Children and Children of Immigrants

"Immigrant children," as defined by Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, are children below the age of eighteen that migrated to the United States possibly without proper documentation, while "children of immigrants" refers to both U.S.-born and foreign-born children with at least one immigrant parent.[26] The latter, according to Passels and Cohn's analysis of the March 2008 Current Population Survey, make up about twenty percent of the

[25] Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, "A Portrait of Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States", Washington DC; Pew Hispanic Center, April 2009, 2.
[26] Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 1-2.

United States' children, and they also estimate that there are at least 1.5 million undocumented immigrant children currently in the United States.[27] While no research, at this point, estimates the amount of undocumented immigrant children per county due to a dearth of collected information about immigration status, it could be argued that in Washington State sizeable percentages of undocumented immigrant children are likely to be concentrated in Adams, Franklin, Yakima, Grant and Douglas counties where the Hispanic population is over twenty-two percent of the county population.[28]

Fortuny, Capps, Simms, and Chaudry's scholarly research complements that of Passel and Cohn's through a deep analysis of 2005 and 2006 U.S. Census Bureau American Community Surveys that offers a detailed overview of the children of immigrants. They argue that an up-to-date state analysis of children of immigrants is essential for planning and implementing educational, health, housing, labor, and other social programs that affect children, their families and other residents. Although immigration patterns into the United States appear to have slowed down in the past two years, partially due to the economic recession, this "does not translate into a slowdown in the growth rate for children of immigrants since most of these children are born in the United States".[29] Their findings boldly show that children of immigrants make up between 20-22 percent of the total population of children in kindergarten, elementary, middle and high school nationwide. Moreover, 58 percent of children of immigrants are Latino, according to the Fortuny et al.'s findings.[30] While the population of children of immigrants in the United States has increased by 90 percent from 1990 to 2006, Washington State has experienced a 141 percent growth of children of immigrants, who today make up an estimated 22 percent of the state child population.[31] Therefore, Fortuny et al. strongly highlight the importance to consider not only the impact that children of immigrants have on policy at the national and state level, but also to consider the repercussions of these policies on the children of immigrants as well.

The School: the Gateway to a new Culture for Children of Immigrants

Suárez-Orozco points Fortuny et al.'s argument, namely that children of immigrants must be taken in to consideration by policy-makers, to ensuring policies at the school. He argues in *Children of Immigration* that it is imperative that the United States focuses on the schooling of children of immigrants "because schools are where immigrant children first come into systematic contact with the new culture". [32] The school is a major conduit in the U.S. stratification system; it is in the school where, foreign and native-born, children of immigrants undergo the process of

[27] Ibid., 4.
[28] Washington State Commission of Hispanic Affairs, "2007 Washington State Latino/Hispanic Assessment", 8.
[29]Fortuny et al., "Children of Immigrants: National and State Characteristics", 11.
[30] Ibid., 5.
[31] Ibid., 17.
[32] Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration,* 3.

"social mirroring": creating an identity through the eyes of others.[33] The school becomes a 'house of mirrors' where children of immigrants encounter distortions of self-identity. Adaptation to school, thus, is a significant predictor of a child's future well-being and contributions to society. For children of immigrants, the school is the first and most important gateway into mainstream American society.

Achievement Motivation and Attitudes toward School of Children of Immigrants

Some researchers, like McClelland, suggest that among Latinos, a culture that orients individuals strongly to the family is responsible for crippling their achievement motivation. However, Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco establish how Latino children of immigrants manifest and view academic achievement by challenging David McClelland's argument that "achievement motivation" – the motivation to succeed academically – derives from becoming independent from others, including the family.[34] Through a study of fifty immigrants from Central America, who took projective tests that prompted narratives about achievement motivation, Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco find that 56 percent of narratives view "'becoming somebody' as a reparative act that would alleviate parental hardships".[35] In effect, the most motivated Latino immigrants are not those that are individualists seeking self-advancement or independence. The interpersonal connections to their families in and outside the United States motivate these immigrants to achieve academic success. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, therefore, suggest that McClelland's theoretical model based on individualism does not apply cross-culturally to children of immigrants.

Furthermore, through interviews with White American youth, Mexican youth in Mexico, Mexican immigrant youth, and second-generation Mexican American youth, Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco distinguish attitudes toward the school that are culturally influenced from those that may be a result of immigrant and generation status. In this case, Mexican immigrant youth and second-generation youth represent the children of immigrants. Their results show that "for immigrants, school is the key for tomorrow" and the majority of immigrant children is focused on success through hard work.[36] On the other hand, second-generation Mexican American children have comparable attitudes toward school to those of native-born Whites. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco demonstrate, as shown on Table 1, that school success and high educational aspirations are very important to children of immigrants, and especially to immigrant children.

[33] Ibid., 99.
[34] Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, *Transformations: Migration, Family Life, and Achievement Motivation among Latino Adolescents* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 155. See also: T. Carter, and R. Segura, *Mexican Americans in School: A Decade of Change*, New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1979.
[35] Ibid., 157.
[36] Ibid., 160.

"To me school is the most important thing"	Whites	Mexican	Mexican immigrant	Second-generation (Mexican Americans)
Yes	40%	75%	84%	55%
No	60%	25%	16%	45%

Table 1 Source: Carola Suárez-Orozco, and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, *Transformations: Migration, Family Life, and Achievement Motivation among Latino Adolescents* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995), 159.

Although not strictly focusing on immigrant children, Patricia Gándara's study, which polled 500 students in inner-city and rural high schools about their aspirations for college, complements Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco's previous study. She finds that as Latino children advance from 9th grade to 12th grade their aspirations for college also increase (from 50 percent at 9th grade to 80 percent in 12th). However, the average GPA of Latino students, similarly to other ethnic groups, decreases from 2.5 to 2.2 over the course of their high school education.[37] Gándara and Contreras conclude that there remains a gap between aspirations and creation of successful abilities pertinent for a higher education.[38]

In addition, according to the Pew Hispanic Center's analysis of the March 2009 Current Population Survey, the Latino achievement gap, although decreasing, is severe. The average high school dropout rate for Latino students is 17.2 percent at the national level.[39] The dropout rate for Latino immigrant children is 32.9 percent and 9.9 percent for native-born Latino children; both experience higher dropout rates than Black, Whites or Asians.[40] Among those Latino students who graduated from high school, only 38.8 percent of Latinos ages 16 to 24 enrolled in college compared to 45.6 percent of all high school graduates.[41] These results in juxtaposition with Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco abovementioned study beg the question: what, in the high school learning process, affects the translation of aspiration into achievement for Latino children of immigrant students?

II. Segmented Assimilation: Generational Differences in Latino Educational Potential

If, as mentioned before, Latino children of immigrants in the United States have high educational aspirations, then how can one explain the continuing educational gap affecting the 1.5 and second generations of Latino students? To begin to answer this question, the study turns to literature about assimilation[42] because it is an important and defining part of children of

[37] Patricia Gándara, and Frances Contreras, *The Education Crisis: the Consequences of Failed Social Policies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 226-227.
[38] Ibid., 234.
[39] Pew Hispanic Center, "Between Two Worlds: How Young Latinos Come of Age in America,"46.
[40] Ibid., 46.
[41] Ibid., 47.
[42] Assimilation has been a debated term by social scientists due to its multiple connotations. In this case, the most comprehensive definition is: "the process whereby groups with different cultures come to have a common culture". See: Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 64-67.

immigrants' socialization process; it is where factors that affect children's aspirations and abilities may emerge. Different models of assimilation posit different trajectories for minority populations as they adopt the norms of the dominant culture. Each following assimilation theories, however, continues to be challenged as the new second generation grows and assimilates into the United States.

Classical Assimilation Theory

Milton M. Gordon, in 1964, offers the foundation for classical assimilation theory: assimilation is a necessary part of the process of upward socioeconomic mobility for immigrant groups. If members of an immigrant group do not assimilate into the host society, they relinquish the opportunity to climb the socioeconomic ladder. According to Gordon, furthermore, assimilation can be cultural, structural, marital, attitude-receptional, behavior-receptional, and civic. However, structural assimilation, specifically assimilation into the social institutions (e.g. the school) of the host society, is "the keystone of the arch of assimilation" that will lead to the other stages of assimilation. Structural assimilation is the most significant sign of upward mobility because it is the entryway to other institutions of further assimilation.[43] From the perspective of classical assimilation theory, any immigrant or ethnic group – despite intergroup differences – can assimilate into middle-class American culture over time, albeit at the price of the "disappearance of the ethnic group as a separate entity and the evaporation of its distinctive values".[44] Until the 1990s, classical assimilation theory provided the explanation of why Latino children of immigrants did not successfully rise in the socioeconomic ladder: they did not relinquish their ethnic identities.

New Segmented Assimilation Theory

As a critique of classical assimilation theory, through empirical case studies of Mexican, Punjabi Sikhs, and Caribbean second-generation children of immigrants in south Florida and California, Portes and Zhou posit segmented assimilation theory. They purport that assimilation may not always be positively correlated with time an immigrant spends in the host country. The theory asserts that because the United States is a stratified and unequal society, children of immigrants assimilate into different and unequal segments of society. In addition, Portes and Zhou describe three different forms of adaptation to these segments: the "time-honored portrayal of growing acculturation and parallel integration into the white middle-class" (most similar to classical assimilation), a second form which leads to assimilation into the underclass and poverty segment, and a third which associates rapid economic advancement with deliberate preservation of the immigrant community's values and solidarity.[45] The results from their analysis show that Mexican, Nicaraguan, and Haitian second-generation children of immigrants are likely to

[43] Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race Religion, and National Origins*, 81.
[44] Ibid., 81.
[45] Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou, "The New Second Generation: Segmented Assimilation and its Variants," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 530 (1993): 82.

assimilate into the underclass segment of United States society, while Cuban second-generation children are more likely to assimilate into the upper or middle-class segment. The Punjabi children of immigrants display high levels of economic advancement and academic performance through selective assimilation and tight ethnic community support. This suggests that for some nationalities of Latino children of immigrants, upward educational and social mobility is more difficult due to the initial segment of society that their parents assimilate into upon arrival to the United States.

Zhou, in 1997, furthers the research of segmented assimilation theory by analyzing various findings and studies based on U.S. census data which include the 1.5 generation, namely immigrant children who migrated at or before the age of 13, as part of the "new second-generation." The main criterion that she uses to evaluate other texts is the role of the family in the discrepancy between race and ethnic groups of the children of immigrant's upward mobility. Because the family is the most important institutional environment outside of the school for socialization and adaptation for children of immigrants, Zhou argues that a child's future social mobility is limited to the social class of the parent. She finds that although "immigrant children are generally eager to embrace the American culture and to acquire an American identity," "immigrants are today being absorbed by different segments of American society" and, therefore, becoming American may not always be an advantage for children of immigrants.[46] For example, if an immigrant parent's socioeconomic status is low, there is a high likelihood that the child's future status will be low as well. Ultimately, Zhou's results serve as evidence of Portes and Zhou's descriptions of the assimilation process, and reinforce the segmented assimilation theory.

Other researchers like Demetra Kalogrides argue, however, that the segmented assimilation theory of Portes and Zhou may not be a better method than classical assimilation to explain the educational attainment and social mobility of children of immigrants. Using data from the Educational Longitudinal Study (ELS)[47] sophomore cohort of 2002, Kalogrides tests the segmented assimilation theory's proposition of "downward assimilation" among Latinos – the belief that the more time an immigrant spends in a disadvantaged environment, the higher the likelihood that the immigrant will assimilate to the lower segments of society. By selecting generational samples in a low-income school and non-low-income school, Kalogrides proposes that "if segmented assimilation theory is correct, we would expect that achievement may increase across generations in advantaged schools but may stagnate or decline across generations in disadvantaged schools."[48] She finds that, although the increase in achievement between

[46] Min Zhou, "Growing Up in America: The Challenge Confronting Immigrant Children and Children of Immigrants," *Annual Review of Sociology* 23(1997): 90.
[47] The Education Longitudinal Study of 2002 is designed to monitor the transition of a national sample of young people as they progress from tenth grade through high school and on to postsecondary education and/or the world of work.
[48] Demetra Kalogrides, "Generational Status and Academic Achievement among Latino High School Students: Evaluating the Segmented Assimilation Theory," *Sociological Perspectives* 52 (2009):160.

generations in high-poverty schools is not statistically significant, there is no evidence of a significant decline either. Kalogrides suggest that this is a pattern of classical assimilation, but whether this evidence supports or refutes segmented assimilation is not entirely clear.

Different Pathways of Segmented Assimilation Theory: the Effects of Human, Social and Cultural Capital, Family Structure, and Mode of Incorporation

Recent studies argue that social and educational outcomes of generations of children of immigrants may not be as strictly bipolar as previous segmented assimilation studies find. For example, by incorporating "anomalies and divergent pathways" to the possible outcomes of segmented assimilation theory, Zhou, Lee, Vallejo, Tafoya-Estrada, and Xiong's results complicate the theory's argument that *only* advantaged background leads to upward mobility and *only* disadvantaged background leads to downward mobility." [49] Through a two-part study analyzing data from the Intergenerational Mobility in Metropolitan Los Angeles Study (IIMMLA) in addition to complementary personal interviews of IIMMLA students, they find "a significant number [of children of immigrants] whose mobility trajectories deviate from that which would be expected given their background."[50] Zhou et al.'s results, like Portes and Rumbaut's in 2006, conclude that intergenerational mobility – the extent to which the descendants of immigrants move beyond the SES measure of their parents' generation – depends on immigrant human, social and cultural capital, family structure, and the mode of incorporation into the United States society.

Whereas immigrant human capital is "identified as formal education and occupational skills"[51] of an immigrant or of his parents, immigrant social capital is "the ability to command scare resources by virtue of membership in networks or broader social structures."[52] Zhou et al. exemplify the importance of immigrant human capital through Sarah: a Chinese immigrant whose parents' high immigrant human capital "paved the way for her to earn a B.A., to run her own profitable business, and to purchase a home."[53] On the other hand, Rodolfo, a Mexican immigrant child whose parents' low human and social capital was not enough to keep him from gang activity and dropping out of school.[54] These findings confirm Portes and Rumbaut's argument that "parents with high level of human capital are in a better position to support their

[49] Min Zhou, Jennifer Lee, Jody A. Vallejo, Rosaura Tafoya-Estrada, and Yang Sao Xiong, "Success Attained, Deterred, and Denied: Divergent Pathways to Social Mobility in Los Angeles's New Second Generation," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 620 (2008): 49.
[50] Ibid., 49.
[51] Alejandro Portes, and Patricia Fernández-Kelly, "No Margin for Error: Educational and Occupational Achievement among Disadvantaged Children of Immigrants," *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 620(2008): 13.
[52] Alejandro Portes, "Children of Immigrants: Segmented Assimilation and its Determinants," in *The Economic Sociology of Immigration,* edited by Alejandro Portes, (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1995), 257.
[53] Zhou et al., "Success Attained, Deterred, and Denied: Divergent Pathways to Social Mobility in Los Angeles's New Second Generation" 47.
[54] Ibid., 49.

children's adaptation" or use strong social networks to help their children reach educational advancement.[55]

As Zhou et al.'s previous study illustrates, human and social capital are a crucial part of the inheritance that immigrant parents bestow upon their children. Patricia Fernández-Kelly adds to the discourse of how such capital affects children of immigrant's academic potential by introducing the notion of cultural capital: "the intangible set of values and knowledge of cultural forms in [one's] demeanor" that particularly "facilitate children's access to education."[56] Schools reward the cultural capital of dominant classes and devalue that of the lower classes. For example, Spanish language is often overlooked and devalued, while English is encouraged to succeed in school. Cultural capital, therefore, is the key for exceptional outcomes in education among children of immigrants, argues Fernández-Kelly based on a fifty-eight interviews conducted in Miami, Florida and San Diego, California as part of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey (CILS).[57] She suggests, however, that immigrant parents who undergo material deprivation in their adopted country may not be poor, if they acquired pre-immigration cultural capital that could be used to gain upward mobility. Moreover, from her interviews, Fernández-Kelly posits three mechanisms to cultivate cultural capital: cognitive correspondence, positive emulation, and active recollection. First, cognitive correspondence is the capacity to recognize meaning and value in objects or behaviors whose significance is not apparent to other members in the same group. For example, Dan-el, one of Fernández-Kelly's participants, realized that his pre-immigration knowledge of Greco-Roman mythology was valued by academic institutions which attracted other "resources that eventually led him to Princeton and then to Oxford."[58] Positive emulation is the adoption of socially valued signs, gestures, and actions through unconscious replication. Lastly, active recollection depends on the ability to deploy memories, real or imagined, in the process of identity formation to foster ambition for higher education.[59]

While Fernández-Kelly like Zhou et al. and Portes posit that human, social and cultural capital are "fungible, that is they can be traded for each other and actually require such trades for their development,"[60] these arguments are based on the pre-acquisition of such capital before immigration. Because, as Passel and Cohn find, pre-immigration educational attainment of immigrants is low and because they are likely to suffer for higher poverty rates (21 percent for undocumented immigrants and 13 percent for documented immigrants), their level of human

[55] Alejandro Portes, and Ruben G. Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 266.
[56] Alejandro Portes, "The Two Meanings of Social Capital," *Sociological Forum* 15(2000): 2.
[57] Patricia Fernández-Kelly, "The Back Pocket Map: Social Class and Cultural Capital as Transferable Assets in the Advancement of Second-Generation Immigrants," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 620(2008): 119.
[58] Ibid., 129.
[59] Ibid., 127-134.
[60] [60] Alejandro Portes, "The Two Meanings of Social Capital," 2.

capital is also likely to be low.[61] Immigrant levels of cultural capital, furthermore, also tend to be low. Therefore, immigrants are excluded for the primary circuits by which social, human and cultural capital are transferred and accumulated; in effect, their low ability to engage in these circuits maintains immigrants, as well as their children, marginalized from the resources needed for a higher education. This appears to be an immigration-related factor that influences children of immigrants' aspirations and abilities to go to college.

In addition, mode of incorporation is the second predictor of intergenerational mobility in Zhou et al.'s expansion of segmented assimilation theory. The narratives of two individuals named David and Armando in Zhou et al.'s study illustrate how different family structures impact the intergenerational outcomes, namely educational attainment. Armando, a talented and 1.5 generation Mexican student, traded pursuing college education for fulfilling his obligation to his family, in deference to his parents' wishes: he decided to run their small business. Once the business closed, without a higher education, Armando's socio-economic situation worsened. On the other hand, David's parents did not demand him to work for his family and he was able to finish his education.[62] These results show that family structures and obligations affect the educational pathway of children of immigrants.

The mode of incorporation – the third predictor suggested by Zhou et al. – refers to the host society's reception of the immigrant population: positive if immigrant migrates with refugee status, neutral for "nonblack immigrants with legal status", or negative for black immigrants and those perceived as undocumented.[63] Zhou et al. find from the IIMMLA that Vietnamese and Cuban immigrants encounter a positive reception; Chinese encounter neutral receptions, while Mexican and Nicaraguan immigrants encounter negative receptions in the United States in part due to social stereotypes of Latino immigrants as undocumented, a drain on the welfare systemf, and high criminal rates. These results are congruent with Portes and Fernández-Kelly's study of the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Survey (CILS) and Current Population Survey (CPS): for these nationalities of Latinos, with the exception of Cubans, a positive pathway of higher mobility is harder to attain.

Ultimately, the innovative study by Zhou et al. posits that there are different pathways in the theory of segmented assimilation dependent on human, social and cultural capital, family structure, and mode of incorporation. In doing so, they begin to unpack immigration-related factors that affect the children of immigrants' pathway to higher education and social mobility. This process is termed as "path dependence": "how contexts of reception in the first generation determine what courses are available to the second generation and what the costs are entailed in

[61] Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, "A Portrait of Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States", 11-17.
[62] Zhou et al., "Success Attained, Deterred, and Denied: Divergent Pathways to Social Mobility in Los Angeles's New Second Generation," 53-54.
[63] Alejandro Portes, and Patricia Fernández-Kelly, "No Margin for Error: Educational and Occupational Achievement among Disadvantaged Children of Immigrants," 17.

choosing one feasible course over another."[64] A compilation of possible pathways as presented by Zhou et al. is found on the following page as Table 2.

[64] Zhou et al., "Success Attained, Deterred, and Denied: Divergent Pathways to Social Mobility in Los Angeles's New Second Generation," 59.

Divergent Pathways and Segmented Assimilation in the New Second Generation				
	Pathways	Education and Occupation	Intergenerational Outcomes	Significant Mechanisms
Advantaged background: High parental human capital, stable family structure, neutral or	The normative	Bachelor's degree or higher; professional occupation; skilled entrepreneurship	Sustained upward mobility	Middle-class cultural capital offsetting initial parental downward mobility
	The anomalous	Some college and/or vocational training; petty entrepreneurship	Limited or no mobility above parental SES	Parental career failures; sibling order and gender; excessive family expectations leading to full downward cycle
	The exceptional	High school diploma or less; unskilled jobs or unemployment	Downward mobility into lower-class	Early childbearing; excessive family expectations leading to full downward cycle
Disadvantaged background: Low parental human capital, unstable/broken families, negative modes of incorporation	The normative	High school diploma or less; unskilled jobs or unemployment	Stagnation in lower-class	Early childbearing; undocumented immigrant status exacerbating low parental human capital
	The anomalous	Community college and/or vocational training; skilled trades or petty entrepreneurship	Limited upward mobility above parental SES	Legal status; family expectations; cultural memory from home country; external assistance
	The exceptional	Bachelor's degree or higher; professional occupation high-tech entrepreneurship	Upward mobility well above parental SES	Legal status; family ambition commitment, and expectations; cultural memory from home country; external assistance

Table 2: Zhou et al., "Success Attained, Deterred, and Denied: Divergent Pathways to Social Mobility in Los Angeles's New Second Generation," *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science* 620 (2008): 56.

III. Immigration-related Factors Affecting Children of Immigrants' Academic Potential

The aforementioned framework of the segmented assimilation theory offers key explanations of how *pre*-immigration-related factors (i.e. human, social, and cultural capital, mode of incorporation and family structure) affect the outcomes of immigrants as well as their children's social and educational mobility. The next section of literature analyzes and seeks to explain immigration-related factors affecting children of immigrants' academic potential *post* entering the United States. This potential includes educational personal aspirations and abilities. The former is mainly internal (e.g. personal educational motivation) and the latter focuses on the external immigration-related factors (e.g. ineligibility for financial aid) affecting whether children of immigrants can achieve a higher education; however, this is not to say that the aspirations and abilities are not interrelated.

Legal Limitations of Undocumented Status

In 1982, the Supreme Court of the United States upheld, in a 5-4 decision, that undocumented children were protected under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteen Amendment because "no State shall… deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws".[65] The landmark case, *Plyler v. Doe,* granted free K-12 education for undocumented children in the United States. The majority opinion, written by Justice William Brennan, Jr. held that "denying undocumented children access to free public [K-12] education imposes a lifetime hardship on a discrete class of children not accountable for their disabling status, [and that] stigma of illiteracy will mark them for the rest of their lives."[66] However, this case did not address eligibility of undocumented children for higher education in the United States.

While neither federal nor state law forbids undocumented students from attending college, other pieces of legislation fueled by anti-immigrant sentiment emerged to limit the ability of undocumented children to receive state or local benefits for higher education. Paradoxically, the Higher Education Act of 1965 – later amended in 1998 and in 2008 renamed the Higher Education Opportunity Act of 2008 – forbids undocumented students from receiving federal aid for postsecondary education[67], but creates and funds college-ready programs for students with disadvantaged backgrounds like Talent Search, Upward Bound, Student Support Services, and the Gaining Early Awareness and Readiness Undergraduate Program (GEAR UP)[68]. The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWOA) and the

[65] *Plyler v. Doe,* 457 U.S. 210 (1982).
[66] Ibid., 220.
[67] U.S. Congress, Higher Education Act of 1965 (Washington, DC: 1965), Title IV Section 484 and Title IV Section 404.
[68] For a detailed evaluation of GEAR UP see: Lyndsey Wilson, "Towards Closing the Achievement Gap: Increasing Academic Efficacy and Ambition among Latino Students", December 18, 2009 <http:\\www.walatinos.org>

Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) followed the Higher Education Act in 1996 to restrict monetary benefits based on legal residence.

As Rúben G. Rumbaut found in his study based on merged samples of the CILS and the IIMMLA, "[a]n immigrant's legal status is a critical factor in shaping mobility – and an [undocumented] status can affect virtually every facet of an immigrant's life."[69] Undocumented status particularly affects 22 percent of Latino youth who are estimated not to be U.S. citizens.[70] Zhou et al. expand on undocumented status as a roadblock for social mobility: those that graduate from high school soon lose hope of a higher education because they do not have access to financial aid; even if they receive a higher education, they are not able to put their degrees into practice.[71] Unfortunately, for the many undocumented immigrants who were not able to take advantage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA)[72], like 'Isabel' in Zhou et al.'s study who must work with fake documentation paying Social Security taxes that she will not be able to claim, "there are no second chances or safety nets, and one single mistake can have disastrous consequences."[73]

The Effect of Immigrant Children's Undocumented Status on Personal Aspirations

Through ethnographic research and 24 in-depth interviews, Leisy J. Abrego examines the experiences of 12 documented and 12 undocumented children of the working class Latino immigrants in Los Angeles. Using Portes and Zhou's previously discussed framework of segmented assimilation theory, Abrego analyzes how legal status can influence the educational attainment of these Latino undocumented youth. She argues that because both Latino documented and undocumented students assimilate to the lower economic segment of the U.S, they share similar educational and living environments that are decreasing factors of students' aspirations for academic success as well their abilities.[74] However, Abrego also finds that "while all youth in [her] sample face similar socioeconomic challenges, undocumented youth [particularly] confront legal barriers and contradictions that often lower [their] aspirations."[75] Indeed, these problems can also lead to lower levels of academic achievement. For instance, Abrego finds an undocumented student, who "had almost all straight A's" in his freshman year, in his junior year received D's after learning of his diligent undocumented cousin's financial

[69]Rúben G. Rumbaut, "The Coming of the Second Generation: Immigration and Ethnic Mobility in Southern California," *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science* 620(2008): 206.
[70] Pew Hispanic Center, "Between Two Worlds: How Young Latinos Come of Age in America," 7.
[71] Zhou et al., "Success Attained, Deterred, and Denied: Divergent Pathways to Social Mobility in Los Angeles's New Second Generation," 51.
[72] IRCA is an act intended to legalize qualifying undocumented immigrants and make hiring of undocumented workers illegal. For a detailed description see: U.S Congress, Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986, Washington DC: 1986.
[73] Zhou et al., "Success Attained, Deterred, and Denied: Divergent Pathways to Social Mobility in Los Angeles's New Second Generation," 52.
[74] Leisy J. Abrego, "'I Can't Go to College Because I Don't Have Papers': Incorporation Patterns of Latino Undocumented Youth," *Latino Studies* 4 (2006): 218.
[75] Ibid., 217.

limitations to go to college.[76] Family narratives of relatives or friends, in effect, severely decrease the aspirations of undocumented students. In addition, another undocumented student displays her disillusionment: "[documented students] were less competitive than I was, and you know, I feel like, why are they going to college and not me? Why can't we both go?"[77] Abrego stresses the ineligibility for financial aid and other scholarships that thwart undocumented students' realization, coined by Fernández-Kelly as cognitive correspondence, of their academic potential.

While Abrego documents the effect of undocumented status on immigrant children, Perez, Espinoza, Ramos, Coronado, and Cortes's study finds positive protective factors that motivate Latino immigrant children to succeed. Through an online questionnaire, Perez et al. collected data from 110 undocumented Latino high school, community college, and university students from across the United States that aimed to explain "the relationship between risk, protective factors and academic achievement among undocumented immigrant Latino students."[78] Risk, defined by the study, is any potential factor that hampers the academic achievement of an undocumented student (e.g. employment during high school, sense of rejection related to undocumented status and low parental educational attainment). On the other hand, protective factors are those that motivate the student to achieve high academic success which can either be personal (e.g. sense of purpose for the future) or environmental, that is, factors that are inherent to the space in which the student develops (e.g. supportive parents or community). By contrasting instances of risk factors and protective factors, Perez et al. found that "despite specific risk factors, undocumented students who have high levels of personal and environmental protective factors report higher levels of academic success than students with similar risk factors and lower levels of personal and environmental resources."[79] Perez et al.'s study also includes extracurricular activities as protective environmental factors since they "provide multiple opportunities for developing relationships with other academically engaged peers and school agents."[80] This is congruent with Gándara and Contreras's study of SAT's Student Descriptive questionnaire that finds that "students who perform well in schools tend to participate in extracurricular activities" including sports.[81] In effect, Perez et al. complements Abrego's findings and suggests that protective factors like parent and community support, or sports and club activities are motivations for undocumented immigrants.

Mixed Status Families

[76] Ibid., 220.
[77] Ibid., 223.
[78] William Perez, Roberta Espinoza, Karina Ramos, Heidi M. Coronado, and Richard Cortes, "Academic Resilience among Undocumented Latino Students," *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 31 (2009): 156.
[79] Ibid., 149.
[80] Ibid., 162.
[81] [81] Patricia Gándara, and Frances Contreras, *The Education Crisis: the Consequences of Failed Social Policies*, 216.

Although Abrego and Perez et al. show that undocumented status hinders aspirations and abilities of undocumented students, other research shows that undocumented status also affects Latino documented students. Seventy-three percent (4 million) of undocumented immigrants' children, in 2008, were born in the United States compared to 2.7 million in 2003.[82] This underlying immigration dynamic, in effect, creates a high number of mixed-status families where "the youngest children of [undocumented] immigrants are considerably more likely than older ones to be U.S. citizens.[83] Documented children must consequently adopt coping life-styles to *their* parents' socio-political limitations due to *their* undocumented status.

As the Urban Institute asserts, based on thorough analysis of the Intergraded Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS) and Census Bureau American Community Surveys (ACSs) in 2006, "almost a third of children of immigrants live in mixed status houses where the children are U.S. citizens but their parents are non-citizens."[84] The parents' lack of citizenship, in effect, is a risk factor for the children's well-being because citizenship affects job opportunities for parents and access to public services for children. The Urban Institute also found that family cohesion was a protective factor for children of immigrants because more adults are helping provide care for the child. However, as mentioned before in other studies, the degree of education and English proficiency, namely human capital, are other risk factors related to immigration: 47 percent of Mexican parents of children of immigrants had less than a high school education compared to 8 percent of native-born parents, and 61 percent of immigrant parents were limited English proficient (LEP).[85] These factors limit the human capital that is passed down to second generation U.S. born children who must cope with a disadvantage in school.

The Effect of Parental Undocumented Status on their Children

Do children of immigrants do better educationally when their parents have naturalized? Bean, Brown and Rumbaut, in 2006, find from IIMMLA data that within the second generation, having a father who is naturalized improves substantially the likelihood of human capital acquisition that was referenced before by Fernández–Kelly and Zhou et al. "About 52 percent of those whose immigrant fathers had naturalized had received a college degree or some college education compared to about 43 percent of those whose fathers were still legal permanent residents, versus only about 13.6 percent of those whose fathers were still [undocumented]."[86] This finding clearly demonstrates how parental immigration status which is out of the children's control impacts their ability to attain a higher education: a child with a naturalized father is

[82] Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, "A Portrait of Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States", 7.
[83] Ibid., 7.
[84] Karina Fortuny, Randy Capps, Margaret Simms, and Ajay Chaudry, "Children of Immigrants: National and State Characteristics," 6.
[85] Fortuny et al., "Children of Immigrants: National and State Characteristics," 7-8.
[86] Frank D. Bean, Susan K. Brown and Rúben G. Rumbaut, "Mexican Immigrant Political and Economic Incorporation," *Political Science & Politics* 4(2006): 311.

almost four more times likely to go to college.[87] However, it is important to note that Bean et al. do not express what the result would be if the mother was naturalized or if both parents were naturalized. This leaves the results somewhat unclear.

While Bean, Brown and Rumbaut cover how parental undocumented status affects children aspirations of higher education, Erisman and Looney's comprehensive analysis of higher education for children of immigrants, based on data from the U.S. Census Bureau and the National Center of Educational Statistics, finds that documented children of immigrants "find it difficult to receive federal financial aid, because they cannot provide required information, such as social security numbers, for their parents."[88] Moreover, they suggest that documented children may also fear that applying for aid will draw attention to their parents' undocumented status. As Erisman, Looney and other scholars in this section show: undocumented status is not only a barrier for undocumented students, but also documented students whose parents are undocumented. These results suggest that a crucial factor impacting children of immigrants' educational achievement, especially in terms of mobility to higher education, is the undocumented status of themselves or their parents.

IV. Understanding Immigrant Parental Attitudes about School: How Parents Define Academic Expectations

The preceding literature shows the immigration-related factors perceived by children of immigrants that influence their access to higher education. However, as Perez et al. and Bean et al. present in the previous section, Latino parents are also a defining part of the aspirations and abilities of their children's higher education. Thus, this section highlights the parental perspective on higher education aspirations and abilities.

Immigrant Parental Expectations of Higher Education

Contreras and Stritikus, in 2008, examine multiple aspects of the Latino achievement gap in the state of Washington, and one of their main foci is the perceptions, behaviors, and aspirations of Latino parents. They argue that various stereotypical images by schools and communities which picture Latino parents as uninformed or ignorant of their children's education are false. Their primary method is English or Spanish surveys and focus groups with 247 Latino parents. Results illustrate that "like most parents in this country, Latinos want the best for their children—they want them to acquire skills that make them marketable in the workforce, attend and graduate from college and to be economically secure."[89] The issue, like Fernández-Kelly like Zhou et al. and Portes purport in earlier sections, is that many of the

[87] Ibid., 311.
[88] Wendy Erisman, and Shannon Looney, "Opening the Door to the American Dream: Increasing Higher Education Access and Success for Immigrants" (The Institute of Higher Education Policy, Washington DC: 2007), 20.
[89] Frances Contreras, and Tom Stritikus, "Understanding Opportunities to Learn for Latino Students in Washington" (Report submitted to the Washington State Commission on Hispanic Affairs, December 2008), 52.

immigrant parents may not have the human, social or cultural capital to help their children get there. Contreras and Stritikus also highlight that parents displayed interest on their children's friendships and offered them *consejos* (advice) about fruitful friendships. Most importantly, the results show that a high majority (74.6 percent) of surveyed parents aspire that their children get a bachelors degree or higher.[90]

Similarly, Fuligni and Fuligni, in 2007, through a critical analysis of studies of immigrant parents, also aim to dispel the myths of Latino parents' involvement in the education of their children. "Students with foreign-born parents," Fuligni and Fuligni argue, "consistently reported higher parental aspirations for college than did those with American-born parents."[91] In addition, testimony from parent interviews illustrates what some immigrant parents believe that their influence on the education of their children is: "We came here for them so that they may become somebody tomorrow."[92] Fuligni and Fuligni agree with Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco's earlier findings that the hard work and struggle of Latino parents motivate Latino students to repay the parents by achieving academic success. In addition, they argue that it is not that Latino parents are uninterested in their children's education, but rather that "many immigrant families are unaware of the complexities of the U.S. postsecondary system, and parents cannot advise their children on the proper steps to take toward enrollment in college."[93] Although Fuligni and Fuligni demand program and policy reforms that build on cultural traditions and strengthen immigrant parents, they do not offer any suggestions or guidance about the process. Overall, Fuligni and Fuligni solidify Contreras and Stritikus's argument that Latino parents do place high value on their children's education, but lack the cultural capital to properly engage the school system.

Miscommunication between Two Spheres: Home and School

Using data from the CILS in conjunction with survey data collected in San Diego, López and Stanton-Salazar not only argue that the majority of Mexican immigrant parents have high aspiration for their children but also that there is a lack of correspondence between their expectations and the reality of the children at school. Their results show that parents "push you along, they tell you for the millionth time that you've gotta work hard so that you can do something they never did." Parents were relentless in their exhortations: "I don't want [my situation] to happen to them, that's why I want them to study."[94] However, the miscommunication between parents and children is clear: "[parents] don't really see how hard it

[90] Ibid., 57.
[91] Andrew J. Fuligni, and Allison Sidle Fuligni, "Immigrant Families and the Educational Development of their Children," In *Immigrant Families in Contemporary Society* ed. by Jennifer E. Lansford, Kirby Deater-Deckard, and Marc H. Bornstein, 231-249 (New York: The Guilford Press, 2007), 236.
[92] Ibid., 238.
[93] Ibid., 244.
[94] David E. López, and Ricardo D. Stanton-Salazar, "Mexican Americans: A Second Generation at Risk," In *Ethnicities* ed. by Rúben Rumbaut and Alejandro Portes, 57-90 (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2001), 79.

is to do all the work to get good grades."[95] López and Stanton-Salazar bring to light that while parental expectations are high like their children's, parental expectations may be negative pressure due to parental unfamiliarity with the work required to achieve good grades.

Parental Documentation and its Effects on their Expectations for Children of Immigrants

Menjívar, like Abrego and Perez et al.'s preceding studies, questions the effects of parental legal status on their children but from the parents' perspective; she asks: "[H]ow does legal status mold the parents' and students' experiences and educational goals?"[96] Based on thirty-four in-depth parent interviews with Salvadoran and Guatemalan immigrants in Phoenix, she argues that, while not the only determining factor, legal status molds immigrant parents' views and perceptions of education prospects of their children.[97] In addition to considering documented or undocumented status, Menjívar also analyzes how "liminal legality" – temporary legal immigration status, which must continually be reinstated, obtained through the Nicaraguan Adjustment and Central American Relief Act (NACARA) – plays a central role in Guatemalans and Salvadorans' educational goals. For example, one undocumented Salvadoran mother explained that she "will never realize [her] dreams of a higher education" that "without papers you're nothing here, ay it's too complicated."[98] This mentality may be passed down to their children and decrease their opportunity to realize their education potential regardless of their immigrant status. These findings illuminate the similarities between an undocumented parent and those with temporary legal status: the daily concern of obtaining documented status. Furthermore, Menjívar finds that parents remain optimistic about their children's education "even in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles, perhaps to justify the sacrifices they have made in terms of opening opportunities for themselves and their children."[99] Leticia, a mother participant in Menjívar's study, echoes her desire of higher education when she notes: "I try to read… T-H-E C-H-A-I-R. This is as far as I will come to going to school here. Maybe my kids [will obtain a higher education], that is, if they get their papers". Menjívar concludes that "Central American Latinos believe in the meritocratic notion that education is a key to success, but the reality is that they cannot reap these perceived benefits for their marginally legal positions."[100]

V. Financial Barriers to College for Immigrant Students: Existing Policy Solutions

The last section of the literature review concentrates primarily on the study's final research question: what policies and practices to promote Latino college enrollment should be enacted, given the impact of immigration-related factors on Latino students' academic potential?

[95] Ibid., 80.
[96] Cecilia Menjívar, "Educational Hopes, Documented Dreams: Guatemalan and Salvadoran Immigrants' Legality and Educational Prospects," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 620 (2008): 179.
[97] Ibid., 177.
[98] Ibid., 185.
[99] Ibid., 187.
[100] Ibid., 190.

To answer this question, this section focuses on the current state of policy for immigrant students as well as possible solutions.

Evaluating State Policies for the Undocumented

To evaluate the efficiency, or lack thereof, the voice of current Latino children of immigrants is of most importance. Ross-Griffin's survey study finds that 31.5 percent of Latino students enrolled in Guilford Technical Community College express that their number one "barrier" to furthering their education is "not being a USA citizen", "not being a legal resident in [the] country" or "not having a social security number.'[101] With 20.7 percent, the second is a "language barrier" in the survey that includes 242 documented and undocumented Latino students. Although the survey's purpose is to analyze the productivity of the college, Ross-Griffin's most interesting finding is that when asked for improvement suggestions for the college respondents answered "allow to pay in-state tuition not matter legal status."[102] Guildford Technical Community College is in North Carolina: a state that does not offer in-state tuition for undocumented students.

Although, as mentioned in section III of this literature review, IIRIRA prohibits states from awarding in-state tuition to undocumented students on the basis of residence, eleven states – CA, TX, UT, NY, WA, OK, IL, KS, NM, NE, and WI – have adopted measures to allow undocumented students under certain qualifications to receive in-state tuition from public colleges. These eleven states are home to half of the undocumented student population.[103] These states argue that "by using eligibility criteria other than state residency, their law does not violate Section 505 of IIRIRA."[104] The requirements and procedures vary from state to state but generally include, with the exception of Oklahoma, signing an affidavit that declares that the student has been a in the state for at least three years, graduated from a state high school or completed a GED certification, and will legalize his status as soon as possible. Table 3, on the next page, gives a general overview of the measures that states have adopted.

Flores and Chapa, in 2008, evaluate the effect of resident tuition eligibility on the college decisions of undocumented Latino immigrant students in Texas and at the national level using Foreign-Born-Non-Citizen (FBNC) Latino students as a proxy for undocumented status in the Current Population Survey (CPS), which is a representative sample of the U.S. Census Bureau. Because undocumented Latino students do not qualify for any federal financial aid and Latino immigrant families are more likely to earn incomes below 150 percent of the federal poverty level than the general population, Flores and Chapa test whether students who live in states that have adopted an in-state tuition policy have higher college enrollment rates than students living in states without these policies. Their findings affirm Roberto Gonzales's argument, in 2009, that state measures have increased the number of undocumented students enrolled in higher

[101] Sabrina Ross-Griffin, "Latino/Hispanic Initiative: Report of the Results of the Latino/Hispanic Student Survey" (Prepared for Guilford Technical Community College in June 2003), 5.
[102] Ibid., 9.
[103] William Perez, *We are Americans: Undocumented Students Pursuing the American Dream* (Sterling, VA: Stylus, 2009), xxii.
[104] Jody Feder, "Unauthorized Alien Students, Higher Education, and In-State Tuition Rates: A Legal Analysis" (Prepared for the Members and Committees of Congress on October 7, 2008), 4.

education[105]; Flores and Chapa find that FBNC Latino students are 1.79 times more likely to have enrolled in college after the implementation of the policies than similar students living in Southern states without a policy. The results for the "non-Southern" states – UT, KS, WA and OK – indicate little to no effect in FBNC Latino enrollment. However, this may be due the low sample collected from this region[106] or, as Olivarez posits in his study of policy-related difficulties faced by college-ready undocumented students, due to lack of access and state publication of in-state tuition bills.[107] Also important to note is that Flores and Chapa do not distinguish between community colleges and four year colleges and universities which may create a difference in the results. Various measures to help undocumented students' access higher education have been achieved, but few studies have analyzed the success or lack thereof.

States That Allow Undocumented Students to Gain In-State Tuition Status as of December 2009			
State	**Bill Number**	**Date Enacted**	**State Financial Aid for Undocumented**
Texas	H.B. 1403 (77th Leg)	June 16, 2001	Yes
California	A.B. 540 (2001-02 Cal. Session)	January 1, 2002	No
Utah	H. B. 144 (54th Leg, Gen Session)	July 1, 2002	Partial
New York	S.B. 7784 (225th Leg. 2001 NY Session)	August 1, 2003	No
Washington	H.B. 1079 (58th Leg. Reg. Session)	July 1, 2003	No
Oklahoma	S.B. 596 Repealed by H.B. 1804 (now rigorous restrictions)[108]	November 1, 2007	No
Illinois	H.B. 60 (93th Leg. Reg. Session)	May 20, 2003	No
Kansas	K.S.A. 76-731A (formally known as H.B. 2145)	July 1, 2004	No
New Mexico	S.B. 582	April 8, 2005	Yes
Nebraska	L.B. 239 (99th Leg. 2nd Session)	April 2006	No
Wisconsin	2009-11State Budget Provision[109]	June 25, 2009	No

Table 3: Updated source information from Stella M. Flores, and Jorge Chapa, "Latino Immigrant Access to Higher Education in a Bipolar Context of Reception," *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education* 8 (2009): 96.

The "DREAM" Act

Although Flores and Chapa find higher college enrollment of undocumented students in states with policies that allow in-state tuition for these students compared to those students in

[105] Roberto Gonzales, "Young Lives on Hold: The College Dreams of Undocumented Students", College Board 2009, 19.
[106] Stella M. Flores, and Jorge Chapa, "Latino Immigrant Access to Higher Education in a Bipolar Context of Reception," *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education* 8 (2009): 104.
[107]
[108] Oklahoma has adopted an extreme measure to criminalize any person who aids undocumented people. This is in addition to an amendment to make only those within one-year process of legalization eligible for in-state tuition. H.B. 1084 can be found at: <http://ssl.csg.org/dockets/29cycle/29A/2009adocketbills/1929A04ok.pdf>
[109]Wisconsin is the newest member of states that award in-state tuition. The state budget can be found at: <http://www.legis.state.wi.us/lfb/2009-11Budget/2009_06_25Conf%20Comm.pdf>

states without such polices, undocumented students remain ineligible for federal and state financial aid, with the exception of Texas and Utah (see Table 3). For undocumented students who are not lawfully able to work in the United States, paying for in-state tuition is still a problem due to their lack of citizenship. According to Darchman's comprehensive review of access to higher education for undocumented students, "the issue of eligibility for in-state college tuition must be considered part of a much larger problem: the necessity for a broad immigration reform."[110]

Regarding undocumented students, Roberto Gonzales, like Darchman, argues that "the effect of offering in-state tuition is limited without the ability to receive financial aid."[111] Through a series of qualitative interviews with undocumented students, he nods to the version of the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act that was introduced in Congress in 2001. Also known as S.729 or H.R. 1751, the DREAM Act "would obtain permit students to obtain legal permanent resident status if they satisfy the following conditions: (1) they entered the United States at the age of 15 or younger and are under 30 on the date of the bill's enactment; (2) they have been continuously present in the country for at least five years prior to the bill's enactment; (3) they have obtained a high school diploma or its equivalent; and (4) they can demonstrate good moral character."[112] Gonzales estimates that 360,000 students would benefit from the passage of this act and provide a "source of productive contributors to society and highly skilled workers for the nation."[113] The DREAM act – introduced by Senator Richard Durbin (D-IL) and Richard Lugar (R-IN) in March 2009 – still rests at the Senate Judiciary Committee.

LITERATURE REVIEW SUMMARY

The thorough examination of the literature above establishes a foundational framework for my primary research inquiry. Over the course of the literature review, several immigration-related factors have emerged that, according to scholars, profoundly affect children of immigrants' personal aspirations and practical abilities to achieve a higher education. While immigration-related factors that target the aspirations of children of immigrants are those social-cultural factors that affect the motivation, wishes or personal perceptions of a higher education, factors that affect abilities are institutional or legal factors that complicate entry to higher education. Some factors are acquired before entry to the United States (e.g. pre-immigration human capital), while others (e.g. undocumented status) are acquired upon arrival. The immigration-related factors highlighted by the literature are:

- Student aspirations and abilities
    - High aspirations of higher education, but low grades
    - High dropout rates (achievement gap)

[110] Edward Darchman, "Access to Higher Education for Undocumented Students" *Journal of Social Justice* 18 (2006): 98.
[111] Roberto Gonzales, "Young Lives on Hold: The College Dreams of Undocumented Students", 21.
[112] Ibid., 22.
[113] Ibid., 22.

- Degree and access to human, social or cultural capital
    - Low parental educational background; English fluency
    - Lack of resources (e.g. networks or economic)
    - Unfamiliarity with the college-going process
- Parental expectations
    - Foster high aspirations for higher education, or
    - Create two sphere system of miscommunication between school and home
        - Miscommunication between student and parent
- Undocumented Status of Student*
    - Ineligibility for federal financial aid
    - Ineligibility for in-state tuition
    - Decreases higher education aspirations and abilities
- Undocumented Status of Parent
    - Mixed-status family
    - Decrease likelihood of college attainment
    - Leads to lack of human, social, and/or cultural capital

* Indicates that affects only undocumented children, the rest apply to all children of immigrants

Additional research would be helpful, to establish the significance of these various immigration-related factors further and to shed additional light on their relative importance (to one another). Other questions that rise from the literature review are: how well does this conceptual framework fit the empirical situation in the city of Walla Walla, Washington? In turn, what revisions to this framework might come from this new primary inquiry?

METHODOLOGY

Questions and Themes

In light of prior scholarship which suggests that factors related to immigration, like aforementioned, affect personal aspirations and practical abilities to go to college, it seems likely that the same factors affect children of immigrants in Walla Walla High School (WWHS) which has a Latino student body of approximately 34 percent[114] in a county where Latinos make up about 19 percent of the local population.[115] The primary research discussed in the following sections explored this hypothesis. This study also attempts to identify additional factors not yet accounted for in the literature that may affect the college enrollment of Latino children of immigrants in Walla Walla, Washington. Finally, what remedies appear necessary, given these

[114] Interview with Matthew Bona, conducted by Lyndsey Wilson, October 20th 2009. See: Lyndsey Wilson, "Towards Closing the Achievement Gap: Increasing Academic Efficacy and Ambition among Latino Students", December 18, 2009 < http:\\www.walatinos.org>
Note: The Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction: Washington State Report Card reports a smaller Latino student body population in October 2008 of 29.9%
<http://reportcard.ospi.k12.wa.us/summary.aspx?groupLevel=District&schoolId=3000&reportLevel=School&orgLinkId=3000&yrs=&year=2008-09>
[115] Washington State Commission of Hispanic Affairs, "2007 Washington State Latino/Hispanic Assessment", 8.

experiences of children of immigrants to bring out their full academic potential, including especially the potential to move on to higher education?

As part of the above guiding questions, I sought to examine specific salient themes in the literature that explain immigration-related factors. For example, I sought to contrast Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, and Gándara's findings, which show that children of immigrants have high educational aspirations but do not have matching grades, to the conditions at WWHS.I test, in addition, if the components proposed Fernández-Kelly, Zhou et al. and Portes in the segmented assimilation theory – namely human, social and cultural capital, family structure and mode of incorporation – produced similar educational outcomes than those of WWHS. Most importantly, through the primary research, I sought to uncover the parental influence on children of immigrants' educational aspirations and abilities through two closely linked forms: (1) the effects of parental (academic or otherwise) support and (2) the effects of *their* legal status on their children's educational outcomes. Another crucial theme that the study analyzed is the effect of a student's undocumented status that Abrego and Perez et al. purport in the literature review. Overall, the themes discussed in this paragraph in addition to the guiding questions in the former paragraph are the significant building-blocks of this study's method construction.

Process

Because immigration status is a delicate issue, I looked specifically at the methodology of other studies conducted that included undocumented immigrants. A study by Wayne Cornelius highlights the importance of confidentiality and trust for scholars doing research that involves undocumented immigrants. Although not feasible for the study, to create trust, Cornelius would travel to Mexico and become familiar with migrant-sending communities before interviewing immigrants in the United States.[116] He also highlights 'snowball sampling' as the most efficient method to gather participants due to the lack of a centralized pool of the undocumented population. In addition, Nerini, who conducted a study of Washington Sate H.B. 1079 students at Western Washington University, also posits the importance of obtaining full trust with undocumented students.[117] He gathers participants through personal connections with the students at the university. Nerini and Cornelius, in effect, piece together a well-established model methodology of interviewing immigrants who may be undocumented. I made it my responsibility, as a researcher, to emulate Nerini and Cornelius's methodological suggestions to ensure the safety of the study's participants.

INTERVIEWS

[116] Wayne A. Cornelius, "Interviewing Undocumented Immigrants: Methodological Reflections Based on Fieldwork in Mexico and the U.S.," *International Migration Review* 16 (1982): 391.
[117] Tom B. Nerini, "Learning from the Shadows: An Exploration of the Impact of Washington State's Instate Tuition Policy on Undocumented Immigrants Students and Institutions of Higher Education" (PhD diss., Simon Fraser University, 2008), 65.

Through face-to-face semi-standardized interviews, my methodology aimed at gaining information through four Latino perspectives: undocumented students, documented students, undocumented parents and documented parents. The interview method is most appropriate for my study, because it gives freedom for the participant to control the conversation and give fruitful responses, like Menjívar, Abrego and Coutin show in their studies of immigrants.[118] The participants volunteered after a presentations that I gave in Club Latino meetings, ESL classrooms at Walla Walla High School, and during parent-teacher conference night; other students referred subsequent participants to my study.

Before the interview, I handed out consent forms in English or Spanish (see Appendix D-E) that reassured the participants that their participation would remain anonymous. In addition, to establish a sense of trust, I continually made myself available to speak with parents about any concerns regarding the study, particularly those related to their status.

I conducted a total of 24 interviews yielding over 17 hours of interview material. I conducted: 15 interviews with students and 9 with parents. The average time for each interview ran from 45 minutes to 1 hour. To make the interviews run smoothly for the participants that did not feel comfortable speaking in English, I conducted the interviews in either English or Spanish. Also, it is important to note that while I interviewed parents and students, it was not mandatory to interview both. Because this led to cases where interviewed parents did not have a matching child or vice-versa, I was not able to connect the narratives of all students with their parents. However, by not requiring both parents and students to participate, I was able to recruit a larger group of participants that otherwise might not been able to participate due to time or family conflicts. Lastly, one interview was conducted in a group of four students, as requested by the participants, but the questions asked were the same as other interviews. (Table 4 on the following page breaks the interviewed participants by gender and immigration status.)

I did not ask the same set of questions (provided in Appendix B & C) to students and parents, but the elements addressed in the discussions with both groups are similar and thus comparison analysis of perception and experiences is appropriate. To question the parents, I used a similar approach to Menjívar to uncover how parents felt their legal status affected their children. Abrego's approach of questions was more appropriate for the students as it promoted fruitful dialogue calling specifically for the student's perspective. I began the interview with inquiries about personal background such as place of birth and particularly journey to the United States; then, I move to questions about immigration status, plans of legalization to those that are undocumented, and frequency of immigration dialog in the house. Before asking about personal knowledge of financial opportunities for college, I ask participants for their perceptions of academic success much like Contreras and Stritikus (e.g. what is it? and what does it take?) and move to questions about participation and motivation from sources like parents, teachers and

[118] Susana B. Coutin, *Legalizing Move: Salvadoran Immigrants' Struggle for U.S. Residency*. (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan, 2000), 56-57.

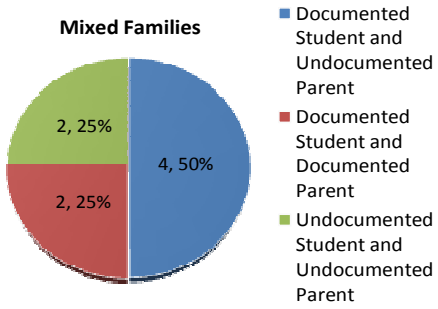
administrators. Finally, I ask students and parents alike about any knowledge of financial aid that point to policies covered by Gonzalez like the DREAM Act. Moreover, to test Flores and Chapa's earlier findings that Washington State H.B. 1079 does not have any influence in undocumented students' college enrollment, I ask if in-state tuition, state or federal aid financial would make a difference on the student to go to college.

Overall, by tying key themes of the literature, I sought to test if the framework highlighted at the end of the literature review is applicable to WWHS Latino children of immigrants and Walla Walla in general. The next subsection illustrates the demographics of the study.

Study Demographics

	Male	Female	TOTAL
Undocumented Student	2	3	5
Documented Student	2	8	10
Undocumented Parent	1	6	7
Documented Parent	0	2	2
TOTAL	5	19	24

Table 4: Interview demographics by gender and status



The above demographics show that the majority of the Walla Walla High School (WWHS) student participants are females. The same is true for the parent participants. My study demographic results show 66 percent of the students interviewed are documented – all except for one were born in the United States.[119] Although not intentional, all the participants in the sample are of Mexican origin. Thus, my findings *may* not be applicable to all Latino populations, but they do generate immensely rich information about these immigrants and their children's lives.

Like Passel and Cohn's study, the number of mixed families (as shown above) displays that the majority of the interviews conducted with both family members (parent and their respective child) is mixed status. In these four families, all students are documented but at least one of their parents is undocumented. Also important to highlight is that all parents interviewed are or were at some point undocumented; every parent crossed into the United States without proper documentation at least once. Most importantly, WWHS students offered a fruitful group

[119] Jeffrey S. Passel and D'Vera Cohn, "A Portrait of Unauthorized Immigrants in the United States", 7.

of children of immigrants with astounding descriptions of immigration-related factors in and outside the school.

RESULTS

As mentioned before, the purpose of this section of the study is to answer: how do various factors related to immigration affect Latino high school students' personal aspirations and practical abilities[120] to go on to higher education? A quick recap of what the literature suggests as factors are:

- Student aspirations and abilities
  - High aspirations of higher education, but low grades
  - High dropout rates (achievement gap)
- Degree and access to human, social or cultural capital
  - Low parental educational background; English fluency
  - Lack of resources (e.g. networks or economic)
  - Unfamiliarity with the college-going process
- Parental expectations
  - Foster high aspirations for higher education, or
  - Create two sphere system of miscommunication between school and home
    - Miscommunication between student and parent
- Undocumented Status of Student*
  - Ineligibility for federal financial aid
  - Ineligibility for in-state tuition
  - Decreases higher education aspirations and abilities
- Undocumented Status of Parent
  - Mixed-status family
  - Decrease likelihood of college attainment
  - Leads to lack of human, social, and/or cultural capital

* Indicates that affects only undocumented children, the rest apply to all children of immigrants

In order to target the factors above as well as identify those that were not mentioned by the literature, my analysis of the primary research is broken into the following sections:

I. Children of Immigrants' Aspirations and Abilities
II. Crucial Creators of Human, Social and Cultural Capital: Parents, Teachers and Administrators
III. "Echándole Ganas": A Rearticulation of Cultural Capital
IV. The Effects of Undocumented Status on the Children of Immigrants

[120] Here I use personal aspirations to mean any personal motivation (like wishes, hopes and dreams), while practical ability means actual achievement required to get a higher education (e.g. good grades, sports, community service, etc.) or any institutional factor that makes a student unable to achieve higher education (e.g. ineligibility for federal financial aid).

My analysis of my interviews with children of immigrants and their parents begins with an overview of children of immigrants' aspirations and abilities tests if they compare to the literature review. In section II, I highlight how human, social and cultural capital are immigration-related factors that, in addition to family structure and model of incorporation, affect the educational pathways of children of immigrants. Through a thorough analysis of border crossings, parental expectations and motivations, in section III, I suggest a rearticulation of cultural capital, as defined by the preceding body of literature, to include and value 'the immigrant drive' evident in the results of this study. Lastly, I analyze the most evident immigration-related factor, namely undocumented status, to children of immigrants' personal aspiration and practical abilities. A brief summary of the findings is at the end of the section before the discussion, for later quick reference.

I. Children of Immigrants' Aspirations and Abilities

Note: To protect the identities of participants and to create a better sense of trust, I give all participants pseudo-names regardless of their status. None of the following names have any relation with any family member of any of the participants (See Appendix A for details). Also, I personally translated all the interviews conducted in Spanish into English.

This section gives a general overview of the aspirations and abilities of the students that I interviewed. In doing so, I directly compare the findings of the literature review that examine the translation from aspirations to abilities.

From Educational Aspirations to Abilities

Like Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco's study, my interview results boldly show that all (15) of student participants want to get a college degree or more regardless of immigration status.[121] For example, Rosio, who is a 1.5 generation undocumented student, wants to be nurse "to help everyone that is hurt in the hospitals."[122] Alejandra, who is a permanent resident, says that she wants to be a veterinarian "because I like to take care of animals that are sick like I did in Mexico."[123] Tania, a U.S. citizen wants "to help [her] cousin who is undocumented by becoming an immigration lawyer"[124] and Adrian, also a U.S. citizen, wants to be an architect.[125] Sandra shows that her parents' immigration journey makes an impact in her aspirations: "Like my parents struggled, education is [also] a struggle but you need to get through it."[126] All of them believe that a college education is possible.

Carola Suárez-Orozco, and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, *Transformations: Migration, Family Life, and Achievement Motivation among Latino Adolescents*,159.

[122] Rosio, Personal Interview, November 6, 2009.

[123] Alejandra, Personal Interview, November 7, 2009.

[124] Tania, Personal Interview, October 9, 2009.

[125] Adrian, Personal Interview, October 26, 2009.

[126] Sandra, Personal Interview , October 27, 2009.

Furthermore, all the participants generally agreed that education "was one of the most important things in my life."[127] The perception of being successful in school meant that a student had to receive good grades, be part of a club or sport, do community service. Tania connects success in school to college admissions: "What I know is that college[s] are looking for not just your grades in class; they are also looking for extracurricular activities too. The more you get involved, the more you can get accepted."[128]

Although all participants expressed strong interests in continuing to a higher education, the personal abilities of undocumented students were not representative of their aspirations. Interview results show that the average reported GPA for an undocumented student is 2.86 while that of a documented student is 3.49. When asked what made a student successful and ready for college, all the students also included sports as an important indicator of going to college; however, none of the students were an active member of sport team of a sport at the time of the interview. In addition, except for Josue who is an undocumented student, none of the students acknowledged taking SAT or ACT tests or AP classes. It is important to note, however, that nine of the fifteen participants were involved a club like Latino Club. Overall, these results demonstrate a lack of conversion between aspirations to achievement, as Gándara remarked in the literature.[129] Thus, in so far, primary research results strictly match those of the literature review regarding children of immigrants' high aspirations but low achievement. However, is what causes this lack of translation from aspirations into achievement the same immigration-factors presented in the aforementioned body of literature, namely human, social and cultural capital?

II. Crucial Creators of Human, Social, and Cultural Capital: Parents, Teachers and Administrators

To follow the framework created from the literature review, this section systematically analyzes the possible effects of lack of access to human, social and cultural capital on children of immigrants' personal aspirations and practical abilities.

Low Human Capital of Parents

The average education attainment of the participants' parents is very low; only one female parent went beyond the 8th grade and the average parent education is 6th grade. Consequently, this lack of pre-immigration human capital does not bestow the necessary amount of academic knowledge and help required to convert aspiration into achievement. Like Zhou et al. and Fernandez-Kelly in section three of the literature review argue, lack of parental human capital is a limitation on how much help parents can provide their children to achieve a higher education. As Enrique, a documented student states: "because my mom did not finish 6th grade, it

[127] Marcela, Personal Interview, October 9, 2009.
[128] Tania, Personal Interview, October 9, 2009.
[129] Patricia Gándara, and Frances Contreras, *The Education Crisis: the Consequences of Failed Social Policies*, 226.

is very difficult for her to help me with my homework. If I need help, I talk to my friends or sometimes my sisters."[130] Josue, a 1.5 generation undocumented student, agrees with Enrique: "My mom can't help me with my homework because she doesn't know enough English or math."[131] Also important to note is that due to lack of comfort speaking English, I conducted all the parent interviews in Spanish. Josue's previous statement points to the lack of English fluency of all parents.

Social Capital

Defined as "the ability to command scare resources by virtue of membership in networks or broader social structures,"[132] social capital, or the lack thereof, is also evident in results of the primary research. Manuel, an undocumented student, migrated to the United States because of the opportunities, like majority of the participants. However, when I asked him if he received academic help afterschool or otherwise, Manuel answered: "The opportunities are out there, I know. But I don't know where to look or who to talk to."[133] The issue for Manuel is that he has poor grades, but lacks the social capital to receive help from school programs or other students in his homework. Other students point out that the only networks that they belong to are Latino Club. The following section explains Manuel's lack of social capital due to his mode of incorporation.

Modes of Incorporation and Effects on Social and Cultural Capital

Segmented assimilation theory, by Portes and Zhou, helps explain why immigrant parents and children of immigrants alike also have low levels of social and cultural capital. Results show that due to the "mode of incorporation" – the reception of the host society – both parents and students express a sense of marginalization. While parents interviewed believe that their marginalization caused by their immigration status, students say it's about ethnicity.

Parents like Josue's mom argue that because she is undocumented she is forced to take jobs "*en el campo"* (the fields) or other low-paying jobs.[134] To her, working in the fields keeps her marginalized from society and doesn't give her any time to learn what it takes to help Josue go to college; it limits her from acquiring cultural capital. Alejandra's mother, although documented, also argues that her low-wage job leaves her with very little time to learn English or to ascertain how to help Alejandra go to college. Janet's mother, who is undocumented, highlights the solution to higher mobility: "getting an education is breaking the [social] barrier

[130] Enrique, Personal Interview, November 11, 2009.
[131] Josue, Personal Interview, November 8, 2009.
[132] Alejandro Portes, "Children of Immigrants: Segmented Assimilation and its Determinants," 257.
[133] Manuel, Personal Interview, November 5, 2009.
[134] Josue's Mother, Personal Interview, November 8, 2009.

and then your children will do better"; but she admits not knowing what she can do to help Janet receive a higher education.[135]

On the other hand, evidence shows that children of immigrants are also marginalized at WWHS but believe that it is because of their racial identity. During the four-person interview, Estefani, a documented student with a high GPA, referred to a situation where she "went to pick up a transcript from the office" and the staff in-charge asked her: "why do *you* want a transcript for?" Ana, who was also present at the event, agreed and said that they received weird looks for being Latinas; Maria concluded that "we live in white world."[136] Furthermore, Sandra recalls a recent incident that displays negative reception at WWHS: "Yesterday, someone tagged up a bathroom in Lobby H and I heard some White students talking. This one kid said that 'H' stands for the Hispanic lobby. They tried to blame the graffiti on us: the Latinos."[137] Rosio adds that "… there are people that say that [undocumented students] don't have any rights and that we should go back… I don't feel comfortable talking to my counselor about my status."[138] Noemi and Enrique, in separate interviews, said that they did also not feel comfortable reaching out to their administrators or counselors – their primary source of cultural capital – other than to add or drop classes.

This is not to say, however, that there are no teachers willing to help in WWHS. The reality, as expressed by the participants, is that "there are only a few teachers that want to help you, if you are Latino."[139] The parents also expressed having a few contacts – a sign of low social capital – in the school to whom they can talk to about their children's progress; however, most of them admitted that they don't know who to contact in the school to express concerns.

Ultimately, lack of human, social and cultural capital is an immigration-related factor evident in the interviews because of the negative mode of incorporation that Latino immigrants experience excludes them from the trade of capital, as Zhou et al. purport in body of literature; human, social and cultural capital is something that cannot be bought, it must be traded. As Portes notes,

> "... forms of capital are fungible, that is they can be traded for each other and actually require such trades for their development. Social capital of any significance can seldom be acquired, for example, without the investment of some material resources and the possession of some cultural knowledge, enabling the individual to establish relations with others."[140]

[135] Janet's Mother, Personal Interview, October 18, 2009.
[136] Estefani, Ana, Arcelia, and Maria, Four-group Interview, October 28, 2009.
[137] Sandra, Personal Interview, October 27, 2009.
[138] Rosio, Personal Interview, November 6, 2009.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Alejandro Portes, "The Two Meanings of Social Capital," 2.

This marginalization, due to negative reception from the school and society, decreases the opportunities that both Latino immigrant parents and their children have of obtaining cultural capital – the knowledge that is missing in the translation between aspirations and achievement. For parents the time they spend at work, like the students' lack of trust, hampers their collection of human, social, and cultural capital. Ultimately, under Zhou et al.'s expanded segmented assimilation theory, lack of such capital is a background factor that predicts low educational upward mobility (see Table 3 in literature review).

III. "Echándole Ganas": A Rearticulation of Cultural Capital

Cultural capital, as presented in the body of scholarly literature, is defined by Portes as: "the intangible set of values and knowledge of cultural forms in [one's] demeanor" that particularly "facilitate children's access to education."[141] However, this definition of cultural capital, as exemplified in the previous section, values the knowledge and skills of the dominant culture and devalues that of the minority culture, in this case the Latino culture. Therefore, the current definition of cultural capital is inadequate and misrepresents the Latino cultural knowledge.

Through a thorough analysis of border crossings, parental expectations and motivations, in this section I suggest a rearticulation of cultural capital, as defined by the preceding body of literature, to include and value 'the immigrant drive' evident in the results of this study.

Border Crossings

The journey from Mexico to the United States of the many participants in this study displays their strong will and perseverance to achieve their *metas* (goals). It is important to highlight both parents and children's account of these border crossings to lay a foundation of how immigration–related factors affect children of immigrants' personal aspirations and practical abilities. In doing so, the study finds that the perseverance and narration of border crossings are positive immigration-related factors for children of immigrants.

AR: "…Manuel, can you tell me how you came to the United States and why?"

Manuel: "My dad left first. He wanted a better life; soon, I followed… It was hard to leave my family. [First,] I walked through the desert with a group of people, but it's like if you are on your own. If you don't watch out for yourself, then you get lost. [Then,] I remember I felt like I was dying; I couldn't breathe. There were a total of eight of us [in the back of a truck] and I was at the bottom. I lost feeling of my body because I couldn't move. I don't know how I managed to stay like that for four and a half hours."

AR: "Why did you decide to come?"

[141] Ibid., 2.

Manuel: "Because of the opportunities of work and an education."[142]

Alejandra's mother's narrative of her crossing to the United States also highlights the struggle and perseverance of immigrant parents:

> Alejandra's mom: "My husband left me. I had three daughters, but no job, so I decided to come here for the opportunities and to give my daughters an education that I did not have… [To come to the United States,] I had to walk for one day and a half. There was a total of twenty-five of us walking. My cousins helped me carry my three year old and my one year old daughters, although they walked sometimes. We only ate once from some canned food that we brought."[143]
>
> AR: "Alejandra, can you tell me how your mom came to the United States?"
>
> Alejandra: "She crossed through the desert, but fought to give us a better life… It motivates me to work hard even though my English is not great."[144]

Alejandra's response is indicative of Fernández-Kelly's "active recollection": one of mechanisms she posits to acquire cultural capital.[145] Through family narratives, Fernández-Kelly argues, Alejandra fosters ambition and promotes educational achievement.[146] In so doing, Alejandra's border crossing becomes a medium of cultural capital that motivates Alejandra to 'work hard'.

Another student, Marcela, who remains undocumented, describes her journey across the United States:

> Marcela: "We crossed in November of 2005. My sister was supposed to hide underneath a car seat, but it was going to be my [seven year-old] sister alone. My dad said, 'Todos unidos, nadie separado' (All together and nobody separated). We were about go back but 'the man' came and said that there was an opportunity because it was an American holiday and it was good option… So we did it; we walked through Tijuana and it took us eleven hours and a half to cross…. [My sister and I] usually walked so it wasn't long for us, but it was my mom that couldn't go any longer. We never left her behind."
>
> AR: "What was the reason that your family came?"

[142] Manuel, Personal Interview, November 5, 2009.
[143] Alejandra's Mother, Personal Interview, November 7, 2009.
[144] Alejandra, Personal Interview, November 7, 2009.
[145] Patricia Fernández-Kelly, "The Back Pocket Map: Social Class and Cultural Capital as Transferable Assets in the Advancement of Second-Generation Immigrants," 133.
[146] Ibid., 133.

Marcela: "It is something that I think about often, but my dad said 'I only want the best thing for you'. The most important reason was to have a better life and education."[147]

Adrian's mother, in addition, begins to unpack her experience of crossing the border. Adrian was born in the United States, thus he is citizen:

AR: "Could you share with me why you chose to come and how you did it?"

Adrian's mother: "The first time, we came to work; the second, we came to stay and for our children. We ran through the hills and part of a desert. [The coyotes] told me 'there is a *mosco'* – an immigration helicopter – and we had to throw ourselves into thorny bushes not to be seen. We got to a high way and we had to cross, but I didn't have any more strength. For the next part, [the coyotes] hid us underneath some wood in the back of a car and had some children jumping on us. They told us that if the *migra* saw that there were kids jumping on the wood, they wouldn't think that someone was underneath it."[148]

Lastly, Sandra, a talented documented student concludes: "Both of my parents came here without papers, but they did it to create a better life and education for us. They sacrificed a lot for our education, now we have to push ourselves – we can do it."[149]

Overall, these narratives show the incredible risks that immigrants and their families take to come to the United States. They show that every participant that crossed did it to have a better life and education either for themselves or for their children. Furthermore, the crossings cultivate a form of cultural capital that, through active recollection, empowers both parents and children of immigrants. As Sandra concludes, many of the student participants define their achievement as a means to honor and compensate their parents for their hard work and struggles.[150]

Echándole Ganas: The Immigrant Drive

Estefani: "[My parents] don't want me to stop my education. They tell me: 'get good grades, get good grades, get good grades!' Ana follows, "it doesn't matter where I go as long as I go to college".[151]

As presented in the literature review, lack of human capital is an immigration-related factor decreasing the ability of children of immigrants to achieve a higher education. However, Mexican parents continue to provide support in any way that they can. My results show that 100 all parents interviewed expected their child to go college or university; it is worth noting this exceeds Contreras and Stritikus's finding that 74.6 percent of Washington State Latino parents

[147] Marcela, Personal Interview, October 9, 2009.
[148] Adrian's Mother, Personal Interview, October 26, 2009.
[149] Sandra, Personal Interview, October 27, 2009.
[150] Patricia Fernández-Kelly, "The Back Pocket Map: Social Class and Cultural Capital as Transferable Assets in the Advancement of Second-Generation Immigrants," 133.
[151] Estefani, Ana, Arcelia, and Maria, Four-group Interview, October 28, 2009.

aspire that their children get a bachelors degree or higher, even though of course the results in this study were not meant to produce quantitative evidence of the trends I discuss.[152] Almost in verbatim, in every parent interview "*echarle ganas*" (giving it your best) came up as it did in the majority of student interviews.

AR: "But what does [*echarle ganas*] mean?"

Marcela's father: "it means to never stop working and to keep moving ahead."[153]

Alejandra's mom: "I tell [Alejandra] that I am proud of her and *que le eche todavía más ganas* (to continue give it more than the best)."[154]

Manuel: "My dad always tells me to *echarle ganas en la escuela* (give it my best at school), because it is the only way out. He tells me that he doesn't know how he will get the money, but that he will help me pay for my college. Now it's just up to me."[155]

Adrian's mom: "I tell [Adrian] everyday *que le eche ganas* (to give it his best); you need to study so that you are not like us."[156]

As the results show, the meaning of *echándole ganas* extends beyond its simple definition; it is more than a phrase of immigrant parents, it is their code of living. As mentioned earlier in the literature review, Portes and Rumbaut coin this term as "immigrant drive" – defined as the "strong ambition and the optimism, high expectations, school commitment and work effort that exceeds the general population" – which they attempt to pass on to their children through emphasizing their educational attainment.[157] Therefore, this immigrant drive is what continues to empower not only parents, but also their children to keep moving forward with their aspirations of college; it is a form of cultural capital that is often overlooked and devalued by the term's current definition.

Key Expectations and Motivation

In addition, to the 'immigrant drive' parents' expectations are fueled by the idea of better job conditions for their children. I find that the number one reason that parents encourage their children to go to college is because they do not want them to end up like them, a reason also highlighted in the accounts of Menjívar.

[152] Frances Contreras, and Tom Stritikus, "Understanding Opportunities to Learn for Latino Students in Washington", 57.
[153] Marcela' Father, Personal Interview, October 9, 2009.
[154] Alejandra's Mother, Personal Interview, November 7, 2009.
[155] Manuel, Personal Interview, November 5, 2009.
[156] Adrian's Mother, Personal Interview, October 26, 2009.
[157] Alejandro Portes, and Rúben G. Rumbaut, *Legacies: the Study of the Second Immigrant Generation* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001), 281

Adrian's mom: "I tell [Adrian] to do everything possible to do well in school. I don't want him to have to wake up at four in the morning to go to work at the onion fields. It's dreadful but it is the only way to keep going."[158]

Josue: "[My mom] is always telling me to do well in school so I do not have to work in the field. I want major in business or music."[159]

Some parents see their work as a sacrifice for their children's educational aspirations. They believe that their dreadful working conditions are worth their children's education. In response, the children of immigrants see their parents' sacrifice as motivation to do well in school and to "go beyond college to help their situation."[160]

For example, Marcela, Janet, and Maria see their parents' work as inspiring and motivating them daily. In return they work harder to get an education and "show them that it is possible."[161] Marcela's father feels that "knowing that [Marcela] is doing well in school, makes the worst day at my work bearable. I feel accomplished if she succeeds and get a college degree. She is the harvest of our efforts and sacrifices." [162]

Ultimately, in this section of the results, I suggest that the definition of cultural capital in the literature review is inadequate because it lacks and devalues the knowledge minority culture, in this case the Latino culture. Therefore, the rearticulation that I suggest recognizes the narratives of immigrant crossings, the immigrant drive, parental expectations and motivations as a form of cultural capital.

IV. The Effects of Undocumented Status on the Children of Immigrants

With the understanding of human, social and cultural capital as immigration-related factors, this section moves on to highlight how undocumented status of a parent or student affects personal aspirations and abilities according to my primary findings.

By far the factor that affected the children of immigrants' aspirations and practical abilities the most is undocumented status. Both documented and undocumented children were familiar with the topic and each spoke strongly about how it impacts them.

Before exploring how documented and undocumented students were affected by undocumented status, I wanted to know if there are any differences in the perceptions of how each view the other. For example, if there are any rivalries or academic competition between documented and undocumented students. My results were eye opening: none of the students interviewed saw any differences in academic competition or identity between documented and

[158] Adrian's Mother, Personal Interview, October 26, 2009.
[159] Josue's Mother, Personal Interview, November 8, 2009.
[160] Estefani, Ana, Arcelia, and Maria, Four-group Interview, October 28, 2009.
[161] Janet's Mother, Personal Interview, October 18, 2009.
[162] Marcela's Father, Personal Interview, October 9, 2009.

undocumented students besides the fact that the former enjoyed financial aid eligibility while the latter did not.

> Adrian: "I don't think there is any difference, everybody is a person."[163]
>
> Manuel: "[Documented students] have more [financial] opportunities but we are really the same."[164]
>
> Maria: "[Documented status] doesn't matter, we are students aren't we?"[165]
>
> Alejandra: "[My undocumented friends] ask me if I have papers and I lie to them. I tell them that I also crossed a desert and that it was hard. I feel like I am part of them, I don't see a difference between us."[166]
>
> Josue, a talented undocumented student who came to the U.S. at the age of five, concludes: "I am the same as [documented students] are. I live here, I go to school with them and they are my friends…What difference?"[167]

Although documented and undocumented students do not see a difference between each other, the United States government does. This, as mentioned in detail by Perez and Feder, deeply impacts both the personal aspirations of undocumented students and their ability to achieve a higher education. Also, practical ability and personal aspirations are not necessarily disconnected; if a student has low aspirations, for example, his ability may decrease (e.g. his grades or other college-going activities) or vice-versa.

How Undocumented Status Affects Students' Practical Ability to Attend College

Marcela, Manuel, Josue, Noemi and Rosio do not have a valid Social Security Number and are considered to be in the United States without permission from the federal government. Their ability to go to college is low. The legal status of Marcela, Manuel, Josue, Noemi and Rosio also limits the ability to qualify for scholarships that require a citizen status. They have no power to change their status, but it continues to impact their ability to afford college.

In addition, as previously mentioned, the reported average GPA of an undocumented student is 2.86 and the average for a documented student is 3.49. Assuming that student admission into a college highly depends on GPA, this shows that the undocumented status of a student affects the ability of those students to go to higher education. Other results also show that students who reported having an undocumented parent have an average GPA of 3.08 while those with no undocumented parents have an average of 3.5. In effect, the results agree with Bean,

[163] Adrian, Personal Interview, October 26, 2009.
[164] Manuel, Personal Interview, November 5, 2009.
[165] Estefani, Ana, Arcelia, and Maria, Four-group Interview, October 28, 2009.
[166] Alejandra, Personal Interview, November 7, 2009.
[167] Josue, Personal Interview, November 8, 2009.

Brown and Rumbaut, in 2006, who find that "about 52 percent of those whose immigrant fathers had naturalized had received a college degree or some college education compared to about 43 percent of those whose fathers were still legal permanent residents, versus only about 13.6 percent of those whose fathers were still [undocumented]".[168]

How Undocumented Status Affects Personal Aspirations

> Rosio: "My [older] sister [who is also undocumented] is in college. She says that she wants to be a teacher but I don't know how that's going to work because she can't afford college and she is not able to [legally] work. It makes me feel less likely that I will fulfill my dream of becoming a nurse."[169]

Rosio confirms that Abrego's study in a metropolitan area is also applicable in a small city because she is influenced by her sister's hardships at college due to her own status. In effect, not having proper documentation makes it harder for her to keep motivated in school. This in turn can lead to lower GPA that will impact her likelihood to get into a college. Rosio shows how lack of ability can turn to lack of aspiration.

On the other hand, Marcela, who was nominated for student of the month four times last year, shows a different side of aspirations. Although she does not have proper documentation, she says that "my [lack of] documentation is there, but it doesn't matter. There is always a dream in life and I believe that if you want to realize that dream, you will do even the impossible to do it."[170]

For undocumented students the problem is access. Out of the five students, only Marcela knew that in the state of Washington, undocumented students are eligible for in-state college tuition in any public college or university in the state, which all would qualify for upon graduation from WWHS. This suggests, like Olivarez, that the reason why Flores and Chapa's evaluation of Washington's H.B. 1079 found little to no increment in undocumented student college enrollment may be due to lack of publication of the bill.[171] Another effort that is underway is the DREAM Act 2009 which would give qualifying students a path to legalization and allow them to work on school campuses. Three out of the five knew about the DREAM Act.

Initially for Manuel, his undocumented status "made school seem like lost time". However, once I informed him about the H.B. 1079 and the DREAM Act, he responded: "Something like that would recharge my aspirations to try harder in school! However, my

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[168]Frank D. Bean, Susan K. Brown and Rúben G. Rumbaut, "Mexican Immigrant Political and Economic Incorporation," *Political Science & Politics* 4(2006): 311.
[169] Rosio, Personal Interview, November 6, 2009.
[170] Marcela, Personal Interview, October 9, 2009.
[171] Paz Maya Olivarez, "Ready but Restricted: An Examination of the Lack of Challenges of College Access and Financial Aid for Undocumented Students," (PhD diss., University of South California, 2006) 156.

[undocumented] friends will think I am crazy if I tell them that there is such legislation in the process. The problem is access; I just don't know who to talk to about my status at school."[172]

> Noemi: "There is always a little *esperanza* (hope) in my mind that something will work out. It would make me extremely happy if the DREAM Act passed. I wouldn't feel like I wasted my time."[173]

> Rosio: "The DREAM Act would bring me out of the shadows; I would be more comfortable talking about my status."[174]

Deportation Effects on Children of Immigrants' Aspiration

An important finding that was not as prevalent in the literature but greatly expressed in the study as an immigration-related factor that affects children of immigrants' personal aspirations is deportation. Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco offer that deportation "is a common terror" for the children with undocumented parents.[175] In this study all the parents reported by the student were at some time or are undocumented. Therefore, fear of deportation is a key theme that the participants highlight in the study.

> Adrian, a U.S. citizen: "I stood by the window as five trucks parked outside. Four people came from the sides. [Immigration Customs Enforcement (ICE)] came to my house, cuffed my dad and took him just like that. He was in the garden with my mother. I was angry. I tried to stop them, but they didn't. I asked them, 'why did it have to be my dad?' They didn't respond. My dad turned around and murmured '*ya nos fregamos, ahora tu eres el hombre de la casa*' (we are screwed; now you are the man of the house)."[176]

> Adrian's Mom: "My husband did not even have a traffic ticket. I saw Adrian looking through window with his hands on his head; he was the only one that recognized [ICE]. Before they arrested my husband, he turned around and there were tears in his eyes. At that moment, all of our hope went down the drain. He didn't have any more rights."[177]

After his father was deported, a local farmer hired Adrian to do farm work and gave all his earnings to his mother. He still went to school and worked in the afternoons. His father returned within a few months and now they are thinking of moving back together to Mexico.

> Noemi, an undocumented student: "I constantly worry about my parents being deported. My friends' sister watched how their dad was deported. The mom tried to close the door

[172] Manuel, Personal Interview, November 5, 2009.
[173] Noemi, Personal Interview, November 6, 2009.
[174] Rosio, Personal Interview, November 6, 2009.
[175] S Carola Suárez-Orozco and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, *Children of Immigration,* 34.
[176] Adrian, Personal Interview, October 26, 2009.
[177] Adrian's Mother, Personal Interview, October 26, 2009.

so that [ICE] would not come in but it was too late. They had guns and the little girls were crying. I don't want that to happen to me."[178]

Enrique, a U.S. citizen: [crying] "If [my mother] gets caught and taken away from me, I don't know what I would do. I am afraid that if ICE comes to the fields and I wouldn't know. I don't want to come back from school and have her not be here. I don't know how to tell my [younger] brother that our mother is undocumented."[179]

Marcela, an undocumented student: [crying] "I don't know what I would do without them. I can't imagine being here with my sister without them. If it happens, though, they want me to stay here and finish my education; they gave one of my old teachers a letter with custody over us in case something happens to them."[180]

Janet, a U.S. citizen: "I haven't told my mom this, but I get really worried when I hear that [ICE] is here. She is still on the process of getting her papers but every time that I heard that they are here, I tell her not to go out."[181]

Although that the students did not explicitly connected their aspirations to their fears of deportation, as the narratives show, their thoughts about deportation suggest that there is a significant impact on their aspiration. These results also show that undocumented status does not only impact undocumented students, but everyone in my sample because every parent at some point was or is undocumented. Therefore, undocumented status is the most evident immigration-related factor that affects children of immigrant's personal aspirations and practical ability.

HIGHLIGHT OF FINDINGS

The following findings indicate evident results from the primary research:

- All children of immigrants, in the study, aspire to go to college or university;
- All parents, in study, expect their children to enroll in at least a 2 year college
- Average GPA[182] for an undocumented student is 2.86 while that of documented student is 3.49
- Average GPA of student that reported to have an undocumented parent is 3.08 compared to 3.5 with documented parents
- Parents and children of immigrants have low human capital; average degree of parental education is 6th grade
- Current definition of cultural capital is inadequate and devaluates Latino immigrants' drive and cultural knowledge

[178] Noemi, Personal Interview, November 6, 2009.
[179] Enrique, Personal Interview, November 11, 2009.
[180] Marcela, Personal Interview, October 9, 2009.
[181] Janet, Personal Interview, October 18, 2009.
[182] As reported by student.

- No student participant perceives any difference of academic competition or worth ethic between being documented or undocumented
- Low governmental publication of Washington State H.B. 1079 or movements like the DREAM Act
- Undocumented status of a student is a major limitation to both his/her aspiration and ability to go to college
- Fear of deportation is a major deterring factor for BOTH documented and undocumented

DISCUSSION

The study has covered an extensive amount of information about immigration-related factors and their effects on children of immigrants. Thus, to recap, this study aimed to answer the following questions:

A. How do various factors related to immigration affect Latino high school students' personal aspirations and practical abilities to go on to college?
B. What are the determining factors, with respect to immigration, that motivate Latino students to achieve academic success?
C. In turn, how do factors related to immigration influence students' levels of achievement and their participation in college preparatory activities?
D. Finally, what policies and practices to promote Latino college enrollment should be enacted, given the impact of immigration-related factors on Latino students' academic potential?

I find that as Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco's highlight in their study[183], the fifteen student participants in the study all have high expectations to go to higher education. They understand, as well, as their parents that academic success – good grades, sports, and extracurricular activities – is essential to upward mobility. However, as Fernandez-Kelly suggests, there is a gap between aspirations and achievement; the student participants' abilities (e.g. grades) did no match their aspirations.

This gap, I suggest, can be explained through segmented assimilation theory argued by Portes and Zhou. Immigrant parents migrate to the United State with low levels of pre-immigration human, social and cultural capital which leave their children in a disadvantage in schools.[184] This study finds that the average educational attainment, namely human capital, of the parent participants is 6th grade. Thus, for children who aspire to have a higher education, their parents are not a possible source for academic help. As Portes argues "forms of capital are

[183] Carola Suárez-Orozco, and Marcelo M. Suárez-Orozco, *Transformations: Migration, Family Life, and Achievement Motivation among Latino Adolescents*,159.
[184] Alejandro Portes, and Ruben G. Rumbaut, *Immigrant America: A Portrait* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 266.

fungible, that is they can be traded for each other and actually require such trades for their development."[185] It follows that Latino children of immigrants who possess low forms of capital are excluded its trade and thereby disadvantage in the process of higher education.

However, this does not mean that parents do not motivate or help their children otherwise. This study finds that the majority of the student participants and all the parents possess what Portes and Rumbaut coin as "immigrant drive"[186] also referred by parents as "*echarle ganas*" (putting all your effort to it). By "*echandole ganas*", children of immigrants learn to work hard for their aspirations and turn them into achievement. In addition, immigrant crossing narratives exemplify Fernández-Kelly's active recollection which triggers cultural capital by fostering educational ambitions and a sense of place. Moreover, they learn through the sacrifices of their parents and want to move up social class and achieve what their parents could not. This posits that the current definition of cultural capital in inadequate and devaluates Latino immigrants' drive and cultural knowledge.

In addition to cultural capital and mode of incorporation, children of immigrants' aspirations and abilities are deeply affected by undocumented status. On one hand, immigrant children – undocumented children – are denied federal financial aid to support their higher education which limits the ability to enroll in college. As a byproduct, governmental denial of aid also decreases the aspiration of three of the five undocumented students in the study. On the other hand, documented students are also impacted by the status of their parents: students who reported to have an undocumented parent, have a lower GPA than students who have documented parents.

Lastly, one of the most important findings of the study is the impact that the fear of deportation has on the aspirations of children of immigrants. While participants do not directly connect deportation and lower educational aspirations, their narratives express that deportation is psychological and emotional distress that distracts participants from their aspirations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Thus, in light of the previous findings from the primary and secondary sources, this study offers the following critical policy recommendations at the city, state, and federal level:

- **Federal, state and city college-ready programs should be developed that specifically target Latino immigrant parents, beginning at the pre-school and elementary school levels.** [187] The lack of human, social and cultural capital that parent participants expressed suggest that a program that helps parents know how they can help their children to be on

[185] Alejandro Portes, "The Two Meanings of Social Capital," 2.
[186] Alejandro Portes, and Rúben G. Rumbaut, *Legacies: the Study of the Second Immigrant Generation* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001), 281
[187] See also: Lyndsey Wilson, "Towards Closing the Achievement Gap: Increasing Academic Efficacy and Ambition among Latino Students", December 18, 2009 <http:\\www.walatinos.org>

a college-ready tack since early educational career will be of the most importance for children of immigrants.

- **Scholars must rearticulate the current definition of cultural capital[188] to include and value 'the immigrant drive' and minority cultural knowledge.** The current definition of cultural capital, as exemplified in body of scholarly literature, values the knowledge and skills of the dominant culture and devalues that of the minority culture, in this case the Latino culture. Therefore, the current definition of cultural capital is inadequate and misrepresents the Latino cultural knowledge.

- **Immigration raids should be stopped, at least until a fair and comprehensive immigration reform with a path of legalization is passed at the federal level.** Fear of deportation of children or their parents is an emotional and psychological immigration-related factor that must be stopped. Children, whether documented or not, should not be worried about possible deportation of a family member. The federal government must foster efforts to keep children of immigrants in their families and focused on educational aspiration.

- **A state progressive and conscious effort must be enacted to advertise/promote Washington State House Bill 1079 at all schools, including private, and beginning at the elementary schools.** Because the school has no access to the immigration status of students, schools need to advertise HB 1079 publically so that qualifying students can benefit from the legislation. Currently, undocumented participants expressed that little effort is put forth to tell students about HB 1079 at Wa-Hi. The only way that undocumented students know about their possibilities in Washington State is through family networks and particularly stories of others that have to college. This network might not be available to all undocumented students and leads to decrease in educational aspirations.

- **Washington State must work to pass a bill similar to H.B. 1706 (introduced last January) that make undocumented students eligible for existing state financial aid.** As research by Gonzales, this one suggest that giving in-state tuition is a great first step, but the state must also realize that by not offering financial aid, the state is limiting the talent of student that are not able to afford a rising college education. These students call Washington their home and their talent will benefit the state.

[188] Cultural capital, according to Portes, is "the intangible set of values and knowledge of cultural forms in [one's] demeanor" that particularly "facilitate children's access to education."

- **Congress should pass the DREAM Act.** Students like Josue, who is documented and talented, is just one of 65,000 students that are undocumented students that graduate every year from that could benefit from the this Act.[189] A lack of access to citizenship and higher education for undocumented children is an ongoing loss of intellectual and civic talent.

We must end the social segregation that is marginalizing children of immigrants. We need to realize that "they" are "us". Children of immigrants are the future of the United States; their attainment of higher education is of the most importance to the city, the state and the nation.

[189] Roberto Gonzales, "Young Lives on Hold: The College Dreams of Undocumented Students", College Board 2009, 4.

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APPENDIX A: Interview Technical Features

Pseudonym	Duration (in minutes)	Language	Location
Adrian	42:00	English	Home
Manuel	55:00	Spanish	Home
Sandra	50:00	English	School
Estefani*[190]	70:00	English/Spanish	School
Ana*	70:00	English/Spanish	School
Arcelia*	70:00	English/Spanish	School
Maria*	70:00	English/Spanish	School
Rosio	66:00	English	School
Noemi	60:00	English	School
Janet	46:00	English	Home
Alejandra	54:00	Spanish	Home
Josue	40:00	English	Home
Enrique	47:00	English	Home
Marcela	75:00	Spanish	School
Tania	60:00	English	School
Marcela's Mother	80:00	Spanish	Home
Marcela's Father	70:00	Spanish	Home
Tania's Mother	62:00	Spanish	Home
Janet's Mother	46:00	Spanish	Home

[190] * Group Interview

Adrian's Mother	60:00	Spanish	Home
Alejandra's Mother	65:00	Spanish	Home
Adela[191]	47:00	Spanish	Home
Josue' Mother	59:00	Spanish	Home
Enrique's Mother	45:00	Spanish	Home

[191] At this point, I am still to meet with Adela's son.

APPENDIX B: Student Interview Questions

Personal Background

- Please tell me about when you were born, the place where you were born and lived while growing up, your parents and other family members, and your childhood.
    - What do you remember most about the place you were born, or grew up?
    - If born in the United States, how often does your family visit back home?
    - What was your regular school day like? What did you like about your school, or not like about it?
    - Where did you parents work? (Where did you work?)

- When did your family first move to the U.S? How and why did your family decided to move to the U.S?
    - Can you tell me about what your family's journey to the United States was like? Where there times for your family when some people stayed in your home country while others lived or worked in the U.S?
    - How often do you travel between the U.S and your home country?
    - What did you think about the U.S the first time that you came? Describe to me a memory of when you first arrived in the U.S? What did you miss most about your home country? What was your parents' response?

Immigration Status

- I know that immigration status is a sensitive issue; can you tell me about your current immigration status? (Factual question)
    - What is the immigration status of your parents?
    - If documented, how did you legalize your status?
    - If undocumented, did you overstay your visa or crossed the border? Do your parents or you plan to legalize your status? How and why?
    - How often do you talk with your parents about your immigration status? What are their responses?
    - If undocumented, what are the biggest concerns about your legal status?

- What do you think is the everyday life difference between someone who is documented and someone who is not, particularly at Wa-Hi?
    - Although you are documented, do you consider yourself an immigrant?
    - What do you think it means to be an immigrant? Is it helpful or not?
    - How does your status impact your daily life like driving, working or going to school?

- How does your immigrant identity impact the way you view school?
- What do think that your family relatives or friends who are undocumented do differently than you to succeed?

Academic success

- What does it mean to you to succeed in school?
    - In what ways do you think it's important to succeed in school? In what ways is not important?
    - Why or why not do you consider extracurricular activities part of academic success? Can you tell me about a time when you were involved in an activity that you really liked? In what ways, if any, did this make you feel more positive about school?
    - What does it take to be successful in school?

- How do you feel that Wa-Hi motivates Latino immigrant students to be successful?
    - What do you think is the administrators' *perspective* of immigrant students?
    - How do teachers and administrators see your immigration status? Can you give me an example of what a teacher or administrator has done to motivate you to be academically successful?
    - How does Wa-Hi motivate your parents to be involved in your education? Can you give an example? How do you think your parents' immigration status affects their involvement at Wa-Hi?

- Tell me about a time that you felt that you were successful in school and one time that you were not or did not feel like you could be successful.
    - What made the difference?
    - Tell me about any especially important people, who have helped you succeed academically; what did they do to make this possible for you?
    - What is the role of your teachers in your academic success? How do they motivate you?
    - What is you GPA?

- How much influence have your parents been in your academic success?
    - What are you parents' expectations of your academic achievement? Why do your parents' think it important to go to school? Do you agree or disagree with them? Why?
    - What more can your parents do to motivate you in school?

- How does your immigration status affect your plans after high school?
    - What do you want to be?
    - Are you aware of any financial opportunities that can help you go to college?
    - How would the DREAM Act help you achieve higher education?
    - Has your counselor or anyone else explained to you how the HB 1079 would impact your life?
    - What do you think the government should do to help more Latinos whether undocumented or not to attend higher education?

APPENDIX C: Parent Interview Questions

Personal Background

- Please tell me about when you were born, the place where you were born and lived while growing up, your parents and other family members, and your childhood.
    - What do you remember most about the place you were born, or grew up?
    - If born in the United States, how often does your family visit back home?
    - Where do you work? What was your regular work day like?
    - How far in your education did you get? (e.g. high school degree, BA)

- When did your family first move to the U.S? How and why did your family decided to move to the U.S?
    - Can you tell me about what your family's journey to the United States was like? Where there times for your family when some people stayed in your home country while others lived or worked in the U.S?
    - How often do you travel between the U.S and your home country?
    - What did you think about the U.S the first time that you came? Describe to me a memory of when you first arrived in the U.S? What did you miss most about your home country? What was your child's response?

Immigration Status

- I know that immigration status is a sensitive issue; can you tell me about your current immigration status? (Factual question)
    - What is the immigration status of your children?
    - If documented, how did you legalize your status? If you acquired legal status through the 1986 IRCA reform, how did you find out about this opportunity? How did you go about the process? How did it change your life or that of your children?
    - If undocumented, did you overstay your visa or crossed the border? Do you plan to legalize your status? How and why?
    - How often do you talk with your children about your immigration status? What are their responses?
    - If undocumented, what are the biggest concerns about your legal status?

- What do you think is the everyday life difference between someone who is documented and someone who is not, particularly parents or students?

- What do you think it means to be an immigrant? Is it helpful or not?
- How does your status impact your daily life like driving, working or going to school?
- How does your immigrant identity impact the way you view school?
- What do think that your family relatives or friends who are undocumented do to differently than you to succeed?

Academic success

- Can you tell me a brief story about any education that you have received in the U.S?
  - How is education in the U.S. different than in your country of origin?
  - How did you feel in your class?

- What does it mean for your child to succeed in school?
  - What does your child's education mean to you?
  - What does it take to be successful in school?
  - In what ways do you think it's important to succeed in school? In what ways is not important?
  - Why or why not do you consider extracurricular activities part of academic success?
- How do you feel that Wa-Hi motivates Latino immigrant parents to be part of your child's education?
  - How do teachers and administrators see your immigration status? Can you give me an example of what a teacher or administrator has done to motivate you to be academically active in your child's education?
  - What can programs or policies can the school make to attract you to school activities?

- What opportunities are available to your child receive due to your immigration status?
  - Do you feel that your child takes advantage of all the opportunities that the school offers?
  - What factors do you think motivate your child to succeed?

- Tell me about a time that you felt that Student X was successful in school and one time that Student X was not or did not feel like you could be successful.
  - What made the difference?
  - Tell me about any other especially important people, who have helped your child succeed academically; what did they do to make this possible for you?
  - What is the role of your teachers in your academic success?

- How do you encourage your child's academic achievement and how does your student's academic achievement affect you?
    - What are you expectations of Student X's academic achievement? Why do you think it important to go to school? Does your child agree or disagree with you? Why?
    - What more can you do to motivate your child in school?

- How does your immigration status affect your child's plans after high school?
    - What does your child want to be?
    - Are you aware of any financial opportunities that can help your child go to college?
    - How would the DREAM Act help your child achieve higher education?
    - Has anyone else explained to you how the HB 1079 would impact your life?
    - What do you think the government should do to help more Latinos whether undocumented or not to attend higher education?

APPENDIX D: Participant Consent Form in English

December 14, 2009
Parent Consent Form

Dear Walla Walla High School Parents:

My name is Ariel Ruiz; I am a junior at Whitman College. This year as part of Whitman's ongoing research project "*The State of the State for Washington Latinos*" (www.walatinos.org), I am working in partnership with Diana and Bill Erickson as well as with the Walla Walla Public Schools. We are conducting a study focusing on how immigration status affects Latino student academic achievement.

My research is particularly centered on how a family's or a student's immigration status affects student academic achievement. The purpose of this research is to analyze the difficulties and opportunities that immigration-related factors create and suggest ways that we can help increase the rate of success for Latino students who are affected by immigration.

This study will consist of conducting interviews with parents and Latino students separately. During the student interviews, students will be asked to share their experiences and observations regarding successful academic achievement and immigration status. These interviews will be approximately forty-five minutes long and will be conducted under the supervision of a Walla Walla High School faculty member. For the second component, parents will be asked to explain what academic achievement means to them and how immigration status affects their children's academic achievement. These interviews will be conducted outside of school grounds in a setting selected by the participant.

There is no foreseeable risk if you or your son or daughter participates in these interviews, nor should they experience any discomfort. Your identity, and your child's identity, in this study will remain anonymous unless you give us permission to quote you by name. You should also know that your and your child's participation in these interviews is voluntary, that you and your child may choose to answer or not answer a question you are asked, and that you and your child may end the conversation at any time. You should also know that Whitman College's Internal Review Board has approved this research project, certifying that it will not cause any harm to any participant.

I encourage you to have a discussion with your child concerning this study. If you or your child agrees to be part of the interviews, participation will help us study and help Latino students who are affected by their or their parent's immigration status at Walla Walla High School.

Please sign the permission slip below and give it to your son or daughter for them to return to Refugio Reyes who will give them to me, if you are willing to participate and/or willing to allow

your child to participate. After I receive this completed permission slip, I will then speak to your child about the dates for student interviews, which will be after school but determined by the student's schedule. I will also then contact parents to set interviews appointment, if you decide to participate.

If you have any questions or concerns about the study or the interviews feel free to contact me at (509)-301-7140 or at ruizag@whitman.edu. You may also contact **Paul Apostolidis** at (509) 200-3223 or at apostopc@whitman.edu, a politics professor at Whitman College who oversees this project. I thank you for your time and hope that you and your child participate in this crucial project.

Ariel G. Ruiz Soto

Note: it is not required for both the parent and the student to participate, but it is encouraged.

Part 1 – Student Participation

I _____ give permission to _____, my son or
(Parent's Name) (Student's Name)
daughter attending Walla Walla High School, to participate in the above described research focused on academic achievement and immigration status.

Parent's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Part 2 – Parent Participation

I _____ (Printed Name)

[ ] agree to participate or [ ] choose not to participate in the above described research focused on academic achievement and immigration status.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Phone Number: _____

APPENDIX E: Participant Consent Form in Spanish

December 14, 2009
Permiso para participación

Estimados padres de los estudiantes de la preparatoria *Walla Walla High School*:

Mi nombre es Ariel Ruiz y soy un estudiante de tercer año en *Whitman College*. Este año, como parte del proyecto de investigación de esta universidad, conocido como "La Situación Actual de los Latinos en el estado de Washington" (www.walatinos.org), estoy trabajando con Diana y Bill Erickson, así como con el sistema escolar público de Walla Walla. Estamos realizando un estudio enfocado en como el status de inmigración afecta el desempeño académico de estudiantes Latinos en la escuela preparatoria *Walla Walla High School*.

Mi investigación está enfocada en como el status de inmigración de la familia o el estudiante afecta el desempeño académico del estudiante. Es muy importante que comprendamos que y como estudiantes Latinos sobresalientes combaten el estatus de inmigración de sus padres o de sí mismos. Por esta razón, el objetivo de esta investigación es analizar y sugerir maneras de cómo ayudar a incrementar la cantidad de estudiantes Latinos sobresalientes que son afectados por el estatus de inmigración.

Este estudio consistirá de entrevistas separadas con padres y estudiantes. Durante las entrevistas con los estudiantes, se les harán preguntas sobre sus experiencias y observaciones que tengan que ver con el desempeño académico y el status de inmigración. Las entrevistas duraran aproximadamente cuarenta y cinco minutos y serán conducidas bajo la supervisión de un miembro de la facultad de la preparatoria. En las entrevistas con los padres se les preguntara que expliquen que se significa el desempeño académico y como el status de inmigración afecta el desempeño de sus hijos. Las entrevistas con los padres serán hechas afuera del territorio escolar donde el participante elija.

No hay ningún riesgo previsible si usted, si hijo o hija participan en estas entrevistas, ni tampoco le creara ninguna incomodidad. Las identidades de lo todos los participantes permanecerán anónimas al menos que el participante otorgue permiso para citarlos por su nombre. Participación en las entrevistas es voluntaria y el participante no necesita contestar ninguna pregunta y puede concluir la entrevista en cualquier momento. También debe de saber que el Consejo Interno de Revisión (IRB) de la universidad Whitman College, ha aprobado este proyecto de investigación, certificando que no le causara ningún perjuicio a ninguno de sus participantes.

Le animo a que hable con su hijo o hija sobre este estudio. Si usted o su hijo(a) está de acuerdo en participar en las entrevista, nos ayudara a estudiar y ayudar a los estudiantes Latinos que son afectados por su status de inmigración o el de sus padres.

Si está dispuesto a participar o a permitir que su hijo o hija participe, por favor firme el permiso que esta a continuación y déselo a su hijo(a) para que se lo entreguen al maestro Refugio Reyes, quien a su vez me los entregara. Después que reciba el permiso, hablare con su hijo(a) sobre fechas para las entrevistas. Si usted también decide participar, le contactare para hacer una cita para la entrevista.

Si tienen alguna pregunta o preocupación sobre este estudio o las entrevistas, por favor comuníquense conmigo llamándome al teléfono (509)-301-7140, o pueden enviarme un mensaje electrónico a ruizag@whitman.edu. También pueden comunicarse con el profesor **Paul Apostolidis** al número (509) 200-3223, o su dirección electrónica apostopc@whitman.edu. El es un profesor quien supervisa estos proyectos. Les agradezco por su tiempo y espero que usted y su hijo o hija participen en este proyecto.

Ariel G. Ruiz Soto

Nota: no es necesario que ambos padres y estudiantes participen pero si sugerido.

Parte 1 – Participación Estudiantil

Yo _____ doy permiso para que _____, quien
(Nombre del padre) (Nombre del estudiante)
asiste a

Wa-Hi, participe en la investigación descrita anteriormente que está enfocada en el desempeño académico y status de inmigración.

Firma del Padre: _____ Fecha:

_____

Part 2 – Participación de Padre

Yo _____ (Nombre)

[ ] estoy de acuerdo en participar o [ ] no estoy de acuerdo en participar

en la investigación descrita anteriormente que está enfocada en el desempeño académico y status de inmigración.

Firma: _____ Fecha:

_____

Número de Teléfono: _____