THE POWER OF LATINO FAMILIES: AN EXAMINATION OF THE ROLE OF

LATINO PARENTS IN THEIR DAUGHTERS' JOURNEY TO COLLEGE

by

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my mom. Thank you for making sure I had every experience and opportunity available to me even when I didn't want to do it. Thank you for always pushing me to achieve and get out of my comfort zone. Even though I didn't appreciate it at the time, thank you for always advocating for those who didn't have a voice. You are a great role model and I strive to advocate for others. You are the voice in my head and my first phone call. I could not have achieved this accomplishment without your support.

This dissertation is also dedicated to my dad, may you rest in peace. You were a man of few words, but I now know it was your acts of service to me and Greg that showed your love. Thank you for always helping me with projects like the adobe house and the race car for physics. Thank you for making sure I always woke up on time for school and spending time starting that old Jeep. Thank you for showing me the importance of hard work and finishing what you start. I also appreciated my monthly allowance even into my thirties because I know that was your way of showing me love since I had to buy all my hamburgers (inside joke).

Finally, this dissertation is for my ancestors of the Martinez, Gaytan, and Medina families. This accomplishment is a result of your perseverance, resilience, and sacrifices.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this intrinsic case study was to explore the role of Latino parents and their contributions to their daughter's pursuit of higher education from the perspective of both the parent and the daughter. Yosso's (2005, 2006) Community Cultural Wealth (CCW) framework served as a data analysis tool to explore the primary question guiding this study, which was: How do Latino parents' various forms of community cultural wealth contribute to their daughter's pursuit and attainment of higher education? The secondary research questions included: How do Latino parents perceive their role, involvement, or contributions to their daughter's pursuit of postsecondary education? How do Latina daughters perceive their parents' involvement or contributions to their academic pursuit of postsecondary education? How do Latina daughters perceive their role, responsibility, and involvement in their pursuit of postsecondary education? What forms of cultural wealth do Latino parents exhibit that contributes to their daughter's academic pursuits and higher education?

Six participants who self-identified as Latina, first-generation, undergraduate students were recruited from a university in the Southwest. Each participant was asked to select one English-speaking parent to participate in a separate interview for this case study. In total, there were six familial pairs who each participated in one, hour-long phone interviews. As Yosso (2005, 2006) explains, the various capitals of the Community Cultural Wealth (CCW) framework are not independent of each other and are often intertwined and build on each other. Therefore, the findings from this case study

reflected this interconnected nature. The themes include: The Power of Belief, the Power of Overcoming Struggle, the Power of Support, and the Power of Interdependence. These themes were classified as powers because they highlight the asset-based paradigm of how Latino parents positively contribute to their children's education. The four themes connect with Community Cultural Wealth to create empowered Latinas who are determined, resilient, and are persevering no matter the obstacles.

I. INTRODUCTION

Latinos[1] are the second fastest growing racial/ethnic group in the United States and will increase exponentially in the coming decades (Budiman & Ruiz, 2021). There are approximately 14 million Hispanic students in elementary and secondary schools across the nation. (Hansen, 2021). The high school dropout rate of Hispanic students has decreased from 16% in 2011 to 10% in 2016 (Gramlich, 2020). As the growth of Hispanic school-age children continues to increase, the number of Hispanics enrolled in postsecondary education is also on the rise.

In 2016, Hispanics enrolled in college exceeded 3 million students, making them the largest "minority" group (Gramlich, 2020). Hispanic students are overrepresented in community colleges with 48% of the student population compared to 30 % White and 36% Black students (Barshay, 2021; Krogstad, 2020). Despite these gains in college enrollment, Latinos still lag in bachelor's degree completion at 22% compared to 46% of White students earning bachelor's degrees (Fain, 2020). Equity gaps persist in graduation rates from community colleges for Latino students at a rate that is 2% lower than White students and 12% lower at four-year institutions (Fain, 2020). According to Krogstad (2020), 66 % of Hispanic students cited economic factors hindering enrollment in four-year universities compared to 37% of their White student counterparts. Through this

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[1] The term "Hispanic or Latino refers to a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race" living in the United States (González & Gándara, 2005). As such, Hispanic and Latino are terms used interchangeably in this study.

enrollment increase, Hispanic women have been more of a presence in college compared to their male counterparts. In 2020, 56% of Hispanic women were enrolled in college compared to 44% of Hispanic men (Krogstad & Noe-Bustamante, 2021).

Hispanics continued and expected growth as the most significant "minority" group in the United States means more Hispanics will be entering the workforce, but how will they be prepared? Will their education end with a GED, a high school diploma, or college degree? The opportunity for well-paying jobs without a bachelor's degree are dwindling (Fain, 2020). While Hispanics have made strides in college enrollment, their enrollment is no guarantee they will obtain a degree. Latino students struggling to obtain a college degree partly because they are "disproportionately poor, living in low-income communities where the schools aren't preparing children for the rigor of college courses," (Barshay, 2021). Colleges and universities are attempting to address retention and support Latino students to degree attainment (Cantú, 2021; Fain, 2020). The Latino attainment gap requires the attention of educators and policy makers to examine the factors hindering Latino students access and success in higher education (Leo & Wilcox, 2020) how to support Latino students in K-12 education so that they can persist to and through college.

As a Latina doctoral student, I have often pondered what factors contributed to my educational attainment. I was not the first person in my family to obtain a bachelor's or a master's degree, but I am the first to pursue a PhD. In one of my graduate classes I read Bourdieu's (1986) explanation of cultural capital but was rather confused by his theory because my mother was the first member of our family to obtain a bachelor's and a master's degree. She had often recounted stories about how my grandparents had an

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elementary education, only spoke Spanish, and worked long hours so they were not involved at the school because they did not have time or know how to navigate the school system. According to Bourdieu, her family did not possess the cultural capital to substantiate the educational achievement she possessed. Yet, my mother had grown up in a rural community, left home, and was the first in our family to obtain a bachelor's and master's degree.

When I encountered Yosso's (2005, 2006) framework on Community Cultural Wealth, I began to understand this phenomenon. While my grandparents did not exhibit Bourdieu's definition of cultural capital, they exhibited forms of capital as described in Yosso's Community Cultural Wealth model. Growing up my mother was very involved in my education. She attended every school event, joined every committee, fought against injustices in the schools, and made sure my younger brother and I had every opportunity available. My father was an immigrant from Mexico who worked long hours in the fields and did not participate in the same manner, so I never perceived him as involved in my education compared to my mother. However, through the lens of Community Cultural Wealth, I was able to identify how both of my parents contributed to my academic success albeit in different capacities.

My mother and I spoke at length about why she parented the way she had. However, when I began this study, my father had recently passed away, so I was unable to ask him his perspective of his role in my educational attainment. Yosso's framework and my memories filled in the gaps and allowed me to come to the realization that my parent's Community Cultural Wealth had contributed to my academic achievements. I wondered if other first-generation Latina students, like my mother, had experienced the

same phenomena. How had their parents contributed to their pursuit of higher education? This study explores the role Latino parents play in their daughters' pursuit of postsecondary education from the perspectives of the Latina student and their parent.

Problem Statement

While there have been gains in Latino students completing high school and enrolling in college, there is still a gap between Latino and White students enrolling in and completing college. The need to close the gap in Latino student enrollment and completion rates becomes more imperative as the Latino population grows, comprising a more significant proportion of the workforce (Barshay, 2021; Fain, 2020; Gándara, 2010; Leo & Wilcox, 2020). Latinas are attending college at a higher rate than their male counterparts (Krogstad & Noe-Bustamante, 2021); therefore, this increased rate should be explored considering the traditional family dynamics between Latino parents and their children, where female children are usually kept at home participating in traditional gendered roles (Huber, 2009). For decades, researchers have described factors that impede Latino academic attainment in literature, such as poverty, the lack of pre-school education, poor quality schools, and high dropout rates (Aragon, 2018; Barshay, 2021; Gándara, 2010; Krogstad, 2020; Marrun, 2018).

Nonetheless, such barriers persist, including deficit-based thinking and teaching practices which suggests Latino parents do not value their children's education or possess deficiencies that hinder their students' academic achievement, such as poverty, single-parent homes, and language barriers (Barshay, 2021; Fain, 2020; Krogstad, 2020; Marrun, 2018; Valencia, 1997; Valencia & Black, 2002). The deficit-thinking paradigm asserts that students of color and their families are at fault for poor academic performance

due to these perceived deficiencies (García & Guerra, 2004; Guerra & Valverde, 2008; Valencia & Black, 2002). According to Valencia and Black (2002), examples of deficit thinking, and its resultant actions, are prevalent throughout history in the education of Latinos, as evidenced by inequitable schools, a lack of educational opportunities, and harmful education policies (Aragon, 2018; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; Liou et al., 2018; Marrun, 2018).

Acknowledging a relationship between parental involvement and academic achievement, schools have used parental involvement to capture the need to create a partnership between schools and families (Epstein, 2010). While parental involvement can have multiple meanings, the most common examples of being an involved parent reflect White middle-class values (Lightfoot, 2004). Some educators believe that involved parents are solely those that attend school meetings, volunteer at school, and join the PTA (Lightfoot, 2004). Deficit-based literature often depicts Latino parents as uninvolved which is cited as a key problem in the academic underachievement of Latino students (Lightfoot, 2004; Quiocho & Dauod, 2006; Valencia & Black, 2002; Yosso, 2005, 2006). Latino parents are considered illiterate, uninvolved in school functions, and lacking in their value for education.

Purpose of the Study

Based on my experience with Yosso's framework, I wanted to explore how Latino parents contributed to their daughter's pursuit of postsecondary education, but from the first-hand accounts of both the parent and the daughter. In a review of the literature, many studies about Latino students pursuing higher education were primarily from the separate perspectives of Latino/a students (Ayala & Contreras, 2018; Borrero,

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2011; Easley et al., 2012; Kouyoumdjian et al., 2017; Leo & Wilcox, 2020; Peralta et al., 2013) and of Latino parents (Gregg et al., 2012; Guzmán et al., 2021; Liou et al., 2018; Kiyama, 2011; Lightfoot, 2004; Lopez, 2001). A smaller number of studies were from the perspective of Latina college students (Aragon, 2018; Ceja, 2006; Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002), but not from the accounts of both the parents and students.

Research Questions

Given the limited research on Latinas' postsecondary pursuits that accounted for their perspectives and those of their parents, primary and secondary research questions were formulated and included:

How do Latino parents' various forms of community cultural wealth contribute to their daughter's pursuit and attainment of higher education?

a) How do Latino parents perceive their role, involvement, or contributions to their daughter's pursuit of postsecondary education?

b) How do Latina daughters perceive their parents' involvement or contributions to their academic pursuit of postsecondary education?

c) How do Latina daughters perceive their role, responsibility, and involvement in their pursuit of postsecondary education?

d) What forms of cultural wealth do Latino parents exhibit that contributes to their daughter's academic pursuits and higher education?

Scope of Study

This qualitative study was an intrinsic case study because I, the researcher, was interested in the case at hand; the phenomena of how Latino parent assets' shape the academic attainment of their daughters (Merriam & Tisdell, 2017). The parent

contributions of cultural wealth in their daughter's higher education pursuits were explored through the "living account of this group" (Njie & Asimiran, 2014, p. 37). Volunteer participants were selected from a university in the Southwest and were undergraduate students. Participants were female, first-generation Latina college students and had at least one English-speaking parent willing to participate in this study.

Two separate semi-structured interviews (Merriam & Tisdell, 2017; Patton, 2002) were conducted with each family unit. The first interview was with the female student, and the second interview was with the parent selected by the student. There were six familial pairs interviewed for this study for a total of 12 individual participants.

Theoretical Framework

Despite deficit-based literature promulgating the perception of Latino parents as uninvolved in their children's education, there is also a body of literature countering this paradigm by identifying assets possessed by Latino parents. Bourdieu introduced the notion of cultural capital based on White, middle-class values, in which behaviors and values are learned and shared amongst a group of people. However, when his theory of cultural capital is applied to communities of color, cultural capital is nonexistent (Rieber & Bourdieu, 2013). Bourdieu's theory failed to recognize cultural capital in families of color often assumes a different form. To clarify this misperception, Yosso (2005, 2006) developed a culturally sensitive theory, concluding Latino families possess community cultural wealth that includes "the total extent of an individual's accumulated assets and resources" (p. 40) such as high aspirations for children, emotional support, and community and familial networks (Aragon, 2018; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; Ballysingh, 2021; Espino, 2016; Guzmán et al., 2018; Mobley & Brawner, 2019; Peralta et al., 2013;

Pérez & Taylor, 2016; Yosso, 2005, 2006). These cultural assets and resources or cultural wealth are shared among Latino families and are proven critical to their children.

Yosso (2005, 2006) identifies six forms of capital: aspirational, linguistic, navigational, social, familial, and resistant capital that Latino families possess and exhibit as forms of cultural wealth. The different forms of capital are often unknown or invisible to educators unfamiliar with these non-traditional forms of parental involvement (Auerbach, 2007; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; Ceballo, 2004; Ceja, 2004, 2006; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, 1994; Guzmán et al., 2018; Nelson & Guerra, 2013; Pérez & Taylor, 2016; Yosso, 2005 & 2006).
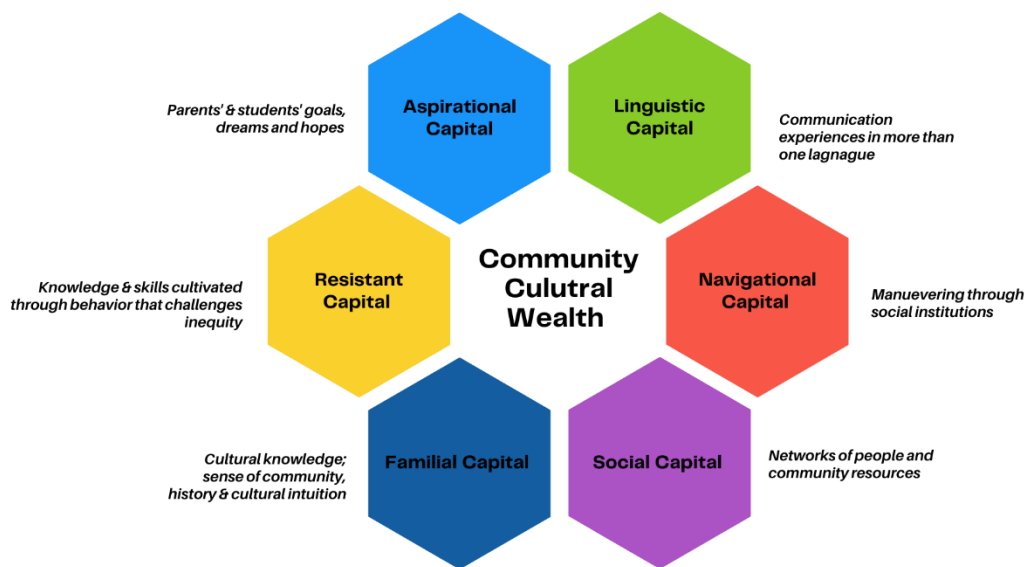
Figure 1. Community Cultural Wealth

While there are an increasing number of studies that exist that shine light on the various forms of capital and assets that Latino families possess, most research studies have focused on the perspectives of either the child or the parent but not both, and very few have been conducted in Texas (Aragon, 2018; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; Ballysingh,

2021; Ceballo, 2004; Ceja, 2004, 2006; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, 1994; Espino, 2016; Guzmán et al., 2018; Liou et al., 2018; Kiyama, 2010; Mobley & Brawner, 2019; Peralta et al., 2013; Pérez & Taylor, 2016; Yosso, 2005, 2006). The deficit thinking in public schools regarding Latino families creates a need to explore the cultural capital that they possess. As exhibited by a growing body of literature, Latino families' cultural capital can positively contribute to their children's higher education pursuits.

Yosso's (2005, 2006) themes of cultural wealth were utilized in data analysis to describe the essence of the phenomena or the process by which the parents impacted their daughter's postsecondary pursuits. Student participant responses were analyzed to guide the interview with their parent that needed probing or clarification. Data were analyzed for each daughter and her parent and across multiple families. The purpose of this cross-case analysis was to develop a detailed description of the various forms of cultural wealth that Latino parents contribute to their daughter's higher education pursuits.

Through the perspectives of Latino parents and their daughters, this study sought to contribute to existing literature highlighting the cultural wealth Latino parents contribute to the postsecondary pursuits of their children. Chapter 2 will explore further detail about deficit thinking, parental involvement, community cultural wealth, and college access.

Contributions and Significance of the Study

This study sought to address three needs in the current literature. First, the study aimed to counter the existing body of literature describing Latino parents as uninvolved in their children's academic pursuits. As mentioned earlier, deficit thinking remains prevalent among educators, and their views hinder their ability to see Latino parents as

involved in their children's education (Aragon, 2018; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; Ceballo, 2004; Ceja, 2004, 2006; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, 1994; Liou et al., 2018; Kiyama, 2010; Lopez, 2001; Marrun, 2018; Valencia, 1997). This deficit view further perpetuates the myth that Latino parents do not care about education and are to blame for their children's lack of academic achievement (Aragon, 2018; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; Ceballo, 2004; Ceja, 2004, 2006; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, 1994; Liou et al., 2018; Kiyama, 2010; Lopez, 2001; Marrun, 2018; Valencia, 1997; Valencia & Black, 2002). To counter these deficit beliefs, this study intends to add to the body of literature on Latino parental involvement by providing examples of cultural wealth contributing to their daughters' pursuit and attainment of higher education.

Secondly, this study sought to include different perspectives within the Latino family regarding other assets that parents possess. In this study, the daughter's experiences, and perceptions of the role of her parents in her academic pursuits were explored. Additionally, parents' perspectives and experiences were explored to compare to those of their daughter and other Latino families within the study. The purpose of including the daughter and her parents was to better understand the role Latino parents play in their daughter's academic endeavors and pursuit of higher education and how they expressed their support for education.

Finally, suppose educators are informed of Latino families' assets and various forms of cultural capital. In that case, they can better utilize parents as partners in the education of Latino students. In turn, this information can provide insight to Latino families about the values they possess and their power to contribute to their children's academic pursuits. This insight would allow schools to shift their efforts towards parent

engagement rather than parental involvement. The latter which conveys what schools are "doing to" rather than "doing with families" (Ferlazzo, 2011, p. 14). Parent engagement focuses on listening to parents and engaging them as partners to support students (Ferlazzo, 2011).

Definition of Terms

Aspirational Capital: Aspirational capital is the ability for parents and students to create goals, dreams, and hopes for their future despite real and perceived barriers (Yosso, 2005; 2006).

At-risk: This term is a label assigned to students by the school that alleges that the child has some deficiency that may prevent them from being academically successful (Valencia & Black, 2002).

Cultural Capital: Cultural capital comprises the social assets of a person that promote social mobility in a stratified society and is transmitted either directly or indirectly for parents to their children (Rieber & Bourdieu, 2013).

Cultural Wealth: This is "an array of knowledge, skills, abilities, and contacts possessed and utilized by Communities of Color to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression" (Yosso, 2006, p. 77).

Deficit Thinking: This is a "mindset molded by the fusion of ideology and science that blames the victim, rather than holding oppressive and inequitable schooling arrangements culpable" (Valencia & Black, 2002, p. 81).

Empowerment: "the active participatory process of gaining resources [and] competencies needed to increase control over one's life and accomplish important life goals" (Maton & Salem, 1995; Stanton-Salazar, 2010)

Familial capital: The "cultural knowledge nurtured among the families that carry a sense of community history, memory, and cultural intuition" (Yosso, 2006, p. 48).

Family Involvement: Schools identify projects, needs, and goals and tell parents how they can contribute (Ferlazzo, 2011)

First-generation college student: A first-generation college student is defined as one whose parents either have no postsecondary education or limited postsecondary experience but have never earned a bachelor's degree (Nunez & Cuccaro-Alamin, 1998).

Linguistic capital: The set of "intellectual and social skills learned through communication experiences in more than one language and/or style" (Yosso, 2006, p. 43).

Latino: "Hispanic" or "Latino" refers to a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race" (González & Gándara, 2005).

Mexican American: Refers to individuals of Mexican descent born in the U.S. In this study, the term may be used interchangeably with Latino.

Navigational capital: "The skills of maneuvering through social institutions" (Yosso, 2006, p. 44).

Parent Engagement: The school listens to what the parents think, dream, and worry about with the goal of gaining partners in the education of students (Ferlazzo, 2011).

Parental Involvement: A term used by schools to express the need for a partnership between parents and schools to increase the academic achievement of students. Most examples of parental involvement are reflective of White, middle-class values (Epstein, 2010).

Resistant capital: The "knowledge and skills cultivated through behavior that challenges inequity" (Yosso, 2006, p. 49).

Social capital: The "networks of people and community resources" (Yosso, 2006, p. 45).

Summary

As the second largest racial/ethnic group in the U.S., Latinos have made strides in increasing the number of students completing high school and enrolling in college; however, there is still a gap between the number of degrees earned by Latinos and Whites. The need to close this educational achievement gap becomes imperative as the Latino population continues to grow. The deficit-thinking paradigm, prevalent in Latinos' policies, educational systems, and perceptions, blames Latino students and their families for limited academic achievement. This study seeks to increase the body of literature that counters deficit thinking and explores various forms of capital that Latino students and families possess. Interviews with Latina undergraduate students and their parents were conducted to gain their perspectives on their involvement of postsecondary pursuits. This study hopes to inform educators and other Latino families about the assets and cultural wealth that Latino parents possess that can be utilized as a resource for Latino students and their postsecondary pursuits.

This study is divided into five chapters. The first chapter discusses the problem statement, the purpose and significance of the study, and a brief overview of the methodology. The second chapter reviews the literature about deficit thinking, parental involvement, cultural and social capital, and community cultural wealth concerning Latino academic attainment. The third chapter of the study outlines the study's methodology, including the research design, participant and site selection, data collection,

and analysis. The fourth chapter categorizes themes that examine the perspective of Latina college students compared to the views of Latino parents. The final chapter summarizes the study and highlights key findings, provides implications for future research, and recommendations for educators.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The first recorded use of the term "Hispanic" by the United States government appeared in the 1980 census (Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002). Before the appearance of this term in 1980, there were only four recognized race categories: White, Black, Asian, and Other (Cohn, 2010; Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002). The term "Latino" refers to a person who lives in the United States with Hispanic ancestry in which their countries speak Spanish. While the term "Latino" can be used synonymously with "Hispanic," there is a difference. "Latinos come from countries that have Spanish as their official language and, therefore, can be called Hispanics; only Hispanics living in the United States or seen from the perspective of their relationship with the United States are called Latinos" (González & Gándara, 2005, p. 394). For example, people in Mexico can be considered Hispanics because their home countries are Spanish speaking; however, they would not be considered Latinos unless they live in the United States. These terms have connotations more than just geography, but rather are rooted in history and politics (González & Gándara, 2005). "The choice of the term 'Latino' over 'Hispanic' moves the focus from ancient history to current events, from the old Spanish empire to the contemporary United States" (González & Gándara, 2005, p. 395). Since the term "Hispanic" was a term coined by the U.S. Census Bureau, some renowned writers such as Sandra Cisneros consider the term "Latino" to connotate "diversity, brownness and Latin American," whereas "Hispanic" "signifies uniformity, Whiteness, and Spain" (González & Gándara, 2005, p. 392).

The Latino population is now the nation's largest and fastest-growing ethnic minority population (Krogstad & Noe-Bustamante, 2021). In 2016, Latino students

enrolled in college rose to 47% of the population compared to 32% in 1999 (Gramlich, 2020). Although Latino students enrolling in postsecondary programs are rising, simply registering does not guarantee completion or attaining a college degree. In 2014, Latino students earned 15% of all bachelor's degrees compared to 41% of White and 22% Black students (Krogstad, 2020). Given these figures, the number of Latinos attaining degrees is not proportionate with their growing population.

According to the U.S. Census, Latino students reach low academic attainment at various points of the education pipeline. For example, out of every 100 elementary Latino students, 46 will graduate with a high school diploma, 26 of those graduates will enroll in college, eight of these college students will earn a bachelor's degree, two will earn a graduate or professional degree and less than one percent will graduate with a doctoral degree. In contrast, out of every 100 White elementary students, 84 of those will graduate with a high school diploma, 26 will earn a bachelor's degree, and ten will earn a graduate or professional degree (Yosso & Solórzano, 2006). While Latino college enrollment and attainment have increased, the gap between Latinos and their White counterparts has not closed (Krogstad, 2021). The low educational attainment of Latinos has significant implications as the U.S. job market demands more educational background for jobs such as the growing fields of science and engineering, and Latinos continue to make up a large portion of the workforce (Gándara, 2010).

The literature cites a variety of factors that impede the academic achievement of Latinos, such as poverty, lack of pre-school education, poor quality schools, high dropout rates, and few Latino role models within the school (Gándara, 2010; Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002). Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, approximately 10.5 million students from the

age of 5-17 were living in poverty. Of these, 40% percent were Latino, 35% were Black, and 21% were White (Thomas & Fry, 2020).

"The lack of educational attainment is closely associated with high levels of poverty that hinders opportunities for [Latinas'] social mobility and intergenerational mobility" (Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002, p. 36). Children living in poverty often lack necessities such as adequate food, clothing, and shelter that can hinder their ability to learn in school. Furthermore, Latino students are less likely to have access to pre-school, limiting early development of the "necessary cognitive and social skills required to compete academically" (Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002, p. 38). The lack of pre-school preparation contributes to the attainment gap even before Latino students enter kindergarten (Gándara, 2010).

Latino students typically attend racially segregated schools with poor facilities, undertrained teachers, high turnover rates, and few Latino educators (Yosso & Solórzano, 2006). Teachers at these schools often lack training in bilingual or multicultural education and may be unprepared to serve the needs of Latino students (Yosso & Solórzano, 2006; Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002

Limited access to mentors and positive Latino role models in the school can also hinder the educational achievement of Latino students (Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002 Educators (79%) are White compared to 8% of teachers who are Latino (National Center for Education Statistics, 2021, Table 2). While the number of Latino teachers is low compared to White teachers, the growth of the Latino student population creates a critical need for an increase in the number of Latino teachers. The lack of Latino teachers decreases the likelihood of Latino students having access to Latino mentors or role

models in schools.

This educational attainment data signals a need to investigate further why many Latinos do not achieve a high school diploma or proceed to postsecondary education. Current literature cites a variety of factors, including poverty, single-parent homes, language barrier, and parents' lack of education, that allegedly contribute to the lack of Hispanic achievement. Still, these factors are often based on deficit views in that they focus on what students and families do not bring to the educational process. Therefore, the remaining sections of this literature review examine the deficit-thinking paradigm concerning Latino achievement, Latino cultural capital, parental involvement in the educational process, and Latino college access with specific attention to family assets promoting access and educational attainment and systemic barriers inhibiting students' pursuit of postsecondary education.

Deficit Thinking Among Educators Regarding Latino Parents

Deficit thinking is the belief that students of color and/or low socioeconomic status "fail in school because they and their families have internal deficiencies or deficits that thwart the educational process" (Valencia & Black, 2002, p. 83). Students and their families are viewed as being at fault for lacking normative cultural knowledge and skills relevant to mainstream schooling (Aragon, 2018; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; Ceballo, 2004; Ceja, 2004, 2006; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, 1994; García & Guerra, 2004; Guerra & Valverde, 2008; Liou et al., 2018; Kiyama, 2010; Lopez, 2001; Marrun, 2018; Quiocho & Dauod, 2006; Early, 2010; Valencia, 1997; Valencia & Black, 2002; Yosso, 2005) such as reading bedtime stories to their children, taking them to museums, and helping with homework (Guerra & Nelson, 2013). "One of the most prevalent forms of racism

today in the U.S. schools is deficit thinking" (Yosso, 2006, p. 75).

When educators are not culturally knowledgeable about parents' different backgrounds, they may begin stereotyping and presume parents' lack of involvement. A lack of cultural knowledge contributes to deficit thinking. Some educators assume that parents are uninvolved or not good parents if they don't adhere to traditional forms of parental involvement. Through this narrow perspective of parental involvement, educators are not culturally aware and cannot recognize the assets Latino families contribute to their children's educational experiences (Guerra & Nelson, 2013). If educators become culturally knowledgeable, they will dispel the myth that Latino parents don't value education. Instead, Latino parents place a high value on education, so much so that many parents leave their home countries for the promise of an education for their children. Some parents work multiple, often low-paying jobs so that their children may attend school in the United States (Guerra & Nelson, 2013). Latino parents teach their children lessons in their home such as respect, responsibility, and a strong work ethic that can transfer to behavior and academic aspirations in school. Educators can reframe the deficit mindset by becoming knowledgeable about Latino parents and their assets to their children's education.

The Emergence of the Term Parental Involvement

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 was the first piece of legislation to promote parental and community involvement by requiring the establishment of a Parental Advisory Council for each participating Title I school (Halperin, 1975). The Goals 2000: Educate America Act set the partnership between parents and schools as voluntary except for Title I schools, which were mandated to

maintain a partnership with parents to receive funding (Epstein, 2010). These legislative

acts recognized the need for parental involvement in schools and the positive effects of

school-family partnerships on students. If schools worked together with parents towards a

shared interest in the children's education, that would improve the school climate,

connect with families and the community, increase parental skills, and assist teachers

(Epstein, 2010). The schools have used the term "parental involvement" to identify the

need for shared responsibilities of children between families and schools. This

partnership is thought to improve the school environment for children (Epstein, 2010).

Studies have shown a correlation between parental involvement regarding parents' high

expectations of their children's success in school and higher student achievement (Jeynes,

2005). These expectations can be as simple as asking a child daily about what they did in

school or bringing books and homework home to validate the importance of education.

    While some aspects of parental involvement correlate with increased student

achievement, the literature often depicts Latino, low-income parents as uninvolved, and

the key problem in the educational underachievement of Latino students (Aragon, 2018;

Ayala & Contreras, 2018; Ceballo, 2004; Ceja, 2004, 2006; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, 1994;

Liou et al., 2018; Kiyama, 2010; Lightfoot, 2004; Lopez, 2001; Marrun, 2018; Quiocho

& Dauod, 2006; Valencia, 1997; Valencia & Black, 2002; Yosso, 2005). Some literature

tends to generalize Latino parents as illiterate, uninvolved in school activities, and

lacking value for education (Aragon, 2018; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; García & Guerra,

2004; Kiyama, 2010; Lopez, 2001; Quiocho & Dauod, 2006; Early 2010; Valencia, 1997;

Valencia & Black, 2002; Yosso, 2005). The term parental involvement, however, has

multiple meanings, such as the parent who attends Parent Teacher Association (PTA)

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meetings and volunteers at school (Lightfoot, 2004) in contrast to the parent that reinforces education at home through expectations of respect and completing homework (Lightfoot, 2004). Thus, there is a need to consider different understandings of parental involvement about diverse communities. The school's use of the term parental involvement often reflects White, middle-class values that view lower socio-economic class parents and those of color as deficit (Lightfoot, 2004). A lack of understanding of diverse cultures, educators most often assume school systems are equitable, and Latino parents and students should conform to the established system despite inequitable policies and practices found in schools (Yosso, 2005).

Deficit Thinking as the Basis of Historically Inequitable Schools

Examples of deficit thinking are prevalent in the education of economically disadvantaged students and students of color. Historically, educational policies and practices fueled by class and racial prejudice kept students of color in an inferior position to White students (Valencia, 1997). The development of segregated schools for students of color and White students were primarily based on deficit thinking. In the segregation of Mexican American students, it was argued Mexican American students should be segregated due to their *language handicaps* as this would hinder the learning process and academic achievement of their White counterparts (Valencia, 1997). In Texas, segregated schools, first created in the 1880s for working-class Mexican American children, provided poor facilities, insufficient supplies, dated textbooks, non-comparative curricula, and inexperienced teachers (Valencia, 1997; San Miguel & Valencia, 1998).

Whether segregated or not, the purpose of schools at that time was to teach literacy and religion to "transform the identities of groups identified as foreigners" (San

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Miguel & Valencia, 1998, p. 358). Laws were enacted in California and Texas in the

1870s eliminating the use of Spanish in instruction. "English was prescribed as the

medium of instruction and prohibited the use of Spanish" (San Miguel & Valencia, 1998,

p. 362). These laws promoted the "purity of the Anglo-American culture" and sought to

"unify the country based on a common culture and language and maintain the political

dominance of Whites" (p. 362). Further imposition of Anglo-American culture on

Mexican American students occurred throughout the 1880s when Mexican culture was

removed from the curriculum and replaced with an Anglo-centric curriculum. This was

visible in history books, which "stressed the nobility of Anglo-Americans and denounced

the character of Mexicans" (p. 363).

      Although there were separate facilities to educate Mexican students during these

times, not all Mexican students were allowed access to education. Three major groups

were denied access: agricultural migrants, secondary school-age children, and

postsecondary-aged students (San Miguel & Valencia, 1998). According to San Miguel

and Valencia (1998), in 1930 in Texas, 17% of Mexican American children were enrolled

in separate, inequitable public schools. The consequence of inferior schools created "a

pattern of skewed academic performance such as low-test scores and high withdrawal

rates" (San Miguel & Valencia, 1998, p. 367). The Mexican American and White student

achievement gap began well before any legislation was enacted to integrate schools and

provide equitable educational opportunities for Latinos. Although education

policymakers have tried to reverse the effects of initial inequitable education provided to

Mexican American students through legislation, educational opportunities for Latino

students and school structure inequities remain. Through legislation, unfair policies on

segregation, unequal facilities, standardized testing, and speaking Spanish at school were reversed and reformed (San Miguel & Valencia, 1998). Deficit thinking is the root of specific practices, such as tracking Latina/o students into special education programs (San Miguel & Valencia, 1998) and labeling them as *at-risk*, which ultimately blames students for their perceived inability rather than recognizing the impact deficit school structures and practices have on Latina/o students' academic abilities (Valencia & Black, 2002).

Examples of Deficit Thinking

The history of the education of Mexican American students shows the origin of educational policies and how they were developed, implemented, and perpetuated throughout the years. This knowledge is the basis for understanding the evolution of current policies. Educators with deficit beliefs perceive minority students and their parents as possessing deficiencies such as a lack of intelligence, little motivation, and poor social behavior (Guerra & Valverde, 2008; Leo & Wilcox, 2020; Lomelí, 2021; Zoch & Ye, 2020). According to San Miguel and Valencia (1998), "Deficit thinking is founded on racial and class bias that 'blames the victim,' rather than examining how schools are structured to prevent students from learning" (p. 368). Deficit thinking fails to account for contributing school conditions such as low teacher expectations, lack of differentiated curriculum, racism, and lack of opportunity for Latino students (Aragon, 2018; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; Ceballo, 2004; Ceja, 2004, 2006; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, 1994; Deschênes et al., 2001; García & Guerra, 2004; Liou et al., 2018; Kiyama, 2010; Lopez, 2001; Marrun, 2018; Valencia, 1997; Valencia & Black, 2002). Such educators blame Latino students and their parents because they assume students enter school

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without prerequisite knowledge and skills (García & Guerra, 2004; Leo & Wilcox, 2020; Lomelí, 2021; Early, 2010; Valencia, 1997; Valencia & Black, 2002). Deschênes, Cuban, and Tyack (2001) compiled various essays on the issue of a mismatch between schools and students to examine educators' explanations for some students' failures. Their research found examples of general deficit views in which some educators believed an inadequate home environment contributed to student failure. Since schools could not correct the home environment, a standard solution was "…to create in the school a counterculture that would overcome the defective socialization children received at home" (p. 536).

Deficit-minded educators look for prescriptive means of dealing with underperforming Latino students. These include placing them in special education programs or English as a Second Language (ESL), which are two examples to correct what they perceive as deficiencies (Valencia, 1997). Students are often tracked into remedial or vocational courses with curricula inferior to the mainstream curricula and lower teacher expectations (García & Guerra, 2004; Leo & Wilcox, 2020; Lomelí, 2021; Quiocho & Dauod, 2006; Valencia, 1997). In a study conducted by Quiocho and Dauod (2006), 330 Latino parents whose children were in an English Language Learners program expressed a desire to receive an equitable education. They cited instances where their children did not receive content instruction in science and social studies but worked instead on art projects or singing songs. In contrast, English-speaking students received content instruction. Latino parents wanted the teachers to expect their children to achieve and help them succeed. As the findings from this study demonstrate, special education and language programs often lock Latino students into a trajectory of lower education

expectations, fewer resources, and fewer opportunities for college access throughout their educational careers (Valencia, 1997).

Deficit thinking is also evident when Latino students are labeled as being "at-risk" for lower academic achievement, which "alleges that a child suffers some environmentally induced deficiency" (Valencia & Black, 2002, p. 86). Some literature suggests that if a student's family background is at fault for their academic inadequacies, the school needs to create a counterculture to overcome these deficiencies, hence the need for labels and placement in special programs (Deschênes et al., 2001). The focus is on familial characteristics such as poverty, ethnicity, single-parent homes, personal attributes of poor self-concept, language barriers, and delinquency (Gay, 2018; Ladson-Billings, 2014; Leo & Wilcox, 2020; Lomelí, 2021; Valencia & Black, 2002). However, this label tends to overlook the individual's strengths and instead draws attention to the perceived shortcomings of the student, rooted in perceived deficits that go together with familial and economic backgrounds (Valencia & Black, 2002).

Test scores have been used to label and categorize students as failures. To determine if education standards were being met, students have been separated into ability groups based on proficiencies using high-stakes testing. According to Deschênes et al. (2001). there are "normal" students who can follow the curriculum on pace. However, for other groups who do not fall into this definition of "normal," a range of different curricula is provided, including summer school, retention, and extra work. These practices expect simple solutions to remedy systemic problems and teach children they are failures without addressing school structures that contribute to their failure (Deschênes et al., 2001). The creation of labels and special programs results from deficit

thinking which naturally contains a prescriptive element (San Miguel & Valencia, 1998).

These assigned labels and placement in special programs purport Latino students to be

less successful than their White counterparts because of their background (Deschênes et

al., 2001; García & Guerra, 2004; Leo & Wilcox, 2020; Lomelí, 2021; Quiocho &

Dauod, 2006; San Miguel & Valencia, 1998; Valencia, 1997). "Labels have created

categories of individual failure and have left school structures largely intact" (Deschênes

et al., 2001, p. 534). This rigidity and inflexibility have encouraged school personnel to

change students to fit their school structure rather than change the school to meet the

needs of students (Deschênes et al., 2001, p. 534).

Special programs such as ESL and special education offer a different, less

equitable curriculum, promoting prejudice against these students by exacerbating the

academic gap between them and their peers (Quiocho & Dauod, 2006). In a study by

González et al., 2003, the authors examined how the primary and secondary school

experiences of Latina students from working-class, economically disadvantaged families

contributed to their pursuit of postsecondary education. A few of the participants

recounted feelings of inadequacy when they were tracked into ESL classes. One student

reported, "I felt less capable of achieving that goal [attending college]. I knew I would

have to fight twice as hard as the students who were placed in regular classes" (p. 158).

Another student described how the low expectations of the program resulted in her not

trying because she knew they would excuse her because she was in ESL. A third student

wrote a letter and had her mother go to the school to get her out of the ESL program

because she felt she could [be successful in regular classes] independently. "I'm not

against it, but for me, I knew that if I were in that program, I wouldn't push myself as

hard" (p. 159). Tracking into these programs often disadvantaged students because as they reached the end of their high school careers, they had not completed enough college preparation coursework to be eligible for a four-year university. Many students indicated they were not encouraged to attend college, and their expectations were low (Gonzalez, et. al, 2003). These labels also effected the students' perception of themselves and their abilities to be academically successful.

Labeling and blaming Latino students for perceived deficiencies are forms of oppression and deprive Latino students of an equitable education (Valencia, 1997). Rather than look at student deficiencies, educators should look at institutional factors to explain student failure. The school should conform to the needs of the students and recognize their assets rather than trying to make students fit into the school (Deschênes et al., 2001). Teachers' deficit views hinder their ability to recognize and utilize the resources or funds of knowledge minority students bring to school (García & Guerra, 2004). Once educators identify their deficit views of Latino students and their families and consciously work on combating them, educators will recognize and begin to utilize the assets and resources Latino students and families already possess. Educators need to create a welcoming environment for Latino families where they feel respected and valued. This environment is conducive to building trusting relationships between educators and parents so educators can draw upon the assets Latino families bring to the school (Guajardo & Guajardo, 2013; Zoch & He, 2019).

Cultural and Social Capital

In contrast to deficit thinking is the notion of cultural capital, which examines the knowledge, skills, and abilities possessed by a person or group of people. The amount of

cultural capital a person has is derived from their family background. The themes of cultural and social capital and other forms of capital are examined as they serve as assets and resources for Latino students and families within the education system.

What Are Cultural and Social Capital?

Bourdieu (1986) first introduced the notion of cultural capital, which can exist in three forms:

> The embodied state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in the institutionalized state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee (p. 45).

Bourdieu (1986) asserts families either directly or indirectly transmit cultural capital to their children. The amount of cultural capital one possesses depends on the social class of their family. If a person is from a middle or upper-class family, then they will have considerably more cultural capital than those from the working classes. Cultural capital is "an informal academic standard, a class attribute, a basis for social selection, and a resource for power which is salient as an indicator/basis of class position" (Lamont & Lareau, 1988, p.156). According to Lamont and Lareau (1988), cultural capital consists of the following characteristics: it is "widely shared, [validates] high-status cultural signals (attitudes, behaviors, goods), and [provides] credentials used for social and cultural exclusions" (p. 156). According to Bourdieu, the amount of cultural capital one possesses directly correlates with academic achievement. Those who have less cultural capital are expected to achieve less. Parental attitudes toward school and the school culture determine whether children will have a high academic achievement (Rieber & Bourdieu, 2013). Thus, Bourdieu argued, "Children from the lower middle classes, as

they receive nothing from their family of any use to them in their academic [endeavors]… are obliged to expect [to] receive everything from school" (p. 39). This theory resulted in educators believing Latino students come to school with deficits that need to be rectified by the school system. This deficit lens on Latino students can lead to labeling and deficit educational teaching practices and policies that ignore the funds of knowledge that Latino students possess that can be leveraged.

Yosso (2005), in her work on Latino community wealth, summarizes Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital as "an accumulation of cultural knowledge, skills, and abilities possessed and inherited by privileged groups in society" (p 76). Yosso agrees with Bourdieu's sentiment that cultural capital exists but explains that Bourdieu's interpretation implies White, middle-class culture is the "standard, and therefore all other forms and expression of culture are judged compared to the norm" (p. 76). Yosso argues that cultural capital is not just possessed by the middle class but is valued by privileged groups of society. For example, a middle-class student who has a computer at home gains knowledge, vocabulary, and skills that would be considered capital because they are valued in a school setting. On the other hand, a Latina student may help her mother who works in a garment factory, thus acquiring knowledge, skills, and vocabulary in perhaps two languages that are valuable to the family but may not necessarily be considered useful in a school setting (Yosso, 2005).

Yosso (2005, 2006) critiques Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital by questioning whose knowledge counts and whose is discounted. She defines culture as "behaviors and values that are learned, shared, and exhibited by a group of people" (Yosso, 2005, p. 75). To provide a counter-story to Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital, Yosso concluded:

Wealth includes the total extent of an individual's accumulated assets and resources. Wealth could consist of our community's cultural assets and resources added together over time. Different forms of capital would create cultural wealth (Yosso, 2006, p. 40).

Yosso (2005) contends a "traditional view of cultural capital is narrowly defined by White, middle-class values, and is more limited than [community cultural] wealth—one's accumulated assets and resources" (p. 77). This counter-theory of cultural wealth rather than just cultural capital offers the opportunity to acknowledge that various forms of capital can contribute to an individual's assets; therefore, shifting the focus from deficits to assets.

Education is viewed as a means of social mobility in which academic achievement is contingent on the cultural capital a student possesses (Bourdieu, 1996). Schools reproduce the capital of the valued middle-class White people (Yosso, 2005). Public school educators are (79%) are White compared to 8% of teachers who are Latino (National Center for Education Statistics, 2021, Table 2). In comparison, 27% of K-12 students today are Latina/o (Hansen, 2021). The lack of cultural knowledge among White teachers about their Latino students results in a lack of authentic relationships with students and families, contributing to stereotypes and deficit thinking (Aragon, 2018; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; Valencia, 1997; Valencia & Black, 2002; Yosso, 2005; Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002). Teachers, however, are the products of a system whose aim is to transmit the language, values, and norms that the dominant culture exhibits (Rieber & Bourdieu, 2013; Valencia, 1997; Valencia & Black, 2002; Yosso, 2005; Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002). Therefore, those individuals who belong to dominant groups can maintain power because access to the cultural capital valued in society's institutions is limited to those within the dominant group (Rieber & Bourdieu, 2013; Valencia, 1997; Valencia &

Black, 2002; Yosso, 2005).

Alternatively, Stanton-Salazar (1997; 2010) contends social capital can be understood as the "relationships [individuals have] with institutional agents, and the networks that weave these relationships into units" (p. 8). Institutional agents, in this case, are "individuals who have the capacity and commitment to transmit directly or negotiate the transmission of institutional resources and opportunities" (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, p. 6). Institutional agents are gatekeepers of information and opportunities, represented by teachers, counselors, and family and community members and can help children successfully navigate and participate in institutions such as the education system. Social capital is represented in social relationships with agents capable of navigating or gaining access to institutional support. Thus, social capital is cumulative, produces benefits, can be reproduced, and can be converted into tangible resources. For example, emotional support, privileged information, and access to opportunities from a social network or relationship are forms of social capital. Students and parents often engage in instrumental action when individuals utilize institutional support and social capital to reach specific goals (Stanton-Salazar, 1997). Cultural and social capital are viewed as resources individuals can possess (Lamont & Lareau, 1988). The notion of social capital is an important concept to consider for Latino families because it is through these social networks that families navigate unfamiliar systems such as the education system. For example, family and community members may assist new residents through the registration process of new students in school or assist them in finding housing, utilities, and work. Latino families leverage their social networks to navigate systems, therefore, contributing to their cultural wealth.

Latino Parents' Community Cultural Wealth

Yosso's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth framework defines different types of capital families of color, including Latinos, possess and explores how these contribute to their children's education. Community cultural wealth is "an array of knowledge, skills, abilities, and contacts possessed and utilized by Communities of Color to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression" (Yosso, 2005, p. 77). Yosso identifies six types of capital, aspirational, linguistic, navigational, social, familial, and resistant, exhibited by Latino families and seldom recognized by schools as essential to Latino students' academic success. "The various forms of capital are not mutually exclusive or static but rather are dynamic processes that build on one another as part of community cultural wealth" (Yosso, 2005, p. 77). The difference between Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital and Yosso's notion of cultural wealth is that "cultural capital is accumulated, like a deposit in the bank, but cultural wealth is meant to be shared" (Yosso, 2006, p. 46). Latino families share their "cultural wealth" within their networks and throughout generations which aligns with the collectivist nature of Latino families.

Since the different types of capital overlap and coexist, they are cumulative. For example, a parent expresses aspirational capital through their hopes and dreams for their child. They share these aspirations through storytelling or *consejos* (cautionary tales) about navigating the education system and what not to do, which are examples of social, familial, navigational, and resistant capital (Yosso, 2005). Latino families have accumulated knowledge, skills, and abilities that support their students in their educational endeavors through these forms of community cultural wealth. Educators should understand the different forms of capital Latino families provide their children and

utilize these assets to enhance academic achievement.

Aspirational capital. Aspirational capital is the ability for parents and students to create goals, dreams, and hopes for their future despite real and perceived barriers (Yosso, 2005; 2006). The notion that education is the vehicle for social mobility and a better life is the basis of aspirational capital (Aragon, 2018; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; Ballysingh, 2021; Rieber & Bourdieu, 2013; Ceballo, 2004; Ceja, 2004; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, 1994; Espino, 2016; Gonzalez, et. al, 2003; Guzmán et al., 2018; Mobley & Brawner, 2019; Peralta et al., 2013; Pérez & Taylor, 2016; Yosso, 2005, 2006). Ceballo conducted a study in 2004 to identify parenting practices that contributed to the academic achievement of first-generation Latino undergraduate Yale students. One participant, Rafael, a Mexican American student from Los Angeles, recounted how his father viewed education as a "way out of physical labor" (p. 176). Christina, also from California, echoed this sentiment when she spoke of how her mother often advised her to pursue an education because "she could have done so much more in her life if she had been able to go to school instead of work" (p. 176). Ceja (2004) conducted a study with first-generation Chicana high school seniors from California and examined their parents' role in shaping college aspirations. One participant, Jeannine, shared that her parents would tell her stories about their suffering and the hard work they had to endure because they did not go to college. Bertha's mom held the same beliefs about education, telling Bertha about her struggle working late nights at the factory and how she did not want Bertha to end up like her, so education always came first.

Latino parents have hopes and dreams for their children to get a good education and go beyond what they have accomplished (Aragon, 2018; Ayala & Contreras, 2018;

Ballysingh, 2021; Ceballo, 2004; Ceja, 2004; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, 1994; Espino, 2016; Gonzalez, et. al, 2003; García & Guerra, 2004; Gregg et al., 2012; Guzmán et al., 2018; Kiyama, 2010; Lopez, 2001; Mobley & Brawner, 2019; Peralta et al., 2013; Pérez & Taylor, 2016; Yosso, 2005, 2006). In the Gregg et al., 2012 study with four family focus groups, parents expressed educational aspirations for their children through the *Míreme* (Take a Look at Me) Project. For example, one parent expressed her desire for her children to get an education. Another parent recounted how she had chosen a different path and wished she had graduated from high school. This parent indicated that she wanted her daughter to obtain a college education to have a better life. These parents in this study are examples of the aspirational capital that many Latino parents have for their children regarding their pursuit of education to lead a more successful life.

Through their everyday actions, Latino parents encourage their children to work hard in school to have a better life (Aragon, 2018; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; Ballysingh, 2021; Ceballo, 2004; Ceja, 2004; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, 1994; Espino, 2016; Gonzalez, et. al, 2003; García & Guerra, 2004; Gregg et al., 2012; Guzmán et al., 2018; Kiyama, 2010; Lopez, 2001; Mobley & Brawner, 2019; Moll et al., 1992; Peralta et al., 2013; Pérez & Taylor, 2016; Yosso, 2005, 2006). Children see their parents' struggles, hear their stories or words of wisdom (*dichos*), and listen to their advice (*consejos*) (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994). Delgado-Gaitan (1994) conducted a case study focusing on the power of *consejos* as highlighted in the Estrada family's cultural practices with their children on their belief about the importance of education. In the study, parents encouraged their children to share their problems at school with them rather than letting them go unaddressed. Mr. Estrada explained how he would tell his son if something were wrong,

"he should tell us, and we will go investigate" (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994, p. 307). Through these examples, Latino parents send their children messages that an education is essential to their future (Ceballo, 2004; Ceja, 2004; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, 1994;).

Linguistic capital. Linguistic capital is the set of "intellectual and social skills learned through communication experiences in more than one language and/or style" (Yosso, 2006, p. 43). Linguistic capital can be exhibited through storytelling, recounting oral histories, art, music, or other venues. Latino families often engage in storytelling. Children retelling stories they've heard improves memorization skills because storytelling requires attention to detail, especially when translated from Spanish to English. Yosso (2006) provides an example of this through her observational meetings with Las Madres, a parent group at a Southwestern elementary school, discussing various forms of Latino capital. One participant, Mina, recounted how her daughter made up poems at the laundromat. Through this activity, she learned to rhyme and would make dramatic pauses to get her point across. Communication experiences in multiple languages enhance intellectual and social skills.

Children of immigrant families are often language brokers, serving as interpreters and translators for their families during doctor visits, paying bills, or reading a letter in English. Latino youth often serve as translators and interpreters for their parents with various institutions (Borrero, 2011; Yosso, 2005, 2006). A study of middle school students participating in a Young Interpreters Program in California found involvement with this group focused on cultivating students' bilingualism and considered this quality an asset rather than a deficiency (Borrero, 2011). The purpose of the program was to engage students in structured experiences to become interpreters at their schools.

Students who participated in the Young Interpreters Program expressed feeling a "sense of pride and accomplishment as interpreters and their ability to 'help out at school'" (Borrero, 2011, p. 679). Language brokering encouraged students to engage in higher order thinking skills. Borrero (2011) suggests educators similarly need to engage students in opportunities that utilize their linguistic skills. Promoting bilingualism and biliteracy offers Latino students the ability to see their native or heritage language as an asset that is valued in their educational achievement.

   Navigational capital. "Navigational capital refers to the skills of maneuvering through social institutions" (Yosso, 2006, p. 44). Latino families maneuver through social institutions such as schools, jobs, judicial systems, and health care. "Navigational capital acknowledges individual agency without institutional constraints" (Yosso, 2005, p. 80). This type of capital can be enacted on an individual basis but is also connected to social capital and familial capital in the navigation of these institutions. Navigational capital develops resiliency which is "a set of inner resources, social competencies, and cultural strategies that permit individuals to not only survive, but also recover, or even thrive after stressful events" (Stanton-Salazar & Spina, 2000, p. 229). Resilient children can shape their environment in ways that allow them to cope, survive, and thrive despite a variety of pressures (Ceja, 2004). The case study by Espinoza-Herold (2007) focuses on the discourse about the importance of resilience and motivation to attend college between a Mexican mother and daughter. The daughter, Carla, explains how a car accident hindered her ability to attend school, but her family "rearranged their lifestyle to support Carla's university studies" (p. 267). When Carla had a problem, her coping strategy involved seeking out the advice of family and friends. Carla referred to a *dicho (*story or words of

wisdom) her mother constantly reminded her of "*Dime con quien andas, y te diré quien eres*" (Tell me who you keep company with, and I will tell you who you are) (p. 269). Carla associated herself with people who already knew how to navigate the system and could show her how to do it. This study is an example of a student utilizing her social network to help her navigate the university system and her family coming together to support her through this process. Carla and her family used navigational capital and developed resiliency to overcome obstacles. Latino families express many resilient characteristics such as religious faith, collective orientation, valuing children, and teaching values such as responsibility (Aragon, 2018; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; Ballysingh, 2021; Espino, 2016; Guzmán et al., 2018; Mobley & Brawner, 2019; Peralta et al., 2013; Pérez & Taylor, 2016; Yosso, 2005, 2006).

Social capital. Social capital has previously been defined by Stanton-Salazar (1997); however, according to Yosso (2006), social capital refers to "networks of people and community resources" (p. 45). Social networks are used to navigate through schools, job markets, health care, and judicial systems. Information is transferred from member to member. For example, members often help others with fundraisers, assist families in need, assisting recent arrivals in finding housing and employment, and share information and resources as part of a community (Yosso, 2006).

Latino parents utilize neighbors to transmit information. For example, in Kiyama's (2011) case study of Mexican American families' funds of knowledge in a parent outreach program, Perla describes how she gained information about her children's schools from her neighbors as they waited for their children after school. "The moms all waited under the tree and compared notes and checked in to see what we

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thought" (Kiyama, 2011, p. 37). In a different article by Kiyama (2010) with the same parent outreach program participants, another mom, Janice, explained how her decision to move to California was based on gaining information about colleges because her niece had attended college in San Jose. Social networks associated with education are instrumental because they improve one's understanding of the education system (Kiyama, 2010).

Delgado-Gaitan (1992) conducted a study of six Latino families in Carpinteria, California, examining the process of parent-child value transmission in their day-to-day interaction and household circumstances. In this study, a participant, Ms. Osuna, shared that a father came into town utterly unaware of the process of enrolling his son in first grade. She told him the date school began and how to get there, and what to do once he got there. Ms. Osuna became a source of social capital for this man as he navigated the education system. Another participant, Ms. Macias, highlighted the workplace as a source of social capital. When she was having trouble with her son's behavior, she asked a co-worker what to do. Her co-worker advised her to ask permission to leave work during lunch to talk to the teacher, which she heeded and solved the problem (Delgado-Gaitan, 1992). This study exemplifies how Latino families' social networks contribute to their navigational capital again highlighting how wealth is shared rather than accumulated for the individual.

Siblings and other family members who have navigated the school system serve as sources of social capital by providing emotional support and privileged information (Gonzalez, et. al, 2003; Yosso, 2005, 2006). In Ceja's (2006) study about the role Chicana high school student's parents and siblings played as sources of information

during their college choice process, many participants shared that their siblings who had already attended college were sources of college information. Rosario stated this about her older sister "she influenced me in the sense that she's gone through the classes. My sister is the one that will sit down, and she'll talk to me" (p. 13). Access to this type of support is not only dependent on good relationships but also on trust. Families seek information from trusted institutional agents, people who can transmit information, such as teachers, counselors, church and community members, and protective agents, primarily family members, such as parents, grandparents, other relatives, and neighbors (Stanton-Salazar, 1997).

      Familial capital. Familial capital is "cultural knowledge nurtured among the families that carry a sense of community history, memory, and cultural intuition" (Yosso, 2006, p. 48). Familial capital nurtures the cultural knowledge that extends beyond the immediate family towards the extended family, such as friends, the church, and the community. Through this form of capital, multiple family members model values of caring, resiliency and provide moral, emotional, and educational support (Yosso, 2005; 2006). Parents transmit "life lessons" through their daily actions and rituals, which become "pedagogical moments" or moments of teaching and learning (Villenas, 2006, p. 148). Latino parents pass on strong educational values through life lessons (Auerbach 2002, 2006; Aragon, 2018; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; Ballysingh, 2021; Ceja, 2004; Espino, 2016; Guzmán et al., 2018; Kiyama, 2010; Mobley & Brawner, 2019; Peralta et al., 2013; Pérez & Taylor, 2016; Yosso, 2005, 2006), which contribute to familial capital. Auerbach (2002) analyzed the personal narratives of Latino parents participating in an experimental college access program, the Futures Program. Latino parents shared how

they used their own educational experiences and struggles to reinforce the importance of education with their children. For example, a parent expressed the necessity to instill proper habits in his son early, such as doing homework as soon as he got home. He recounted how he wished his parents had pushed him to study to have done better in school and been successful. This example also exhibits aspirational capital because the parent used their hopes and dreams to instill the importance of good work ethnic to achieve success.

In Lopez's (2001) study of the Padilla family's parental involvement practices and their effect on their academically successful children, findings indicated how a strong work ethic was passed down from parents to children. The Padilla's would take their children to work in the fields to show them the value of money and an education. Working in the fields not only served the purpose of teaching their children the importance of working hard, but it also conveyed the message to work hard in their studies so they would not end up working in the fields for the rest of their lives. These examples reiterate how Latino parents instill the importance of education in their children through daily rituals such as sharing *consejos* and providing examples of a strong work ethic.

Resistant capital. Resistant capital is "knowledge and skills cultivated through behavior that challenges inequity" (Yosso, 2006, p. 49). Latinos learn to recognize the structures of racism and are motivated to transform them. Yosso and Solórzano (2006) contend Latino youth continue to nurture their community cultural wealth and challenge an education system that has failed them. In Borrero's (2011) study of eight 12th grade Latino students at the Bay City Academy in California, all the participants gave examples

of overcoming odds against them, such as academic troubles, lost hope, lack of motivation, and other family and economic challenges. One student, Angel, said he wanted to attend college for himself and his father.

> My dad passed away last September, so that made me want to do this even more…He would tell me, "I want you to go to college and do all this stuff." But there were times I felt no one cared. My mind was on him the whole time (Borrero, 2011, p. 26).

In this example, the student utilized the memory of his father, familial capital, to motivate him to persevere in the face of obstacles.

Espinoza-Harold's (2007) case study examining the relationship between a Latina mother and her daughter, Carla, is a prime example of someone overcoming the odds. She had dropped out of school, lived in both Mexico and the US, came from a working-class family, and was in a car accident that required her whole family to change their lifestyle to continue her college studies. During her four years in college, she had to overcome many economic and academic barriers. Her mother's *dichos* (words of wisdom) constantly renewed her when she faced an obstacle. For example, after her car accident her mother's *dicho "No te preocupes…ocúpate*" [Don't fret…get busy], encouraged her to do just that and survive through the semester (p. 272). This *dicho* attests to the importance of work ethic and overcoming obstacles that Latino families instill in their children.

Even if Latino parents are unsure of what is necessary for their children to be prepared for college, they often find ways to get that information so their children can be prepared. In Auerbach's (2002) study with Latina/o parents from the college-access Futures Program, Manuel Carrillo expressed his desire for his daughter to have the classes necessary to be prepared for college.

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Why do they give the good classes that are needed for university to some and not others? I came, and I talked to the counselor, and he indicated to me what Magdalena needed to compete [for university] …I told him that I needed her to have all that. It doesn't matter how we are going to do it or how she's going to do it, but she has to be at that level (Auerbach, 2002, p. 1383).

Despite barriers or obstacles, Latino families find ways to overcome them through various avenues. On a larger scale, historically, Latinos have embarked on a quest for equal educational opportunity through the legal system on issues such as segregation, special education, school financing, and high-stakes testing. Advocacy organizations such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF) continue to fight for equity and justice for Latinos (Valencia & Black, 2002). These examples of resistant capital reflect the value placed on education by Latinos.

Implications for Schools

Yosso (2006) suggests educators do not view Latino students as bringing the necessary knowledge, cultural assets, or wealth to school to be academically successful but rather see Latino students as deprived. Educators first need to recognize Latino students possess assets and resources, and then they should build on what students already bring with them. It is not only essential to access the funds of knowledge a family possesses but also utilize them for individual learning experiences (Borrero, 2011; García & Guerra, 2004; Gay, 2018; Gregg et al., 2012; Ladson-Billings, 2014; Kiyama, 2010; Kiyama & Rios-Aguilar, 2018; Moll et al., 1992; Pérez & Taylor, 2016; Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002).

To improve academic success, school personnel need awareness and knowledge of how to "translate cultural wealth, ethnic values, customs, traditions, and language into social and cultural capital for Latinos" (Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002, p. 47). Educators can

invest in Latino students and their families by providing "informational resources to the parents on the importance of education in this society, the process of entering college and mechanisms for financial assistance" (p. 47). Teachers can respect Latino families and honor their knowledge by helping them understand the activities they do at home have educational components (Gay, 2018; Gregg et al., 2012; Kiyama, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 2014; Zoch & He, 2019). In Delgado-Gaitan's (1991) study, one participant, Ms. Baca, the preschool teacher, sought to include parents in the classroom as co-teachers. She addressed the parents in their language and had a rapport with their employers to attend school meetings. Parents would visit the preschool to observe their children and help care for the classroom by providing snacks and cleaning the room. Ms. Baca taught parents "how to support classroom instruction with development at home" (p. 28). By encouraging the development of ethnic identity, educators can assist students in translating academic aspirations into social capital, which will foster resilience and hope among young Latinos (Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002).

"School systems should recruit and retain teachers from the Latino community who are aware and knowledgeable of Latino culture, history and literature" (Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002, p. 49). This will be a great asset to schools as these personnel will be better equipped to address the needs of Latino students (Gay, 2018; Gregg et al., 2012; Kiyama, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 2014; Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002; Zoch & He, 2019). Spanish-speaking teachers would be able to provide translation services and serve as cultural informants. It is essential to build relationships with parents to draw upon their assets and collectively resolve any problems (Gay, 2018; Gregg et al., 2012; Kiyama, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 2014; Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002; Zoch & He, 2019).

Parental Involvement

The issue of parental involvement was previously addressed to describe how the term evolved in education. This section delves into how Latino parents are perceived with regard to being involved in their children's education. Latino parents play a role in shaping their children's initial thoughts and aspirations to attend college. Parental encouragement has a positive relationship with children's postsecondary educational plans (Aragon, 2018; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; Ballysingh, 2021; Espino, 2016; Guzmán et al., 2018; Mobley & Brawner, 2019; Peralta et al., 2013; Pérez & Taylor, 2016; Yosso, 2005, 2006). Parental involvement can increase academic and language achievement (Gay, 2018; Ladson-Billings, 2014; Zoch & He, 2019). Yet while parental involvement is critical to students, it is often misunderstood and explained in limited ways that do not account for how diverse parents positively shape their children's college outlook (Ceja, 2004; Lightfoot, 2004; Lopez, 2001).

Lightfoot (2004) declares a need to look at different ways of understanding the roles of parental involvement and the implications for teachers. According to Lightfoot (2004), the term parental involvement has "multiple meanings and has power implications" (p. 92). Lopez (2001) argues, traditionally "parental involvement, as defined by schools, is a scripted role to be 'performed' rather than unrehearsed activities that parents and other family members routinely practice" (p. 417). Parents need prior knowledge to follow these scripts, and marginalized parents may have limited exposure to schools, lack resources, and have previous negative school experiences (Lopez, 2001). Schools' version of parental involvement "reflects the middle-class cultural capital which defines lower-income parents as deficit" (Lightfoot, 2004, p. 98). Latino parental

involvement exists in various forms outside traditional activities, and few are acknowledged by schools (Lopez, 2001).

The most common description of an involved parent is often physically present at the school and in constant contact with teachers regarding their child (Epstein, 2010). As mentioned before, in Lightfoot's (2004) analysis of texts regarding educators' perceptions about families who are perceived as being "at-risk," educators described parents in two ways: as "overflowing containers," and as "empty vessels" (p.98). Parents who were considered 'overflowing containers' were usually middle-class parents who were overflowing with resources. These parents often volunteered, participated in classroom presentations, tutored students, chaperoned field trips, and participated in school activities or organizations. On the other hand, parents who were viewed as 'empty vessels' were usually low-income, linguistically and culturally diverse parents. Similarly, schools often focus on what these parents lack and what schools can do to teach them or fill them with knowledge. Parent training programs are designed to identify what the parent is lacking and provide them with the knowledge that can help them onto the right path of educating their children. Lightfoot (2004) believes it is this type of language, imagery, and metaphors that sustain educators' deficit views.

A Latino parent's involvement status should not be determined based solely on their presence at the school. Many students come to school every day, work hard, get good grades, and behave well even though their parents do not visit the school (Guzmán et al., 2021; Espino, 2016; Kiyama, 2010; Kiyama & Rios-Aguilar, 2018; Moll et al., 1992; Peralta et al., 2013; Pérez & Taylor, 2016). Parents are involved in their children's lives daily, and educators do not necessarily have an opportunity to see all these various

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types of involvement (Ceballo, 2004; Ceja, 2004 Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, 1994; Gay, 2018; Ladson-Billings, 2014; Moll et al., 1992; Zoch & He, 2019).

It is crucial to understand the two types of value orientations: individualism and collectivism, when considering parental involvement. Individualism values equality and personal responsibility in contrast to the collective orientation that values group identity, interdependence, and shared responsibility (Guerra & Nelson, 2013, p. 5). Individualism is the value orientation most prevalent in schools, contrary to the collective nature of 70% of the world's cultures today. This can result in a culture clash between schools and immigrant parents who have different value orientations, leading to misunderstandings about each entity's respective roles. According to Guerra and Nelson (2013), educators who are "unaware of the influence of different value orientations on teacher-parent roles in schooling, the involvement behaviors of Latino parents go unacknowledged or misunderstood by well-intentioned, culturally unaware educators" (p. 10). Therefore, when educators expect to see parental involvement as outlined by the National Standards, they fail to recognize or value other forms of parental involvement (Nelson & Guerra, 2009).

Latino Parents' Actions

Although many educators believe Latino parents are unconcerned about and uninvolved in their children's education, research shows Latino parents place a high value on the education of their children (García & Guerra, 2004; Guzmán et al., 2021; Espino, 2016; Kiyama & Rios-Aguilar, 2018; Lopez; Peralta et al., 2013; Early, 2010; Valencia & Black, 2002; Yosso, 2005). In Early's (2010) study about writing support among first-generation Latina/o college students, a participant, María, recounted how her

mother supported her. "I brought home a piece of writing and told my mom I got an A. She told me, 'Oh, that's great *mi'ja*, that is really good.' Then, she told me I should be a writer…That impacted me. It stood out" (p. 283). Jaime also explained how his parents contributed to his education by purchasing a computer. "My parents saved up for a computer for me for years. I remember it was a big deal because they knew I needed one for school, but it cost a lot, and it was not something they needed for their jobs or fun" (p. 284). Another participant, Carola, said her parents gave her time to do homework rather than do housework. Her parents told her, "Your only job is to do well in school" (p. 284). These examples highlight that Latino parents value their children's educational attainment by providing emotional and financial support.

Latino parents instill a strong work ethic in their children as a motivational tool to use education as a vehicle to break the cycle of poverty. Latino children learn the value of hard work, resilience, and perseverance (Auerbach, 2002; Lopez, 2001). In Lopez's (2001) study of the Padilla family, they took their children to the farms to show them the value of hard work. Mr. Padilla said,

> For example, all my kids know [how to work] the hoe, they know how to pick grapes—various jobs. So, they see the door is open for them to do more than those types of work. They always told me they were going to stay in school. And it made me happy to hear that because I taught them how hard it is to work in the fields (p. 422).

Latino parents often clear the path for academic achievement through actions such as moving to a better community for a better school or relieving their children of household chores to allow more time for studying, and by providing strict protection and oversight of their daily lives (Aragon, 2018; Auerbach, 2006; Ballysingh, 2021; Early, 2010).

Latino parents often describe their support in terms of *apoyo* (moral support rather than action), in which they encourage their children to study and do well in school

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(Auerbach, 2006). Moral support is an invisible form of parental involvement because it occurs at home (Auerbach, 2006, 2007; Lopez, 2001). In Auerbach's (2006) study, José explained to his son, "success comes according to *empeño* (dedication, commitment, effort) you invest in what you are doing. If you are dedicated, then you can achieve whatever you want. If you don't put *ganas* (will or drive) into it, you become like us" (p. 281). Moral support and the importance of hard work are tenants of aspirational, familial and resilient capital exhibited by Latino families.

Educators often associate parental involvement with homework assistance and attending school events consistent with White, middle-class norms (Auerbach, 2002, 2006). Latino parents may avoid coming to school because of the lack of Spanish-speaking staff, heavy work schedules, transportation or childcare issues, or a lack of knowledge of the education system (Auerbach, 2006). Latino parent support is often invisible to educators because it's intangible, usually at home, and often in Spanish (Aragon, 2018; Auerbach, 2006; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; Ballysingh, 2021; Espino, 2016; Guzmán et al., 2018; Mobley & Brawner, 2019; Peralta et al., 2013; Pérez & Taylor, 2016; Yosso, 2005, 2006). "Most forms of support are verbal actions at home between parent and child rather than direct forms of help at home or at school" (Auerbach, 2006, p. 280). In Auerbach's study of parents in the Futures Program, a father, Gabriel, explained talking to his daughter made a difference in her education. "Us talking to her and stressing that she has to study has to get good grades because she has to go to university—repeating that constantly—has made the difference" (p. 280). "Parents' moral support may be overlooked because it is an integral part of the culture of Latino immigrant families that non-Latino educators misunderstand" (p. 277). Since these forms

of Latino parental support are invisible to educators, the need to shift from parental

involvement to parental engagement becomes necessary. Through parent engagement

schools listen to parents about their hopes, dreams, worries and needs to create a

partnership. The model moves from school "doing to" toward "doing with" families for

the benefit of the students and community (Ferlazzo, 2011).

Latino parents view education through their own experiences with the school.

And, through their own experiences, parents stress the importance of hard work and the

value of education through *consejos* (Aragon, 2018; Auerbach, 2006; Espino, 2016;

Lopez, 2001; Pérez & Taylor, 2016). *Consejos* are stories that convey messages of moral

support and give Latino children the confidence to persist and be responsible for their

education. Sometimes *consejos* are cautionary tales to steer children away from following

their parents' path and motivate them to succeed in school (Aragon, 2018; Delgado-

Gaitan, 1992, 1994; Espino, 2016; Lopez, 2001; Pérez & Taylor, 2016). In the Estrada

family, *consejos* were an integral part of the teaching of their children (Delgado-Gaitan,

1992). When their son Carlos was not behaving in the school, Mrs. Estrada explained,

> Look, Carlos, the teacher, says that you're not paying attention. I've told you
> many times, son, that you must pay attention and do what the teacher says
> because she's like your second mother. Look, neither your father nor I had the
> opportunity to go to school, but you (and your brothers and sisters) do, and we
> expect you to do it with a good attitude (p. 302).

These types of *consejos* express the value of education and the opportunity that it

provides for the family tied with expected behavior and actions.

In an extension of Auerbach's (2002) original study on Latino parents in the college-

access Futures Program, Auerbach (2007) examined characteristics of "parent role

orientations along a continuum of support…emphasizing the constraints and struggles

faced by marginalized parents and highlighting their stance as protectors and advocates,"

(p. 258). Auerbach recognized the parents in her study provided support for their children, but their levels of support varied amongst the Latino parents. She "places parents along a continuum for specific traits or practices such as the knowledge of the K-16 system or contact with school staff, then combine[s] these into an overarching continuum of support from less supportive to more proactive forms," (pg. 258).

Auerbach created "an alternative typology of parents' role orientations along a continuum of support" in which she labels some parents as "moral supports," who support their children's education by stressing the importance of education, encouraging them to study and work hard, and providing support at home through *consejos* (advice) (p. 261). They tend to display a "hands-off" approach in which they point the way. Parents do not intervene but instead let their children plot their paths. José, a participant in the study, explains the trust he has in his son to do well,

> I think he sees that we [his parents] are nothing; he wants to become something. He takes the initiative himself. He makes all his own decisions. The student knows more than us. One simply advises him to investigate [college options]; one can't do more than that. If the student is good, let him fly (p. 261).

"Moral supporters" tend to trust their children to do well and trust the education system to support their children.

However, in contrast "struggling advocates" provide a more direct approach with tangible support at home and advocacy at school (p. 266). Another participant, Donna, explained how her experience working at a magnet school made her aware of the importance of grades and the SAT exam. She was constantly advocating for her son with his teacher regarding his grades because they are important for college entrance.

> I make him keep all his papers and I've found over the years; he's gotten lower grades because assignments weren't in that the teachers have overlooked. I came out and discussed it with [the teacher], and he was very apologetic (p. 266).

Parents do not trust their children to succeed on their own or the school to guide them.

They are determined to provide the push they often felt lacked from their schooling.

In the third category, "ambivalent companions" are parents who provide strong

emotional support, close communication, and occasional tangible help (p. 270). Their

approach is more indirect and home-based, centered on protectiveness and

encouragement to build self-esteem. Sometimes these parents send a mixed message

about college as it threatens family ties and obligations. In reading Auerbach's work,

some of her labels appear deficit in nature, and the placement of Latino parents on this

continuum purports some parents are more involved than others. As a result, her work

may foster existing prejudices rather than addressing differences in culture. However,

Auerbach does not contend these labels represent all Latino parents; rather, these levels

of support represent the Latino parents in this study. Auerbach's study is different from

Yosso's (2005, 2006) because parents are either one or the other in terms of involvement

along the continuum. In contrast, Yosso describes parents through various types of capital

that are not static and can overlap.

Educación

Another invisible form of Latino parental involvement is when Latino parents

teach their children the importance of being *buen educado*.

> *Educación* is moral training based at home and academic training at school. Someone who is *buen educado* (well-educated) is well-mannered, is a good person with correct behavior and a respectful manner (*respecto*) who follows the (*buen camino*) the right path in the life, including doing well in school (Auerbach, 2006, p. 278).

Although the Spanish term *educación* appears to be a direct translation of the English

term educación, the term educación has a broader meaning which conveys "additional

nonacademic dimensions such as learning the difference between right and wrong,

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respect for parents and others, and correct behavior" (Reese et al., 1995, p. 66). Latino parents feel responsible for informal learning at home related to such traits as good behavior and respect for others. For example, one mother explains the necessity of good behavior in relation to academics, "Educating them at home is also study. What is the use of having a great career if they're drunks or if they don't go to work?" (p. 64). Another father explains, "One always has to try to walk a straight path. It would be impossible to get to the university if one doesn't have good behavior if one isn't taught to respect others" (p. 64).

Parents view their principal responsibility as rearing a *persona de bien*, a good person. One mother stated,

> One has to teach them to be good, aside from schooling, teach them to be correct [in behavior]. Teach them morals, teach them to be good because they can have studied a lot, but if one hasn't taught them correct behavior, in the end, it (study) doesn't help them (Reese et al., 1995, p. 65).

Parents view *educación* as the base upon which all other learning lies. A child will learn more if they already know how to behave and respect others (Guzmán, 2018; Espino, 2016; Peralta et al., 2013; Reese, et al., 1995). Auerbach (2006) refers to moral capital in which parents teach their children respect and correct behavior. These lessons convey the message that hard work, studying, and college are the right path in life.

Implications for Schools

Latino parental involvement behaviors may differ from behaviors traditionally associated with parental involvement in American schools, that does not mean Latino parents are uninvolved, uncaring, or unsupportive. While non-traditional forms of parental involvement may look different, that does not mean they are less effective or unworthy of validation. Educators need to understand those other beliefs, values, and

experiences are equally valuable to view the Latino parent as involved (Auerbach, 2002; Gay, 2018; Guerra & Nelson, 2013; Hammond, 2015; Lopez, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 2014; Zoch & He, 2019).

Lopez (2001) suggests schools should identify ways in which Latino families are already involved in their children's education rather than getting parents involved in specific ways that schools define. Educators need to recognize and validate the culture of Latino homes and the funds of knowledge they possess. By recognizing Latino families' funds of knowledge, "teachers can encourage parents to see that many of the activities they engage in at home have educational components" (Gregg et al., 2012, p. 95).

To create a paradigm shift and transform thinking about parental involvement to parent engagement, educational leaders and teachers should work together to first "develop an awareness of knowledge of educator and school expectations related to parental involvement" (Guerra & Nelson, 2013, p. 33). Educators need to explore their biases and misconceptions rooted in deficit thinking. To develop their cultural awareness and knowledge of parents' behaviors and expectations for their children's education, educators should engage with Latino families through home visits, participation in community events, and regular communication with students and their families. Educators must not only recognize their deficit thinking but also deconstruct and reframe it. The purpose of transforming thinking about parental involvement is to broaden the school's definition to include the funds of knowledge all families bring and recognize all families are involved, just in different ways (Guerra & Nelson,2013).

Communication between schools and parents is often a one-way street in which schools seek information from parents far less than parents do from schools (Gregg et al.,

2012; Ferlazzo, 2011). Beliefs about a parent's role within a child's education can influence communication between the family and teacher. An unwelcoming environment can limit the opportunity for communication between the family and the school. "Parental involvement practices typically place families in the role of receivers of the information rather than imploring teachers to create a situation where they learn from Latino families" (Gregg et al., 2012, p. 94).

Guerra and Valverde (2008) suggest the focus should be on changing the schools, not the parents. Schools can make Latino parents feel welcome by developing personal relationships. Teachers should make home visits or attend neighborhood activities. They encourage the use of Spanish during formal and informal discussions with parents. This need for teachers to create relationships with parents is evident in Auerbach's (2002) study with Latina/o parents in the college access Futures Program. Many parents expressed dissatisfaction in dealing with school staff. Alicia Garcia described feeling like she was getting the "run-around" when she asked the counselor for a scholarship packet (Auerbach, 2002, p. 1379). Another parent, Estelle, recounted an experience she had trying to get her daughter's counselor to change a class. Many parents seek "individual attention and personal relationships" (Auerbach, 2002, p. 1380). By creating a relationship and a welcoming school environment, teachers will have an opportunity to learn more about parents' educational backgrounds, histories, support strategies, funds of knowledge, and aspirations for their children (Auerbach, 2002; Gay, 2018; Guerra & Nelson, 2013; Hammond, 2015; Lopez, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 2014; Zoch & He, 2019). Schools should provide parents with guidance and help them navigate school programs or operating practices (Guerra & Valverde, 2008). Auerbach (2002) suggests schools should

help Latino parents build social networks to realize they are not alone and that they share similar experiences. This shift from parental involvement to parent engagement allows schools and parents to develop a partnership where parents are recognized as "co-educators and experts." Developing positive relationships will not only support students but will also strengthen families and improve their communities (Ferlazzo, 2011).

The Role of Latino Families in Navigating the Postsecondary System

Children learn about college from their parents and construct conceptions of college from their social and familial networks (Kiyama, 2010). Utilizing Latino students' and their families' cultural assets and resources can improve their academic achievement and increase the number of students pursuing a postsecondary degree. A higher education degree provides the central vehicle for social mobility (Rieber & Bourdieu, 2013; Gonzalez, et. al, 2003; Yosso, 2005). While Latino students possess various strengths, many challenges exist for Latino college students whose families have little or no experience with higher education (Ceja, 2006; Martinez, 2011).

In Martinez et al., (2013) study of Latino parents' perceptions of the role of schools in Latino students' college readiness, parents viewed schools as equal partners in ensuring that their students were ready for college. Latino parents in this study also perceived schools as sources of information about college (Martinez et al., 2013). One parent described how attending school-organized meetings provided her the opportunity to speak to a school counselor. However, some parents expressed their desire for more information, especially regarding financial assistance and information for undocumented students. Another parent asked why her daughter did not receive college information when others did.

Yes, but it's discrimination, like the one who doesn't have, like your daughter she is very intelligent, and my daughter isn't as intelligent, but she goes to school, participates, so why doesn't she receive a card, an opportunity, one chance. They shouldn't use discrimination (p. 115).

Many Latino parents have concerns about the financial barriers of attending college but do not possess information about financial assistance. Some parents devise changes in their lifestyles to accommodate their children's aspirations. In a parent outreach study by Kiyama (2010), one mother explained, "I've already decided that if I have to move back to a one-bedroom apartment, that's what I'll do" (p. 347). Another father said he would be "willing to scrub toilets on campus if it meant his sons would receive a tuition waiver" (Kiyama, 2010, p. 347). Parental concerns about the financial reality of college provide outreach programs and schools the opportunity to educate parents about the cost of college and the application for financial assistance process (Kiyama, 2010).

Ceja's (2006) study with Chicana high school seniors reported parents aspired for their daughters to attain a college education, but parents did not have the necessary knowledge to help guide them through the process of applying and selecting schools. The parent role during this stage was often reduced to providing emotional and financial support. One participant, Grace, recalled involving her mom in the application process.

I'm going to apply to this school and that school, and she [asks], 'Why so many?' She doesn't really see what I'm trying to do, you know, trying to get into as many colleges as I can, and then choose from there and have a big range (p.94).

Despite Grace's mom's lack of understanding of the application process, Grace expressed how she always provided support. Grace's mom always encouraged her to pick the best school. Throughout preparing for and accessing college, Latino parents provide emotional, moral, and monetary support. They encourage their children to persevere through the process (Ceja, 2006).

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While they can be beneficial, college workshops are often presented to parents only in English, which hinders Spanish-speaking parents' abilities to assist their children. In Martinez et al., (2013) study about Spanish-speaking Latino parents' perceptions of college readiness, one parent described her discomfort at attending school meetings because they were conducted in English. "It's that, when I went to the meetings, the ones who are there, the volunteer mothers, they do know a lot of English, and I always felt uncomfortable" (p. 115). This often results in Latino students learning about the process on their own and teaching their parents, especially if there are younger siblings in the family. Older siblings who have navigated the process are a vital resource for students and serve as role models for their younger siblings (Ceja, 2006; Hurtardo-Ortiz, 2007).

"Parents, siblings, extended family members, outreach/prep programs, teachers, counselors are all identified as potential agents of social capital in this process" of accessing higher education (Martinez, 2011, p. 68). In Ceja's (2006) study, Rosario explained that her older brother, already in college, was a source of information. She explained her parents were unaware of applying to college when he was going through the process. Rosario recounted,

> My older brother says he was the experimental child because he's the oldest and he had to do everything by himself, and he says I'm leftover because I got everything that they [older siblings] didn't get. So, it [the road to college], was paved for me, and I thank God that I'm the youngest one because I would probably be lost if I wasn't (p. 96).

Some students sought help from non-familial or school-related individuals within the community, such as religious congregation members or neighbors, as sources of college knowledge (Martinez, 2011). In Martinez's (2012) study of the various forms of capital of college-going, Mexican American high school students in the Rio Grande Valley, one participant, Cristina, explained how her service at the church provided her with access to

people who had gone to college, and this allowed her to seek their advice. Another participant, Eddie, garnered information from a neighbor who worked at a university to which his mother had introduced him. Eddie explained, "He started talking to me about financial aid…he gave me like a little run down of the stuff he does and stuff that I need to do" (p. 11). These are examples of how Latino students seek college information within their social networks.

The Role of the School in Providing College Access

Latino students may not have access to social networks that provide information and resources for college opportunities (Gonzalez, et. al, 2003). Institutional agents such as the general school curriculum, teachers, counselors, and administrators can assist or hinder Latino students' access to information and assistance in the college-going process. Examples of institutional abuse or neglect are the unwillingness of school personnel to prepare students for postsecondary education, discouraging college attendance, providing insufficient or inaccurate information, and withholding or limiting access to information.

Gonzalez et al., (2003) examined primary and secondary school experiences of 32 Latina students who had recently graduated from high school and were either enrolled in a community college or a 4-year university. They noted many of the participants did not have positive things to say about their teachers. One student shared how an assistant teacher would embarrass him in front of other students, which made him feel like he did not want to go to school. Other students recounted how they rarely saw their high school counselor. One student mentioned an unapproachable career counselor, "I was afraid of her. I don't know if she was like that just toward me. I don't think so. She was really discouraging when I asked her questions about college. She was like, 'Why do you want

to know that?'" (p. 163).

Alternatively, school-based honors programs can be a form of social capital accumulated and reproduced through participation in honors classes. Peers in honors classes are a source of support, motivation and provide access to information. Positive relationships with teachers can offer strong emotional support and provide access to important college information. For non-honors students, counselors and teachers often play a negative or nonexistent role in Latino students' college choice process. For others, participation in college preparation programs can provide emotional support, privileged information, and access to various college opportunities for students and their families (Gonzalez, et. al, 2003).

Information about college admissions and financial assistance is disseminated from schools to their students and parents. Essential questions regarding access to information include how educators share college information, to what groups of students, and the quality of the information provided? Venezia and Kirst (2005) conducted a six-year national study in California, Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, Oregon, and Texas to analyze high school exit level policies and college entrance policies. Their purpose was to identify different standards and determine what parents, students, and educators know about differences in these standards. Four schools from each state were surveyed from 1997-2000. The study investigated whether parents, students, and educators understood college admissions, course placement policies, and available resources. The study uncovered several issues, such as the disorganization of the K-16 school structure, which makes the dissemination of information difficult between postsecondary and secondary education institutions. The "current structure of schools sets students into curricular

tracks and ability groupings that offer varying levels of academic preparation for college"

(Venezia & Kirst, 2005, p. 287). Ability grouping can be inequitable due to race,

ethnicity, and socio-economic status (SES) and has implications for students regarding

whether or where students will attend college. The study surmised high schools focused

on graduating students from high school rather than preparing them for college due to the

different standards for high school graduation and college admission and course

placement.

Through student surveys, structural barriers for access to college information

became obvious. In the study, most of the students invited to school college nights were

eleventh and twelfth graders or college-bound honors students. Students who were high

SES or in honors classes often received more resources than lower SES students and or

tracked into low/middle-level courses. Many students had not completed college prep

activities such as college campus visits, SAT/ACT preparation classes, and attending

college information centers. Teachers played a significant role in helping students prepare

for college; however, many teachers did not have the resources or correct information to

provide students (Venezia & Kirst, 2005).

The study also found a lack of knowledge amongst parents, students, and

educators about college requirements and course placement policies. "Schools often

wrongly believe that high school graduation requirements are sufficient for postsecondary

credit level work and rarely know about the standards and consequences related to

placement exams" (Venezia & Kirst, 2005, p. 297). The study revealed a lack of college

counseling in high schools in Georgina, Illinois, and Texas due to the large student to

counselor ratios and the amount of time counselors had to address college preparation.

Many students, parents, and educators are misinformed about how students should prepare for college. There are often inequalities of college preparation between non-honors and honors students. Venezia and Kirst (2005) recognize there is a need to address structural barriers and recommend "that all students, parents, and teachers should receive accurate information about college and access to courses that will help prepare students for college-level standards" (p. 301). These findings are based on the general student population and not inherent to any subgroup. However, if these issues pertain to the masses, Latino parents and students may have additional trouble overcoming these obstacles because of language barriers and unfamiliarity with the system. The literature review explores the views and actions of Latino parents regarding their children's education.

Although Latino students and their families possess cultural wealth that can be utilized to navigate through the college choice process, educational agents, such as teachers, counselors, and specialty programs, need to target methods to effectively provide access to information and resources to assist in this process. Deficit thinking is a major culprit of inequitable educational opportunities for Latino students, which hinders their postsecondary options. Schools also must accurately and equitably disseminate college entrance information and prepare their students for college.

Conclusion

This literature review has addressed deficit thinking and cultural capital in connection to current perceptions of Latino students' academic underachievement. These paradigms stem from the perceived lack of Latino parental involvement, and the perceived lack of cultural capital Latino students bring to school. Educators who share

these beliefs are limited in their ability to recognize Latino families' cultural wealth and cannot utilize these assets to increase Latino academic achievement. Educators' lack of recognition of these assets results in deficit thinking, further hindering Latino students' equitable education access.

  This study seeks to further expand the knowledge base of Latino cultural wealth by identifying its different forms that Latino families possess that contribute to Latino students' academic attainment in the pursuit of higher education.

III. METHODOLOGY

This third chapter describes the research design, as well as accompanying processes and methods used to identify and examine the different forms of cultural wealth Latino families possess that contributed to Latina students' academic attainment in the pursuit of higher education. A qualitative research design was deemed appropriate for this study because qualitative research focuses on understanding "how people interpret their experience, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2017, p. 14). To understand the different facets of Latino parents' cultural wealth, an account of their role in their children's pursuit of higher education was necessary. Through an intrinsic case study, Latino parents and student participants were interviewed using a semi-structured format with open-ended questions to encourage discussion and detailed experiences (Patton, 2002).

Current studies on Latino parental involvement address various methods parents employ to assist their children in academic pursuits. Latino parents instill a strong work ethic, share *consejos* (stories) to show the importance of education, utilize resources within the community, and provide moral support for their children (Aragon, 2018; Auerbach, 2002; Ballysingh, 2021; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Guzmán, et. al, 2021; Kouyoumdjian et al., 2017; Lopez, 2001; Pérez & Taylor, 2016). As previously mentioned in the literature review, several studies have examined the role of Latino parents in the college-going process and their impact in Latina/o students' higher education attainment (Gregg et al., 2012; Guzmán et al., 2021; Liou et al., 2018; Kiyama, 2011; Lightfoot, 2004; Lopez, 2001). However, these studies often focused only on the

perspectives and experiences of Latino parents or Latino/a students separately, not simultaneously (Aragon, 2018; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; Borrero, 2011; Ceja, 2006; Easley et al., 2012; Kouyoumdjian et al., 2017; Leo & Wilcox, 2020; Peralta et al., 2013; Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002). This research sought the perspectives of the parents and students to gain a deeper understanding of the impact that Latino parents have on their student's academic attainment.

The primary and secondary research questions investigated were:
How do Latino parents' various forms of cultural wealth contribute to Latina daughters' pursuit and attainment of higher education?

a) How do Latino parents perceive their role, involvement, or contributions to their daughter's pursuit of postsecondary education?

b) How do Latina daughters perceive their parents' involvement or contributions to their academic pursuit of postsecondary education?

c) How do Latina daughters perceive their role, responsibility, and involvement in their pursuit of postsecondary education?

d) What forms of cultural wealth do Latino parents exhibit that contributes to their daughter's academic pursuits and higher education?

To explain all the components of this study's methodology, this chapter is organized into six sections: a) research design, c) data collection and analysis, d) site and participant selection, e) dependability, and f) delimitations.

Research Design

This qualitative study was an intrinsic case study because it is focused on the Latino family unit and relied on the living account of this group. In an intrinsic case

study, the researcher desires a better understanding of a particular case; therefore, I "focused primarily on the stories and accounts of those 'living the case' to be teased out" (Njie & Asimiran, 2014, p. 37). A case analysis "involves organizing the data by specific cases for an in-depth study and comparison" (Patton, 2002, p. 447). The case being studied here was the Latino parents' contribution of various forms of cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005, 2006) to support their daughter's educational attainment, such as instilling the value of hard work and the importance of education and utilizing familial networks to help their daughters navigate through the education system. This method assisted in understanding the phenomenon through their experiences as parents. The Latina students contributed to this understanding through her meaning-making of the role or contributions of her parents to her educational attainment and pursuit of higher education.

Additionally, in an intrinsic case study the purpose is not to come to a generic understanding or to develop theory, rather it is to explore a unique case further because the researcher has an intrinsic interest in the case (Njie & Asimiran, 2014). While I am not a first-generation college student, as the first in my family to pursue a doctorate degree, I have a particular interest in the role Latino parents play in their daughters' postsecondary education. The case study narrative allowed me to develop a "descriptive picture" of the participants that could be told thematically offering a "holistic portrayal" and "presented with context necessary for understanding" (Patton, 2002, p. 450). This research design allowed me to more readily convey to the reader a better understanding of what Latino parents and their daughters experienced and apply Yosso's Community Cultural Wealth framework.

Site and Participant Selection

Site Selection

Purposeful sampling was utilized to "select information-rich cases whose study illuminated the questions under the study" (Patton, 2002, p. 230). "Purposeful sampling is based on the assumption that the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned" (Merriam & Tisdell, 2017, p. 77). According to Merriam (2009), the researcher must first determine the essential criteria to selecting the participants. This is also referred to as criterion-based selection because "you create a list of attributes essentials to your study and then proceed to find or locate a unit matching the list," (Merriam & Tisdell, 2017, p. 77). Since the research sought to understand the phenomena of Latino parents' contributions to their daughter's higher education attainment, there was specific criteria for participant selection.

Participants were selected from a university in Texas and is home to approximately 35,000 students from across the globe. According to *Hispanic Outlook,* the university is ranked among the top 20 universities in the nation for several bachelor's degrees awarded to Hispanic students. It has been designated as a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) (University News Service, 2011). This site was selected given the increased likelihood of identifying participants for the study given the institution's HSI status and because it is the institution where this research is being initiated.

Before recruiting participants, IRB approval was sought to conduct the study. After that, I solicited participants through organization advisors, professors from the College of Education, and the Office of Institutional Research for assistance. I

corresponded with interested participants via email or by phone before setting up their interviews.

Participant Selection

While there is a gap between Latino students enrolling in higher education institutions and their White counterparts, there is another gap in enrollment rates between Latino men and women. In 2016, college enrollment for Latino men was 44% compared to Latina women was 56% (Krogstad & Noe-Bustamante, 2021). Latina women are attending college at a higher rate than their Latino male counterparts (Krogstad & Noe-Bustamante, 2021). Considering the traditional family dynamics between Latino parents and their children, where female children are usually kept at home participating in traditional gendered roles (Fry, 2020; Huber, 2009), the increased rate at which Latinas pursue a higher education needs to be explored. Latinos are also enrolling in higher numbers at community college, and this study at a four-year university will help expand this knowledge. Therefore, this study sought the perspectives and experiences of both Latino parents and their Latino daughters pursuing higher education.

The primary participants, who were the students, met four criteria a) self-identify as a Latina (native to the U.S.) female, b) be enrolled in an undergraduate program, c) be a first-generation college student, and d) had a least one parent who was willing to participate in the study with them.

Another factor considered in selecting the sample was the availability of the student and her parent to be interviewed via phone. Since I am not fluent in Spanish, it was important for both the student and parent participants to speak English to conduct interviews. Ultimately, six familial pairs were interviewed in this study.

Interested participants were emailed and telephoned to introduce myself, explain the purpose of the study and criteria for participation, and ask about availability for interviewing if the student was interested in participating. Parent contact information was requested so that I could share study information and gain consent for participation. The participants were given time to review the purpose of the study and consent form before signing it and agreeing to participate in the study. Participants were assured that participating in this study was voluntary and they could decline participation at any time. Selected participants were emailed a consent form (see Appendix C and D), pre-interview questions via a Google Form for background information (see Appendix E), and an interview guide (see Appendix F and G) for preview so that they could feel comfortable during the interview.

Data Collection and Analysis

Interviews

The participants in this study were interviewed using a semi-structured interview guide composed of questions related to the research questions for the study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2017; Patton, 2002). A semi-structured interview guide allowed me to explore, probe, and ask questions dependent upon the participant's responses. This layout warranted the freedom to build a conversation and word questions spontaneously (Patton, 2002). Before conducting the interviews, the I utilized bracketing, which allowed me to identify and understand any biases or assumptions they possess about the phenomena before discussing it with participants (Creswell, 2013).

Specifically, the interview process entailed interviewing the student first and then the parents separately. The participants were intentionally interviewed separately to

ensure that they felt comfortable sharing without the other present and to compare their individual perspectives. Before the phone interview, pre-interview questions were given to the participants (students only) to gain some background knowledge. Since students were interviewed before their parents, background information about parents and family was already available before the parent interview. Some examples of pre-interview questions included questions about the student's hometown, her parents' occupations, the size of her family, and future goals (see Appendix E for complete list). The interview guide was also provided to the participants (both students and parents) to make them more comfortable with the process. Main interview questions were developed using the tree-branch structure, in which questions are "divided into more or less equal parts, and each part is covered with the main question" (Rubin & Rubin, 2016, p. 145). Questions were modeled after studies by Ceballo (2004), whose study inspects the role of Latino parents from the parent's perspective and Ceja's (2004) study that also examines the contributions of Latino parents, but from the perspective of Latina students. Interview questions covered topics such as education history, views on the importance of higher education, contributions to the pursuit of higher education by the parent, and continued support of the pursuit of higher education (see Appendix C for complete Interview guide).

Each interview with the student and parent participants took approximately 45 minutes to an hour. Students' and parents' interview guides and questions were tailored to the participants but covered the same topics. The first interview was conducted with the Latina student to gain her perspective of her parent's role in pursuing higher education. Once the initial interview with the student was completed, I interviewed her

selected parent for a total of two interviews per familial pair. The second interview was conducted with the parent alone to gain their perspective on how they contributed to their daughter's pursuit of higher education. Participants were asked for permission to audio-record the interviews for future reference and had the opportunity to decline if this made them uncomfortable.

Data Confidentiality

Participants' identities were protected using pseudonyms throughout transcription, data analysis, and findings. All recordings, field notes, analytic memos, and transcriptions were password protected on my personal computer, and hard copies were stored in my locked home office. Except for my dissertation advisors, no one else had access to these data. Data will be securely stored on my personal computer for five years; at which time it will be destroyed.

Data Analysis

The method for data analysis was a typological analysis in which data were divided into groups or categories based on predetermined typologies (Hatch, 2002). The predetermined typologies were based on the six forms of capital from Yosso's (2005) Community Cultural Wealth framework, including aspirational, familial, social, linguistic, navigational, and resistant capital. The purpose of coding using Yosso's framework was to confirm the forms of capital as a means of understanding Latino parents' methods, actions, and words in their child's pursuit of higher education. Yosso's forms of capital were used as a guide for coding. Since the different forms of capital are not mutually exclusive or static but rather build upon each other and can exist simultaneously, instances in which multiple themes were evident were also be coded. A

final aspect of data analysis included cross-family analysis, which identified themes across all the family participants.

A research software program called Dedoose was utilized for data analysis. The themes that followed Yosso's (2005, 2006) forms of capital were coded through the Dedoose program to signify different themes. Themes were determined based on specific statements from each participant. Once all the themes were identified, a textual description of the participants' experiences can be developed to convey the essence of the phenomena (Creswell, 2013).

Analysis consisted of two cycles of coding. The first cycle of coding centered around Yosso's (2005, 2006) six capitals of Community Cultural Wealth and the frequency in which the capitals appeared in the data. Aspirational capital was most frequently identified by both the student and the parent participants, followed by familial capital. In the second coding cycle sub-categories were identified within the forms of capital from the CCW framework. Aspirational capital was divided into the aspiration of the parent for their daughter and the daughter's aspiration for themselves and their family. Familial and social capitals were further categorized by the types of support that were exhibited by parents, extended family members, the community, and schools. Specific supports identified included emotional, academic, community, and financial support. Throughout many of the participant accounts, both parents and students recounted struggles with financial instability, homelessness, alcohol abuse, depression, and long working hours. The examples of overcoming these challenges further reflected the aspirational, familial, navigational, social, and resistant capitals. In various student accounts, they addressed the need to complete their education as a contribution and duty

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to their families which aligns with a collectivist viewpoint (Hofstede Insights, n.d.) and familial capital. Table 1 provides code frequency information related to the various codes and subcodes derived through the analysis.

Table 1. Code Frequency

Code	Sub-Code	Frequency
Aspirational Capital	Parent Aspirations	52
	Student Aspirations	44
Linguistic Capital	Consejos	48
	Translation	2
Navigational Capital	N/A	35
Familial Capital	Academic Support	38
	Emotional Support	54
	Financial Support	32
	Duty to Family	22
Social Capital	Community	15
	School	15
Resistant Capital	N/A	23

The themes or findings may help inform educators, counselors, parent liaisons, and others working with Latina students and their families. The results may also be helpful to Latino families by showing the different ways that they positively contribute to their children's education that may be different from mainstream perceptions of parental involvement. This knowledge can assist them in navigating the education system.

Issues of Trustworthiness

Qualitative research has four tenets that comprise the trustworthiness and authenticity of the study (Klenke et al., 2016). According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), the four criteria are credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

Credibility

The first tenet of trustworthiness is credibility which describes confidence in the truth of the research findings (Klenke et al., 2016). According to Shenton (2004),

credibility refers to the internal validity of a study and verifies that the study measures

what was intended and promotes confidence that the phenomena was recorded accurately.

To ensure credibility, each participant was provided the opportunity to refuse to

participate in the study even after they had signed consent forms. This option ensured that

only participants who were genuinely willing to participate and freely offer data were

included (Shenton, 2004). I encouraged participants to be frank in their responses and

assured them that there were no right answers. Since there were student and parent

participants, they were interviewed separately so they could contribute their ideas and

experiences without fear of judgement from their family member (Shenton, 2004).

A second form of credibility was the frequent debriefing sessions between the me

and two dissertation chairs. This practice offered me the opportunity to explore

alternative approaches, ideas, and interpretations so that I could recognize my own biases

and preferences (Shenton, 2004). A final measure of credibility that was established was

an "examination of previous research findings to assess the degree to which the project's

results are congruent with those of past studies" (Shenton, 2004, p. 69). This allowed me

to model the study participants, questions and methodology from previous studies and

relate the findings to an existing body of literature.

Transferability

The second tenet of evaluation is transferability which refers to the findings

applying to other contexts (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Although the I cannot know ahead of

time if their results will apply to another person's situation, a personal evaluation made

by an individual reader must provide a thick description of the study's context so the

reader may make a meaningful comparison (Merriam & Tisdell, 2017). It is important

that there was a sufficient description provided to allow readers the opportunity to understand and compare the instances to other situations (Shenton, 2004). Therefore, participant interviews were transcribed to facilitate the use of direct quotes in the findings. I also outlined the boundaries of the study by addressing any restrictions of the people who contributed data, the number of participants involved and the data collection methods that were employed (Shenton, 2004).

Dependability

The third tenet of evaluation is dependability which shows findings are consistent and can be repeated (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). A characteristic of qualitative research is that the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection and analysis. As the primary instrument, I was able to immediately respond and adapt to the data collection and analysis process. I could immediately clarify, check for accuracy, and summarize the material. However, since the researcher is human, there is room for subjectivity (Merriam & Tisdell, 2017).

Confirmability

The final tenet of trustworthiness is confirmability, which refers to how findings reflect the respondents and not the researcher. To provide the greatest degree of confirmability, the personal biases and positionality of the researcher must be recognized and acknowledged. Qualitative research assumes that there is no objectivity, and as the main instrument of research, I inherently have assumptions and biases. I practiced *bracketing* to set aside my biases with the phenomenon to focus on the participants' experiences (Creswell, 2013). To help reduce bias, I needed to identify and acknowledge my positionality before and throughout the research process. As a Latina college

graduate, naturally, I am connected to this research topic because I have reflected on my parents' role in pursuing higher education. Contrary to the participants, I am not a first-generation college student; my mother was the first in our family to complete a college degree. As I have reviewed literature about Latino parents and their involvement in their child's education, I have identified practices both of my parents employed, albeit very different from each other yet with the same result, that facilitated my accomplishments. It is this awareness of my parent's contributions, influences, and assets possessed and bestowed by my parents that I kept in mind. Not all Latino families are the same, nor do they operate in the same manner. I am also an educator, so my experiences as a teacher, school counselor, and administrator informed my research. I currently work with a predominantly Latino population; therefore, I may identify some of the participants' experiences and encounters with Latino parents in my school community. I was cautious not to transfer or impose my own experiences onto my participants but instead allowed their experiences to unfold naturally.

Limitations

There are four limitations in this study that must be delineated. The first limitation is the small sample size of the study consisting of six familial pairs from the same university. Potential student participants were identified as first-generation, Latina undergraduate students. Since the data collection included interviews of both student and parent participants, the number of participants was limited for manageable data collection. The study also focused specifically on Latina, first-generation students who excluded male and second-generation students. The purposive sample procedure decreased the generalizability of the study.

Another limitation is the use of phone interviews as the single type of data collection. This form of data collection was utilized to have accessibility to the parent participants who did not live-in proximity to the student participants or myself for face-to-face interviews. The format of phone interviews rather was more convenient for the participants and me because we had the flexibility with time.

One of the criteria for student participants was that they include one English-speaking parent in the study. This criterion was established due to the my limited proficiency in Spanish to engage in an authentic dialogue. This may have excluded potential participants who did not have an English-speaking parent. Throughout the study, there was limited data related to the linguistic capital and that may be due to the lack of Spanish-speaking parent participants.

An additional limitation is the participation of only one parent in the study who were all mothers except for one father. Many of the student participants were raised by single mothers, so there was a lack of data from fathers. The perspective of fathers could have shed light on the male-dominant culture and the gender perceptions of daughters in Latino families. The data could also have been enriched by the comparison between both parents' perceptions.

Delimitations

Unlike limitations, this study purposefully set limits. Through the use of a qualitative research design, this study did not seek to generalize findings. This study had a purposeful, criterion-based sample of only female Latina undergraduates. Undergraduate students were selected rather than college graduates because they were in the process of experiencing the contributions of their parents in their higher education

pursuit for college entrance; they were in the midst of the phenomenon under the study.

Another aspect that was purposefully set was the inclusion of parents as participants. In research studies previously mentioned, either Latino parents or students were participants but not at the same time. While students may be aware of their parents' contributions, they may not understand the rationale behind their contributions. The parent component provided insight into their role in their children's educational attainment and pursuit of higher education as well as data to refute the deficit notion that Latino families lack the resources necessary for Latino student academic achievement (Barshay, 2021; Fain, 2020; Krogstad, 2020; Lightfoot, 2004; Marrun, 2018; San Miguel & Valencia, 1998; Valencia, 1997; Valencia & Black, 2002). It was also the intent of the research to compare the different perspectives of the student and the parents. Finally, first-generation college students were selected because the research sought to understand the role of Latino parents without any prior college experience. This study intended to identify the assets in a family that begins the college-going process.

Summary

This chapter reviewed the methods and modes of inquiry that were implemented for this study. The first section described the use of a qualitative study and the primary research questions. The interpretivist paradigm and phenomenological approach were described, and a rationale for their use was provided. The second section described the site and participant selection for the study using campus-based Latina/o organizations at a university in central Texas. The criteria for participant selection were also outlined.

Next, the data collection and analysis methods were discussed, which included two interviews per family, one individual interview with the students, and then one with her

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parents. The analysis of the data through coding and the use of Yosso's six types of capital were discussed. Then, the issues of dependability were addressed through the use of member checking and triangulation. Finally, researcher positionality and bias were discussed, followed by potential limitations of the study. As a Latina college graduate, I am interested in this study because I am a product of Latino parents who created and fostered this educational journey. I hope this study provides knowledge about the vital role Latino parents play in their children's higher education pursuits, not only for educators but also for Latino families.

IV. FINDINGS

Introduction

This intrinsic case study sought to understand Latino parents' role in their daughters' pursuit of education. Historically, literature has portrayed Latino parents and families through a deficit lens, suggesting they impeded their children's academic success via poverty, single-parent households, language barriers, and the undervaluing of education (Gándara, 2010; Valencia & Black, 2002; Yosso, 2005; Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002). However, there is a growing body of literature exploring Latino families' assets (Aragon, 2018; Kouyoumdjian et al., 2017; Peralta, Casparay, Boothe, 2013; Yosso 2006). This study adds to the asset-based literature by addressing how Latino parents' various forms of community cultural wealth contribute to their daughter's pursuit and attainment of higher education.

Participants included six first-generation Latina undergraduate students enrolled at a university in the Southwest who volunteered to participate in a one-hour phone interview. In the interviews, students were asked about their parents' role in their education throughout K-12 and currently while they are in college. We also discussed their college and career goals. The students also elicited one parent to participate in a separate one-hour phone interview, as interviewing the student and the parent was necessary to answer the research questions.

Familial Pairs

As previously noted, there were 12 participants in the study which included six Latina undergraduates with one parent, accounting for six familial pairs. The names and corresponding information of the participants are pseudonyms to protect the anonymity

of the participants. Each familial pair is introduced, in no particular order.

Table 2. Participant Demographics

Student Participant	Age	Community College Transfer	Parent Participant	HS Graduate	Citizenship
Evelyn Macias	21	No	Mario Macias	Yes	Mexico
Ashlyn Ramos	22	Yes	Meghan Ramos	Yes	Mexico
Gloria Almaraz	22	Yes	Jennifer Almaraz	Yes	U.S.
Catalina Perez	19	No	Danielle Perez	Yes	Columbia
Selina Olguin	23	Yes	Jessica Olguin	No	U.S.
Vanessa Valdez	24	Yes	Vivian Colunga	No	U.S.

At the time of the interview, Evelyn Macias, 21, was a junior studying Consumer Affairs with hopes of teaching at a university. Her parents were from Mexico, and they immigrated to the United States before she was born. Her father moved to Mexico to care for his ailing father when she was 10. Evelyn and her mother moved around several times due to economic hardships. Due to their high mobility, Evelyn's mom, Monica Macias, was determined to keep Evelyn in the same school to ensure a consistent educational community. Even though her father, Mario Macias, lives in Mexico, he constantly supports Evelyn throughout her schooling. Evelyn selected her father to participate in the study. Evelyn got married during her freshman year of college and they are both attending college while living with his parents.

Ashlyn Ramos, 22, was a junior who transferred from community college to study health sciences. Her parents were born in Mexico and immigrated to the United States as

teenagers before graduating high school. The Ramos' are married and live in Houston. Her mother, Meghan Ramos, is an assistant bank manager in Houston, and her father owns a mobile locksmith company. Ashlyn's mother participated in the study.

Gloria Almaraz, 22, was a junior psychology major who transferred from community college to a university. She began studying to become a neonatal nurse but realized the career lifestyle was not for her. She hopes to use her psychology degree to work with kids. Both of her parents were born and raised in the U.S. They both graduated high school but divorced when Gloria was young. Mr. Almaraz was involved in her life, but Gloria lived with her mom, Jennifer Alvarez, and her older brother. The Almaraz's were young parents but worked to move up in their jobs to provide a "middle-class living". Jennifer was a service manager at a car dealership and Mr. Alvarez was an agriculture foreman.

Catalina Perez,19, was a sophomore and is studying communications and speech disorders at a university. She wants to work with autistic children. Her mother, Danielle Perez, immigrated to the United States as a teenager from Columbia with her grandmother and two brothers. Ms. Perez moved between Texas and Florida until she had her first child at 19. She then settled in Texas to be closer to her family. Catalina's support network included her great-grandma, grandma, aunts, uncles, and numerous cousins who all lived in the same neighborhood.

Selina Olguin, 23, was a senior and studying to become a social worker who also has an interest in policy advocacy. She was attending university with her twin sister who was also studying social work. Her mother, Jessica Olguin, was a migrant worker as a young child traveling in the U.S. Southwest. Selina's stepdad raised her but died when

she was young. She has a twin sister, twin younger sisters, a younger brother, and two estranged siblings from her biological father. Selina lived with her mother, twin sister, and younger twin sisters in a small, rural town in the U.S. Southwest.

Vanessa Valdez, 24, is a senior and studying fashion merchandising. Before transferring to the university, Vanessa attended a Christian college and community college. Vanessa's mother, Vivian Colunga, was a teen mom who dropped out of high school but later earned her GED. Vanessa's father was "in the picture", but her stepfather also raised her. Vanessa is recently married, and her husband also attends college.

Thematic Findings

Yosso's theory of Cultural Community Wealth (2005, 2006), which includes six forms of capital including aspirational, navigational, resistant, social, community, and linguistic, served as a framework for analyzing the data. Throughout the six familial pairs, various forms of capital and assets of Latino were apparent. The twelve interviews were coded through the lens of the six capitals of Cultural Community Wealth and then categorized into themes (see Table 3). This chapter explores the four resulting themes based on the assets of the Latino families: the Power of Belief, the Power of Overcoming Struggle, the Power of Support, and the Power of Interdependence.

The Power of Belief was crafted based on the aspirational capital of the parent and of the student in their belief that college was the plan and a vehicle for opportunity. The participants shared various accounts of struggles with poverty, homelessness, alcoholism, and depression. Despite these challenges both parent and student participants reflected that overcoming these struggles was instrumental in their journey. In the Power of Overcoming Struggle, each student participant story was highlighted. This theme is a

combination of aspirational, familial, social, navigational, and resistant capital. As noted, in the Figure 1, there were numerous examples of familial and social support. Therefore, the Power of Support addressed these various forms of support such as the support of education, emotional support, financial support, parental academic support, and community support. The final theme, The Power of Interdependence, addressed the aspirational and familial capital of the student participants who strongly believed that the obtainment of a college degree was a way to honor their families and benefited more than themselves.

Table 3. Themes and Capitals

Theme	Power of Belief	Power of Struggle	Power of Support	Power of Interdependence
Community Cultural Wealth Capitals	Aspirational Familial	Aspirational Familial Navigational Resistant Social	Familial Social	Aspirational Familial
Sub-Categories	College as a Plan Education as a Vehicle for Opportunity Student Aspirations Parent Aspirations	Single-parent home Young parenthood Poverty Homelessness Alcohol Abuse Depression	Support of education Emotional Support Financial Support Community Support (church/school)	Community College Duty to family Degree attainment for the benefit of the entire family Pay back for sacrifices

The Power of Belief

The Power of Belief explored the concept that parents and students believed that college was a priority and that attending was not only possible but expected. Both parents and students viewed higher education as a vehicle for better opportunities for their families. The goal of college would fuel many of the family's decisions to make this plan a reality. This theme correlates with Yosso's definition of aspirational capital which refers to Latino parents' hopes and dreams for their children (Aragon, 2018;

Kouyoumdjian, Guzmán, Garcia & Talavera-Bustillos 2015; Yosso, 2005, 2006).

College as a plan. Throughout the interviews, all the parents and students expressed the idea that college was always a goal. At an early age, parents routinely expressed their desire for their daughters to attend college. The daughters internalized their parents' beliefs and knew that college was always the plan. Selina expressed that her mother "planted that seed, that education and reading were important." Gloria echoed this sentiment by highlighting that her mother's role was important because she also,

> Planted that seed in my mind very young that college was going to be in my future and that it was something that I was going to do. I was going to be able to do it. She was going to make it happen one way or another. It's the reason why I felt, at a young age, that I could go to college and be able to take that on.

Evelyn also shared the expectation that she would attend college because she was capable, "it was kind of expected, she just kind of knew that I was really smart and that I was going to get a degree and I was going to be awesome." From the parent perspective, Danielle Perez said Catalina often felt that Danielle was,

> ...pushing her so much because she's [Catalina] not good enough when I tell her it's not that. It's just that I know Catalina can do better. I'm always pushing and making sure I let her know that she's capable. She's smart, and she can do it. She can put anything she wants in her life [sic]. She can make it come true.

Education and success in school were priorities for the parents and were ingrained in their daughters. Parents conveyed the need for their daughters to strive to "do well" and obtain a college degree. Ashlyn expressed that her parents were "always telling me I need to do good, I need to do well, I need to go to college, I need to graduate. I need to do better than them; that would always be the goal." Her mom, Meghan, explained that their "main focus was for her [Ashlyn] to graduate [high school]. We wanted her to just stay focused and get there so that she could start college." They knew that college would open doors for other opportunities for their daughter that they didn't have because Mr. Ramos

didn't have citizenship and Mrs. Ramos struggled in school because of a learning disability.

Selina's mother, Jessica, also stressed the importance of pushing her daughters to get an education. She wanted her daughters to be independent and not need anyone to support them. "I wanted them to stand up on their own two feet and get that education. So, I guess I pushed them and pushed them. I always talked about it."

Gloria's experiences mirrored the others because her mom stressed staying focused on school and maintaining good grades in high school. She believed "that if I wanted to do well and go to college, I needed to do the best I could in high school. Whatever happened in high school mattered and counted when I needed to go to college." College was always the plan that Jennifer Almaraz had for her daughter, it was not an option. Gloria knew this. "Well, if you don't do well in high school, there's always this. No, you're going to do well in high school because you're going to go to college."

Vanessa and her extended family expected her to go to college as well. They reiterated how "that was the best thing that you can do after high school, of course, is going to college."

> So, I feel like my family all expected me to just go to college, and I expected myself to go to college too. I didn't expect myself to just graduate [high school] and sit at home or wait and take a break. She [my mother] always told me, too, 'Don't take a break because once you do, you're just going to get lazy.'

Vanessa's mom, Vivian, wanted her to finish high school, and Vivian's goal for Vanessa was to go to college. When Vanessa was little, her mother would speak to her in the future tense: "'When you go to college' because that was just something that she was going to do. We never had the 'What ifs' or 'Maybe,' we knew the expectation was to attend college right after high school."

Education as a vehicle for opportunity. Parents expressed that they did not have the opportunity to attend college, and they wanted to make sure their daughters had that opportunity. They also believed gaining a college education would open doors for a better life than they could not currently provide for their daughters. They did not want their daughters to struggle the way they had, and education would be the vehicle for more opportunities (Gonzalez, et. al, 2003; Yosso, 2005).

Evelyn's father, Mario Macias, often stressed the notion that "a degree will open the doors to income." However, he did not want his daughter just to have a job but to have a meaningful career. Evelyn knew that her parents wanted more for her, and that became her dream. Her parents would tell her, "You're working for a better future; it's going to be better than ours."

Selina also knew that an education would open doors for her. She declared, "to me, education always equals betterment, a better life, a better everything." Her mom would share her pride in her twin daughters attending college and say, "You're starting college, and you're going to graduate, and you're doing so many great things."

Ashlyn witnessed firsthand the financial struggles of her parents, so their dreams became her dreams. She shared,

> I want to go to school not only because they want me to go to school. They have their big reason why just because I know all the struggles [they had] as children and how they struggle now. So, my dad has always told me, all the time, "You do not want to be struggling when you're an adult. You don't want to be struggling. You want to be better." He's always telling me to work hard, work hard. That was always the message I would get from him and my mom."

Ashlyn understood that her parents want more for her than they had, but she also wants more for herself.

For Jennifer, having her daughter Gloria attending college is fulfilling a dream

she did not get the opportunity to fulfill. "I came from a machismo culture of Mexican parents who didn't feel education was important. It was more important to go to work because we needed to survive. I wanted better for my children. I want them to have a better life and not to be young parents like me." Gloria knew that her mother had struggled as a single mom raising two children, so earning a college degree was only the first goal. Gloria wanted to pursue a master's degree because

> Honestly, I want to say it's because of money. I know the teaching you have, the more your knowledge is worth more. I guess we came from a one-income family, so I know the financial struggle of that. For my future, if I have children, I don't want them to go through that same struggle. I guess it's just kind of setting myself up for success in the future financially if I wanted to have kids.

> Danielle, Catalina's mother, had the opportunity to go to college when she earned a Fulbright Scholarship, but it required that she go to school out of state. However, Catalina's grandmother was afraid for Danielle to leave the state, so she didn't allow Danielle to go. Consequently, Danielle promised herself that "when I had my kids, I wanted my kids to go to college, finish school. I always told them it's whatever you want to go to school, whatever you want to do, so I never put those same barriers that my mom did to me." Danielle has been a single mom for most of her life, so she has instilled in Catalina that she needs to be independent, and that education will help her. Danielle stressed that "you always have your education because whatever you have in your brains, everything that you have learned nobody can take that from you." Catalina echoed her mother's sentiments,

> She just says that it's better for me to have an education on my own. So that I don't have to depend on anybody for anything. We're really big on being able to fend for ourselves. Because my mom's a single mother, she does everything by herself, and she always wished that she would've finished school and maybe she'd have a different job or something. So, she doesn't even feel like we're lacking because she'll go out of her way to make sure that we can go to school and stuff.

These young Latinas have believed from an early age that college was the plan and that they could not just attend, but also thrive in college. These notions were planted early by their parents. Their parents stressed the importance of education in K-12 to be able to go to college because a degree would open doors to other opportunities such as independence and financial stability. These are opportunities they did not have, but they wanted them for their daughters (Aragon, 2018; Ceballo, 2004; Ceja, 2004; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, 1994; Kouyoumdjian et al., 2017; Yosso, 2005, 2006).

The Power of Overcoming Struggles

An example of deficit thinking is that Latino students struggle academically because they often come from single-parent homes and face financial struggles (Gándara, 2010; Valencia & Black, 2002; Yosso, 2005; Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002). Five of the six participants were raised by single mothers who experienced various struggles, including financial hurdles, homelessness, alcohol abuse, and emotional distress. Despite these challenges, these young women shared the value of experiencing these hardships because they contributed to their academic success. These experiences made them value the sacrifices their parents made for them and created determined, independent and resilient women. This section explores the power of overcoming struggle through the stories of Vanessa Valdez, Evelyn Macias, Catalina Perez, Selina Olguin, and Gloria Almaraz, in no particular order.

Vanessa Valdez. Vivian Valdez, Vanessa's mother, was a teen mom and dropped out of high school at 17 to provide for her daughter. Vivian's family was impoverished and mostly had the minimum necessities such as housing and food. Her brothers and sisters had to fend for themselves because their parents were always working. Vivian and

her sister found themselves pregnant at a young age and dropping out of school. Her brother also dropped out of school and struggled with addiction.

Vanessa's dad was a part of her life, but she was raised by her mother and her mother's boyfriend, whom she considered her stepdad. Vanessa has a close relationship with her mother, and they are the best of friends. Vivian struggled to be a young mother and spent much time drinking and hanging out at nightclubs. When Vanessa was in high school, Vivian got into a horrible car accident because she was drinking while driving.

After the accident, Vanessa recalled that her mom "kind of just got this whole opening her eyes, like, "Oh my gosh." Vivian didn't know what had happened to Vanessa. Vivian was freaking out. She was calling my stepdad, asking how Vanessa was, and said, "Please don't tell her." Vivian was all disappointed in herself and just very ashamed of what she had done. Vivian even thought to herself, "I could have killed someone just for being reckless and drinking, and it's not worth it just for one night of having fun with friends."

Vivian was required to participate in court-appointed alcohol counseling and enrolled in a program to earn her GED. While her mother was trying to get her life together, Vanessa was having a tough time and felt alone.

> I was facing a lot of depression, and it was weird because I would always [keep] to myself. I really just had no one to blame. I felt lonely. I felt kind of lacking in my self-esteem, and it's crazy because I had people that knew me, but I didn't have a lot of friends in high school. And then I would just cling onto relationships a lot. So, that's something that was always disappointing too and throughout that year [it] was just tough for me personally. I would never really talk about it with anybody, just to myself. I thought, too, because I'm young, and it's just one of those phases I'm going through, so no one needs to know, or they don't care. Vanessa was going through the motions of school but lacked interest in her

classes except for her fashion club. During the summer after her junior year, she decided

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to attend a Bible camp.

> When I went to Bible camp, I really got this whole new perspective of what I want in my life and really surrendering a lot of my life to God and just allowing him to lead me in the direction I need to go through in order to live a righteous life and just be used by him and giving him glory in my life.

This experience at Bible camp helped her deal with her emotions, and she sought a closer relationship with God. After graduating from high school, she decided to enroll in a Christian university for a year-long leadership program. It was through this program that Vanessa and her mother sought spiritual guidance to heal from their struggles. Vanessa's association with the church allowed her mother to begin her journey of sobriety.

> I really believe that God had this plan all along. Her transformation into being sober, into getting her life situated, and to getting herself to be a better person not only for me or for her family but for herself, and to actually grow up and just realize there's so much more to life than partying it up or acting recklessly. She really got her eyes open to value her own life too [sic], and just a lot of things had opened up [sic] to her from her past and [she realized] what she needs to forgive and what she needs to let go, and just becoming a whole new person.

Vanessa was able to go on this journey with Vivian to heal from their pasts and lead a righteous life. Vanessa believed that this path was ordained for both of them so that her mother could get sober, and Vanessa could follow her dream of earning a college degree. Despite her mother's struggles, Vanessa believed that her mother was a great parent. Vanessa expressed, "Even though some of the things that my mom says is her failure as a parent, I still see her as such a great mom because, throughout that, she was never lacking in being there for me, ever."

Vivian agreed that these struggles made them both stronger, that Vanessa "learned so much. I think if we wouldn't have gone through a lot of struggles, I think Vanessa wouldn't have been able to experience and be challenged in ways that an easier life would

have not given her."

> I think because I was young, uneducated, inexperienced, selfish, and all the bad were challenging times and being without transportation, and all the ups and downs with the father and stuff we went through just made her stronger, and we had a lot of family challenges with my brother and addiction. So, all of those, I think, I have molded her into this person to know the realness of a lot of our bad choices.

These struggles had lessons for Vanessa that showed her the consequences of one's actions and how it's possible that perseverance and determination can be harnessed to change your life for those you love.

Evelyn Macias. Evelyn grew up in the Southwest with both of her parents until she was ten years old. Her father decided to move back to Mexico to take care of his ailing father. While it was the plan for Evelyn, her brother, and her mother to join him, her mother decided to stay in the U.S. at the last second. Evelyn chose to stay with her mom, and her brother moved to Mexico with her dad. Before her father moved to Mexico, Evelyn's parents struggled to make money, and often the family had to move because they needed to find cheaper rent. When her father moved to Mexico, their financial situation worsened. Even though Mario Macias tried to help as much as he could, he had to start over in Mexico and take care of his dying father. Evelyn recalled that her mother "always had the SNAP [Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program] card, and that was basically how we would get through. So, it was money; there was never enough of it, so we continuously moved to where we could find a cheaper place to stay."

When Evelyn was in elementary school, she would move schools every time they moved homes; however, when she entered middle school and high school, her mom was adamant about staying in the same school even though they still moved around a lot. The

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school became "an anchor" for Evelyn. Since her mom was always working, Evelyn had to learn to take public transportation, "I would take two buses to school for middle school and then one for high school. So, I got very familiar with [the city]." Evelyn remembered how it "was kind of a drag" that they moved around so much, "we never had any real furniture. The only thing we really had was our beds and our clothes and so we never really bought any furniture because we knew that it would only be very temporary."

Evelyn spent most of her time alone because her mom was working two jobs. During the day, Monica cleaned up to five houses a day, and about four evenings a week, she would clean offices after. Evelyn remembers her mom always coming home very tired. Her mother would tell Evelyn that she needed to do well in school and say, "You're doing this, so you won't have to break your back like I am." Sometimes Evelyn would accompany her mom on the weekend. "And man, I couldn't be in there doing the work, but I still go with her sometimes, and it's just intense. To think that I'm dying doing one house when she has to do five houses, and these are really big two-story houses."

During her junior year, Evelyn struggled emotionally and started skipping school. She would get on the bus and ride around to different parts of the city rather than go to school. At the time, they were living with her mother's abusive boyfriend, and they both had alcohol problems. Evelyn recalled her feelings at that time,

> I was sad, I think. It was just a really sad time period. I think my dad not being there really hit me hard during that time. I don't know why, but it kind of hit me like, "Oh, well, my mom is working this hard. Situations at home are just not okay." We were always just struggling, so I guess it just kind of got to me, and I just stopped caring completely, so I stopped going [to school]. My mom didn't find out until I wasn't at school for three months.
> After skipping school for three months, the school called her mom to let her know

that they would have to go to court due to Evelyn's chronic absences. "So, it wasn't really

my mom who dragged me in there; it was just my dad over the phone telling me, 'You

gotta fix this.' Mr. Macias shared his pain about Evelyn's struggles,

> When I found out Evelyn was skipping, "I was upset but never showed it to
> Evelyn. I tried to use the right words and understand that she was having huge
> changes in her life because of her mother. Her mother decided to stay with
> someone who wasn't good for their lives. It hurts me. How come my daughter has
> to see her mother fighting, calling the cops, and taking her to bed because she was
> drunk?

> With her dad's encouragement, Evelyn decided to return to school and speak to

the counselor to find out how to get back on track. The counselor advised her,

> The better option is probably you either getting a minimum credit diploma or a
> GED because you're really behind. And so, I was like, 'No, I don't want to do that.
> I'll try my best. I'll go get A's; I know I can do it.'

> Evelyn felt this was a wake-up call for her. She talked to her teachers and "had to

basically validate why they should give me a chance." She put in the extra time on

Saturdays and after school to catch up on all her missing assignments and exams. She

passed all her classes. Evelyn credits her caring and understanding teachers to her being

able to get back on track. She believed, "the teachers were just very understanding. I

explained to them how I was feeling, and they understood it. If it were any other teachers,

I don't think I could've made it."

> While she struggled with sharing her feelings with her parents, Evelyn has

improved on communicating with them more.

> In middle school and high school, I couldn't really talk about how I was feeling
> with them. I kind of wanted to close down, [sic] particularly with my mom,
> because she was working so hard, and I didn't want to make her feel worse.

Evelyn doesn't believe her parents understand the stress she has to deal with in college

and with getting into graduate school, but she knows that they are there for her, especially

her dad.

Even though Evelyn's family struggled financially, but she valued the sacrifices her parents have made for her. Their struggles have taught her how to navigate different systems such as public transportation, secondary education, and higher education. She learned how to advocate for herself and seek assistance to achieve her goals. Evelyn is an independent, determined and resilient young woman.

Catalina Perez. Catalina's mother, Danielle, immigrated to the United States with her parents and extended family members from Colombia when she was 13 years old and learned English on her own. Danielle instilled in Catalina the importance of being independent and having the education to support herself.

> She just says that it's better for me to have an education on my own. So that I don't have to depend on anybody for anything. We're really big on being able to fend for ourselves. Because my mom's a single mother, she does everything by herself, and she always wished that she would've finished school and maybe she'd have a different job or something. So, she doesn't want us to ever feel like we're lacking because she'll go out of her way to make sure that we can go to school and stuff.

Danielle shared this insight with her daughter that she gained from her mother. She recalled that her grandmother had been "married for over 60 years because divorce was not looked well upon in those times." However, her mother would tell her, "No, you don't have to put up with anything. A woman can have her own brain, her own way of thinking. You don't need a man to raise your kids. You don't need a man to pay your bills." This determination to be independent of a man followed her throughout all her relationships. Danielle shared,

> They [her children] all had different dads because I was instilled that as a woman, I shouldn't have to put up with anything from a man, and I could make my own way, my own living, so that's pretty much what I did, made my own living. When things weren't going well, I just felt like okay [sic]. Do I really need to put up with this? Do I really need to do this? The place that I lived at, was always under my name, so per se, if I got tired of the relationship and it was like, "Okay, this is not working out. I was just there and focused on my kids and working.

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When Danielle was growing up, her mother worked long hours to provide for the family and could not attend any school functions or parent meetings. Now that Danielle is a mother, she made it a point that every time they [her children] had something, "I would always show up and be there for them, even if that meant coming in, I have to make up hours on the weekend, or do anything, but I will make that happen. I've always had a big presence at the school as either a part of the PTO or even just having their teachers know me and checking and making sure that the kids were doing good, that they knew that I was a person's parent and that anything that they were lacking on or anything they weren't doing, they could always call me and I will get them, try to reel them back in and figure out what was going on.

Catalina recalled that her mother "believed her children were smart and there was no reason not to get As in school. That was expected of them. If they were struggling in school, she would ask questions and make them seek help if they didn't understand. Catalina said she struggled with math in high school, and her mom made her go to tutoring. She just would make sure that I used every resource around me before I just pooped out and got the grade, like a low grade when I know I could do better." Her mom encouraged her to advocate for herself rather than give up.

Catalina understood the stress her mother was under to provide for her family. She appreciated all her mom's sacrifices and never felt like she went without anything.

> She's like the ultimate provider. It doesn't matter what; she has never, ever put herself above any of us. There are four of us. That's a lot of putting yourself down. I cannot imagine doing what she does. She's so selfless. She's the most hard-working person I've ever met. Like it's insane. She won't stop until she knows that she's given us everything she can. I think that's crazy and beautiful.

Through her mother's example, Catalina learned about persevering no matter the obstacles. She learned to be a self-starter and motivated to be an independent woman. Her

mom was working hard for them, so she repaid her mom by working hard on her education.

Selina Olguin. Selina's mom, Jessica Olivarez, grew up migrating along the Southwestern states with her parents to work in the fields, and she did not have the opportunity to attend school consistently. When Jessica's parents got older, she had to quit school to support the family until she got married and had children at a young age. After Jessica's second marriage and four children later, she settled down in the northeast. When her husband worked, Jessica was able to stay home with Selina and Selina's twin sister, Sierra. Jessica homeschooled her children through first grade, teaching them reading, math, and science. Since her husband only spoke Spanish, Jessica made sure all the children learned English because she was teaching her husband English at the same time.

Selina and her twin, Sierra, believed that their younger twin sisters' father was their father. However, in elementary school, Selina's elder sister came to visit and revealed the truth.

> My [older] sister ended up taking us one night from my parents and bringing us to our [bio] father. At that point, we stayed with my real dad, my biological father, for a couple of months, and no one would take us back to our mother, so our mother moved the family down [to where he lived].

When Selina reunited with her mother and stepfather, Selina and her twin cut ties with their biological father. At ten years old, Selina's stepfather died suddenly, and her mother had to enter the workforce to support the family. This sudden change in the family dynamic added the burden of becoming a caretaker for Selina and her twin. Since they were the eldest, Selina and her twin came home every day after school and followed her mom's routine of a snack, homework, and dinner for their twin sisters and younger

brother. Selina's younger brother had ADHD and struggled in school; however, he later

moved with his biological father to another city.

> So, we would take care of things at home, knock out our chores, do our homework. We would basically do whatever we wanted until my mom would get home, and then she would ask us how school is. If we didn't have dinner or whatever, she would make dinner. She would always still have that same expectation. "Did y'all do y'all's homework?" and ask[ed] our little sisters if they did their homework.

This responsibility put stress on Selina and her twin. Their relationship began to

unravel into an unhealthy and toxic one with her younger twin sisters in the middle.

> The fighting was really bad between us because we didn't have our mom there. There was no parental figure. The fights between me and the twin sister were bad. They would get physical almost on a daily basis. We were punching, fighting, rolling on the floor. My little [twin] sisters were scared of us. Now, it's so sad when I talk to my little [twin] sisters. Our [all the sisters] relationship is so strong now, but thinking back, they're [the younger twins] like, "No, we were scared of you. We never wanted to be left with you. Y'all were always mad. Y'all were always angry, yelling at us," all of those things.

The caretaking duties created a power struggle between the sisters. They were also

resentful of being bound to care for their younger siblings rather than hang out with

friends.

> We always had power struggles between me and my twin, stemming probably from the competition that we had with each other. So, it was always like, "Well, you do this chore." "No, who are you? Who are you to tell me?" It was always that tension between us, and then we had tension with our mother, and then we had tension with our younger sibling. And it was like, "Well, we're not your mom. We don't want you following us around."

Selina and her twin were resentful of the lack of their mother's presence because

before their father's passing, they had unlimited access to her. While they were in middle

school, their mom worked long hours during the week and often went out on the

weekends.

> I think we [Selina and Sierra] were mad because we didn't have our mom there. We grew up having our mom, and now that we're sitting here, like, "Why don't we

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have her? Why does she always have to work, and why is she never here?" You sit there, and you come home, and you want to show your mom your good grades or tell her about this or tell her about that, and you're like, "Well, she's not answering her phone, and we don't know when she's going to be back."

Even though they were struggling with the changes, they knew their responsibility was still to maintain good grades. Selina's mother knew when grades were coming out and regularly checked them. Selina wanted to make her mom proud; however, when her grades did not meet the expectation,

> I felt almost like a disappointment because she was doing so much for us that we could see because you grow up seeing your mom around all the time and then a major event happens, and then you understand, oh, she has to do this now because she has to support us. So anytime that I made a bad grade, I felt like I was failing her, too. So, I would try harder.

Selina recalled when she got caught stealing mechanical pencils at the grocery store and how it was the worst feeling in the world. When she was in middle school, there were five of them living in a one-bedroom duplex. Selina thought her mom could not afford the pencils, so she did not want to bother her by asking. Her older sister often stole, so she thought it was okay. After her mom picked her up from the grocery store, Selina recalled,

> My mom just went to the bathroom and, this memory has stuck with me, she started crying, and it was this hurt, animal-sounding cry. And the door was shut, and I just had to sit out there and listen, and that was big. I felt like the smallest human being and the worst." Well, mom. I'm doing it because I thought it was okay. I'm trying to help out. I'm trying to provide for myself," type thing. And it wasn't until later that it dawned on me that she never wanted us to end up like how my sister ended up.

Jessica wanted her children to get an education to not have to struggle the way she had struggled. She often told them, "I wish I would have had the opportunity that you all have. Because like I told them, what I did, I brought all of you up on my own. So, I want you to have an education, so you don't have to struggle."

When Selina graduated from high school, she transferred to a local community college while her twin went to a university in the Southwest. Selina moved out but was close enough to still help with her sisters because she felt they needed her. She started working at Head Start as a family service representative.

> That opened my eyes to the world and field of social work, and it was just that heartwarming feeling of aiding people from similar backgrounds. And I know everyone comes from different walks of life, but at the basics of it, it's pretty much the same when you tear it all down. So being able to sit there and help them and understand, connecting those to the services that they needed, that was where I sat there, and I was like, "This is what I want to do."

Through her work, she made connections with other families who had similar struggles. Through this experience, she gained an appreciation for her mother's sacrifices.

> It really hit home everything that my mom had to go through with raising four to five kids by herself. I sit there, and I listen to their stories and, when I get to process and go through it, I sit there, and it makes my heart hurt so much more. I didn't think it was possible to love my mom anymore, and then I sit there, and I'm like, oh, I wish I could just take back some of the stupid things that I said to my mom growing up.

Selina learned the power of sacrifice and work ethic from her mother. As a caretaker at an early age, she had to become self-sufficient and independent. Selina has embraced her family's struggles and made connections with the families at Head Start because she understands what they are going through. She is now majoring in social work along with her twin sister at a university in the Southwest. Selina aspires to change policy and advocate for families like hers.

Gloria Almaraz. Gloria's parents divorced when she was a young child, so her older brother was her caretaker while their mom worked long hours in the automotive industry. Her mom's work schedule made it challenging for Jennifer Almaraz to participate in their school events. While Jennifer tried her best to be available for school events, Gloria recognized that her mom needed to prioritize providing for the family at an

early age. Gloria recalled,

> I know being in elementary school, I remember being after school for choir
> practice and seeing all these other kids' parents there at choir practice waiting for
> them, watching them, videoing them. It was very apparent to me that I come from
> a very different family. My family dynamic is so different. My mom isn't here at
> my choir practice watching, listening, or recording me. It was apparent that my
> home life was very different from my friends or peers. I think I understood the
> fact that my mom needed to work to make ends meet.

Jennifer tried her best to be available for her children and their events at school, but she

had to navigate her work schedule to make accommodations. Time with her children was

a sacrifice she had to make because providing for her family was her priority.

> Being a single parent, you don't want your kids to struggle. I missed out on some
> events because of work, but I hoped my kids saw that sacrifice. Time was the only
> thing I couldn't give her.

> Gloria understood her mom's sacrifice and knew that her role was to do well in

school. Her mom had high expectations of her to be successful and take advantage of the

opportunities she had. Even though her brother was her caretaker, Gloria embraced

independence.

> With my mom not being there all the time when I came home after school, I didn't
> have anyone to tell me, "You need to do your homework. It's time to do your
> homework." I always kind of did it on my own. I guess that kind of instilled in me
> to be a self-starter and a self-motivated person. I just did it.

> Even though her brother was five years older than her, they spent a lot of time

together, so she was able to witness his process in applying to and enrolling in college.

Gloria learned a lot from watching her brother's actions and his struggles. Gloria recalled

his first year in college,

> He was always calling home, crying that he felt lonely. He couldn't do it. He was
> homesick. I just thought, "Okay, I'm not going to do that to myself." I would think
> if I'm away at college away from home from my mom, I don't think I would be
> able to do well.

Her brother did not return to school after the second year, and his experience influenced

her decision to attend community college before attending the university.

> I don't think I'm ready to leave home yet. That was part of my decision, watching what my brother did and what he went through, and the stress he put my mom through. I didn't want to do that again to her. I knew if I wasn't ready, why make that jump.

Gloria also chose to stay home and attended community college because of the lower cost to her mom. Jennifer always planned to support Gloria through college.

> My job is to feed you and put a roof over your heads. The plan is the same if you go to college. Their job is school and their grades. If they choose education, they can live at home as long as they are in school."

Gloria was raised by a single mom who worked hard to provide for her children. While Gloria missed having her mom present, she recognized the sacrifices her mom made to provide for them growing up and while she attended college. Gloria's relationship with her older brother provided an example of the college application process and influenced her to begin at a community college until she felt ready to attend a university. Her mom's work ethic was instilled in Gloria as she developed into an independent, self-motivated, and resilient young lady.

Educators can often misconstrue their student's struggles as deficits that hinder their ability to be successful (Gándara, 2010; Valencia & Black, 2002; Yosso, 2005; Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002). However, the Latina undergraduates in this study gained invaluable lessons from their struggles, lessons that cultivated the women they have become. While their parents may have struggled, the Latina undergraduates never gave up. They persevered for the love of their family despite the challenges. The sacrifices their parents made for them to have the opportunity for a "better life" did not go unnoticed by the Latina students. Each of the student participants echoed how they witnessed their parents' struggles and were grateful for their sacrifice. Their sacrifice was

a call to duty and action. They must succeed not just for themselves but also for their family (Easley et al., 2012; Pérez & Taylor, 2016).

The Power of Support

Parental involvement has been viewed as participating as an active partner with school communities (Epstein, 2010; Lightfoot, 2004; Lopez, 2001; Yosso, 2005;) However, Latino parental involvement is often invisible to educators who cannot witness the support given to Latino students (Auerbach, 2006, 2007; Lopez, 2001). The student participants in this study expressed gratitude for the various forms of support their parents showed them growing up and throughout their educational journey. This section delves into the Power of Support from Latino families in the forms of high expectations, financial, emotional, academic, and community support.

Support of education. The students discussed the high expectations their parents had for their behavior and academics throughout their schooling (Guzmán, et, al.; 2021 Peralta, et, al, 2013). As mentioned above, Latino parents view education as a vehicle to break the cycle of poverty (Auerbach, 2002; Gonzalez, et. al, 2003; Lopez, 2001; Yosso, 2005). While these parents may not have had the opportunity to further their education, they expected their daughters to take advantage. Ashlyn's mom, Meghan Ramos, shared,

> That was something like our number one priority all the time. Like that was the most important thing for her to stay focused and stay in school. We would tell her, okay, your dad always wanted to go to school, continue his education, but he couldn't because he didn't have papers. You can continue your education without having that issue, so you have this opportunity to do better for yourself.

Ashlyn knew that her parents were sacrificing so that she could have opportunities they did not. She recalled that both of her parents gave her "lectures" about staying focused on school and being successful. When reflecting on the role her father played, Ashlyn shared,

His role of showing that he loves me and that he supports me all the way, he cares, is making sure that I have everything that I need. That's his way and also his lectures. Most of the time, it's a lecture about something, which is not fun at the time, but I know as a child I always hated them. Now that I've gotten older, I understand them, and I'm actually thankful for those lectures he would give me.

Ashlyn's parents were constantly checking on her grades and expected A's. As an adult, Ashlyn is grateful for those "lectures" because they pushed her to stay focused and do well. She strived for academic success for herself and her family.

Gloria also shared that her mom had high expectations for her grades. "I don't want to say pushed, but I was encouraged to do well. I needed to strive for As and Bs." When Gloria was in high school, she started to feel more pressure. Her mom utilized the school's parent portal to stay abreast of grades. "My mom was really on top of that. She wanted to see report cards from me. She knew when they were coming too. She would ask."

Gloria's mom also encouraged her daughter through monetary rewards for good grades. Jennifer shared, "I would give her money for grades to motivate her and make her strive to do better." Gloria recounted,

I would get $15.00 for an A or $10.00 for a B and $5.00 for a C. I guess they would give me a monetary reward, kind of pushing me to do well in school just because I was young and couldn't have a job. I guess getting money for getting good grades was something to strive toward.

Since Jennifer worked at a bank, she used the allowance as an opportunity to teach her daughter about saving and spending money responsibly. "She [Gloria] knew she had to save money for college. I taught her how to save her money, took her to open a checking account, and started working on her credit."

Catalina's mom, Danielle, discussed how she wanted to provide for her children so their focus could be school. Danielle said, "education has always been the priority, and

I have always set the bar really high." She knows that many kids have responsibilities at home that might distract them from their schoolwork. "I bust my behind every day, so they don't have to come home and cook or do stuff like that." Danielle prioritized cooking the night before, so they would have dinner when they came home from school and could focus on their schoolwork. She would tell them, "I don't expect less than an A because they don't have any other responsibilities other than study; that's their goal right now."

Emotional support. An invisible form of support for the Latina students was the emotional support that their parents provided them. The high expectations of doing well in school could be stressful, but their parents were there to reassure their daughters that they could do it. Ashlyn always sought out her mom for comfort, "All my problems I always go to her. I always cry to her, complain to her. I would talk to her and tell her my feelings about everything. I go to my mom for emotional support." Meghan would listen to her daughter and reassure her,

> I would always tell her that she was good in school, and that she was a good learner, and that she could learn things fast, and she would do good. And that she needed to do good for herself, for her future.

Ashlyn first majored in nursing, but she had just changed her major to health sciences at the time of the interview. Ashlyn said she struggled to get the grades for some of her pre-requisite courses and did not want to spend more time and money to retake them. She was nervous to tell her parents, so she went to her mom first about her decision. Ashlyn shared, "She [mom] told me that she was actually happy that I told her that I didn't want to set myself up for failure. She felt like, "you know I did my research and asked around to be more informed." Ashlyn felt relieved that her mom supported her decision because "it was the best choice for us."

Catalina also shared how her mom is the first call when she feels overwhelmed

and motivates her not to give up.

> I'll call my mom, and she'll tell me, just literally this week, I got a B on my exam, and I was super frustrated because I studied so hard, and I thought I aced it. She just calms me down because I'm just like, "This is ridiculous. I don't deserve this." She's just like, "You need to take a deep breath and relax. Just go home. You need to eat something, and just try to alter your study method next time." She's the voice of reason.

Her mom, Danielle, also commented on how Catalina calls her when she is upset.

Danielle does her best to calm Catalina down and reassures her that she can do it.

> I'm telling her that she works hard, that nobody tells her it's going to be easy. It's going to be hard, and it's just that we have to put in a lot of work, a lot of hours. I know she does the studying and everything. She just has to learn to trust herself a little more.

> Gloria echoed that her mom was a constant form of support when she doubted

herself. She attributes her success to her mom "planting that seed" that she could and

would go to college. "I think if I didn't have that encouragement and that little voice in

my own head that started from her, I don't think I would be in college." She recalled that

at a young age, her mom assured her she could be successful. Her mom would say,

> You can do it. You're able to take on that work. You do well in school; you're going to do well in college. If you're able to do well in high school, you should study right and perform great habits. College should be fine for you.

While Gloria's mom has not had the college experience, she always takes comfort in her

mom's advice.

> She'll be like, "Oh, I'm sorry, mi'ja, you can try this, do this, just take it one day at a time. One assignment at a time. Try to manage your time well." Try and be encouraging. If I've had a bad day, she'll try to cheer me up or something by giving me positive reinforcement.

> Evelyn's dad, Mario, discussed how providing emotional support was one way he

could be there for his daughter because he was living in Mexico. The distance was

difficult so that he would talk to Evelyn every day. He said, "I never go home from the

office until I know she's fine because it won't give me peace." Mario wanted Evelyn to know that she needed to believe in herself. "When she didn't get an A, she would cry, and I would tell her if you do your best, feel good for yourself. You know you did your best." While Mario couldn't be there to help Evelyn, he would always encourage her to keep going. Mario wanted her to have a good work ethic and persevere.

> Think positive. If you have a problem, find a way and never give up. Work for your dream because every minute you don't work for your dream, you're a minute behind the opportunity to help others.

Mario knows being away from his daughter, and the living situation was hard for Evelyn. "I'm so proud of her because she never gives up even when she knows it's going to be hard."

Financial support. While some of these families had financial struggles, their priority was always to support their families and the dreams for their daughter's education. Several of the Latina students shared how their parents would not let them have a job in high school or college to focus on school. They were not expected to contribute financially to the family household. Many of them chose community college because they knew their parent's financial support extended into college and did not want to burden them. Their parents' sacrifices continued to motivate them to pursue their degrees for a better future for all of them.

Meghan Ramos expressed their desire to provide for Ashlyn so that she could focus on school. Her husband owned his own locksmith company, but it meant many hours out in the sun and long hours. Mrs. Ramos worked her way up to a bank manager. She noted, "We knew that it was very important for both of us that whatever it was that we had to do, we had to make sure that Ashlyn finished school and continued going for her education. It was our number one priority." Ashlyn knew that her parents were

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working hard for her to go to college, so she chose to start at community college to offset their costs.

> Yeah, I always knew I wanted to do community college first for two years. I always knew they were going to pay, so I always had in mind if I go to a community college, it's cheaper for us, and that will be helpful for my parents.

Throughout high school and college, Ashlyn's parents insisted that her main job was to focus on school, so they would not allow her to obtain a job. While she wanted to work to earn her own money, she understood their logic.

> I know that they don't want me to work because they say if I work, it's going to affect my studies and my grades, which I definitely agree with. It's actually a good thing since they're paying for everything. They want to, so it's fine. They say my only job right now is to just focus and study and finish up my degree, get it out of the way. They don't really want any distraction from it.

Catalina also shared that her mom would not let her work throughout school until she was recently allowed to get a work-study job on campus. "My mom would never let me work throughout high school or anything because she just didn't want me to lose focus." She talked about how her mom provides everything for her children; even now, she is paying for Catalina's school. Catalina expressed, "She does everything for me. If I didn't have my mom, I don't know what would happen." She has learned from her mom's work ethic and perseverance.

> My mom's an extremely hard-working woman. She had four kids, so she's always been working, and even if she didn't have enough money to do things for us, she'd get another job or find a way to do it. We were never without anything. So yeah, I take after her for being independent and headstrong.

Jennifer Almaraz expressed her desire to support Gloria if she enrolled in college. "You won't have to pay rent. I'll pay for school. I'll pay for textbooks. As long as you're going to school, that's your focus." Gloria was worried about how to pay for school since she came from a single-income household. The financial aspect of college also influenced

Gloria to choose community college first. Gloria also felt she was not ready to leave home for a big university.

> I expressed to her that I wasn't ready to start off at a four-year university away from home. I wasn't ready for that. She was understanding, and she was like, "Well, there's always community college. We'll pay out of pocket. You don't have to take student loans out."

Jennifer discussed with Gloria about staying at a community college versus going away to a university. "She didn't want to go away to college because she knew I couldn't afford it." Even though money was tight, she didn't want Gloria to work. She said, "I didn't want her to work because then she'd get the taste of money, so I only let her work part-time. Your job has to work around your first job, which is school." While she didn't live with her father, Gloria recognized that her parents wanted better for her and her brother, so they worked hard. "They really pushed for college and did what they could to make ends meet and try to work their way up in jobs and got to the level they were to live a middle-class life and to be able to afford college for my brother and me."

Selina's mom, Jessica, shared the notion of providing for her children to focus on school. While the twins were at home caring for their younger siblings, homework was a priority for them every day. Jessica would often share her struggles with them and point out that their job was to focus on school. Jessica would tell them, "Okay, you have homework you have to do, and that's the most important is education. I don't care if I have to work night and day to support you all, but you all are going to get your education."

Parental academic support. A deficit perception of Latino parents is that they lack the education to assist their children in their academics (García & Guerra, 2004; Guerra & Valverde, 2008; Early, 2010; Valencia & Black, 2002; Yosso, 2005). Two

Latina students recounted how their mothers were their first teachers by helping them read at a young age. Not only did they instill a love of reading in their daughters, but they showed them the importance of persevering through their academic struggles.

Catalina recalled that she struggled with reading when she was younger. In kinder and first grade, "I was in the slow reading group, and my mom wanted me to be in the upper one, like the normal levels for my age group." Her mom encouraged her to read by buying her books and making her read them even when she didn't want to.

> She would read with me. I remember getting so frustrated and starting to cry when I couldn't get a word. She'd just calm me down and get me to say it. And then once you finish the book, I did not want to read another one, but then she would read it to me, and then I would want to read it back to her. So, she made it bearable even though I didn't want to do it.

Through reading practice with her mom, Catalina caught up and surpassed her grade-level reading metrics. Her mom taught her the value of hard work and to not give up. "I realized it made my mom happy whenever I got good grades and stuff. I just had to try harder if I was struggling. She would never let me say I can't; she would just tell me I need to work harder." Mrs. Perez also recounted Catalina's struggles with reading. She would take her children to the library and read with them.

> To this day, she loves to read. Thank goodness she doesn't like ebooks. She actually likes real books. She likes to feel the pages, so I'm grateful for that. It might have been because of her struggle that we found, I guess, that she really enjoyed reading.

> Before Selina's dad passed away, her mom stayed at home and homeschooled her daughters from kindergarten to first grade. Jessica Olguin recounted their daily routine,

> Every day, they'd wake up, eat breakfast, and I'd say, "Okay, this is what we're going to do for the day." I had a little chalkboard, and I had everything just like a teacher. I helped them with the ABCs, their writing, their math, and everything, so by the time they started school, they were way ahead of everybody.

Selina views her mom as her first teacher who taught them English, math, and science.

She would teach us etiquette skills and all of these things. And then, once it got to the point where she couldn't teach us anymore, she enrolled us in elementary school. I remember we had to skip a grade, but we had to pass some proficiency tests.

When they were older, Selina's mom would help them study. Even if she couldn't help them with anything, she would encourage them to study and seek help. "Well, is there anything extra that you could do to help you understand better?" Selina learned to keep trying and to find a way.

The stories of these young women highlight the various forms of support their families provided them. These forms of support may be invisible to educators because they do not get to witness them firsthand (Auerbach, 2006; Guerra & Nelson,2013; Lopez, 2001). Latino parents value education and hold high expectations of the behavior and academic success of their children. Since education is a high priority, these families support their children academically, emotionally, and financially. They also navigate their extended communities for support.

Community support. While these Latina students may have come from single-parent homes, they had support outside their households from extended family members, the church, and the school system (Yosso, 2005; 2006). Catalina expressed her connection to extended family because they lived near her great-grandma, grandma, uncles, and cousins. At the time of the interview, she had come home for a surprise birthday party for her cousin. Danielle Perez expressed gratitude she had her mother and grandmother available to help her with the children while she worked. "Yes, my great-grandmother has always been a big influence on my kids. She's always been very dedicated, even to teach them how to read in Spanish and everything." Catalina remembered her great-grandmother helping her with math when she was learning

division.

> So, my great grandma taught me how to divide, and it was different than they
> teach you in school. They teach you a complicated way to do it, and my grandma
> taught me a really simple way that she learned while she was in Columbia, and
> that's how I would do all the stuff on my test.

Danielle said that Catalina learned how to divide the Columbian way, but it was different

than how it's done in America. Danielle laughed as she remembered the struggle.

> The end result was fine. It was all the steps in between that we were struggling
> with for a while because she would say that her answer is right. I kept trying to
> explain to her, yeah, but we need to learn how to do it the way we do it here.

> Catalina's great-grandmother was not the only one involved in school. Danielle

said that her daughter was having behavior problems in middle school. It became a

pattern that she got in trouble for talking in class and not listening to the teachers. At the

time, Danielle's mom was not working, so grandma went to 7th grade with Catalina.

> She did probably almost the whole 7th grade with Catalina. She [grandma] would
> show up to her classes every day from the first period through the seventh period.
> Even at lunch, she would go sit with her. She would take her little crochet stuff
> and sit in the back of the class and crochet while in class.

Danielle and her mom were committed to making sure Catalina stayed on track. She was

grateful her mom had the time to go to school with her. Catalina was embarrassed and

tried to hide from her grandma.

> My mom [grandma] already had the schedule, or she knew where she was sitting
> at lunch, and she would just go and sit, and the kids would just move over and
> make space for Grandma.

While it was a difficult time for them, they never had any behavior issues with Catalina

after that. "She's always had good conduct after that. She was always a good student. I

took education very seriously."

> Catalina said many things were a family effort and was grateful to have the help

of her family. Whenever she needed help with anything, everyone got involved, and it

was fun. She recalled a middle school project that they worked on together.

> I had to do an ecosystem shirt. And I had like a blue shirt; it could be the ocean. And then we got the felt, and we cut out shapes and stuff. We cut out a shark, and some fish, just to draw the food chain and stuff. It was really cool, with my cousin and my mom helping me with it.

When Catalina applied to college, she relied on her sister and mom to help with her essays and applications. She was eager to apply and started as soon as they opened.

> My sister helped me a lot with my essays and stuff like that, she helped me edit, and I would write them. And then whenever I did my actual application, my mom, my sister and I, all sat in the living room together, and we filled it all out together. So, we stayed up until like three in the morning. Well, me and my sister did; my mom pooped out, but my sister stayed up with me the whole entire time, and we finished.

Vanessa struggled to find her place in high school and just went through the motions. Before she graduated, she went to a Bible summer camp. That experience influenced her decision to enroll in a leadership program at a Christin college right after high school before attending college. "I just felt led to go there." So, Vanessa enrolled in the eight-month leadership and discipleship program. Once Vanessa finished the program, she decided to enroll in community college. However, Vanessa and her mom were not sure where to start the process. So, Vivian took Vanessa to Cafe College, a non-profit center that offers free college access and success services.

> It was just a place of support and so much help. They helped us with financial aid, and they helped us with taking classes, and so many questions we had, and how do we even get on a portal and the programs that colleges use and the software you need, and just stuff like that.

Evelyn's mom struggled to pay the rent, and they often had to move around. However, her mom insisted that Evelyn stay in the same school so she could have some stability.

> The school was kind of my anchor. Although we were moving around everywhere, I knew that I still had the same friends. I knew my teachers. I had a

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community that I knew and was going to stay there. So yeah, that was kind of my sane thing while we were moving around too much.

Since she was staying at the same school and moved often, Evelyn had to learn how to take the public bus system in Austin. While this was a scary thought for Evelyn, she found community at the bus stop.

> I got nervous, but then when I did go the first day, I actually saw a lot of classmates at the bus stop. So, we were each other's company. In the morning, we would all talk and stuff, and then we would get together at lunch as well, and then we would walk to the bus and take the bus back home.

During middle school, Evelyn's mom sought the support of an after-school program. Since her mom worked late with two jobs, Evelyn did not like being home alone after school. Evelyn was grateful for the program because her mom "wouldn't get out of work in enough time to pick me up after, so I wasn't there, home alone. I met some really awesome people that I still talk to now."

In high school, Evelyn struggled with depression and dropped out of school for three months. When she returned, she joined this organization at the STEM Academy. They built a structure out of cans and presented them at a competition.

> I really liked it just because it felt like a mini community of really close friends that I could always talk to. And then again, there were two teachers who were there, and they were awesome.

Those teachers supported Evelyn during her junior year as she tried to catch up on her credits to graduate on time. Evelyn also found support in a college readiness course. During her senior year, she was able to get help with the college application process.

For these Latina students, support extended beyond their immediate family to include extended family members, community organizations, and connections within the school. These accounts highlight how the various types of support beyond the family contribute to community cultural wealth.

The Power of Interdependence

A recurring theme that emerged from these students was their duty to their families. They recognized that their families had sacrificed for their future, but they wanted to repay their parents (Easley et al., 2012; Kouyoumdjian et al., 2017). These young women internalized their parent's dreams as their own but knew that their success would be a family success. Their attainment of a college degree would lead to more opportunities for them to give back to the parents that supported them.

Ashlyn watched her parents struggle and work hard all her life. Their example motivated her to dedicate herself to her education. She believed that obtaining her degree is not just for her but for her family.

> When I see how all they do to help me go to school and how hard they work, that basically motivates me to go, to come and do this work for my degree. Also, for my sister. I feel in a way I have to do this for them to be able to pay them back for all their hard work just for me to be successful in my life. I'm super grateful for everything.

Selina remembers when her mom didn't have to work so hard to provide for their family. Selina's mom's long work hours left her longing for more time with her. Selina struggled through being a caretaker but understood that caring for her siblings and focusing on her studies was her job. Jessica instilled in Selina the importance of education so she could be independent and self-sufficient. Selina believes that her degree will open doors for a better life, not just for her but also for her mom.

> I've always wanted to repay my mom for everything that she went through. I felt like, okay, well, if I finish school, I can have a better job, and I can afford better things, and my mom won't have to do anything. I want her to have the same lifestyle that she had when she was able to make us those snacks in elementary school and not have to see her stressed out about work. So that's always what college has been; it is just a steppingstone. I just want to finish, and I just want to start my job and my career.

Selina shares the dream of supporting her mom with her twin sister. They are making

plans for their mom's living arrangements when their younger sisters graduate. "We either want to buy my mom a house for her to get her away from their small town or have her move in with one of us."

Despite Evelyn's struggles with her mom, she recognizes that her mom was doing the best she could to provide for her. Even though her father was living in Mexico, she knows that he was also doing the best he could. They were both examples of hard work and sacrifice. She claimed, "for me, it's kind of like a constant reminder that I got to pay it forward, and that's really my mission." They taught her the value of persevering and having the determination to find a way. She constantly reminds herself that "There's an answer for everything" and "It'll all be okay." Evelyn wouldn't be getting her college education if it wasn't for their support.

> I want to give back to my parents for all of the struggles that they went through and tried to get me to a better place. And so just trying to give them back just everything that I can because they gave me everything that they could. They're still a constant reminder of why I'm here. This is why I'm doing it so that I can also be an anchor in that way for my children.

While the opportunity of a college education started as the parents' dream, these women have built upon that dream to return the favor to their parents. They value the sacrifices their parents have endured and are appreciative of their support on their educational journey. Obtaining a college degree is not an individual accomplishment but a family effort that will benefit all who have been on this journey (Easley et al., 2012; Kouyoumdjian et al., 2015).

Conclusion

The six familial pairs' accounts of their family support of their daughter's educational journey exhibit characteristics of Community Cultural Wealth. These firsthand accounts from parents and their daughters are examples of how both

conceptualized the Latino parents' assistance in achieving a successful educational

trajectory. In chapter five, the findings will explore how Yosso's capitals of Community

Cultural Wealth are interconnected to the four powers described in the data and support

the asset-based literature of Latino families' support of education.

V. DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Deficit-based thinking in literature generalizes that Latino parents do not value their children's education or possess deficiencies that hinder their children's academic achievement such as poverty, single-parent homes, and language barriers (Aragon, 2018; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; García & Guerra, 2004; Kiyama, 2010; Liou et al., 2018; Marrun, 2018; Early, 2010; Valencia, 1997; Valencia & Black, 2002; Yosso, 2005, 2006). This deficit-thinking paradigm asserts that students of color and their families are to blame for poor academic performance because of these perceived deficiencies by educators (Aragon, 2018; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; García & Guerra, 2004; Kiyama, 2010; Liou et al., 2018; Marrun, 2018; Early, 2010; Valencia, 1997; Valencia & Black, 2002; Yosso, 2005, 2006). However, there is a growing body of literature that counters this narrative and highlights how Latino parents positively impact their children's educational pursuits (Espino, 2016; Guzmán et al., 2021; Mobley & Brawner, 2018; Peralta et al., 2013; Pérez & Taylor, 2016). Yosso (2005, 2006) developed a culturally sensitive theory, concluding that Latino families possess community cultural wealth that includes "the total extent of an individual's accumulated assets and resources" (p. 40) such as high aspirations for children, emotional support, and community and familial networks. These cultural assets and resources or cultural wealth are shared among Latino families and are provided to their children.

The purpose of this study was to add to this asset-based body of literature that highlights how Latino parents contribute to the postsecondary pursuits of their Latina daughters. Yosso's (2005, 2006) framework on Community Cultural Wealth (CCW) was used as a data analysis tool to explore the six forms of capital which are aspirational,

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linguistic, familial, social, navigational, and resistant capitals. The different forms of capital are often unknown or invisible to educators unfamiliar with these non-traditional forms of parental involvement (Ballysingh, 2021; Ceballo, 2004; Ceja, 2004, 2006; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, 1994; Guzmán et al., 2021; Guerra & Nelson, 2013; Peralta et al., 2013; Yosso, 2005 & 2006). This study examined the first-hand accounts of Latino parents' contributions to their children's education from the perspective of both the parent and their child (Guzmán, et. al, 2021; Yosso, 2005).

Participants who self-identified as Latina, first-generation, undergraduate students were recruited from a university in the Southwest. Each participant was asked to select one English-speaking parent to participate in a separate interview. There were six familial pairs who each participated in one, hour-long phone interview. Both the student and parent participants were presented with similar questions about the parent's contributions to their daughter's academic pursuits from elementary through college. The student interview was conducted first, to provide some context about their perspective and compare to their parent's account.

Empowered Latinas

As Yosso (2005, 2006), explains the various capitals of the Community Cultural Wealth (CCW) framework are not independent of each other and are often intertwined and build on each other. Therefore, the sub-categories of the CCW capitals were organized into themes that expressed the beliefs and experiences of the student and parent participants. The themes include The Power of Belief, the Power of Overcoming Struggle, the Power of Support, and the Power of Interdependence. The central research question was to identify how Latino parents' various forms of Community Cultural

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Wealth (CWW) contribute to their daughters' pursuit of higher education. These themes were classified as powers because they highlight the asset-based paradigm of how Latino parents positively contribute to their children's education. The four themes connect with Community Cultural Wealth to create empowered Latinas who are determined, resilient, and are persevering no matter the obstacles.

The figure below provides a visualization of the four themes of Latino parents' "Powers" as assets and the Community Cultural Wealth capitals that contributed to creating empowered daughters. The graphic highlights how the forms of capitals are interconnected and not static (Yosso, 2005; 2006). In this study, there was not an emergence of linguistic capital, however, that does not negate its value as contributing to Community Cultural Wealth in other Latino families where the Spanish language is more prevalent.
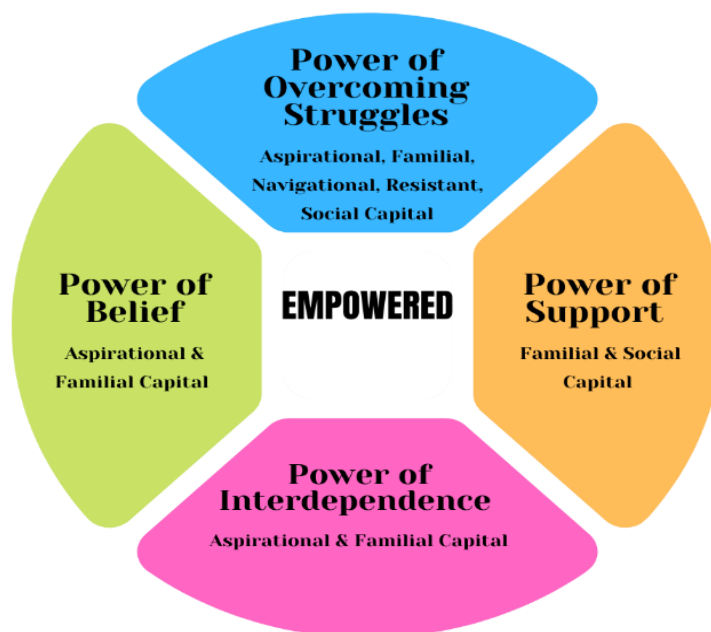

Figure 2. The Power of Latino Families

Through the stories of these young women, they have highlighted that Latino parents and their community provide a wealth of assets to the development and success of

their daughters. While the original goal may have been to take advantage of earning a college degree to secure a better life, these parents have created empowered young women. Through their parents' examples, these Latinas have learned perseverance, strength, and determination. They have succeeded on this journey because of the work ethic they learned from their parents. Their examples of persevering through struggles and learning from those experiences are invaluable lessons that cannot be taught in a classroom. Through their collective powers of belief, overcoming struggles, support, and interdependence, these parents like many other Latino parents have instilled values that have propelled their daughters toward success and will be instilled in their children. These assets will continue to develop through these young women as they graduate and embark on their future endeavors. The findings will further explore the connections between these powers and capitals of Community Cultural Wealth.

Latino Parents' Perception of Their Role, Involvement, and Contributions

Parents in the study expressed their desire for their daughters to attend college and "planted this seed" at a young age by stressing the importance of education and reading. Two of the parents recounted stories taking their children to the library and reading books at books at home to help their daughter's overcome challenges with reading. The parent participants said they would tell their daughters they needed to "do well" and "focus" on their studies because they were going to college. They often referred to "doing well in school" as their children's "job" (Auerbach, 2002; Guzmán et al., 2018). These parents stressed that doing well in school may not be achieved easily but they needed to persist (Guzmán et al., 2018; Ceja, 2004; Lopez, 2001; Yosso, 2005; 2006). When their daughters encountered problems in school, they would talk to them about "finding a way"

such as "asking questions" and "going to tutoring." Similar to findings reported in the literature (Guzmán, 2018; Espino, 2016; Peralta et al., 2013; Reese et al., 1995) this sample of Latino parents taught their children lessons at home such as respect, responsibility, and a strong work ethic that can transfer to behavior and academic aspirations in school.

By sharing consejos, the parent participants often referred to their own past and current struggles to motivate their daughters (Aragon, 2018; Auerbach, 2002; Ballysingh, 2021; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Guzmán, et. al, 2021; Kouyoumdjian et al., 2017; Lopez, 2001; Pérez & Taylor, 2016) to do well in school. *Consejos* are stories that convey messages of moral support and give Latino children the confidence to persist and be responsible for their education. Sometimes *consejos* are cautionary tales to steer children away from following their parents' path and motivate them to succeed in school (Aragon, 2017; Auerbach 2002, 2006; Ceja, 2004; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, 1994; Guzmán et al., 2021; Lopez, 2001; Mobley & Brawner, 2019).

All the parents in this study recounted how they had to focus on working to provide for themselves and their families rather than continuing their own education. They explained that they would do what they could to provide for their children even through college so their daughters could focus on their studies. Parents often had low-paying jobs with long hours and manual labor. Some parents shared that they worked up the ranks over time to earn better positions and pay. One parent explained that she would plan out meals in advance and limit household duties so that her children could focus on their schoolwork.

According to the parent participants, an education would provide opportunities

that would keep their daughters from struggling as they had. A good education would provide a career with financial stability (Ceballo 2004; Ceja, 2004; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; García & Guerra, 2004; Guerra & Nelson, 2013; Gonzalez, et. al, 2003; Yosso, 2005; 2006). A couple of the moms also stressed the importance of being financially independent of a husband. They emphasized that if their daughter gained an education, they would not have to depend on a man to support them. These moms also reflected on their own experiences of trying to prove themselves in male-dominated work industries. Their experiences further solidified their desires for their daughters to obtain a degree. These parents reinforced the importance of education at a young age as a long-term goal to obtaining a college degree that would open career opportunities for their daughters.

The use of the term "parent involvement" in schools has often been used to identify the need for shared responsibilities of children between families and schools (Epstein, 2010). Some literature tends to generalize Latino families as uninvolved in school, therefore, not valuing education. The term parental involvement, however, has multiple meanings such as the parent who attends Parent Teacher Association (PTA) meetings and volunteers at school (Lightfoot, 2004) in contrast to the parent that reinforces education at home through expectations of respect and completing homework (Lightfoot, 2004). The Latino families in this study exhibited various forms of support for education that were often invisible to educators because they are not privy to the home culture (Auerbach, 2007; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; Ceballo, 2004; Ceja, 2004, 2006; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, 1994; Guzmán et al., 2018; Guerra & Nelson, 2013; Pérez & Taylor, 2016; Yosso, 2005 & 2006). These families instilled high expectations and good work ethic in their children and provided emotional and financial support to their

daughters.

Another parent contribution was the importance of the daughter maintaining a focus only on education rather than contributing financially to the family. Although each family could have used additional income, every familial pair shared that the student participants were not allowed to have a job during high school because their parents did not want them to "get distracted" and to "focus" on school. The parent participants reiterated that it was their job to provide for their children if they were in school including college. This desire to protect their children's time for education stemmed from their own experiences of having to enter the workforce at a young age to contribute to their families. At the time of the interviews, only two student participants had a part-time job through a work-study program. All the parent participants were financially supporting their daughters through college.

These Latinas also had emotional and academic support from their communities including extended family members, school personnel, and church parishioners. One family shared how they moved often due to financial challenges, but the parent was insistent that her daughter continue in the same school to be familiar with her community. The parent enrolled her daughter in an after-school program so she wouldn't have to be at home late while the mother worked. This student participant also found her "community" with other students at the public transportation bus stop and a STEM club. Another family shared how their church supported their emotional well-being and a local non-profit helped them with the college application process.

Daughters' Perception of Their Parents' Role, Involvement, and Contributions

The student participants echoed the idea that they knew they would attend college

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because it was their parent's plan for them. It was never a matter "if" they would go because there was "no other option". Several of the student participants reported their parents "pushing" them to do well in school and "focus" on their studies. Not only did the student participants believe that they would go to college, but they also believed that they could achieve this goal due to their parents' actions. For example, their parents would tell them that they were "smart" and could accomplish anything if they "focused and worked hard." The student and parent participants expressed high expectations for good grades and behavior in school. Consequently, parents in this study instilled in their daughters the belief that they could achieve anything if they put their minds to it.

One student participant referred to her father's *consejos* as his "lectures." The parent participants would refer to their lack of opportunities as young children to pursue an education such as poverty, young parenthood, lack of citizenship, and limited education. Half of the parent participants were immigrants who were unable to pursue a college education due to being undocumented. The student participants mirrored the sentiment that their parents wanted them "to do better than they had" and that meant attending college.

The student participants shared that their parents provided them with emotional and moral support even as college students. Auerbach (2006) referred to this type of parenting as a moral supporter. In their secondary education, the student participants said their parents were there to remind them that they could accomplish anything with "hard work" and to "always find a way." While they were in college at the time of the interviews, each student participant also shared how their parent was their first phone call when they were feeling stressed and overwhelmed. Even though their parent may not

understand their stress because they had not experienced or able to help them with their coursework, their words of encouragement were helpful (Aragon, 2018; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, 1994; Espino, 2016; Lopez, 2001; Pérez & Taylor, 2016).

Another aspect of support provided by the family was academic support. A couple of the student participants shared how their mothers were their first teachers when it came to learning how to read. They struggled with reading and their mothers would practice with them and take them to the library. One student participant shared that her Columbian great-grandmother taught her math and that she would complete projects with her cousins. At one point her grandmother also attended school with her for several weeks to make sure she was behaving and staying on task (Auerbach, 2006; Reese, et. al, 1995). The student participants recounted how their parents supported them emotionally, in their academics and financially. These forms of support were categorized in the Power of Support and reflect the familial, social, navigational, and resistant capitals.

Daughters' Perception of Their Role in Pursuing Higher Education

The student participants expressed that their parents' aspirations became their aspirations. They knew that college was expected of them, and they wanted to accomplish this goal for themselves and their families.

While literature may identify poverty, single-parent homes, and other obstacles as hindering Latino children's ability to be successful in education, the second theme, The Power of Overcoming Struggle, illustrates how these families harnessed these struggles as assets (Aragon, 2018; Ballysingh, 2021; Easley et al., 2012; Gándara, 2010; Valencia & Black, 2002; Zambrana & Zoppi, 2002). Overcoming these struggles strengthened the student participants and increased their determination to succeed (Aragon, 2018;

Auerbach, 2002; Ballysingh, 2021; Easley et al., 2012; Lopez, 2001; Gándara, 2010; Valencia & Black, 2002).

Five out of the six student participants were raised by single mothers who worked long hours to provide for their families. The student participants recounted how their mothers were often absent from school events and when they returned home from school. However, the student participants understood that their mothers had to sacrifice time to support their families. The student participants recounted that they had to become self-sufficient to either be caretakers of younger siblings or to manage their own homework and household chores. Each of the daughters spoke about how they knew they were expected to do their homework even though their parent wasn't there to remind them or watch them complete it.

Their parents' examples of determination and perseverance inspired the daughters to do well in school to make them proud. The daughters witnessed first-hand how their parents worked hard and struggled in their jobs or to provide financial stability, so they felt they owed it to their parents to be successful in return (Aragon, 2018; Auerbach, 2002, 2006; Ceja 2004; Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Lopez, 2001; Guzmán et al., 2021; Yosso, 2005; 2006). The student participants expressed their appreciation for the sacrifices their parents made to provide for them.

Two of the student participants expressed that they struggled with depression during high school due to situations at home. The home situations ranged from poverty, homelessness, and alcoholism in the family. These emotional struggles temporarily affected their academics in high school. However, each student participant shared how they were able to overcome these struggles with the support of their parents, school,

community, and church relationships. One student participant, Evelyn, explained that her lack of school attendance put her in jeopardy of not graduating and she was advised to get her GED. Rather than give up, she found support from her teachers to catch up and earn her credits. Another student participant, Vanessa, shared that her interest in school was renewed when she attended a Bible camp which led to a leadership program prior to attending community college. Through these emotional and home struggles, the student participants developed individual agency which helped them cope, survive, and thrive (Yosso, 2005; 2006).

Latino families exhibit a collective orientation that values interdependence and shared responsibility (Hofstede Insights, n.d.). The student participants expressed gratitude for their parent's sacrifices and how the students envisioned their success as contributing to their family (Easley et al., 2012). Four of the six participants chose to begin at a community college before transferring to a four-year university due to the financial support they were receiving from their families. Each of these student participants expressed that they wanted to lessen the financial burden. They also shared that they weren't quite ready to leave home either because they felt they needed the support of their families, or their families needed their support. Again, they highlighted how their job was to do well in school and that was their contribution to the family.

At the time of the interviews, all the student participants were attending a university and they each shared that their completion of a degree was a family affair. One student participant had just changed her major because she felt it was the best decision for "us" meaning her family. She equated this decision to the amount of time she would need to complete her degree, the amount of money it would cost, and the earning

potential after college. Another student shared that her plan after college included her buying a house and having her mother move in so she could take care of her. One participant reflected that her graduating would show her parents her appreciation for their sacrifices but also provide a better life for her future children.

These young women had learned the importance of hard work, perseverance, and determination from their parents. While they were independent young women because they had developed agency and learned to advocate for themselves, however, they didn't express the desire to be independent of their families. Their determination to graduate from college was for the families that had sacrificed and supported them. Earning a college degree was a collective effort with benefits for themselves and their family.

<div align="center">

Recommendations

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The recommendations that follow are for K-12 educators and leaders as well as teacher preparation programs in valuing the contributions of Latino families in their children's education and pursuit of a postsecondary degree. The goal of these recommendations is to apply the analysis and findings of this study to uncover the invisible forms of parental involvement and assets of Latino families that can be utilized by educators and school leaders to support Latino students.

Recommendations for Teacher and School Leader Preparation

Educators and school leaders must be prepared to honor students' culture, ethnicity, language, and identity and meet the needs of all students to achieve academic success. The participants in this study are example of how their parents' Community Cultural Wealth contributed to their academic attainment. More Latino students are enrolling in college, but they are not persisting to degree attainment (Cantú, 2021;

Gramlich, 2021). For educators to support Latino students in preparing them for college and career readiness, they must teach with an asset or strength-based lens. Educator preparation programs and school districts should provide preservice and current teachers professional learning in culturally responsive teaching. Culturally responsive teaching practices develop cultural responsiveness in which educators can recognize the capital, assets, and strengths that students and families of color bring to the classrooms and connect them to academic skills (Gay, 2018; Hammond, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 2014; Zoch & Ye, 2020). For example, Zoch & He's (2019) study utilized the Community Cultural Wealth framework and culturally relevant teaching practices with preservice teachers. These field experiences included literacy teaching, learning their student's language, and engaging in digital storytelling with parents. These experiences provided preservice teachers the opportunity to practice culturally relevant teaching and connect with the Latino families as partners in their child's learning.

Recommendations for Teacher and School Leader Practice

1. Deficit teaching and school practices were developed over many years; therefore, there needs to be continuous exploration at district and school sites of individual and school practices beyond offering a few workshops on culturally responsive teaching. Therefore, school leaders should create opportunities for teachers to explore deficit ideologies demonstrated by teachers and school practices. Educators need a safe space to engage in this exploration in their professional learning communities (PLCs). Raúl Lomelí (2021), suggests exploring "collective critical consciousness through dialogue on critical theories and pedagogy, through engaging in Critical Praxis Círculo (circles) (p. 121)." This practice creates the

space for educators to "critique the status quo," "access community cultural wealth," and "develop a caring teacher community through authentic dialogue," (Lomelí, 2021). If educators are equipped with tools to identify and build upon the assets and strengths Latino students bring to the classroom then they will be better able to support them in academic achievement.

2. Teachers need to create opportunities for their Latino students to explore their culture, language, and identity in meaningful ways that show the students that they bring strengths to the classroom. Providing these opportunities especially in writing will be essential to the college application process for Latino students. Many of their college and scholarship essays ask for examples of perseverance, overcoming obstacles, and showing resiliency. Students need to continuously learn about themselves and their families to be able to articulate their strengths to admissions and scholarship committees. For example, one of the criteria for a Dell Scholar is a "Unique GPA" in which students share how they exhibit "grit, potential, and ambition."

3. School counselors and college advising personnel and their practices are crucial to closing the Latino student degree attainment gap (Cantú, 2021; Fain, 2020; Gramlich, 2020). Opportunity and access are key components for Latino students persist to and through college (DeBaun & Keller, 2020). Therefore, they would benefit from understanding Latino families' interdependence and how that informs their decisions about college. For example, most of the student participants in this study chose to attend community college to lessen the financial burden on their families (Krogstad, 2020; Mobley & Brawner, 2019). Economic

factors contribute to college choice; therefore, advising practices should reflect providing opportunities to understand the cost of college and opportunities to mitigate potential financial burdens such as enrolling in courses like Advanced Placement, Dual Credit and Dual Enrollment to obtain college credit early (Mobley & Brawner, 2019). The desire for Latino students to honor their families' sacrifices can also provide counselors and advisors with insight about how to advise families about the "best fit and best match" college (DeBaun & Keller, 2020). "Best Match" refers to the degree that a "student's academic credentials are aligned to admission qualifications," while "Best Fit" refers to how the "student's values, interests, wants, and social needs are aligned to the characteristics of the postsecondary institution," (DeBaun & Keller, 2020). A deeper understanding of Latino families' Community Cultural Wealth can inform advising practices and strategies to support Latino students in persisting to and through college.

4. District and school leaders should explore the benefits of school, university, community, and parent partnerships in preparing students for college. For example, the AVID College and Career Readiness system is a non-profit that partners with districts to provide professional learning to educators and a secondary elective that focuses on preparing students for college and career readiness. There are also federal programs such as Upward Bound and the Gear Up grant that partner with districts to implement targeted strategies for high poverty secondary students in preparing them for college readiness.

5. School communication tends to be one-way with parents on the receiving end of information. School communities must create opportunities to learn from Latino parents so that they can be true partners in supporting students. Practitioners must shift from focusing on parental involvement to parental engagement which requires intentional practices to create a partnership between schools and families (Ferlazzo, 2011). Schools can host pláticas, "an expressive cultural form shaped by listening, inquiry, storytelling, and story making that is akin to a nuanced, multi-dimensional conversation," (p. 160) for families to share their stories, hopes, and dreams for their children with educators (Guajardo & Guajardo, 2013). This can help Latino families feel welcome and supported by their child's school and provide educators with an authentic insight into the invisible forms of Latino parental involvement (Guerra & Nelson, 2013). This practice will provide educators an opportunity to engage in dialogue with Latino parents about their Community Cultural Wealth and apply their learning through culturally relevant teaching practices.

Recommendations for Policy

1. Latino students would benefit from the opportunity to engage in learning about their history and culture especially regarding persistence, resiliency, and determination of their ancestors. The study has shown that Latino students benefit from witnessing their parent's sacrifices and overcoming struggles and that formulates their desire to succeed and make a return on their parent's investment (Ballysingh, 2021; Ceballo, 2004; Easley et al., 2012). Therefore, school districts should provide students the opportunity to take a Mexican American Studies high

school course in which they will have the opportunity to learn about the historical and cultural contributions of Mexican Americans. Studies have shown that students who engage in ethnic studies improved in grades, attendance, and graduation rates (Donald, 2016). This course provides the opportunity for developing research skills, critical thinking, and writing while learning about their culture. The development of these academic skills will support Latino students in persisting to and through college. Districts should consider the populations served to offer ethnic study courses relevant to their demographics.

2. However, a potential barrier for school district's ability to continue to provide this course and other opportunities for Latino students to engage in learning about their culture and history is current legislation that restricts how current events and America's history of racism can be taught in school such as the Texas House Bill 3979 and Senate Bill 3. Theses educational policies limit the types of historical events that teachers can explore in classrooms such as examples of racial inequities. They remove opportunities for Latino students to learn about their history and engage in critical thinking and discourse. Educators and politicians need to continue to explore how these types of legislations are detrimental to our students and teachers and continue to advocate for change.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study sought to confirm and add to the body of literature that highlights the assets Latino families contribute to the education of their children. The results also revealed opportunities for further research. The following are recommendations for future research for me and other scholars:

1. The sample size can be expanded to include Spanish-speaking parents to gain a deeper understanding of the impact of linguistic capital. A separate study focused on Latino males can also be conducted to distinguish differences or similarities in the Latino parents' contributions of sons and daughters.

2. Future research can apply a multiple family case studies to include more than one parent and the student perceptions. The data collection could include individual and group interviews to gain a deeper understanding of the family's awareness of their collective contributions.

3. Four of the six student participants were transfer students from community colleges. All the participants stated that they chose to begin at a community college because they "didn't feel ready to leave home" or assisted their families with the monetary burden of college. Future research could explore how students could be better prepared or how high school counselors can support Latino students' transition to attending a university. Future research can be conducted on how Latino families specifically support the persistence from community college to a university.

4. Repeat this study using middle-class Latino parents and their children, second-generation college students (Kouyoumdjian et al., 2017) or PhD students as participants to determine if these "powers" and forms of capital are also evident in their families.

Conclusion

The findings of this study contribute to growing evidence that Latino families not only value education, but positively contribute to their children's educational attainment.

As educators, we do not get to hear or see the emotional, moral, academic, and financial support Latino families provide their children. These invisible forms of parent involvement illustrate how there is a need for educators to understand this concept as it pertains to families of diverse communities (Auerbach, 2007; Ayala & Contreras, 2018; Ceballo, 2004; Ceja, 2004, 2006; Delgado-Gaitan, 1992, 1994; Guzmán et al., 2018; Guerra & Nelson, 2013; Pérez & Taylor, 2016; Yosso, 2005, 2006). More importantly, educators must create a culture that allows Latino students and their families to explore and celebrate these contributions. This strengths-based approach will provide Latino students the opportunity to exhibit pride and build agency on their path of college and career readiness.

The actions of the parents in this study created empowered daughters who have overcome obstacles and are thriving in their educational journey. The opportunity to engage in this research was important because it allowed me to compare my own journey and the contributions of my parents. These "powers" and forms of capital are also evident in my own family, hence the opportunity to be the first in my family to earn a doctorate. This life-long journey would not have been possible without their support and contributions to my education. Like the student participants in this study, this research is for them and all the other Latino families who aspire for their children to succeed in education and life.

Appendix A: Participant Recruitment Flyer

Seeking Research Participants

Purpose

Doctoral student research to explore the role of Latino parents in their daughter's pursuit of higher education.

Eligibility

1. Identify as a Latina
2. First-generation college student
3. Current undergraduate student at TX State
4. Invite one English speaking parent to participate

Participation Requirements

Student and one English speaking parent each participate in <u>one</u> face-to-face, virtual, or phone interview.

Compensation and Contact Information

Student will receive a $25 gift card upon completion.
Call or text Cynthia Martinez at 210-508-6229
Email at cml824@txstate.edu
Scan QR code to share contact information

This project EXP2016M298174-E was approved by the Texas State IRB on January 13, 2016.

Appendix B: Participant Recruitment Email

To:
From: Cynthia Martinez
BCC:
Subject: Research Participation Invitation: Latina Undergraduates

Good evening,
I am a doctorate student in the school improvement department. I am reaching out for assistance in seeking out research participants.

I am currently seeking Latina, first-generation undergraduate students to participate in one interview about the role their parents played in their pursuit of a higher education. I also ask that one parent participate in a separate interview.

I have attached a flyer with more details. I am also offering a $25 gift card upon completion of both student and parent interview.

If you meet the criteria and would be interested, please use the QR Code on the flyer to share your information with me. Please share this information with your peers. I appreciate your consideration and assistance. Thank you!

Appendix C: Student Consent Form to Participate in Research

You are being asked to be part of a research project. This research is seeking to learn more about the role of Latino parents in their daughter's pursuit of a higher education. If you volunteer to be part of this research, you will be asked to participate in one individual 60-minute phone interview. During the interview you may choose not to answer any question(s) for any reason. Time of interviews will be based on participants' preference and availability.

All interviews will be audio-recorded with your permission. Confidentiality of interviews and data collected will be maintained through the use of pseudonyms and security of personal information. Taking part in this study is voluntary so you may withdraw at any time without penalty and the use of data collected will be suspended. All interviews and the security of personal information can only be accessed by myself as well as my two supervising professors, Dr. Patricia Guerra, Assistant Professor in Education and Community Leadership (pat_guerra@txstate.edu) and Dr. Melissa A. Martinez, Assistant Professor in Education and Community Leadership (mm224@txstate.edu). They can be reached via email or at (512) 245-9909.

The research is being conducted by Cynthia Martinez, doctoral student in the School Improvement Program in the Department of Counseling, Leadership, Adult Education, and School Psychology, College of Education at Texas State University, cm1824@txstate.edu (210) 508-6229.

RISKS: There is little risk in participating in this study. Questions asked will be regards in to family and educational experiences that have led to the pursuit of a higher education. If for some reason you are uncomfortable sharing particular memories or experiences, you may choose not to answer a particular question and still participate in the study. There are no known psychological or physiological risks associated with taking part in this study.

BENFITS: There are no direct benefits to you for participating in this research. However, the experiences of you and your family may greatly assist education systems and other Latino families in preparing their students for higher education.

COMPENSATION: In appreciation of their time and upon completion of the student and parent interview, the student will be awarded a $25 gift card.

CONFIDENTIALTY/PRIVACY: Your name will not appear on any research document. A pseudonym (code) will be used to protect your identity. All written materials and consent forms will be stored in a locked file cabinet, or a password protected computer in the researcher's home. Only the researcher and the two supervising professors, as listed above, will have access to the data. Your response(s) will only appear with your pseudonym when presented in written or oral presentation at educational forums. All materials will be kept for five years until they are destroyed.

RIGHT TO WITHDRAW/STOP PARTICIPATION IN STUDY: Your participation is voluntary; you may discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS: A summary of the findings will be provided to participants upon completion of the study, if requested. You can ask for a summary of results by emailing Cynthia Martinez (cm1824@txstate.edu).

VOLUNTARY CONSENT: I have read this Consent form and understand what is being asked of me. I also understand that participation in this study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw my consent at any time, for any reason, without penalty. By signing this Consent form, I am agreeing to take part in this research project.

This project EXP2016M298174-E was approved by the Texas State IRB on January 13, 2016. Pertinent questions or concerns about the research, research participants' rights, and/or research-related injuries to participants should be directed to the IRB chair, Dr. Jon Lasser (512-245-3413 - lasser@txstate.edu) and to Becky Northcut, Director, Research Integrity & Compliance (512-245-2314 - bnorthcut@txstate.edu).

_____   _____
Participant's Signature   Date

_____   _____
Researcher's Signature   Date

Appendix D: Parent Consent Form to Participate in Research

You are being asked to be part of a research project. This research is seeking to learn more about the role of Latino parents in their daughter's pursuit of a higher education. If you volunteer to be part of this research, you will be asked to participate in one 60-minute phone interview. During the interview you may choose not to answer any question(s) for any reason. Time of the interview will be based on participants' preference and availability.

All interviews will be audio-recorded with your permission. Confidentiality of interviews and data collected will be maintained through the use of pseudonyms and security of personal information. Taking part in this study is voluntary so you may withdraw at any time without penalty and the use of data collected will be suspended. All interviews and the security of personal information can only be accessed by myself as well as my two supervising professors, Dr. Patricia Guerra, Assistant Professor in Education and Community Leadership (pat_guerra@txstate.edu) and Dr. Melissa A. Martinez, Assistant Professor in Education and Community Leadership (mm224@txstate.edu). They can be reached via email or at (512) 245-9909.

The research is being conducted by Cynthia Martinez, doctoral student in the School Improvement Program in the Department of Counseling, Leadership, Adult Education, and School Psychology, College of Education at Texas State University, cm1824@txstate.edu (210) 508-6229.

RISKS: There is little risk in participating in this study. Questions asked will be regards to family and educational experiences that have led to the pursuit of a higher education. If for some reason you are uncomfortable sharing particular memories or experiences or discussing them with your daughter present, you may choose not to answer a particular question and still participate in the study. There are no known psychological or physiological risks associated with taking part in this study.

BENFITS: There are no direct benefits to you for participating in this research. However, the experiences of you and your family may greatly assist education systems and other Latino families in preparing their students for higher education.

COMPENSATION: There is no compensation for the parent participating in this study.

CONFIDENTIALTY/PRIVACY: Your name will not appear on any research document. A pseudonym (code) will be used to protect your identity. All written materials and consent forms will be stored in a locked file cabinet, or a password protected computer in the researcher's home. Only the researcher and the two supervising professors, as listed above, will have access to the data. Your response(s) will only appear with your pseudonym when presented in written or oral presentation at educational forums. All materials will be kept for five years until they are destroyed.

RIGHT TO WITHDRAW/STOP PARTICIPATION IN STUDY: Your participation is voluntary; you may discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS: A summary of the findings will be provided to participants upon completion of the study, if requested. You can ask for a summary of results by emailing Cynthia Martinez (cm1824@txstate.edu).

VOLUNTARY CONSENT: I have read this Consent form and understand what is being asked of me. I also understand that participation in this study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw my consent at any time, for any reason, without penalty. By signing this Consent form, I am agreeing to take part in this research project.

 This project EXP2016M298174-E was approved by the Texas State IRB on January 13, 2016. Pertinent questions or concerns about the research, research participants' rights, and/or research-related injuries to participants should be directed to the IRB chair, Dr. Jon Lasser (512-245-3413 - lasser@txstate.edu) and to Becky Northcut, Director, Research Integrity & Compliance (512-245-2314 - bnorthcut@txstate.edu).

_____   _____
Participant's Signature   Date

_____   _____
Researcher's Signature   Date

Appendix E: Research Information Form

Research Information Form

The form is intended to gather initial information prior to student and parent interview

Sign in to Google to save your progress. Learn more

* Required

Email *

Your email

Student Name *

Your answer

Contact Number *

Your answer

Interview format preference (check all that apply) *

☐ Phone

☐ Face-to-Face

☐ Virtual

Student Age *

Your answer

Student Ethnicity *

Your answer

Hometown *

Your answer

Year/Major/Career Aspirations *

Your answer

Parent Background information: Hometown, Ethnicity, education and work
background *

Your answer

Send me a copy of my responses.

Submit   Clear form

Appendix F: Interview Guide for Undergraduate Student

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. My name is Cynthia Martinez, and I am a doctoral student at Texas State University. The purpose of this study is to examine the role of Latino parents in their daughter's pursuit of higher education.

Please feel free to share whatever you wish during this interview, and you are free to choose not to participate in any part of this study. If you wish not to respond to a particular question or wish to terminate the interview at any time, please let me know. I just want to remind you that by participating in this study you are giving permission to be audio-recorded during the interview. To protect your identity, I will transcribe our conversation using a pseudonym (a code) for you. All interview information will be password protected on my computer and only my dissertation chairs and myself will have access to this information. I have asked you to bring photographs, mementos, and artifacts about your education, so please feel free to share them throughout the interview. Before we begin do you have any questions?

Background information
1. Please share your age, where you're from, and a little bit about your college goals?

Role of parents
1. Please share a little bit about your parents such as where they are from, where they work and their educational experiences?
2. When you were growing up what were your parents' expectations of you concerning your education? How did you know they had these expectations?
3. How did your parents support your education–in elementary, middle, high school and now in college?
4. Describe a there a time where you felt your parents were unable to help you with your education?
   a. Why do you think that was so?
   b. How did you manage this situation?
5. Can you describe your experience in deciding on a college, a major and getting into college?
   a. What role did your parents play in this decision process?
6. Is there anything else you'd like to share, or do you have any questions?

Appendix G: Interview Guide for Parents

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. My name is Cynthia Martinez, and I am a doctoral student at Texas State University. The purpose of this study is to examine the role of Latino parents in their daughter's pursuit of higher education.

Please feel free to share whatever you wish during this interview, and you are free to choose not to participate in any part of this study. If you wish not to respond to a particular question or wish to terminate the interview at any time, please let me know. I just want to remind you that by participating in this study you are giving permission to be audio-recorded during the interview. To protect your identity, I will transcribe our conversation with using a pseudonym (a code) for you. All interview information will be password protected on my computer and only my dissertation chairs and myself will have access to this information. Before we begin to you have any questions?

Background information
1. Can you please tell me about yourself?
    a. Where are you from, what do you do for work, and tell me about your family?
2. Can you tell me about your own educational experiences?

Daughter's Education
1. Can you describe the expectations you had for your daughter's education and how you conveyed those expectations to her?
    a. What were your hopes and dreams for your daughter?
2. How did you support your daughter's education–in elementary, middle, and high school and now in college?
3. Was there a time when you felt you were unable to help your daughter with her education?
    a. Why do you think that was so?
    b. How did you deal with the situation?
4. Can you tell me about your daughter's experience in deciding on a college, a major and getting into college?
    a. What role did you play in this decision process?
5. Please describe the role you played in your daughter's pursuit of a college education.
6. Is there anything else you'd like to share, or do you have any questions?

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