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ABSTRACT

Factors for the academic success of Hispanic American students whose background profiles label them as "at-risk" are explored in this ethnographic study. Areas of focus include demographic and biographical characteristics, everyday life, group identity, and roles of primary and secondary social groups. Observation and discourse analysis of 20 high-achieving Hispanic students (10 female and 10 male) in two inner city high schools focused on their creation of a world view and strategies for goal achievement. Analysis of the data suggested two primary categories which explain the success of these students and which are described under the rubrics of "potential identity threats" and "the gauntlet." "Potential identity threats" encompasses families and neighborhoods in which non-achieving cultural themes abounded, but which were countered in each case by positive role models/significant others so that students were able to select those themes from their environments that would help them construct a Hispanic-achiever identity early in life and to evaluate negatively such non-achieving role models and groups as school dropouts and users of drugs and alcohol. "The gauntlet" is a metaphor that describes adaptive behaviors used within the school environment to achieve the goals of high school graduation and admission to college. Common strategies for achievement include English language mastery, identification with school, and conforming to traditional Anglo American norms for success, since those behaviors are rewarded. Cheating was also a prevalent behavior among participants; it was rationalized as acceptable because it increased the likelihood of doing better in school. Recommendations include providing appropriate role models, supporting English language mastery programs, encouraging personnel to become aware of Hispanic cultural values, developing comprehensive and accessible programs, improving time management, and addressing the issue of cheating. Three tables, three figures, and a profile of respondents are included. (22 references) (LMI)

AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF HIGH ACHIEVING AT-RISK HISPANIC YOUTHS AT TWO URBAN HIGH SCHOOLS: IMPLICATIONS FOR ADMINISTRATORS

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Running Head: HIGH ACHIEVING AT-RISK HISPANIC STUDENTS

Demographers project that by the year 2000 one out of three Americans will be a minority person. The present population of the United States is 245 million; just under 12% are African American, 6.4% are Hispanic and 1.6% are Asian while the Anglo population is about 80% (U.S. Census, 1988, 1982). The most rapid growth in the near future will be in the Hispanic and Asian populations. By the year 2020, demographers predict this nation will have 47 million Hispanics and 44 million African Americans (AASA, 1988). Hispanic newcomers have arrived predominantly from Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua, with the largest percentage coming from Mexico. In the nation's largest school systems minority enrollment levels range from 70% to 96% (National Coalition of Advocates for Students, 1988). Since a high proportion of at-risk students are minorities, the implications for public schools are tremendous.

The At-Risk Student

The majority of studies in the literature report negative consequences for dropping out for the student as well as for society. According to McDill, Natriello and Pallas (1985), dropouts tend to have lower academic skills than high school graduates. This lower academic skill level is related to securing steady employment and an adequate income (Rumberger, 1987). According to data of the 1983 U.S. Bureau of the Census, in 1979 the difference in lifetime earnings for a male graduate and a male dropout was more than $250,000. It is difficult to estimate the economic costs of dropping out. However, according to Levin (1972), the costs for lost tax revenues from school dropouts ages 25-34 is 71 billion, welfare and unemployment costs are $3 billion and crime and crime prevention cost $3 billion. Leaving school without obtaining a diploma is a serious handicap in the world of work, particularly for minorities (Morgan, 1984). Levin (1972) identified several consequences for failing to complete school: 1) forgone national income; 2) forgone tax revenues for support of government services; 3) increased demand for social services; 4) increased crime; 5) reduced political participation; 6) reduced intergenerational mobility; and 7) poorer levels of health. However, not all the consequences are economic. Brenner (1976) found that the greater the unemployment the greater the incidents of mortality, suicides and admissions to mental hospitals. However, the literature is somewhat contradictory regarding

negative consequences for dropouts. Coombs and Cooley (1968) compared dropouts and graduates with respect to their employment at nineteen years old. They found no major differences in either employment or income. Bachman, Green, and Wirtanen (1971) studied a similar age group. Dropouts and graduates had similar incomes and both expressed comparable job satisfaction, but unemployment for dropouts was considerably higher (29% to 13%). Perhaps looking at nineteen year old graduates and dropouts was premature. If a student had left school at age sixteen and was working for three to four years it is likely his/her salary would be more than someone who had just started working for a particular employer, since most paychecks increase when an employee has some longevity. Therefore, comparing nineteen year olds is not particularly revealing. Other studies have found different results because they have examined graduates and dropouts after several years in the workplace. A study conducted in Minnesota with 1000 high school boys (Hathway, Reynolds & Monachesi, 1969) looked at them at the age of 28 rather than as recent graduates. Dropouts tended to: 1) have low social status; 2) a higher incidence of criminal activity; 3) downward social mobility; and, 4) more children.

In the 1980's national attention focused on the at-risk student. Adequately serving the needs of students who fit what sociologists now call 'at-risk profiles' emerged as the newest issue in providing our nation's youth the education necessary for successfully functioning in our society. Considering the socioeconomic levels of these groups, this means the doors of public schools will be opening to greater numbers of children who are poorer and more ethnically and linguistically diverse. These minority students cover a wider socioeconomic range than ever before. As the numbers of diverse students increase, so too does the necessity of finding treatments to meet their divergent abilities so students do not leave school without acquiring skills essential to functioning successfully in American society. Consequently, it must become the priority of educational researchers and policy makers to develop more effective response mechanisms to meet the educational needs of at-risk students.

Previous research has focused attention on establishing the 'at-risk profile.' For example, McCann and Austin (1988) differentiate among three sets of definitions for the student at-risk:

1) students who, for whatever reason, are at-risk of not achieving the goals of education--of not meeting local and state standards for high school graduation, of not acquiring the knowledge, skills and dispositions to become productive members of society.
2) students who exhibit behaviors that educators see as possibly interfering with the educational processes. Examples might be drugs, becoming pregnant, etc.
3) students whose family or community background may place them at-risk, (i.e., children born to teenage mothers.)

Despite the bleak picture painted by researchers and a growing concern for the future of students who do not complete high school, there continues to be a significant number of young people who fit the researchers' profile for students at-risk but who for some reason, are not at-risk. Little is actually known about the youth who possesses the identified correlates of failure, but does not. Even less is known about the young person who possesses some, or all, of the at-risk characteristics identified above but somehow not only stays in school and does not fail, but excels. Indeed, s/he is often at the top of his/her class.

Correlates of academic achievement have been studied extensively among middle-class Anglo students and much is known about the environmental characteristics which promote academic competence in these students (Baumrind, 1975; Bernstein, 1980; Richter & Scandrette, 1971). However, many of the experiences that have been identified as contributing to academic success are beyond the reach of children who come from low SES and minority families. Since most studies which look at academic achievement focus on middle-class students, little is known about the influences which might stimulate academic achievement in students with limited economic and social resources. Additionally, even less is known about Hispanics who excel academically.

Several theories have been advanced to explain the low educational attainment of Hispanics in our schools. Some researchers have pinpointed low socioeconomic status, limited proficiency in English, cultural traditions and values, or lack of motivation (California Postsecondary Education Commission--CPEC, 1980). Other investigators contend that external factors such as racism, segregation, sexism, and lack of opportunity are to blame for the poor educational record of Hispanics (U.S. Commission on

Civil Rights, 1971-1974). It is probable that multiple factors contribute to the problem of low educational attainment in the Hispanic community. However, strategies for overcoming barriers to educational progress continue to be poorly defined and largely ineffective (CPEC, 1984).

Method

This study took a different perspective; its objective was to embrace a compendium of characteristics, internal and external, which contributed to disadvantaged students' academic success. While the study proposed to explore the lives of Mexican-American students whose background characteristics met the profile of an "at-risk" student, it focused on those who excelled academically rather than dropped out. The following research questions were posed: What are the demographic and biographical characteristics of the academically successful "at-risk" Mexican-American high school student? What is everyday life like for these students? What group identity do these students create for themselves? What role do family, teachers, school, peers, church and other factors play in their overall lifestyle? What is the relation of a student's school identity with family identity? What factors contribute to their academic success? How do these students construct themselves as academic successes? and, What can be learned from these students that will provide insights into possible instructional or environmental adaptations which might increase the proportion of students who complete high school?

Theoretical Framework

This study was approached using a qualitative research design in order to discover interpretive frames. This was done through discourse analysis. The researcher used the discourse of the participants, their key phrases and expressions, to analyze the interpretive frameworks of which they made use. The focus of interest was in how the interpretive frameworks discovered were related to academic success of the participants. In addition, the researcher focused on their routine behaviors. This was done through observations in a variety of settings. Thus, there were two different objects of study. First, there was the interpretive schemes which were a subjective and intersubjective object of study. Secondly, there were the observable behaviors, the objective object of study.

In analyzing the language used by participants, their interpretations of their daily lives, and their actual behaviors, the

researcher had two foci. First, the focus was on the perspectives through which participants made sense of the world. These perspectives included their values, norms and assumptions maintained within their cultural groups. In this study culture was looked at as a creative construction which all people generate within small groups. In order to produce this culture, people draw upon diverse sources including themes learned in the home, neighborhood, and through the media to mention but a few. For students these themes may be learned from their teachers and from peers whose home and neighborhood context may differ from their own. Thus, for the participants there were many Hispanic cultures. Their own interpretations of life were synthetic constructions drawing upon elements from these diverse sources. Secondly, the researcher considered the strategies participants employed to achieve their goals as well as the different situations in which they defined their goals. Strategies differ from interpretive schemes in that the latter establish goals while the former make up the means for pursuing goals.

Selection of School Sites

Data were collected in two inner-city high schools in a large metropolitan school district in the Southwestern United States. The two schools, Lineberry and Ripley Senior High Schools*, were chosen according to such factors as percentage of Hispanic students and willingness of those involved to participate. Given the background criteria necessary for selecting participants, the researcher chose schools whose student bodies were more than 50% Hispanic;thus there was a greater likelihood of finding high achieving Hispanic students meeting the criteria [Mexican-American, US born, etc.] was high.

The Sample

A total of twenty participants were identified for the study including ten males and ten females. Four students were from Lineberry Senior High School and sixteen from Ripley Senior High School.

In order to identify participants for the study the following steps were implemented. In April, 1989 the researcher entered each school. Initially, two to three weeks were spent selecting students meeting the criteria. Students were identified through student files and other records as well as by recommendations of teachers and counselors. Students were observed for two class

periods before their consent and parental consent were solicited. The main reason for this observation was to compare the participants' behaviors before they knew the researchers' focus of observation with after they knew they were being observed.

To be included in the study, participants had to meet the following criteria: a) Mexican-American ethnicity; 2) junior in high school; 3) working towards an honors diploma; 4) coming from a family in which neither parent had completed high school; 5) coming from a low SES family; and 6) born in the United States. Other criteria often found in the dropout prediction literature were sought including: single parent families, prior grade retention, large families, low English proficiency, siblings and peers who had dropped out, high mobility, working more than 15 hours, drug usage, etc. In addition, participants automatically fell into two 'at-risk' categories: (a) living in the South and (b) living in an urban environment. The original intent of the researcher was to find high achieving friendship groups, however due to the nature of the criteria for selection, finding these groups was not possible. Nevertheless, both groups of participants shared some classes and/or participated in the same extracurricular activities. Since the majority of the participants were SWAS [school within a school] students, they were part of a larger cohort. In addition, several participants attended the same middle school programs as well as elementary programs. (See appendix for background profiles of the participants.)

Data Collection and Coding

Initial interviews held with participants were used to establish baseline data, including biographical and demographic information. Interviews were held in a variety of places. An interview guide was used for all interviews. This guide was expanded as the interviewing process unfolded. Additional questions were included as areas of significance to participants emerged in the earlier interviews. Some interviews took place in the participants' homes with parents participating. Others were scheduled at school or in a nearby restaurant. Participants chose the settings for interviews. Initial interviews lasted from one to three hours. Several participants were interviewed over a period of months while for others, due to the length and depth of the initial interview, short follow-up interviews took place during school hours, at school functions or on the telephone. At various points during the study, all participants were contacted by phone to ask for additional information or to corroborate data.

These interviews were followed by observation periods which explored patterns of behavior both inside and outside the school setting. Observation settings included the following: classrooms, the cafeteria, the schoolyard, the football stadium, the home, the workplace, etc. In the beginning observation categories focused on peer-participant, teacher-participant, family-participant, and academic studies-participant interactions. The focus of observations and interviews was on the process of excelling academically despite having 'at-risk' characteristics. Observations took place from April of 1989 until late June, 1990. After the initial two to three weeks of daily observations, the researcher spent, on the average, two full days per week observing. Each participant was observed at school for at least two complete days.

A series of both group and individual satellite interviews were held with others individuals including teachers, counselors, relatives, peers, etc. These interviews ranged from fifteen to thirty minutes. Individuals were only contacted if their names emerged from participant interviews or conversations during observations. Systematic monitoring via interview and observation of participants' progress as high school juniors and seniors continued throughout the study. Additionally, more focused interviews were used to monitor participants' perspectives of any changes which took place. Exit interviews took place in late June, 1990. Contact is being maintained with participants in order to do a follow-up study at a later date.

Field notes were made during all interviews and observations. They were descriptive in nature. Notes included facts, quotes, and key words. No interpretations were included in the notes themselves. A personal log was kept for the researcher's reactions to the observations and interviews. This not only included reactions to what was seen and heard, but also interpretations of the data. Archival data were collected and used to supplement and verify data collected during observations and interviews. These included such documents as school records, letters, diaries, photographs and medical histories. All interviews were audiotaped and fully transcribed. Besides basic demographic data which was collected from school files as well as from participants, the interview guide contained questions grouped according to categories. These included school, family, peer, as well as work and community related questions. Separate

interview guides were prepared for participants, parents, school personnel, peers and community members.

Files (Douglas, 1976) were kept and formed the basis for the coding of data. These included: a) mundane files for keeping track of people, places, documents, etc.; b) analytic files for emergent coding themes; and c) fieldwork files to keep a record of the process involved in doing the research itself. The field work files contained a record of experiences, ideas, mistakes, confusions and problems occurring during the field work.

Data Analysis

Initial coding of data was followed by focused coding (Glaser, 1978). A computer package (hyperqual) for coding was used. Categories and themes emerged from the focused coding. Knowledge of the literature was used to clarify and expand codes as well as to become sensitized to the emerging analysis. Memos, written elaborations of ideas about the data and the coded categories (Charmanz, 1983), were sorted and integrated in order to reveal any relation between categories. Theoretical sampling (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) occurred as data were analyzed and categories developed if additional data were needed to saturate and exhaust categories. Since two high schools were used in the study, comparisons were made of the educational environments of the students. This provided a means of checking the breadth and depth of any data which had been categorized.

Building and Establishing Trustworthiness

In their book Naturalistic Inquiry, Lincoln and Guba (1985) adopted four terms -credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability-to be used as the naturalistic researcher's equivalents for terms used in positivistic paradigms. This researcher is in agreement with the authors that the terms - internal and external validity, internal and external reliability - are inappropriate when applied to a naturalistic study. Thus, various measures were undertaken so that trustworthiness of this study would be established. These measures: (a) increased the probability that trustworthiness was achieved, and/or (b) provided data needed to reach a judgment. Techniques used included: peer debriefing, member checking, 'thick description' (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), prolonged engagement, persistent observation, negative case analysis (Kidder, 1981) the inquiry audit and the confirmability audit (Halpern, 1983).

Results

In relation to the research questions asked in this study, participants shared certain characteristics and followed certain ways to achieving. Some of the conclusions generated from this study describe those characteristics, while others describe the social structures and processes which shaped their achieving behaviors.

For participants school success meant being eligible for scholarships and being accepted into colleges. These twenty participants demonstrated much evidence that they had acquired those skills necessary to do well in school. Somehow they had bought into the idea they would gain from the educational efforts they made. These ideas were transmitted from a variety of sources. For some it seemed to have been through their parents. Those who did not receive it from parents found it via older siblings or relatives; while other participants acquired this idea from school personnel or community and/or church leaders. These people acted as role models and/or caregivers. They played the role of a conduit through which a variety of themes, many being achieving themes were transmitted (See Figure 1). It is important to note that these role models or caregivers had long-term relationships with participants. For example, Gloria, a Hispanic community leader knew Tina for three years. Teachers who played this role had had participants for two or three courses covering a period of two to three years. Thus, they appeared to have had considerable impact on the lives of the participants. This can be compared to one of the characteristics of Werner and Smith's (1989) "resilient children." One characteristic these successful minority adults had shared earlier in their lives was that they had had caregivers and strong role models in their youth.

Themes and patterns which emerged from the data are organized first with those factors which were potential threats to their success. Secondly, those behaviors which help lead to success are described.

Identity Confusion

Part of being a Mexican-American meant being different. One participant referred to herself as "a jalapeno in a candy jar." Participants appeared to be walking a tightrope between the two cultures while juggling customs and traditions of the two. Most

THE PARTICIPANTS' ACHIEVEMENT PROCESS

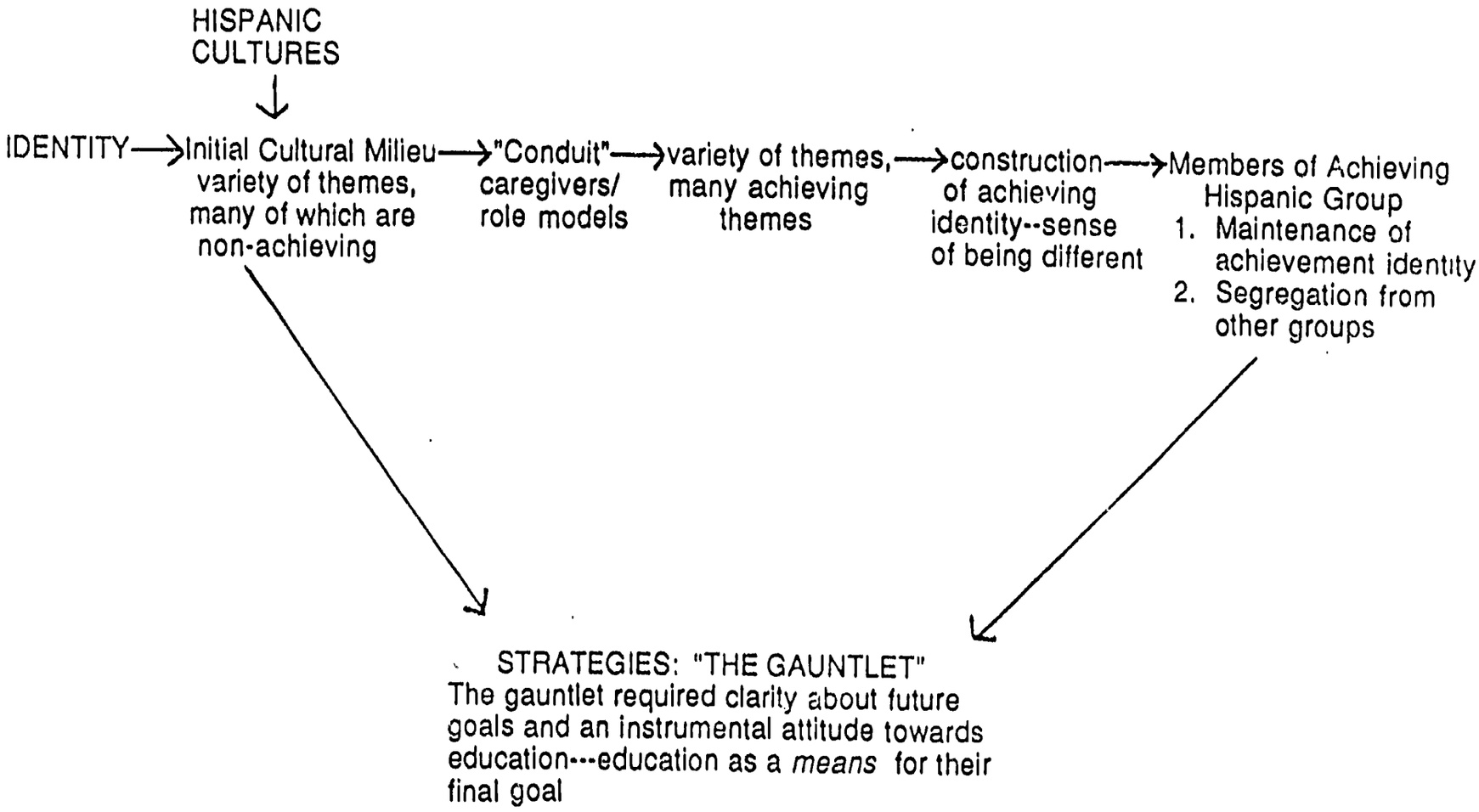


Figure 1. Achievement Process

participants felt there were degrees of being Hispanic. Despite being unsure as to what being Hispanic meant, participants were proud to be Hispanic. Without doubt all participants believed that if Mexican-Americans worked hard at succeeding in high school, they could become anyone they wanted; thus, the idea that "even a Hispanic can be a Donald Trump." They viewed people who leave school as "dumb" or "stupid" for having done such a thing. They believed that doors closed and limitations set in, or were further encroached for Mexican-Americans, when these youth dropped out of school. Often they had older siblings or relatives who served as role models for what they should not do. Many had dropped out of school and held jobs the participants would not like to have. 'Different' refers to the achievement part of an identity structure based on differentiation from other Hispanics and from other cultural groups. Participants felt themselves 'different' and were able to negatively evaluate their non-achieving kin or peers (e.g. those who used drugs).

Cultural Symbols

Obtaining the mainstream's symbols appeared to be a dominant theme in the lives of the participants. They discussed those symbols typically believed to represent stereotypic Mexican-Americans. These included: having "lots of kids in their cars"; being "barefoot and pregnant"; dressing in certain ways; living in "barrios"; and not doing anything to "get ahead." Participants felt a need to prove to the dominant culture that Hispanics can be successful despite the stereotypic symbols which middle-class America had given them as labels. This desire to prove led participants to seek the mainstream culture's norms and symbols.

Home Values

Two themes emerged from the data regarding the values of the family. First, some parents encouraged participants to attend school. Old report cards and other archival data showed participants as rarely being absent. Parents discussed not wanting their children to be absent as well. Secondly, participants appeared to be negotiating two worlds. They listened to the stories of their families, but saw a different world in front of them and they wanted to be a part of it. Participants were struggling with their parents' values and their problems of growing up in today's America. Thirteen participants discussed Hispanics who

were as qualified as Anglos, but did not as easily get jobs. They attributed this to Anglo middle-class stereotyping and prejudice.

Low expectations of some parents for female participants were also a stumbling block to be overcome. It became necessary "to prove" themselves to some parents; while for other participants, it was striving for success "to please" parents because their parents had never had educational opportunities or had not taken advantage of them.

Dropouts

Throughout the study participants made reference to the high dropout rate of Hispanics, however all twenty said they had never thought about leaving school. Participants reported having parents, and older siblings who had quit school (See Table 1 and profile of participants in appendix). Twelve of the twenty participants had older siblings numbering a total of thirty-one. Of these thirty-one older siblings, sixteen dropped out of school and fifteen graduated. Eight of these twelve participants had at least one older sibling who graduated from high school. In the cases of two of these eight participants, they were second in sibling rank; thus they had only one older sibling.

For parents the dropout rate was even higher than for older siblings. Two parents (from different families) graduated from high school. In addition three parents received a GED. All other parents dropped out of school. A total of 27 (67%) of the 40 parents never attended high school. For one participant, neither parent had ever attended school (see profiles of particpants in appendix).

Participants had numerous theories as to why Hispanic students drop out of school. These included: "no one pushed them"; low parental expectations; economic factors; repeating grades in elementary and middle school; drug use; getting married; entering school not speaking English and being placed in a low grade based on language skill rather than age; getting pregnant; peers who dropped out; a lack of encouragement from Hispanic organizations; and low self-esteem. Participants felt that some of these factors had entered their lives, but they had managed to overcome them because of their role models/caregivers.

Table 1 Older Siblings' Educational Attainment

	Siblings' Rank								
Participants' Names	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th
Julia	M-Gd	M-DO	M-DO	F-Gd	M-DO	Julia	M-14		
Angela	M-Gd	F-DO	Angela	M-16	F-11				
Pilar	F-DO	Pilar	M-13	M-10					
Blanca	M-Gd	M-Gd	F-DO	Blanca	F-17	F-14	F-12		
Victor	F-DO	F-DO	M-Gd	M-Gd	M-Gd	F-Gd	Victor		
Sergio	M-Gd	Sergio	M-15						
Lorena	F-Gd	Lorena	M-15	M-13	F-10	M-7			
Juan	F-DO	M-DO	Juan	F-7					
Antonio	F-DO	M-Gd	Antonio	F-14					
Natalia	M-GED	Natalia	F-11						
Maria	F-DO	Maria	F-14	M-9					
Manuel	M-Gd	F-DO	M-Gd	F-DO	F-DO	M-Gd	Manuel	F-16	M-15

DO=dropout Gd=graduate M=male F=female number=age

*Note
Only twelve participants had older siblings

Drugs and Alcohol

Drug usage could have created barriers for participants, but few allowed it to touch their lives. Those few who did, did so in order to survive in the various groups found in middle school. Once within the confines of the magnet/honors classes in ninth grade, these groups became even more segregated from the participants. Thus, the temptations of the "wrong crowd" were minimal in the magnet/honors program of studies. Alcohol appeared to be the only drug used by some participants. No female participant reported ever using any type of drug except alcohol; however, even alcohol was rarely consumed by female participants.

Language

Of the twenty particpants, three spoke in English with their parents. In all three cases, both parents were US born. In three other families, both English and Spanish were spoken by the participants and their families; in two cases the parents were US born. In the third case (Monica) although her parents were Mexican born, both English and Spanish were spoken in the home. However, she spoke in English with her Godmother who lived in her home and was US born and Spanish with her Mexican born parents.

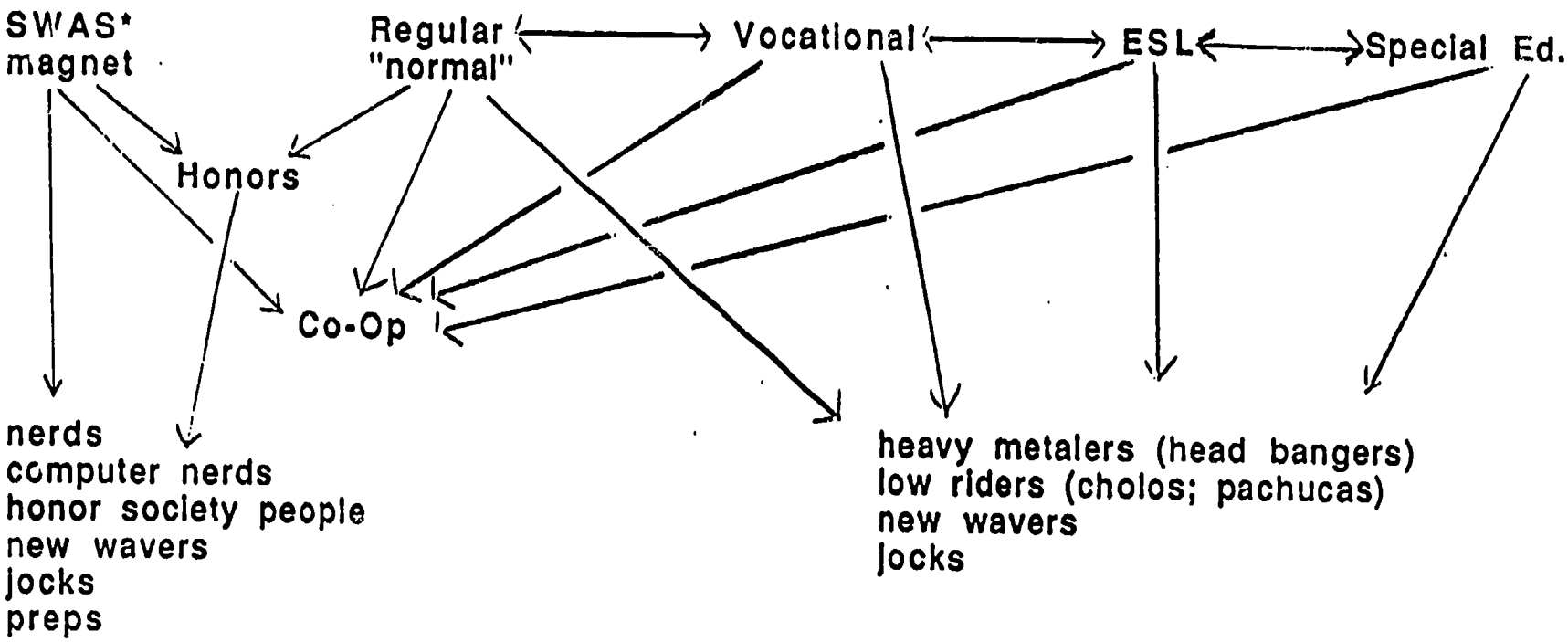
There appeared to be routes to being an academic success. Some participants experienced school success from the early grades. Seven of the participants entered kindergarten already bilingual; while others began learning English in pre-kindergarten or kindergarten and were able to easily communicate in English by first or second grade. Language at home with parents played a minor role for this latter group in acquiring English because their parents did not communicate with them in English. Instead, English speaking older siblings and/or other relatives as well as television seemed to compliment, enhance, or parallel the learning of English that was taking place at school. For those who experienced language difficulties in elementary school as well as for those who started displaying delinquent behavior in middle school, turning points occurred. These turning points may have been positively or negatively instigated by people or events which brought about change in behavior.

Social Groupings

Clearly due to the structure of the schools the participants had little opportunity at school to meet non-magnet/honors students. SWAS schools are what the term implies--school within a school. Magnet students in these two schools have separate homerooms and are only in classes with regular students for some electives and/or if there are scheduling conflicts. Honors students have somewhat more contact with regular students because they have the same homerooms. Those participants who attended vanguard/magnet elementary and/or middle schools reported limited contact throughout their careers with "regular" students. Thus, it is inevitable that there was little crossover with social group memberships.

There was overlap only in the terms used to describe social groups (see Figure 2). "New wavers" in the magnet program did not socialize with "new wavers" in the regular program. It was only the athletically inclined and sports players-the "jocks"-who somewhat shared social memberships with students from another academic grouping. Some "regular" jocks socialized with magnet/honors "jocks" in the corridors and the cafeteria and in some classrooms and homerooms where magnet/honors students were forced to take classes with "regular" students due to scheduling conflicts. However, even this social/academic group crossover contact was not proliferate. Those labeled "nerds" and "honor society people" were not found within the social groups of "regular" students. Likewise, "low riders" and "heavy metalers" were not found within the social groups of magnet/honors students. These social groupings were obvious at lunch time, before and after school, in the corridors and at school activities. To some extent clothing differentiated social and academic groups. For example, though there were a few male "new wavers" in the magnet/honors, not one wore an earring. It was simply the haircut, clothing and music they listened to that somewhat separated them. Language more than these other symbols, differentiated magnet/honors students from "regular students." The participants tended to be quieter than non-magnet/honors students. Rarely could they be heard yelling in the halls. Although they made grammatical errors, they consciously corrected themselves. They tended not to use profanities, especially in public and they rarely used double negatives despite Spanish being a first language for some participants.

Typology of Academic and Social Groups at Both High Schools



*Ripley High School only

Figure 2. Typology of Academic and Social Groups

Participants at both schools reported that students of various races and ethnic groups tended to hang around together in their classes as well as throughout the school day. On only one occasion outside school did the researcher see participants in the company of a non-Hispanic. All participants except two, reported not having close friends outside their ethnic group. There was some evidence of racial bias in the school, but it was not visibly or orally evident in the participants.

Teachers

The dominant theme regarding teaching behaviors was fairness of the teacher. Although participants preferred teachers who were "fun" and challenged them, they most of all wanted the teacher to teach. They wanted to be fully prepared for college and they considered it "unfair" to them if a teacher did not teach them what they needed to know. They did not want to leave high school and enter college unprepared for college work in comparison with other college-bound students. Therefore, teachers not covering the curriculum were not giving them a fair advantage at college.

Nearly all participants felt they had better teachers than regular students. Those few who were unsure had been in magnet programs throughout middle and high school with others being in vanguard programs since elementary. They said they had never had regular teachers so they were unsure; however, they still believed they had gotten the best teachers. That was not to say that all participants felt they had "good" teachers. Those they could not tolerate, they complained to other teachers about. They asked to make schedule changes mid-term. Some also signed petitions to recommend removing teachers. Some magnet/honors parents were involved in making complaints to the administration, however none of the parents of participants were involved. The administration at one school made scheduling changes and at the end of first semester, one teacher left and another was rescheduled to teach a regular class. Although most teachers taught regular as well as magnet/honors classes, participants believed more was expected of them than the regular students.

School Achievements

Perhaps one of the most significant areas of importance in participants' lives was the academic and sports awards they had received. Participants were proud of their achievements.

Throughout the study they talked with the researcher about them. They shared letters, newspaper clippings, pictures and made telephone calls to the researcher to tell her about their latest achievement. They invited the researcher to see them perform in plays and athletic events. Their pride in themselves was obvious. These achievements bore relevance to their identities.

All participants reported numerous successful experiences from the early stages of their school careers. Each described in detail the specific awards and honors they had received. These awards included: certificates, trophies, medals, and letters from teachers, administrators, board members and community leaders. These awards were often prominently displayed in their homes. Several parents talked with considerable pride about their child's awards and how and when they had gotten them. Some participants expressed dismay that siblings with whom they shared a bedroom would remove a trophy or certificate from a table and place it in the closet.

Participants were somewhat aware they were different from other students, however several said they had gotten some of the same awards that "everybody gets." They could not identify with "regular' students but they did identify with their fellow magnet/honors students. They felt in control of their lives in school with these scholastic and sports awards reinforcing that feeling. This control was closely tied to their participation.

School Participation

There were many school successes for all participants. These successes appeared to help pave the way toward further academic success. According to the 'participation-identification' model (Finn, 1989), the extent to which a student identifies with school is essential in order for positive outcomes including the students' feelings of belonging and valuing school-related goals, to be realized (p.29). The school successes detailed earlier support part of the model in that participation in school activities leads to successful performance outcomes leading to identification or 'bonding' with school. In other words there is a greater probability that these students will experience some level of academic success.

It is clear from the data that all participants were involved in many school activities in the past and continued to do so throughout their high school years (See Table 2). All participants,

Table 2.

School Participation Behaviors

In the Classroom:

- raising hand to volunteer answer or ask question
- taking notes
- calling out answers or questions
- being prepared for class (i.e. homework completed or attempted)
- responding correctly when called on by the teacher
- discussing the class topic with a fellow student
- bringing to class extra materials related to the subject matter
- following the directions of the teacher
- following along in textbook and/or other materials
- asking questions; initiating discussion

Outside the Classroom:

- doing homework
- discussing class topics in halls, cafeteria, at lunch, on telephone, etc.
- studying
- doing outside reading and/or preparation for topics not assigned
- attending functions related to class topics

School-Wide Participation Behaviors:

- joining clubs and related activities
- attending sports activities
- attending special activities (i.e. career night, dances)
- voting
- campaigning
- participating in school-wide activities (i.e. dress-up days)
- participating in school protests (in favor of the administration)
- making announcements on the PA system
- helping teachers, counselors, administrators

even those who worked, were actively involved in their schools. This participation included extracurricular activities as well as those behaviors typically labeled as classroom participation behaviors. Participants expressed discontent when fellow non-magnet/honors students did not display "school spirit" by not participating in extracurricular activities. This reinforced their beliefs of "regular" students; thus, they further separated themselves from those "regular" students who did not display similar behaviors and feelings about school as they.

Doing homework, another participation behavior, was reinforced from an early age by many of the participants' parents or other caregivers. Participants learned to maneuver through the system by learning that homework could be done at school, during class or other school time that was considered by participants to be a "waste" (e.g. homeroom, classes with "bad" teachers). For most participants doing homework was a necessary evil. Therefore, when it could be done at school or with others, participants did so. A few participants who choose to be extremely active in school activities were forced to do most homework at home. That, too, was viewed as satisfactory because "college looks at how many clubs you belong to..." (IT-S-R 9.9.38)

A considerable amount of competition existed amongst all students in the magnet/honors classes. This competition was a form of motivation. It was also tied to cheating. Various groups within the magnet/honors classes competed against each other(e.g. honor society group and non-honor society) and participants reported feeling enormous pressure due to the competition.

Cheating

Cheating was found to be a prevalent behavior amongst the participants (See Table 3). Not only did participants display a wide variety of behaviors typically label as cheating behaviors, but due to certain teacher behaviors the likelihood of cheating was greatly increased. Some participants had an unarticulated tacit awareness of the unethical behavior of cheating, yet they rationalized the behavior. All felt they were capable of the work, but due to time constraints, laziness, poor teaching, and other pressures, they justified the behavior. They felt that as high a GPA as possible was the goal. If some cheating might help to maintain or achieve that goal, then they were justified in cheating.

Table 3

Types of Cheating Behaviors

- copying homework
- looking at another student's paper during test, quiz, assignment (any paper which will receive a grade)
- calling out answers or requesting answers (when the teacher is absent or present)
- hiding a calculator
- talking during a test
- changing answers while correcting your own paper or that of a friend
- looking through textbook or notes during exam
- giving written or oral answers from tests to students in another section
- bringing 'cheat sheets' to class
- stealing a test prior to exam
- planning cheating strategies with friends in advance
- plagiarizing

Teacher Behaviors that Increased the Likelihood of Cheating

Teacher Curriculum Organization:

- assigning "too much" homework
- assigning "worthless" class assignments
- giving tests without teaching/preparing the material
- assigning homework without clearly explaining

Preventive Measures:

- not securing tests in advance
- not having students clear off their desks
- not altering or using different versions of test to avoid students from different sections sharing information

Supervision Behaviors:

- leaving the classroom during exam
- not monitoring class during test
- not stopping student talking during test
- putting students making up an exam in an area without supervision
- having students correct own paper or friend's without monitoring

Time Management

By eleventh grade participants had become adept at managing their time. Their pocket calendars, post-it reminders, use of briefcases and backpacks afforded them easy access to materials and facilitated organization of their time. Participants used homeroom periods, lunch time and "boring" classes to work on homework or school related activities. Thus, despite having full schedules, participants were able to come to class prepared and have high levels of participation in school activities.

Special Programs

Participation in special programs as the mentor program and Upward Bound were viewed as other ways of helping participants to reach their present academic goal of getting accepted into college. In both programs, they found out about applying to colleges, how to get scholarships and the process of applying for financial aid. They were able to ask questions and get assistance from people who showed concern for their future. Once again they lamented the non-interest in these programs by regular students. When the mentor program expanded, they expressed concern that it was no longer meeting their needs as it had the year before when it had been smaller. However, participants were glad to be receiving additional help because counselors were often too busy doing other things to spend time individually with them.

Participants also discussed the assemblies and other special activities the school offered. They often complained of the superficiality of many of these programs (i.e. 'Say No To Drugs' assemblies.) They thought many of these activities to be "Mickey Mouse."

Economic Factors

Staying in school for some participants was even more of a struggle than for others. Economic factors played a potentially deterring role. Participants discussed the costs of their 'free' education. These included: class dues, prom clothing, class rings, athletic events, yearbook photos, yearbooks, club dues, extracurricular activity fees, school newspapers, and PE clothing among others. Some participants also reported having to cover the costs of their cars, clothing, and even giving some money to the family. Ten participants regularly worked twenty or more hours a week. Two participants worked full time throughout the

summer between their junior and senior years, sixteen of the twenty participants worked more than twenty hours per week during that summer. In addition, six participants worked full time during the Christmas and Spring breaks. These students certainly differed from those in the findings of researchers who found that those who work fifteen or more hours per week were 50% more likely to drop out than those who do not work at all or work fewer hours. (Barro, 1984; Ekstrom et al., 1986; Steinberg et al., 1984) Therefore, it is the goal, the achieving interpretive frame, which is primary. Strategies for handling such constraints could be (and were) developed.

The High Achiever's Game

Participants showed evidence of playing the game of being a good student. They had repeatedly tested teachers and knew their expectations. If homework was important for a teacher and a grade was given, then it was completed. They mastered the rules of the game and they had become skilled players. Barbara Porro (1985), in her fascinating, yet unfortunately all too realistic description of a low achiever playing the school system game, describes how Bob acts differently for different teachers depending upon their expectations. The game Bob plays sound very similar to that described in this study by three participants. Porro's comments about Claremont High School could have been written about Lineberry and Ripley.

> Although it (Claremont) appears to be running smoothly, like a good machine, the way in which it operates is not necessarily related to educating. The system merely sets up an opportunity for education to take place. Whether or not real education happens is up to individual teachers and students. (p.270)

Thus, according to Porro the school's role is to set up opportunities for education to occur. Magnet/honors students and most of their teachers took advantage of the opportunities for real education to take place. Just as Porro's Bob who played the low achiever game was "...capable of rising to the occasion and bringing himself to task." with teachers who demanded it of him, so too, do the participants not perform to capacity, skip classes and stay home when they feel school or a class is a waste of time and there will be no negative consequences. However, since most

of the time at school was with teachers who expected them to achieve, the participants did what was necessary to achieve. However, even when their teachers were not offering an opportunity for education to take place, the participants made good use of their class time (e.g. doing homework, filling out college applications, etc).

Conclusions

Analysis of the data has suggested two primary categories which explain the success of these Hispanic students. First are the most general features of the interpretive frameworks through which these students defined their own goals in life and interpreted the activities of others with whom they came into contact. Second are the strategies used by these students to pursue these goals through a gauntlet of obstacles.

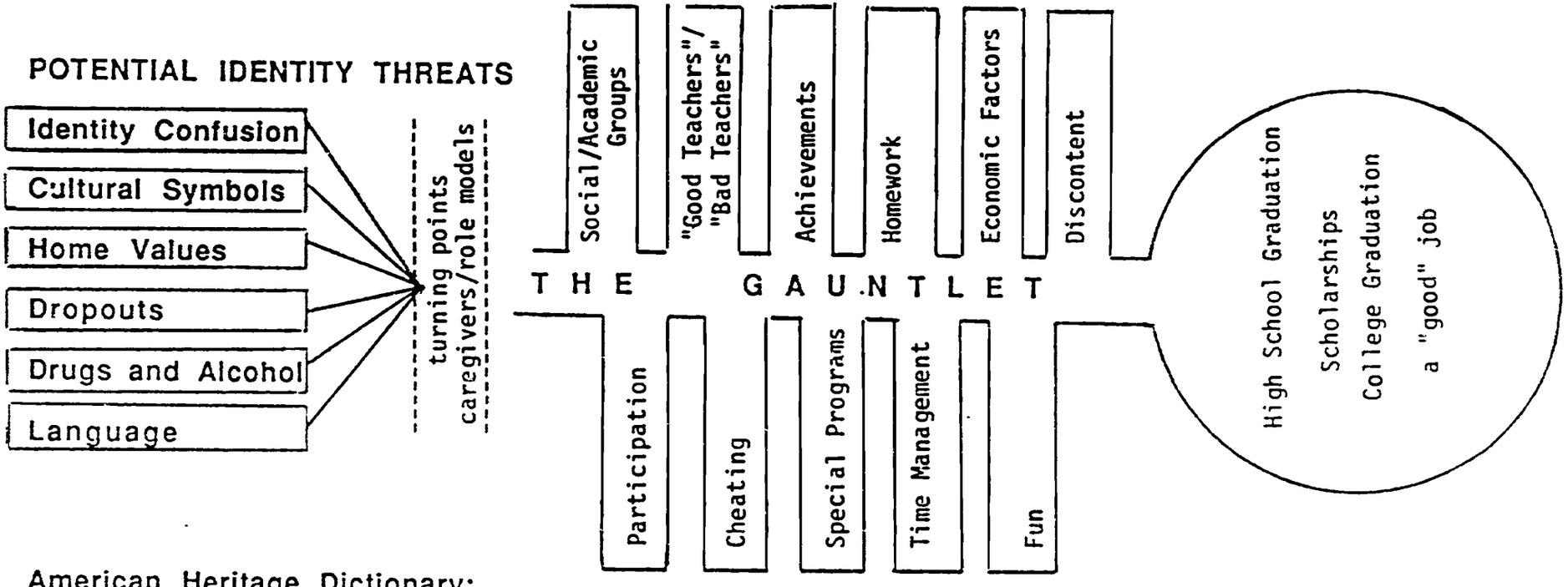
Conclusions are organized under the rubrics 'potential identity threats' and 'the gauntlet' (see Figure 3). This metaphor is used to explain that after having overcome some potential obstacles participants faced a severe challenge in order to achieve their first educational goals: 1) graduating from high school, and 2) getting accepted into college.

Identity Characteristics

The participants were born into families and neighborhoods in which non-achieving cultural themes abounded. They had parents who had not gone far through any educational system, older siblings and other relatives who had dropped out, neighbors who did not achieve and who made use of cultural themes to win a sense of dignity in which positive school performance was evaluated negatively. In some cases parents or guardians actually discouraged achievement, in others support for achievement was given but not overly stressed.

Despite these possible threats, each participant came to positively evaluate school achievement, usually from a very early age. In every case this occurred through positive role models and supportive significant others found within the school system at an early stage or, in some cases, within the home or the community. The positive role models and 'agents of encouragement' each student had are called 'conduits' in this study. They are called this because they transmitted values and goals associated with the dominant, middle class, culture of the

IDENTITY THREATS AND THE CHALLENGE FOR ACHIEVING



American Heritage Dictionary:

Gauntlet- Two lines of men facing each other and armed with sticks and other weapons with which they beat a person forced to run between them; a severe trial; an ordeal; a challenge

Figure 3. Identity Threats and the Challenge for Achieving

school to the students at an early age. The students were able to take these cultural themes and selectively take various themes from their home and community environments to construct a Hispanic-achiever identity early in life.

This identity worked as an interpretive framework through which they negatively evaluated role models and peer groups which did not represent achievement. **They all referred to dropouts as being "dumb" or "stupid" and to social groups using drugs as being on the wrong track in life.**

The resulting identity was one in which the students defined themselves as being 'different' from other Hispanics and from other students of different ethnicity. Yet in doing so they did not feel themselves to be betraying their ethnic identities. Two factors made it possible for them to do so. First, **Hispanic identity was vague and ambiguous enough to allow for a variety of styles of being Mexican-American.** All students referred to levels or degrees of being Hispanic. Rather than an either/or situation, they were able to carve out their own way of being a Hispanic without fear of social sanctions from peers or kin. Secondly, **all had found Hispanic friends who had come to interpret life in a similar manner.** By forming friendship groups with other achieving Hispanics these students isolated themselves from the "wrong crowd" and so by maintained their achieving identities through time. By high school, the honors and especially the magnet programs aided them in maintaining this special identity by keeping them in proximity with other Hispanics of like interests. The cultural rules for maintaining a successful identity included competition amongst themselves for getting high marks and included a future identity of economic and social success taken from the dominant culture. The culture of the achieving group is very future-oriented and school activities thus became instrumental for their final career goals.

There were **numerous motivational factors driving participants to seek academic success.** These factors were tied to their long-range goal of acquiring the symbols of middle-class American success.

The Gauntlet--The Challenge

Participants knew their needs and found out where to get them met. If their needs were not met, they shifted in and out of the system in order to find out how best to accomplish what

needed to be done to satisfy those needs. This was the passing through of the gauntlet.

Most of the participants had been given, and had accepted, a **string of positive reinforcements from the school system from the earliest years**--in the form of good grades, trophies, certificates, letters and the attention of some of their teachers. The biggest potential obstacle for receiving such encouragement was knowledge of the English language but these students had all either come to school with English proficiency learned at home or had quickly mastered English once in school.

All participants displayed **various types of participation behaviors** throughout their careers. Those behaviors were tied to their identification with school. Participants learned to identify with school at an early age. It became a 'home away from home.'

Doing **homework was viewed by participants as a contributing factor to academic success.** In order to maximize time, it was done during any school time viewed by participants as a "waste."

Another conclusion of this study is that participants were able to complete all of their school work despite **working more than fifteen hours per week. There was much evidence of participants carefully managing their school time.**

Cheating was a prevalent behavior amongst participants. Most forms of **cheating were thought to be wrong but were rationalized as acceptable behavior because they increased the likelihood participants would do better in school.** Another conclusion is that **certain teacher behaviors appeared to lead to an increase in cheating behaviors of participants.**

Participants considered their teachers to be better than the teachers of regular students. If a teacher taught regular and magnet students, participants believed the teacher had higher expectations for them than for regular students.

Magnet/honors classes increased the social segregation of students. Little opportunity existed for magnet/honors students to socialize with non-magnet honors students. For the most part social groups were highly associated with academic groups.

Another conclusion is that the **magnet/honors environment set up at both schools provided a special situation fostering academic growth and cultural 'differences'.**

In addition the mentor program (and to some extent the Upward Bound Program) predominantly served magnet/honors students.

Finally, the two schools in the study rewarded those behaviors traditionally referred to as middle-class Anglo behaviors.

Discussion

There are many theories as to why some minority groups do not do well in public schools. Some have dealt with genetic factors (Jensen, 1969) and others with the idea of cultural deprivation (Bloom, Davis, and Hess, 1965). Carter (1970) discusses the phenomenon of "mental withdrawal" which he believes explains low achievement among Mexican-Americans. This mental withdrawal is manifested as "boredom, failure to work, inattentiveness, and discipline problems..."(p.18). Carter believes this occurs between the third and sixth grades with boys reported to withdraw prior to girls. He states that young children do relatively well because the authority structure and curriculum are more loosely defined and controlled in the early grades. Carter then explains that the child's background starts playing a major role. He reports that Mexican-Americans start off close to Anglos in measured achievement. However, as they progress through the grades Mexican-Americans start falling behind. Carter believes the low SES child's background does not provide the stimuli necessary, therefore there is a resulting drop in academic achievement. He claims that middle class parents instill the ideas of "future social success" into their children. Whereas, "poor parents may not generally support the idea that school is a series of steps that must be climbed regardless of the boredom or unpleasantness involved, nor are they able to guarantee their children significant future rewards for perseverance in and graduation from school" (p.137). Thus, Carter believes those Mexican-American students who do reach the last years of high school have acquired many similarities with Anglos. Those who diverged earlier, mentally withdrawing, dropped out along the way. Thus, according to Carter the students in this study would be graduating because they had acquired many Anglo characteristics.

Carter's theory can be tied to the 'frustration self-esteem' model. (Finn, 1989) This model is frequently used to explain

schools' effects on problem students. In addition, it helps to explain dropping out behaviors. Given home conditions it may explain the large rates of underachievement for low socioeconomic status and minority groups. With the 'frustration self-esteem' model the student's dropping out is just the last occurrence in the chain of events that probably started much earlier. Such a model may be used to explain non-achieving Hispanic students, however the participants in this study identified with school from their early grades.

Although some characteristics are different because of historical and obvious physical differences of African Americans to Anglos, Fordham and Ogbu's phenomenon of 'acting white' can be compared to the high achieving Mexican-Americans in this study. For the participants ethnicity is less of an 'either/or' than race. Some participants, like Eduardo, mentioned that fellow students did not know they were Hispanic until they were heard saying something in Spanish. Other participants, like Antonio, reported looking different--looking like a Hispanic. Thus, for some Mexican-Americans the obvious physical differences make their situation unique to that of African Americans.

If 'acting white' means adopting some of the values, norms and/or behaviors of middle-class achieving Anglos, then the participants in this study acted white. By 'acting white' Fordham and Ogbu found the high achieving students in their study adopted strategies enabling them to succeed. They found their participants "to decide more or less consciously (a) to pursue academic success and (b) to use specific strategies to cope with the burden of acting white" (p.193). The high achieving participants in their study were fearful of peer reactions if they were seen as acting white. Because of this fear they adopted strategies which would demonstrate to their peers that they were not trying to emulate the behavior of whites. For example, they purposefully were inconsistent in their grades. Also, some attended class irregularly and/or cut classes so their peers would not label them as 'acting white.'

This researcher found similar findings to Fordham and Ogbu, however only partially, due to the segregation of participants into the magnet/honors classes in this study. For these participants it was not so much the burden of acting white, but simply acting white. They did not have to fear the reactions of lower achieving Mexican-American or Hispanic peers because they did not have low achieving peers in their classes. They acted white only in that

these were the expectations of the school and participants believed they had to meet those expectations; otherwise they would not get ahead in life because they would not have an education. The participants in this study had a group of Mexican-American peers to support their goals because they had similar goals, rather than peers who were to be feared. Therefore, their achievement took place via membership in achieving Hispanic peer groups. Thus, it was considerably less of a burden for participants to behave in a manner different from that which would facilitate meeting their goals.

While the 'frustration-esteem' model attempts to explain behaviors as juvenile delinquency, dropping out or mental withdrawing, the 'participation identification' model emphasizes "bonding" with school. (Finn, 1989) The basic idea behind this model is that if the student participates in school, there will be successful performance outcomes; thus, s/he will eventually identify with school. This model fits the behavior of the participants in this study. Participants reported being involved in school participation behaviors from the early grades. They were observed for over one year as active school participants. They felt school to be a 'home away from home.' They had always liked attending school and had "fun" while there.

Implications for Schools and Communities

If academically successful Hispanic students had caregivers and/or role models nurturing them, thus contributing to their academic success, then schools need to encourage the formation of nurturing role models. Participants in this study discussed the importance of teachers knowing them. Several participants reported their role model/caregivers as having been their teacher for several years. The present structure of most public schools denies students access, except by chance, to a teacher for more than one semester or one academic year. Since the "participation-identification" model deals with student participation resulting in identifying with school, increased contact with the same teacher over a period of time, may result in stronger school bonding. In addition, purposive role modeling/ caregiving needs to be addressed by community organizations for children of similar backgrounds.

Language difficulties appeared to have been potential barriers to participants. Support for English language mastery must be secured as quickly as possible for non-native English

speakers, thus facilitating successes for students. These successes need to be rewarded. Since participants in the study expressed much pride from their awards, certificates, trophies, etc., careful study of the types of reward systems need to be addressed by schools.

In this study participation behaviors fostered identification with school. Thus, schools need to take a careful look at the types of participation behaviors displayed by students from the commencement of schooling. Behaviors found to increase identification with school should become a form of institutional encouragement.

Participants were proud to be Hispanic, yet they were unclear as to what it meant. Also, they walked a tightrope between two different cultural groups. School personnel need to be aware of the cultural differences and expectations of the Hispanic families so they can help students in dealing with differences and potential barriers to their academic success.

Clearly much time in schools is wasted time, even in the magnet/honors classes. Just because students are busy and trying to pay attention, does not mean that education is taking place. No matter how well the system sets up the opportunities for education to take place, it is still up to the teacher and the student if that is to occur. The students in this study tried to make it occur. When it did not, they filled 'wasted' time by completing other tasks. It is likely that students who do not identify with school as the participants did, would react differently. Thus, the teacher and the students' behaviors and motivations are vital for learning to occur.

Schools need to address the area of cheating; its proliferation is unacceptable. However, in addition, reasons given by participants for cheating need to be considered. Can teachers continue to test students on material which has not been covered and expect them not to cheat? Should work that might best be done collectively be assigned individually? If students do not understand the material, should they be required to attempt to do it without any assistance? How can the school help students so they recognize the lack of ethics in their behavior?

A careful look needs to be taken at those programs designed to help students in their pursuit of higher education as well as those programs meant to promote the negative value of dropping out or doing drugs. Since the mentor program as well as Upward Bound are apparently attracting the majority of students from the

highest academic groups in these two school, they are only partially serving their original intention. Any student who is potentially college bound should have the opportunity to be a part of these programs, not just those students who know they already want to go to college. In addition, once a year programs about drugs or the importance of staying in school are insufficient and often are not seriously viewed by students. These programs need to be directly integrated into the curriculum rather than being added on; thus making their value difficult to measure.

Clearly the participants in this study had accepted the idea they would gain from their educational efforts. If it is the goal of schools for all students to expect to gain from their educational endeavors, then schools must ensure this happens. This means classes, programs, and experiences meaningful to the future goals of students and to society so transference of those skills acquired in secondary school can take place in whatever environment encountered by students after high school graduation.

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PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

RESPONDENT	SERGIO	ANTONIO	CARMEN	MANUEL
Birthplace	U.S.A.	U.S.A.	U.S.A.	U.S.A.
Mother's Birthplace	U.S.A.	Mexico	U.S.A.	U.S.A.
Father's Birthplace	U.S.A.	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico
Siblings	2	3	5	8
Rank	2nd	3rd	1st	7th
Mother's Education	H.S. Grad.	6th	9th	3rd
Father's Education	GED	6th	H.S. Grad.	3rd
Mother's Employment	Clerk	Cashier	Clerk	Housewife
Father's Employment	Postal Police Officer	Custodian	Laborer	Cab Driver
Marital Status	Married	Married	Married	Divorced
Living With	Family	Family	Family	Gdps/siblings
Language(s) Spoken with Family	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish / English	Spanish
House Moves Since School Started	1 move	8 moves	1 move	4 moves
Language(s) Spoken Upon School Entrance	English	Spanish	Spanish / English	Spanish
Elementary Program	Vanguard	Regular	Regular	Regular
Middle Program	Vanguard	Regular	Regular	Magnet
Secondary Program	Magnet	Magnet	Magnet	Magnet
Repeated Grade	No	No	Yes	No
Free & Reduced Price Lunch	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Employed	Yes	Yes	Yes (Co-Op)	Yes
Hrs. Worked	20-summer	15-20	25	20 volunteer
Church	Inactive	Inactive	Inactive	Inactive

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

RESPONDENT	NATALIA	MONICA	JULIA	RAUL
Birthplace	U.S.A.	Mexico	U.S.A.	U.S.A.
Mother's Birthplace	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	U.S.A.
Father's Birthplace	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	U.S.A.
Siblings	2	2	6	2
Rank	2nd	1st	5th	1st
Mother's Education	6th	6th	3rd	High School Graduate
Father's Education	6th	6th	3rd	8th
Mother's Employment	Apartment Supervisor	Salesperson	Housewife	Nurse
Father's Employment	Roofer	Laborer	Laborer	Insulator
Marital Status	Married	Married	Married	Married
Living With	Family	Family / Grandmother / Godmother	Family / Cousin	Family
Language(s) Spoken with Family	Spanish	Spanish / English	Spanish	English
House Moves Since School Started	3 moves	8 moves	1 move	1 move
Language(s) Spoken Upon School Entrance	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	English
Elementary Program	Vanguard	Regular / Bilingual	Regular	Regular
Middle Program	Vanguard	Magnet	Vanguard	Vanguard
Secondary Program	Magnet	Magnet	Honors	Magnet
Repeated Grade	No	No	No	No
Free&Reduced Price Lunch	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Employed	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes-summer
Hrs. Worked	12-volunteer	25-summer	16	20-30
Church	Active	Active	Active	Inactive

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

RESPONDENT	PILAR	FLAVIO	IGNACIO	BLANCA
Birthplace	U.S.A.	U.S.A.	U.S.A.	Mexico (8 yrs.)
Mother's Birthplace	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico
Father's Birthplace	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico	Mexico
Siblings	3	1	3	6
Rank	2nd	1st	1st	4th
Mother's Education	6th	9th	6th	2nd
Father's Education	3rd	9th	5th	3rd
Mother's Employment	Housewife	Housewife (laid off)	Clerk	Housewife
Father's Employment	Laborer (laid-off)	Butcher	Contractor (laid-off)	Custodian
Marital Status	Married	Married	Married	Married
Living With	Family/Married Sister/Brother-in-Law Niece/Nephew	Family	Family / Grandmother	Family
Language(s) Spoken with Family	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish	Spanish
House Moves Since School Started	None	1 move	5 moves	5 moves
Language(s) Spoken Upon School Entrance	Spanish	English / Spanish	Spanish	Spanish
Elementary Program	Regular	Regular	Regular	Regular / Bilingual
Middle Program	Magnet	Regular	Regular	Honors
Secondary Program	Magnet	Magnet	Magnet	Magnet
Repeated Grade	No	No	No	Yes
Free&Reduced Price Lunch	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Employed	No	Yes	Yes	No
Hrs. Worked	---	25-summer	25-30	---
Church	Active	Inactive	Active	Active

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

RESPONDENT	VICTOR	TINA	RAFAEL	LORENA
Birthplace	U.S.A.	U.S.A.	U.S.A.	U.S.A.
Mother's Birthplace	Mexico	U.S.A.	Mexico	Mexico
Father's Birthplace	Mexico	U.S.A.	Mexico	Mexico
Siblings	6	2	2	5
Rank	7th	1st	1st	2nd
Mother's Education	6th	10th	8th	5th
Father's Education	6th	GED some tech. school	8th	1st
Mother's Employment	Houswife	Transient "bag lady"	Cleans Homes	Cleans Offices
Father's Employment	Laborer	Computer Repair	Maintenance	Construction Worker
Marital Status	Married	Divorced	Married	Married
Living With	Older Brother	Father/Aunt	Family/GrdM	Family
Language(s) Spoken with Family	Spanish	English / Spanish	Spanish	Spanish
House Moves Since School Started	4 moves	Many - Lived in Hotels	3 moves	4 moves
Language(s) Spoken Upon School Entrance	Spanish	English / Spanish	Spanish	Spanish
Elementary Program	Regular	Regular	Regular	Regular
Middle Program	Vanguard	Vanguard	Vanguard	Regular
Secondary Program	Magnet	Honors	Magnet	Honors/Regular
Repeated Grade	Yes	No	No	No
Free & Reduced Price Lunch	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Employed	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes (Co-Op)
Hrs. Worked	35	28-Summer	35	20
Church	Inactive	Active	Active	Inactive

PROFILE OF RESPONDENTS

RESPONDENT	EDUARDO	JUAN	MARIA	ANGELA
Birthplace	U.S.A.	Mexico	U.S.A.	U.S.A.
Mother's Birthplace	Mexico	Mexico	U.S.A.	Mexico
Father's Birthplace	Mexico	Mexico	U.S.A.	Mexico
Siblings	2	4 (5-1deceased)	3	4
Rank	1st	3rd	2nd	3rd
Mother's Education	8th	No education	9th	GED
Father's Education	6th	No education	GED	9th
Mother's Employment	Housewife	Housewife	Housewife	Salesperson
Father's Employment	Mechanic	Laborer	Plumber	Construction (laid-off)
Marital Status	Married	Married	Married	Married
Living With	Family	Family/Niece	Family	Family
Language(s) Spoken with Family	Spanish	Spanish	English	Spanish
House Moves Since School Started	None	1 move	None	1 move
Language(s) Spoken Upon School Entrance	English / Spanish	Spanish	English	Spanish
Elementary Program	Vanguard	Regular	Regular	Regular
Middle Program	Vanguard	Honors	Honors	Regular
Secondary Program	Magnet	Magnet	Honors	Magnet
Repeated Grade	No	Yes	No	No
Free & Reduced Price Lunch	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Employed	Yes	Yes (Co-Op)	Yes	Yes (Co-Op)
Hrs. Worked	20-25	35-36	20-summer	20
Church	Inactive	Inactive	Inactive	Active