

MEXICAN-AMERICAN SOCIOCULTURAL VARIABILITY
AND PERSISTENCE IN A COMMUNITY COLLEGE

by

MARIO R. CORDOVA

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Division of Learning and Instructional Leadership
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

December 1994

"Mexican-American Sociocultural Variability and Persistence in a Community College," a dissertation prepared by Mario R. Cordova in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in the Division of Learning and Instructional Leadership.

This dissertation has been approved and accepted by:

Dr. Richard A. Schmuck, Chair of the Examining Committee

Date

Committee in charge: Dr. Richard A. Schmuck, Chair
 Dr. Kenneth Kempner
 Dr. Gerald Bogen
 Dr. Robert Proudfoot

Accepted By:

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

Copyright 1994 Mario Roberto Cordova

An Abstract of the Dissertation of
Mario R. Cordova for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Division of Learning and Instructional Leadership
to be taken December 1994

Title: MEXICAN-AMERICAN SOCIOCULTURAL VARIABILITY AND PERSISTENCE
IN A COMMUNITY COLLEGE

Approved: Dr. Richard A. Schmuck

The purpose of this study was to understand how Mexican-American community college students achieved academically in relation to their sociocultural variabilities. The project extended Tinto's model of persistence. My impetus was the nearly universal practice by empiricists to quantify persistence and to leave unoperationalized Mexican-American ethnicity. These tendencies have left us with decontextualized understandings of students' background variables--sociocultural variabilities--and their interactions with college academic and social structures.

To address these conceptual and methodological shortcomings, I engaged twelve Mexican-American vocational and transfer students in case study research. I based my research design on the premise that persistence in terms of sociocultural variabilities is also an ethnopsychological study of levels and types of acculturation and that acculturation implies cross-cultural conflict in people's quests

toward structural integration. Ethnomethodological and symbolic interaction perspectives helped me understand the ethnopsychological and cross-cultural conflict dimensions of persistence.

I obtained preliminary information of students' acculturative types by administering the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican-Americans (ARSMA). Thereafter, and based upon answers to questions from my interview guide and from participant and nonparticipant observation activities, I triangulated the data to establish student acculturative types. I open-coded data throughout the study, analyzed, and collapsed data from interviews with students and college staff to find emergent themes.

Sociocultural variability did seem to affect persistence more for first-generation students in terms of academic integration. Otherwise, persistence for all students was attributable to: (1) oppositional culture orientations to dominant American culture in the face of intergenerational racial and gender discrimination; (2) the importance of the Mexican-American family as a mediating influence of schoolings; (3) strong initial commitments to college; very low socioeconomic backgrounds; (4) Mexican-American ethnic affiliation and loyalty enhanced social integration; (5) encouragement by faculty and counselors facilitated students' goal attainments; and (6) informal contact with faculty facilitated social and academic integrations. Implications addressed the need for culturally relational models of engagement within and outside the classroom, and student-centered models of goal attainment.

CURRICULUM VITA

NAME OF AUTHOR: Mario R. Cordova

PLACE OF BIRTH: Bakersfield, California

DATE OF BIRTH: September 17, 1948

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon
Oregon State University
Lewis and Clark-Northwestern School of Law
San Jose State University
Bakersfield Junior College

DEGREES AWARDED:

Doctor of Philosophy, Education, 1994 University of Oregon
Master of Science, 1981, Education, Oregon State University
Bachelor of Arts, 1970, Sociology, San Jose State University
Associate in Arts, 1968, General Studies, Bakersfield Junior College

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Organization Development, Cross-Cultural Relations

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Counselor, Lake Tahoe Community College College,
South Lake Tahoe, California, 1991-Present

Director, Upward Bound Program, Oregon State University,
Corvallis, 1984-91

Director, Chicano Student Counseling Center,
Washington State University, Pullman, Washington, 1981-1984

Graduate Teaching Assistant, Educational Opportunities Program,
Oregon State University, Corvallis, Oregon, 1979-81

Coordinator, Bilingual Vocational Education Program,
Chemeketa Community College, Salem, Oregon 1976-78

AWARDS AND HONORS:

Laurel Scholarship,
University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon 1991-94

Tyson Kamprath Memorial Scholarship,
Bakersfield Junior College, Bakersfield, California, 1968

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I convey my deep gratitude to Professors Richard Schmück, Ken Kempner, Gerald Bogen, and Rob Proudfoot for their guidance and support. I am especially grateful to Dr. Kempner who reminded me and classmates about the definition of commencement. Equally important, I thank my wife, Danetta, who walked with me and ahead of me at times over the years. My thanks also go to the President of Small College who allowed me to use the college for this empirical project. Finally, I thank the twelve students who let me into their lives and without whom there would be no study.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my mother, Angela Garcia Cordova, my father, Abraham Cordova Sr., my wife Danetta Cox-Cordova, and our son, Nicholas Abraham Cordova. I also dedicate it to those Chicanos of Oregon's Willamette Valley with whom I worked in throughout the 1970's when we shared a common vision about Colegio Cesar Chavez in Mt. Angel. I also dedicate it to David Aguilar, my first mentor outside my family.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. THE PROBLEM.....	1
Introduction.....	1
Importance of This Study.....	19
Summary.....	20
II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.....	21
Introduction.....	21
Mexican-American Sociocultural Variability.....	24
Identification and Characterization of Mexican-Americans in the Social Science and Persistence Research.....	41
Operationalization of Ethnic Identification Referents for Mexican-Americans.....	44
Persistence Research.....	52
Tests of Tinto's Model and Application for the Study of Mexican-American Persistence.....	66
Studies of Mexican-American Persistence.....	71
The Community College: Reproductive and Sorting Functions.....	81
Ethnographic Research on Mexican-American Achievement.....	105
Summary.....	119
III. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE.....	122
Overview.....	122
Mexican-American Culture, Ethnomethodology and Symbolic Interaction.....	125
Theoretical and Research Questions.....	139
Summary.....	140

IV. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....	141
Research Design and Appropriateness of Data Acquisition Activities.....	141
The Research Setting: Demographic and Participant Summaries.....	149
Research Procedures.....	153
Limitations of the Design and Study.....	164
Summary.....	165
V. FINDINGS.....	167
Background Variables, Social and Academic Integration.....	168
A Warm and Friendly Place.....	193
The Family: Encouragement and Mediation of Schooling.....	214
Marginality and the Will to Succeed.....	235
You Can't Be Cooled-Out If You've Been Iced.....	257
Outcomes In Relation to the Theoretical and Research Questions..	275
Summary.....	288
VI. SUMMARY, THEORETICAL INTERPRETATIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS.....	290
Overview.....	290
Background Variables.....	291
Interactive Variables.....	301
Implications From the Findings.....	305
APPENDIX	
A. INTERVIEW GUIDE.....	319
B. INTERVIEW GUIDE CODING SYSTEM.....	327
C. ACCULTURATION RATING SCALE FOR MEXICAN-AMERICANS.....	332
D. QUESTIONS FOR INSTRUCTORS.....	338
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	340

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Latino Bi-Annual Enrollments at the California Community Colleges: Fall 1981 to Fall 1992	5
2. Flow of Latino Students from California Community College Districts and Colleges to the California State University from 1990-91 through 1992-9	8
3. Flow of Latino Transfer Students from California Community Districts and Colleges to the University of California. Full Year 1990-91 through 1992-93	8
4. Associate Degrees and Certificates Earned By Latinos in California Community Colleges 1987 through 1992	9
5. Latino Freshmen Enrollments at the California State University Fall 1983 through Fall 1992	10
6. Baccalaureate Degrees Awarded to Latinos at the California State University From 1986-87 through 1991-92	11
7. Baccalaureate Attainments by Non-Latinos at the California State University 1986 through 1991-92	12
8. Baccalaureate Completion Rates by Ethnicity in Relation to Ethnic Group Enrollments at the California State University 1986-87 through 1991-92	13
9. Latino Biannual Undergraduate Enrollments at the University of California 1984-85 through 1992-93	14

10	Baccalaureate Degrees Earned by Latinos at the University of California 1986 through 1992	14
11.	Segmented Hispanic and White High School Completion Rates for 18-24 Year Olds and College Participation Rates Nationally 1972 through 1991	15
12	Hispanic Enrollments in Higher Education Nationally By Institutional Type	16
13	Enrollments by Ethnicity at Small College from Fall 1990 through Spring 1993	151
14	Goals for Hispanic Students at Small College: Unduplicated Counts	153
15	Summaries of Students' Academic Backgrounds, Educational Goals, Achievement, and Persistence.....	189
16	Summary of Students' Sociocultural Variabilities	190
17.	Educational Attainment Levels of Students' Parents and Extended Family Members	192

LIST OF FIGURES

Table		Page
1.	Tinto's Model of Social and Academic Integration.....	62
2.	Pascarella's Model of Student-Faculty Informal Contact.....	64
3.	The Role of Family in Engendering Educational Achievement.....	163

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Introduction

After more than one generation of higher education efforts to facilitate Mexican-Americans' academic achievements and goal attainments, research continues to demonstrate that underrepresentation and lack of educational goal attainment remain problems unresolved. Our study of Mexican-Americans' goal attainments is important because Mexican-Americans' percentage of the United States Latino population--almost two-thirds as counted by the U.S. Bureau of Commerce (1990)--in relation to those few of them who succeed in higher education, suggests a social crisis is at hand. The tabular data I present in this chapter from the California higher education system and nationally, confirm and reflect my contentions. It is easy, however, to advance quantitative data to call our attentions to a problem. More difficult is contextual explanation.

The problem I address here is referred to generally as persistence. And even though persistence research benefits theoretically from international dialogue, we know very little about Mexican-American community college student persistence other than to say that those who succeed often match well with institutional academic and social structures (Tinto, 1975, 1987). Moreover, and despite very recent qualitative inquiry of Mexican-American persistence at the university level (Attinasi, 1986), and the community college level (Murguia, Padilla, and Pavel, 1991; Rendon and Valadez, 1993; Valadez, 1993), we

still know little contextually how Mexican-American community college students persist.

In view of these shortcomings, I was compelled to know more about Mexican-American achievement and goal attainment in the community college. Thus, I worked with 12 Mexican-American students through case studies at a small California community college--hereafter referred to as Small College--to broaden our understanding of how Mexican-Americans attain or do not attain their goals, and to address a gap in the empirical and theoretical literature: the relationships between sociocultural variability and persistence. The idea of distinguishing students on the basis of their social, economic, linguistic proficiencies in Spanish and English, generational distances from Mexico, gender-familial orientations, and individual differences has not been attempted by persistence researchers at the community college level. However, these variables have been foundational to the works of educational anthropologists at the K-12 level (Delgado-Gaitan, 1987; Moll and Diaz, 1987; Trueba, 1987;) and Chicano clinical psychologists for some time (Cuellar, Harris, and Jasso, 1980; Hayes-Bautista 1986; Hayes-Bautista and Chapa, 1986; Keefe and Padilla, 1987; Padilla, 1980; Ramirez, 1983). I drew from these disciplines as well as from resistance-oppositional culture theorists to conceptualize and structure this study.

There are several reasons for this lack of knowledge about Mexican-American persistence in the community college, a site, in the opinion of many critics, which has floundered in its commitment to bridge disparity and opportunity (Brint and Karabel, 1989; Karabel, 1972; Kempner, 1988; McGrath and Spear, 1991; Olivas, 1979; 1986; Rendon, 1982; Rendon, Justiz, and Resta, 1988; Rendon, 1992). As I explicate in Chapter II, the bases of these problems are conceptual, methodological, and antagonisms between Mexican-Americans and the reproductive functions of schools. To structure my dissertation, I summarize those problems here.

The conceptual problem of virtually all persistence research has been the failure by

researchers to operationalize Mexican-American ethnicity and ethnic identification referents. For example, students are referred to typically as Hispanics, Chicanos, or Mexican-Americans with little if any attention paid to the social, cultural, and linguistic, and other acculturative variabilities which characterize Mexican-Americans as a heterogeneous population. As such, we cannot be sure about whom was studied other than to draw correlations between educational outcomes and students' socioeconomic backgrounds. Alternatively, I suggest that examining Mexican-American persistence in terms of social and cultural variabilities as an ethnopsychology (Padilla, 1984), and in relation to institutional culture is consistent with prodding by others to obtain qualitative insight on persistence (Kempner, 1991; Rendon and Valadez, 1993; Tinto, 1987). An ethnopsychological perspective is important to the study of Mexican-American sociocultural variability because sociocultural variability implies within-culture differences and variance in terms of integration with social structures.

The methodological problem is that quantitative research designs have predominated the persistence research. Qualitative insights on persistence are rare. Furthermore, the model-building stage of persistence research has been marked by autopsy or post-hoc studies (Braxton, Brier, and Hossler, 1988; Terenzini, 1982). These types of studies have insured decontextualized presentations of persistence. Finally, and in terms of Tinto's model of persistence (Tinto, 1975, 1987), in part, the model upon which I based my study, we still know little about students' pre-matriculation characteristics--sociocultural variabilities for the purposes of my study--other background variables, and how they relate to goal commitments before and after their matriculations. I believe that obtaining these types of information can best be done through qualitative inquiry. Tinto (1987) has addressed this concern:

We also need research. . . which employs ethnographic procedures to explore how students understand the temporal quality of their college careers. Despite the mass quantitative evidence of reasons for student departure, we do not fully understand,

for example, how students perceive their own departures at varying points during their college careers. Nor do we understand whether those understandings are culturally bound. (pp. 450-451)

Tinto's suggestion to consider social and cultural factors contextually is constructive. I add, though, that culture and ethnicity are not isolated or independent constructs. They are necessarily cross-cultural in nature. Within the context of American higher education--fundamentally important to the American political economy because of its cultural and economic reproduction functions (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Brint and Karabel, 1989; Giroux and McLaren, 1988) where culture conflict within institutions is normal, not aberrational (Kempner, 1991; London, 1978; Proudfoot, 1988; Shor, 1986; Weis, 1985)--the study of Mexican-American community college student persistence in relation to institutional normative and social structures, assumes greater importance.

The need to refine the study of Mexican-American college student persistence should be driven by our awareness of educational underattainment patterns by Mexican-Americans. Toward this end, as will become apparent from statistical data that I present over the next several pages, another generation of Mexican-Americans faces the likelihood of living on the periphery of American social and economic life. These people--an intolerably large number who either dropped-out of high school or college--lack the technical and educational preparedness to integrate with mainstream social and economic structures. They remain marginalized in a presumably egalitarian order.

For example, Mexican-Americans have the second lowest educational achievement levels of American ethnic groups with a dropout rate of more than 50 percent annually since 1963 (Aguirre and Martinez, 1993; U.S. Department of Education, 1992). Furthermore, only two percent of associate degrees conferred nationally are earned by Mexican-Americans (Aguirre and Martinez, 1993). Moreover, 26% of Mexican-American families had poverty incomes in 1990 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993). That figure compares to 7.3% for non-Hispanic Whites at that time (U.S. Bureau of the Census,

1993). Relatedly, 5.9% of Mexican-Americans held bachelor's degrees in 1990 compared to 23.8% for non-Hispanic Whites (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993). As such, and together with educational attainment data I present in this chapter, we continue to witness the marginalization of another generation of Mexican-Americans (Lincoln, 1991; Olivas, 1986; Rendon et al; 1988; Rendon, 1992).

Against this foreground, I present descriptive data to underscore the gravity of the problem we face as a nation. Consistent with a major theme of this research project, I caution that virtually all of the data in the following tables identify Mexican-Americans typically as "Latinos" or "Hispanics." I elaborate this problem in Chapter II Table 1 below informs us of enrollments by Latinos in the California Community College system dating back to 1981.

Table 1. Latino Bi-Annual Enrollments at the California Community Colleges:
Fall 1981 to Fall 1992

Fall Term	Total State Enrollment	Total Latino Enrollment	Percentage of Enrollment
1981	1,202,682	124,940	10.3
1983	1,087,425	119,684	11.2
1985	1,006,686	119,227	11.8
1987	1,061,014	135,640	12.7
1989	1,136,119	161,129	14.2
1991	1,218,614	197,709	16.2
1992	1,143,427	204,400	17.9

Note. From Student Profiles. Profile 1-11. California Postsecondary Education Commission. 1993.

The steady, incremental increase of Latino students gives the initial impression that Latino students have experienced great enrollment increases from 1981 to 1992. However, the data are incomplete and misleading for four reasons. First, they do not tell us how many Mexican-Americans attained their educational goals during these periods since they are lumped with all other Latinos. Second, an indeterminately large number of the counted students were and continue to be English as Second Language students. Since the California Community College Chancellor's Office does not require institutions to report uniformly the number of ESL enrollees on the basis of ethnicity in the 107 member school system, we cannot be sure how many Mexican-American college students, in contrast, are enrolled in vocational or transfer curricula.

Third, the dramatic increase of nearly 60,000 Latino students from 1987 to 1991 is attributable to the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization Amnesty program for undocumented U.S. residents during that period. In California, many Amnesty beneficiaries were Mexican-Americans who enrolled in U.S. civics courses within the California community college system as one pre-requisite for "unlawful" presence in the United States and as one of several prerequisites for naturalization. This increase of nearly 60,000 students dwarfed the 16,000 increase in enrollment over the previous period from 1983 to 1987.

Fourth, the employment of "Latino" in Table 1 or "Hispanic" and other ethnic labels by the numerous sources in this chapter as the sole ethnic self-identification referents for persons of diverse cultural and national backgrounds do not help us identify Mexican-Americans. As I indicated and as I explicate in Chapter II, these types of ethnic identification referents tend to homogenize a heterogeneous people. In turn, such characterizations precipitate conceptual and methodological problems.

The demographic data in Table 1 are also important in relation to Mexican-American percentage of the California population as an educational equity indicator. For example,

Latinos or Hispanics comprised 25.8 % of California's population in 1990 (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1991) but only 14.6 % of the California community college population in 1990. These data call our attention to parity, the percentage of attainment or underattainment of ethnic groups in relation to general statewide population (California Community Colleges Board of Governors, 1992). Parity implies equity. I qualify the concept of equity in relation to socioeconomic correlates later in Chapter II and in relation to questions about the role and effectiveness of the community college as an evolving but unfulfilled egalitarian construct (Brint and Karabel, 1989; Dougherty, 1994; Kempner, 1988; McGrath and Spear, 1991).

Other indicators inform us about the disparate educational outcomes across ethnic groups in California. For example, and next to Native Americans, Latinos continue to have the lowest percentage of transfer rates to the twenty institution California State University and to the nine member University of California system. I present those transfer data in the next several tables. In the face of debate about the vocationalization of the community college and the comparatively limited utility of vocational degrees (Brint and Karabel, 1989; Dougherty, 1994; Karabel, 1972; Rendon, 1982; Rendon, Justiz, and Resta, 1988) the relatively few Latinos who transferred to California's four-year public universities over the past three years is unsettling because it signals a small applicant pool to ascend to advanced degrees and ultimately, to positions of leadership in California's public and private sectors.

Tables 2 and 3 on the following pages reflect these outcomes and imply continuation of a social crisis for Mexican-Americans. A corrolary attends with these data. If the largest ethnic minority group in California continues to exhibit the historical patterns of lack of goal attainment, voices from would-be leaders in terms of public policy will continue to be silent and Mexican-Americans will continue to be marginalized as I explicate in Chapter II.

Table 2. Flow of Latino Students from California Community College Districts and Colleges to the California State University from 1990-91 through 1992-93

Fall Term	Total Statewide Transfers to CSU	Latino Transfers	Percentage of Latino Transfers
1990-91	46,678	3,615	7.7
1991-92	44,900	3,862	8.6
1992-93	40,980	3,902	9.5

Note: Adapted from Student Profiles 6-4, by California Postsecondary Education Commission, September, 1993, and Student Profiles 6-3, by California Postsecondary Education Commission, July 1993. Student Profiles 6-4.

Table 3. Flow of Latino Transfer Students from California Community College Districts and Colleges to the University of California: 1990-91 through 1992-93

Year	Total Transfers to UC	Total Latino Transfers	Percentage of Latino Transfers
1990-91	10,032	796	7.9
1991-92	9,972	923	9.2
1992-93	8,244	995	12.0

Note: From Student Profiles 6-3 by California Postsecondary Education Commission, September, 1993; Student Profiles 6-4 by California Postsecondary Education Commission, July, 1994.

Educational attainment data in the California community college system from July, 1987, through June, 1992 indicate similarly that Mexican-Americans continued to earn associate degrees and certificates in disproportionately low numbers and percentages. The

data in Table 4 below reveal these outcomes.

Table 4. Associate Degrees and Certificates By Latinos in California Community Colleges: 1987 through 1992

Year	Total No. of Degrees Earned By All Ethnic Groups	Total No. of Degrees Earned By Latinos	Percentage of Degrees Earned By Latinos
1987-88	34,421	2,662	7.7
1988-89	26,453	3,351	12.6
1989-90	36,758	4,437	12.0
1990-91	42,529	5,253	12.3
1991-92	40,066	5,148	12.8

Note: From Degree Type Data Abstracts, July, 1992 through June, 1992. Sequential Summaries. January, 1994, by California Postsecondary Education Commission. January, 1994.

As the data in Table 4 indicate, there was a sharp increase in the number of Latinos earning associate degrees between 1987-88 and 1988-89. That increase was nearly 5 % from 7.7 to 12.6. Since 1988-89, however, the percentages of Latinos earning associate degrees have remained constant and have not gone lower or higher than 12%. Again, it is important to emphasize that Latinos are nearly 30 % of California's population and that their educational attainment levels or equity indexes do not correspond with their percent of the California population.

Other indicators from California at the baccalaureate and graduate levels reveal similarly patterns of problems in access and in underachievement. Table 5 on page 10 provide us with data from the California State University system. The steady, incremental

increases in Latino students from 1983 to 1992 are attributable to freshmen increases. Increased freshmen enrollments are unusual in light of increasingly high tuition rates in the early 1990's stemming from the protracted economic recession in California.

Table 5. Latino Freshmen Enrollments at the California State University
Fall 1983 through Fall 1992

Fall Term	Total First-Time		Latinos as Percentage
	Freshmen	Total Latinos	of Freshmen
1983	24,067	2,504	10.5
1984	23,761	2,555	10.7
1985	26,088	2,904	11.1
1986	26,485	2,934	11.0
1987	29,083	3,612	12.4
1988	30,580	3,877	12.6
1989	30,167	4,489	14.8
1990	28,065	4,817	17.1
1991	25,968	5,153	21.2
1992	21,831	4,702	21.5

Note. Student Profiles (Profile 3-12, Section 3, New Students), by California Postsecondary Education Commission, October, 1993.

Even though Latinos continued to increase in numbers and percentages dramatically commencing in 1989 as the numbers of entering freshmen in Table 5 indicate, there was only a modest increase of Latinos who earned their baccalaureate degrees from 1986 through the end of the 1991-92 academic year as the data in Table 6 indicate.

Table 6. Baccalaureate Degrees Awarded to Latinos at the California State University
From 1986-87 through 1991-92

Academic Year	Total Degrees Earned Systemwide	Total Degrees Earned By Latinos	Percentage of Latinos Earning Degrees
1986-87	44,335	3,092	6.9
1987-88	46,836	3,389	7.3
1988-89	47,404	3,852	8.1
1989-90	48,051	3,900	8.1
1990-91	50,069	4,216	8.4
1991-92	53,665	4,968	9.3

Note. From California Postsecondary Education Commission. Major Gains and Losses. Table CS-26, and CS-O. March, 1993.

In contrast to Latino baccalaureate degree attainments at the California State University, I present goal attainment data on other ethnic groups Table 7 on the following page indicate. The data in Tables 5 and 6 should be evaluated in relation to data in Table 7. With the exception of attainments rates by Black and Native Americans, the comparative data in Table 7 are important because we can see how attainment rates by Mexican-Americans stand in relation to their percent of California's population; approximately 25% (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993). Absent these comparative data, we would be left with the initial impression that Mexican-Americans have fared better progressively over the last several years in higher education. Such a conclusion, however, is premature and must be examined in relation to other demographic and ethnic identification variables.

Table 7. Baccalaureate Attainments by Non-Latinos at the California State University: 1986-87 Through 1991-92.

Year	Blacks	Percent Earned	Nat. Am.	Percent Earned	Asian/Pacific Islanders	Percent Earned	Whites	Percent Earned
1986-87	1,469	3.3	476	1.1	4,097	9.2	30,074	67.8
1987-88	1,544	3.4	500	1.1	4,592	9.8	30,999	66.8
1988-89	1,519	3.2	432	.9	4,697	9.9	31,528	66.5
1989-90	1,621	3.4	444	.9	4,784	10.0	31,582	65.7
1990-91	1,696	3.4	404	.8	4,852	9.7	31,286	63.0
1991-92	1,939	3.6	447	.8	5,566	10.4	33,785	63.0

Note. From Major Gains and Losses. Profiles CS-23, CS-24, CS-27, CS-29, by California Postsecondary Education Commission. March, 1993.

The pattern of underattainment by Mexican-Americans is similarly unimpressive when we view outcome data on Mexican-Americans in relation to other ethnic groups at the California State University in Table 8 from 1986 through 1992 on the following page. As I discuss in Chapter II regarding the three-tiered higher education system established under the California Higher Education Master Plan of 1960, the California State University has been the middle rung between the nine-member University of California system and the 106 institutions which comprise the California community college system. It is here at the the California State University level where Mexican-Americans exhibit the highest levels of university enrollment but disproportionately and comparatively unmatched level of achievement. It is important to note that the data on degree completion rates are misleading because Mexican-Americans are lumped with other "Latinos."

Table 8. Baccalaureate Degree Completion Rates by Ethnicity in Relation to Ethnic Enrollments in the California State University: 1986-87 through 1991-92

Year	Asian/Pac. Islanders	Blacks	Latinos	Native Americans	Whites
1986-87	13.7	10.3	12.2	17.3	18.2
1987-88	14.5	10.7	12.4	18.4	18.6
1988-89	14.2	10.0	12.9	16.2	18.6
1990-91	13.0	10.1	11.8	14.8	19.2
1991-92	15.0	11.6	13.0	16.4	22.2

Note. Adapted from California Postsecondary Education Commission, Major Gains and Losses. CS-O, CS-23, CS-24, CS-26, CS-27, CS-29, March, 1993, and from California Postsecondary Education Commission, Student Profiles. 3-12, Section 3, New Students. October, 1993.

Within the University of California, California's doctorate-granting, research-based system, Latinos have similarly experienced comparative underenrollments in relation to their percent of population in the state as the data in Table 9 on the following page indicate. Subsequently, data in Table 10 on the same page demonstrate underattainment patterns by Mexicans at the University of California system. Compounding the problem, Mexican-Americans are again lumped and homogenized with other Latinos as an ethnic group. Consistent with one of the major themes of my research, we cannot be sure, then, how many Mexican-Americans attained their bachelor's degrees at the University of California system during the cited periods. Without more elaborate ethnic identification schemes, we lack adequate data bases to track Mexican-Americans' achievement and goal attainment patterns after their matriculations.

Table 9. Latino Biannual Undergraduate Enrollments at the University of California:
1984-85 through 1992-93

Year	Total System Enrollment	Total Latino Enrollment	Percentage of Latino Enrollment
1984-85	106,025	7,049	6.6
1986-87	112,025	8,949	9.6
1988-89	121,001	11,600	10.4
1990-91	124,271	14,191	11.8
1991-92	124,627	14,778	11.8
1992-93	124,226	15,204	12.2

Note: From Student Profiles (Profile 1-10), by California Postsecondary Education Commission. July, 1993.

Table 10. Baccalaureate Degrees Earned by Latino Students at the University of California from 1986-87 Through 1991-92

Year	Bachelors Degrees Earned Systemwide	Percentage of Bachelors Degrees
1986-87	1,295	5.7
1987-88	1,401	6.0
1988-89	1,691	6.8
1989-90	1,987	7.6
1991-92	2,754	9.3

Note. From Major Gains and Losses (Profile UC-15), by California Postsecondary Education Commission. March, 1993.

A major reason for underrepresentation and lack of educational goal attainment by Latinos is that the majority of them do not complete high school and of those who do obtain high school diplomas, few enroll in colleges and universities. The data in Table 11 below indicate this clearly. Achievement rates by Whites are presented for comparison.

Table 11. Hispanic and White High School Completion Rates for 18-24 Year-Olds and College Participation Rates: Selected Years Nationally 1972 through 1991

Year	Hispanics			Whites		
	All Hispanics	High School Completion Rates	Percentage Enrolled In College	All Whites	High School Completion Rates	Percentage Enrolled In College
1972	1,338,000	51.9	13.4	21,315,000	81.7	26.4
1975	1,446,000	57.5	20.4	22,703,000	83.2	26.9
1980	2,033,000	54.1	16.1	24,482,000	82.6	26.2
1985	2,221,000	62.9	16.9	22,632,000	83.6	28.7
1991	2,874,000	52.1	18.0	19,980,000	81.7	34.1

Note. From Current Population Reports, School Enrollment-Social and Economic Characteristics of Students, by U.S. Department of commerce, Bureau of the Census, October, 1990 and unpublished tabulations for October, 1991, cited in Carter and Wilson (1992, p.41).

The approximately 50% high school completion and low college-going rates by Hispanics are disturbing to no end. Equally disturbing is that the vast majority of Hispanics who do enroll in higher education typically enroll in community colleges (Carter and Wilson, 1992; Olivas, 1979, 1986). This tendency by Hispanics to enroll in the community college is in part a reflection of their socioeconomic backgrounds and records

of underachievement which they bring to the community college from high school. However, and as Post (1990) found in a study of Chicano high school students and parents, there may be an indeterminate number of university-ready students who by-pass higher education due to lack of or misleading information about college costs and admission requirements. Table 12 traces Hispanic enrollments in all higher education institutions, four-year institutions, and in two-year schools during selected years from 1982 through 1991.

Table 12. Hispanic Enrollments in Higher Education Nationally by Institutional Type

	All Institutions	Percentage of Total	Four-Year Institutions	Percentage of Total	Community Colleges	Percentage of Total
1982	519,000	NA	229,000	44	291,000	56
1984	535,000	NA	246,000	43	289,000	57
1986	618,000	NA	278,000	45	340,000	55
1988	680,000	NA	296,000	43	384,000	57
1990	783,000	NA	358,000	45	424,000	55
1991	867,000	NA	383,000	44	484,000	56

Note: NA=Not Applicable

Note. From Trends in Enrollment in Higher Education by racial/Ethnic Category: Fall 1980 through Fall 1991, by U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, January, 1993. Cited in Carter and Wilson, (1992, p. 48).

In view of these descriptive data, the magnitude of the problem facing Mexican-Americans and American society becomes quite apparent. To better understand the relationship between students' educational backgrounds and institutional constraints, I summarize theories of academic underachievement here.

Theories of Academic Underachievement

Several, essentially complementary theories have attempted to explain disparate educational outcomes by ethnic minority students and by Mexican-Americans. I introduce those theories here and explicate them in Chapter II. First is stratification theory modeled largely after Bordieu's constructs of cultural capital (Bordieu, 1977; Bordieu and Passeron, 1977; Karabel', (1972) , Pincus', (1986), and Brint and Karabel's criticisms of the community college as a vocationalized system (Brint and Karabel, 1989), and Bowles Gintis' contention that the functions of American schools are to reproduce dominant cultural and economic traits in students to sustain a stratified order (Bowles and Gintis, 1976). Relatedly, Dougherty (1994), has advanced a compelling argument that disparity does not necessarily stem from maligned intent as critics of the community college contend, but derives rather from unwitting outcomes by relative autonomous governmental oversight and interventions into the community college, ironically in service to the public, the private sector, and importantly, to itself.

Another school--resistance theory--holds that disparate educational outcomes derive largely from students themselves and from their class-based or ethno-cultural orientations conflict with the values, reproductive functions and symbols of schooling (Weis, 1985; Willis, 1977). Oppositional culture, a racial stratification theory and similar to resistance theory, purports that minority student achievement is the result of historical oppression by White society whereby ethnic minorities internalize castelike cultural stereotypes ascribed to them by the dominant order and whereby they develop oppositional culture orientations to schooling which they view as a purveyor of the dominant order (Ogbu, 1982, 1985, 1987a). Finally, Delgado-Gaitan (1987, 1988) and Trueba (1988) suggest that the early problem for Mexican-Americans at the elementary and even high school levels is one of discontinuity between school activities, norms, and values, and students' home cultures.

discontinuity between school activities, norms, and values, and students' home cultures. Trueba and Delgado-Gaitan imply a cross-culture conflict model here as do Ogbu (1982, 1985, 1987a), and Weis (1985).

A mediating factor to these theories deserves mention. It deals with agency. I found it at work in my study. In my study, it was not so much that the community college had to be changed that prompted students to transform their lives. Rather, it was the desire by students to achieve educationally and attain, some day, full structural integration. This desire stemmed from intergenerational marginalization of Mexican-Americans by Whites and dominant structures. For women, it also stemmed from oppression by men. It was these lived marginalizations and transformations of them by virtually all of the students in my study which motivated them to pursue higher education. In other words, and as I elaborate throughout this dissertation, the resultant feminist and oppositional culture orientations engendered persistence. Others call these types or orientations or motivations agency. Lincoln (1991) has addressed agency the following way:

Agents also of change are students themselves, in at least two ways. First, they provide the experience that is "official" curriculum content, the "voices" that have been marginalized (this is particularly true with racial and ethnic minorities and with women), and they bring one or more popular (albeit marginalized) cultures to institutions of higher education, which can become the subject of ideological critique. Second, within the critical perspective, they are co-producers of knowledge (with teachers) and therefore, central to the process of their own educations. Without their understanding of how they have been marginalized, no critical pedagogy can take place. (pp. 26-27)

Like other resistance theory and oppositional culture studies, the students in my study maintained distinct ethnic and cultural identities which were at odds with the symbolism and functions of schooling. However, unlike students in other resistance or oppositional culture studies, except Weis' study of urban Black community college students (Weis, 1985), the oppositional culture orientations of the students in my study precipitated initial and subsequent goal commitments. Their oppositional culture

integration with college social and academic structures. These integrations were consistent for the most part with Tinto's model of persistence (Tinto, 1975), and ultimately led to success for 10 of the 12 students with whom I worked. I add, though, that social integration was grounded in ethnic affiliation with Mexican-Americans primarily with other ethnic minority students secondly, and seldom with White students.

Importance of This Study

As I indicated at the outset, virtually all persistence research of Mexican-Americans has been quantitatively based, decontextualized, and as a rule, has homogenized Mexican-Americans culturally. Cultural homogenization--stereotyping, actually--is a result of not having operationalized Mexican-American ethnicity. To avoid this problem, I operationalize Mexican-American ethnicity in Chapter II. I do so because of the tendency by researchers to homogenize a diverse people can lead to definitional problems if we do not understand conceptually whom we are studying (Hayes and Bautista, 1986). In this regard, I contend that we should not label students "Chicanas", "Latinos", or the like, if we do address the political, historical, and cultural bases of those terms. Ethnic identification referents--by no means the major focus of this study--are important indicators of cultural awareness and sociocultural variability. All the while, we must recognize, as the results of my study indicated in some instances, that some students choose ethnic identifications with little knowledge of the social and political bases of those terms.

I believe that these questions and issues are important, in attempting to further our understanding of how Mexican-Americans persist in higher education. More specifically, my study is important for the following reasons: (1) it allows us to obtain insider-contextualized accounts of Mexican-American community college persistence generally

and specifically, in terms of the cultural, linguistic, normative, and world views students bring to higher education; in other words, in terms of their sociocultural variabilities; (2) it should broaden our understanding of students' background variables and in relation to goal commitments, institutional culture, and thus, students' social and academic integrations; (3) it is one of a small number of qualitative inquiries on the community college; (4) it extends earlier studies on culture and cross-cultural conflict in the community college; and (5) it addresses Mexican-American students' adaptations to and transformations of the reproductive functions of schooling.

Summary

In this chapter, I summarized the persistence literature, which, with few exceptions, has been characterized by quantitative, logical-positivistic inquiry. Under these circumstances, we know only generally about those factors which contribute to persistence and departure decisions by students in general. With regard to Mexican-American community college students, we know even less, largely because researchers have unwittingly homogenized Mexican-Americans by not operationalizing the ethno-cultural identification referents that they assign to them. As such, we cannot be sure whom was studied other than to say that they were of Mexican origin or background, and to draw correlations between achievement and socioeconomic backgrounds.

Alternatively, I addressed the need to operationalize ethnicity and implicitly, sociocultural variability. Relatedly, and equally important for the purposes of my study, I presented longitudinal data on Mexican-Americans from the secondary and postsecondary levels to dramatize the social crisis we face as a nation. To conceptualize and structure this research, I introduced research from stratification, oppositional culture-resistance theorists, and cultural discontinuity theorists. Finally, this study contributes to a very small body of qualitative literature on the community college.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

Investigations regularly underscore the nature of Anglo-American historical accounts where Anglo culture was championed and Mexican culture vilified. As a result of this pressure, Chicanos were forced to adopt Anglo lifeways. This adaptation has caused difficulties, particularly in education. (Vigil, 1982, p. 59)

My review of the literature of Mexican-Americans in higher education led me to a review of Mexican-American educational attainment at the primary and secondary levels. In turn, these reviews lead me necessarily to learn more about the social, intracultural, and linguistic variabilities which make Mexican-Americans a vastly heterogeneous lot. I refer to those heterogeneities as sociocultural variability in this study. Examining the elementary and secondary education literature was necessary because Mexican-American educational attainment patterns stem, in part, from experiences at the K-12 level (Aguirre and Martinez, 1993; Chapa, 1990; Vigil, 1992). To facilitate the structuring of my perceptions, thoughts, and conclusions, I dialogued continuously with myself as a Chicano during this study as much as I examined the behaviors, values, and normative orientations of the students and college personnel from which this dissertation stems.

After reviewing numerous quantitative analyses of Mexican-American underachievement at the primary and secondary levels, and later in circular fashion, in higher education, it became apparent to me that there is no overarching explanation for Mexican-American underachievement in relation to their sociocultural variabilities.

Delgado-Gaitan (1988), has said the same about Chicano underachievement in the K-12 level, "The schooling situation for Chicanos cannot be explained in an atomized way" (p. 376). Moreover, and whether we draw from Ogbu's (Ogbu, 1987a; 1988) or Weis' oppositional culture theories (Weis, 1985), from resistance and stratification theory modeled after Willis' study of working-class youth in England (Willis, 1987), Vygotskian zone of proximal development or familial mediation of children's engagements with schooling (Vygotsky, 1978), or cultural discontinuity theory between school and home culture (Delgado-Gaitan, 1987; Spindler and Spindler, 1987; Trueba, 1987), we still lack contextualized, cross-cultural, theory driven explanations of Mexican-American underachievement in the community college.

To use Ogbu's language, these are questions in search of explanation (Ogbu, 1987b). I allude to Ogbu here without endorsing wholly his oppositional culture theory of American ethnic minority educational underachievement. However, I think that Ogbu's perspective on intergroup relations is instructive because it forces us to address cross-cultural relations in American higher education (Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi, 1985; Ogbu, 1987a, 1988). And as several researchers have informed us, cross-cultural conflict is an appropriate perspective from which to examine and further develop our understanding of Mexican-American achievement and underachievement (Aguirre and Martinez, 1993; Rendon, 1982; Rendon et al, 1988; Rendon and Valadez, 1993; Weis, 1985). Specifically, as I discuss later in this chapter, and notwithstanding the culturally deterministic basis of his oppositional culture typologies to explain minority student underachievement, one perspective which Ogbu lends us is that understanding disparity must take into account the power relations between American ethnic minorities and dominant cultural forms and structures in historical senses.

These considerations are important because Tinto's model of student persistence, the model upon which my study is based in part, does not address cross-cultural relations nor

their relationship to students' integrations with social and academic structures. Ogbu, on the other hand, addresses these considerations as does Weis (1985) and to a lesser extent, Willis (1977). I draw considerably from these theorists in this study. My personal interest in this from an historical standpoint is that I believe that such an approach can engender a better social order (Zinn, 1980). My approach, like Ogbu's, but with a broader focus on within-culture variation, takes into account historical factors from a cross-cultural perspective. As Mindel and Habenstein (1976), and Steinberg (1989), inform us, the study of ethnicity, attendant cultural change--referred to in literature as acculturation-- and conflict across cultures must take into account historical factors from a cross-cultural perspective.

In view of these considerations, my objective in this chapter is to establish a theoretical framework to examine Mexican-American persistence in relation to their sociocultural variabilities. Toward this end, I review literature on Mexican-American sociocultural variability, persistence and related literature on achievement, underachievement, and goal attainment in higher education. My review of the research on sociocultural variability is necessary to establish a typology of acculturated identities for the students in my study. I do this in Chapter IV with my discussion of a standardized instrument, the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican-Americans (Cuellar et al, 1980). I attempt to do so without stereotyping students as I believe Ogbu has done with his racial stratification typology of voluntary, involuntary, and castelike minorities (Ogbu, 1982, 1987). I extend these thoughts in Chapter III where I explain why ethnicity and operationalization of ethnic identification referents were important to my study. In addition to racial and class-based theorists, I draw extensively from Chicano psychologists to address Mexican-American sociocultural variability.

To avoid confusion and to facilitate proper conceptual referents, I employ Mexican-American, Chicano, Hispanic, Latino, and Mexican interchangeably to refer to Mexican-

Americans until the end of my review and synthesis of the literature. Thereafter, and through the end of this dissertation, I employ Mexican-American to refer to Latinos of Mexican or Mexican-American origins in reference to my own research for this study.

In the following discussions, I address and synthesize literature on Mexican-American sociocultural variability in terms of ethnicity, acculturation, generational distance from Mexico, ethnic loyalty, cultural awareness, biculturalism and cultural blendedness. I conclude by operationalizing ethnic identification referents by which Mexican-Americans are popularly known and as they are referred to in the social science and educational literature.

Mexican-American Sociocultural Variability

Ethnicity

To understand Mexican-American sociocultural variability is to first understand Mexican-American ethnicity. Understanding the elements and dimensions of ethnicity establishes a theoretical perspective by which to understand acculturation, an overarching culture and personal change construct within an ethnic group. Sociocultural variability and acculturation symbolize and reflect varying adaptations to dominant structures. With regard to ethnic groups, Mindel and Habenstein (1976) tell us that, ". . . an ethnic group consists of those who share a unique social and cultural heritage that is passed on from generation to generation" (pp. 4-5). Relatedly, they remind us that ethnicity derives from the Greek term, "etnikos" which means "a people or a nation" (pp. 4-5). They add that, "To be a member of an ethnic group is to share a sense of cultural and historical uniqueness, and to act as a member of an ethnic group is to express feelings or call attention to that uniqueness" (pp. 4-5). Other definitions, all of which express or imply cross-cultural tension, extend and complement this basic definition.

For example, Gordon (1964) defined an ethnic group as "... those who share a sense of peoplehood...based upon racial, national origin, or religious background, or a combination of these social referents" (pp. 24). Keefe and Padilla (1987) define ethnicity as the "...cultural, social, political, and structural ways in which ethnic groups are maintained as a distinct group within a single, political state" (p. 5). In a similar but narrower way, Arce, (1981) defines ethnicity as "... that dimension of social identity that involves ethnic categories in the context of other social categories such as occupation, family role, religion, and class" (p.182). Finally, Steinberg (Steinberg, 1989) tells us, "By its very nature, ethnicity involves ways of thinking, feeling, and acting that constitute the essence of a culture. Issues arise when ethnicity is taken out of historical context and assumed to have independent explanatory power" (pp. xii, xiv).

By these standards, we can point to Mexican-American ethnicity by noting their second-class social and economic statuses over the generations (Acuna, 1972; Aguirre, and Martinez, 1993; Camarillo, 1979; Grebler, et al, 1970; Romano, 1968), being objects of de facto educational discrimination in the southwest including California (Aguirre and Martinez, 1993; Carter and Segura, 1979; Mirande, 1985; Olivas, 1986; Rendon, et al, 1988), and remaining a predominantly Catholic people (de La Garza, DeSipio, Garcia, Garcia, and Falcon, 1992). However, not all Mexican-Americans are the same. Within-culture variation is a central feature of Mexican-American ethnicity which has been obfuscated by the advent of Hispanicism (Forbes, 1992; Hayes-Bautista, 1980; Hayes-Bautista and Chapa, 1986; Keefe and Padilla, 1987; Padilla, 1980). These statements should seem to be grounded in common sense. I mention a few obvious examples.

For example, many Mexican-Americans are monolingual, English-speaking-only. Many speak Spanish only. Some European phenotype, English-speaking-only Mexican-Americans do not identify in any way with Mexican-American ethnicity or culture (Arce, Murguia, and Frisbie, 1987; Keefe and Padilla, 1987). On the other hand, many English-

speaking-only European phenotypes identify strongly with Mexican-American or Chicano culture and ethnicity (Keefe and Padilla, 1987). Many, as Keefe and Padilla (1987) refer to, are cultural blends. Those are Mexican-Americans whose personal identities, cultural awarenesses, and ethnic loyalties will vary based upon the extent and quality of contact and integration with Mexican-American culture, and mainstream American popular culture and social structures.

Sociocultural variability is also important across cultures. For example, it calls our attention to the need to transcend stereotypical conceptions we have about persons who are culturally different from ourselves. As I discuss later in this chapter under identification and characterization of Mexican-Americans in social science research, and especially in terms of stereotypical imageries of Mexican-Americans, stereotyping on the basis of ethnicity and gender precludes meaningful dialogue between students and educators in instructional or guidance settings. And as I discuss more fully in Chapter VI under implications from the findings, there are implications for policy makers and faculty as they relate to students' social academic integrations when cross-cultural perspectives do not take into account students' sociocultural variabilities.

In the discussions that follow, I address these variabilities under the broader heading of acculturation in terms of: (1) generational distance from Mexico; (2) ethnic loyalty; (3) cultural awareness; and (4) biculturalism and cultural blendedness. On the basis of these discussions and thereafter, I operationalize several ethnic identification referents by which Mexican-Americans are commonly known. My purpose in operationalizing these ethnic identity terms is to facilitate subsequent classifications and discussions by acculturative types.

Mexican-American Acculturation: Culture and Personal Change

In a strict sense, acculturation--often and mistakenly equated with assimilation--is a sociopsychological process of adaptation to dominant societal norms, mores, and customs (Sue, 1981; Sue and Sue, 1990). More broadly, acculturation means the degrees to which people are more or less dominant culture oriented behaviorally and normatively in terms of their ethnic self-identification preferences, degrees of ethno-cultural awarenesses, ethnic loyalties, and language dominance either in terms of Spanish, English, or both. It is a symbolic construct for intracultural change, and personal change as a result of contact with a new social and economic order. Equally important, and in terms of the research methodology I employed in this study, I saw acculturation as an ethnopsychology (Padilla, 1984) and the study of social relations across cultures in the marketplace (Acuna, 1981; Keefe and Padilla, 1987; Steinberg, 1989).

Mexican-American acculturation, also refers to peoples' nuclear versus extended familism practices and orientations, socialization patterns in terms of primary groups, degrees of cultural blendedness (Keefe and Padilla, 1987)--or biculturalism as it is typically referred to in the literature--patterns, and extent of integration with dominant social structures. Acculturation, then, suggests a multi-dimensional and quite often individually varied psychosocial adaptation by immigrants or indigenous people to dominant popular and behavioral conventions, without forsaking completely their ethnic identities and world views. (Cuellar, Harris, and Jasso, Keefe and Padilla, 1987; Padilla, 1980; Clark, Kaufmann and Pierce, 1978). To ignore these variabilities is to perpetuate unwittingly the stereotyping and misinformed cultural homogenization of Mexican-Americans as virtually all higher education persistence research has done. And as we ignore these considerations, we are left wanting explanations of how Mexican-American community college students achieve academically and how they attain their educational goals.

Generational Distance from Mexico

We know from a number of empirical studies and theoretical research that generational distance does not necessarily lead to assimilation but rather, to varying degrees of acculturation (Cuellar, Harris, and Jasso, 1980; Keefe and Padilla, 1987; Mendoza, 1984; Olmedo and Martinez, 1978). Keefe and Padilla's seminal work--the most significant and ambitious if not comprehensive study of Mexican-American sociocultural change--with Mexican nationals and Mexican-Americans in three southern California coastal communities affirmed this. Keefe, an anthropologist, and Padilla, a clinical psychologist, measured and explained sociocultural change, ethnic identities, and cultural types across three generations of Mexican-Americans. Their major finding was that Mexican-American sociocultural change and attendant variations of ethnic identification preference and acculturation levels do not derive from linear, melting pot, assimilationist theory. Specifically, they found that carryover to varying degrees of Mexican and Mexican-American normative orientations, traditions, customs, cultural awareness, and ethnic loyalty, were present in the majority of case study respondents.

For example, and to describe a very small sample of respondents, many third-generation Mexican-American males, far from being assimilated, exhibited the following ranges of behavioral and normative orientations: perfect fluency in Spanish and English, moderate to high levels of Spanish proficiency with moderate to high levels of English proficiency, English proficiency only; moderate levels of Spanish proficiency only with high levels of English proficiency, strong degrees of ethnic loyalty and cultural awareness, very low degrees of ethnic awareness but moderate degrees of ethnic loyalty while identifying strongly with "American" ideals. Keefe and Padilla also found similar variabilities among female respondents across three generations, variabilities which confirmed and also negated stereotypes about Mexican-American women. This outcome

was consistent with findings by other researchers. For example, as Baca-Zinn, (1980), Davis and Chavez, (1985), Miller, (1978), and Ruiz, (1979), have informed us, gender role stereotypes within Mexican-American families do necessarily conform to (male) machismo female submissiveness, and gender-based divisions of labor. I explicate these gender role and familial variabilities in a subsequent discussion on stereotype versus heterogeneity wherein I operationalize ethnic identification referents for Mexican-Americans.

The significance of the Keefe-Padilla study is that it calls our attention to more than just intracultural variability. Specifically, their research reflects variation and maintenance to varying degrees of traditional Mexican/Mexican-American culture, traditions, and cultural norms intergenerationally. Equally important is their classification of "bicultural" persons as "cultural blends." The two constructs are complementary. Cultural blendedness, though, is a more encompassing construct. It diverts us from the tendency to think that bicultural persons are equally competent in two cultures. This construct of cultural blendedness helped me understand more clearly students' background variables in relation to persistence. Specifically, it alerts us to educators' needs to adapt to the varying linguistic, attitudinal, normative, and in short, world views which Mexican-Americans bring to higher education as background variables.

In other words, I believe that we need to be cautious in typecasting Mexican-Americans as traditionally oriented or highly acculturated. Instead, there are graded adaptations ranging from high to medium, to low to American social structures (Cuellar, Harris, and Jasso, 1980; Keefe and Padilla, 1987). Within these general schemes, there are intra-group variabilities, or in reference to Keefe and Padilla again, personal identities as blendings of mainstream cultural and traditional Mexican/Mexican-American cultural influences (Keefe and Padilla, 1987). This dualism, a bidirectional--not necessarily "bicultural"--orientation or world view, is the acculturative tendency to behave and be

oriented "... in the direction of barrio behavior and/or in the direction of Anglo majority" (Dominio and Acosta, 1987, p. 132). The construct of bidirectionality is important toward our understanding of Mexican-American sociocultural variability because, "... it is impossible to prefer the traits of one culture over another unless there exists, to some extent, an awareness of both cultural systems. However, a person might not necessarily choose to identify with the culture with which he/she is most familiar" (Keefe and Padilla, 1987, p. 46).

When we examine biculturalism or cultural blendedness in relation to Mexican-Americans' interactions with schooling and the quality of parental support in terms of encouragement and interpretation of their cross-cultural engagements interpersonally and structurally (Vygotsky, 1978), we must also consider variation between individuals as an important element in building a theory of Mexican-American community college persistence. Arce (1981) gives us anecdotal insight on what I believe are important personal and sociocultural variables central to the study of Mexican-American "identity." I proceed from Arce's thoughts to a discussion of Mexican-American ethnic loyalty.

A full examination of Chicano identity requires a formal distinction between private feelings about oneself, sometimes called 'identity' in the behavioral sciences of Chicanos, and categorizations of the self that involve major roles, social types, or group memberships. The former, which denote personal attributes, is personal identity, the latter, which denote cognitive, categorical aspects of the self, is social identity. Social identity, can thus be defined as the categorical product of the cognitive awareness of kind, or perception of the common interest and similarity with social groups. Ethnic identity is that dimension of social identity that involves ethnic categories in the context of other social categories such as occupational family role, religion, and social class. Virtually all studies of Chicano identity have been too exclusively focused on ethnic aspects without adequately examining an individual's private definition and categorization of his or her social identity. If such a distinction were adopted, it would be possible to assess the importance of ethnic identity in the broader framework of multi-dimensional social identity. For Chicanos, ethnic identity is not simple or unidimensional. It potentially operates on multiple levels, on a private level, each of which has several components that may be ethnic in general character. The most distinctive of these components are language, culture, race, color, national origin, and minority status. Ethnic

identity is only one dimension of social identity. (pp. 182-83)

Arce's promptings are important to the purposes of my research for two reasons. First, as I elaborate in Chapter III, they imply the need for symbolic interaction and ethnomethodological theoretical perspectives in relation to Mexican-American academic achievement and goal attainment in the community college. Second, the notion of individual variability in terms of private definitions of social identities were of great importance in my data analyses. I found such variabilities in students of the same gender and from the same acculturative backgrounds. In short, Arce lends additional support to the construct of within-culture differences which, unfortunately, are not addressed sufficiently in the literature.

Mexican-American Ethnic Loyalty

Ethnic loyalty is the identification with Mexican-American customs, traditions, and common identity. It implies identity with one's people. Padilla (1980) has defined it as, "... the preference for one cultural orientation or for cultural elements of the culture of origin, and ethnic group over another" (p. 8). Ethnic loyalty is one additional indicator of people's acculturation levels. It is also the encompassing construct for cultural awareness and ethnic identity as I elaborate here (Keefe and Padilla, 1987). Buriel (1984), has referred to ethnic loyalty implicitly as integration with traditional culture and a prerequisite for Mexican-American mental stability. His model, to varying extents implies that Mexican-Americans must first be aware of "traditional Mexican-American culture" (p. 95) and internalize the core elements of extended familism, Spanish proficiency, and group identity to be traditionally oriented. His conception is somewhat limited, though because "traditional culture" is transformative and does not address other behavioral and affective orientations that reflect ethnic loyalty and thus, levels and types of acculturation. I offer some examples.

For example, and for many Mexican-Americans, an important element in the formation and maintenance of ethnic loyalty is the rejection of dominant norms of individualism and competitiveness. These dominant norms are essentially incongruent with Mexican-Americans' primary cultural traits of respect for authority and elders, cooperative social ethos (Knight, Bernal, Garza, and Cota, 1993), and homage to the nuclear and extended families as external locuses of control central to Mexican-Americans' personal and cultural identities, and as core personal identity dimensions (Del Castillo, 1984; Martinez, 1983; Miller, 1978; Keefe, 1984). With regard to loyalty and identity, Arce (1982), has said, "... even upwardly mobile Chicanos do not shed their identity significantly, but only their lower-class cultural traits" (p. 182).

Keefe and Padilla (1987), came to this conclusion in their tri-city, southern California study quite often with both monolingual, English-speaking-only Chicanos of a broad age ranges and across three generations of Mexican-Americans. In particular, even many European phenotype, English-speaking-only Chicanos identified strongly as "Chicanos" and with Chicano culture. Negy and Woods (1992) buttress this phenomenon by saying that "... simply having learned the national language of a host country hardly indicates the degree to which the individual has adopted core values inherent in the host culture" (p. 241). These outcomes reinforce the thesis that ethnicity is not an isolated or independent construct, and therefore that it must be examined comparatively and in relation to dominant American social structures. And as I have indicated, our recognition of historically-based structural subordination of Mexican-Americans, and internalization and intergenerational transmission of these marginalizations within the family, are important to critical analyses and understanding of Mexican-Americans ethnicity.

The processes of ethnic identity and ethnic loyalty, however, do not arise exclusively from social engagement. Children acquire information about ethnic loyalty, of course, in their homes through a process of social constancy. Ethnic loyalty is similar conceptually

to ethnic constancy, a sense of ethnic identity paralleled with children's knowledge that behavioral and perceptual orientations within themselves are strongly imprinted. (Ocampo, Bernal, and Knight, 1993; Bernal, Knight, Garza, Ocampo, and Cota, 1990). Bernal, et al (1990), arrived at this conclusion in their study of 45 Mexican-American children between six and 10 years of age and whose parents were of Mexican origin, that ethnic self-identification referents--Hispanic, Chicano, Mexican, and Spanish--in relation to ethnic knowledge or knowledge of Mexican-American customs and traditions, were correlated. Childrens' ethnic constancies, which developed at later ages than gender constancies, demonstrated that they knew they were Mexicans or Chicanos by their customs, world views, and notwithstanding variations in their usages of the Spanish language.

In sum, I believe that ethnic loyalty as a variable in the study of Mexican-American community college student persistence is important because it signals another dimension of Mexican-American ethnic identity and hence, level and type of acculturation. Most important in this regard, and as the Keefe and Padilla study indicated (Keefe and Padilla, 1987), the maintenance, modification or loss of Spanish or of never having acquired Spanish proficiency, are not necessarily exclusive indicators of ethnic loyalty or cultural awareness.

Cultural Awareness

Cultural awareness is the underpin of ethnic loyalty. It refers to the extent of people's knowledge of Mexican-American and Mexican customs, traditions, cultural traits, and varying practices of those cultural traits. Cultural awareness is not necessarily a pre-requisite for a high degree of ethnic loyalty. Similarly, proficiency in Spanish is not a pre-requisite for high degrees of ethnic loyalty. Keefe and Padilla's study indicated this repeatedly in their southern California study (Keefe and Padilla, 1987). Equally important,

cultural awareness includes the extent of internalization and practice of familism traits and patterns transmitted to people by their elders or parents (Keefe, 1984; Keefe and Padilla, 1987; Ocampo, et al, 1993). The concept of cultural awareness implies that there are differences in degrees and breadth of awareness of Mexican and Mexican-American culture by persons of Mexican descent. I present some popular and historical cultural awareness examples.

For example, many first-generation Mexican-Americans or "Mexicans" as they invariably refer to themselves, typically maintain Mexican cultural customs such as Quincenera (a coming-out rite of passage for 15-year old girls) acknowledging El Dia del Indigeno (Mexico's annual recognition of pre-Cortesian indigenous people), and commemorating El Cinco de Mayo and El Diez y Seis de Septiembre (celebrations of Mexican army victories over the Spanish army at the Battle of Puebla, Mexico, and a symbolic victory over the occupying French army on May 5, 1861, at Puebla, Mexico). Cultural awareness also refers to people's awareness of historical Mexican and Mexican-American heroes such as Emiliano Zapata and Porfirio Diaz, Cesar Chavez, the "Chicano Movement" of the 1960's and 1970's, the legend of Joaquin Murrieta--the southern California Mexican Robin Hood in the 19th Century--and very importantly, the appearance of La Virgen de Guadalupe, messenger from God.

Generally, people with high degrees of cultural awareness tend to be more Mexican oriented or less acculturated (Cuellar, Harris, and Jasso, 1980; Keefe and Padilla, 1987). Conversely, but not always, people with lesser degrees of cultural awareness tend to be more dominant culture oriented based upon the acculturation rating scale established by Cuellar, Harris, and Jasso (1980). Absent discussion on the relationship between acculturation levels and type and socioeconomic background, the construct of cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty are simplistic notions at best. Implicitly, the less that people are attuned to traditional culture in terms cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty does not

necessarily mean that they are more acculturated or that they are more likely to have greater access to and success within social and economic structures (Negy and Woods, 1992). In contrast, the results from my study, for example, revealed that perceived marginality on the basis of ethnicity and phenotype were strong indicators of areas of inquiry of persistence in relation to college social and academic structures.

Ethnic Identity and Behavioral Orientations: Biculturalism, and Cultural Blendedness

Subsequent to the promulgation of Hispanicism by the Office of Management and Budget in 1975 to establish uniform ethnic and racial categories for federal government accounting purposes and with the institutionalization of Hispanic as an ethnic identification referent by the public and private sectors, there has been confusion concerning who and what groups are Hispanic (Forbes, 1992). This is unfortunate because the net effect has been to talk about Mexican-Americans, other U.S. Latinos, and indigenous peoples of Latin America as Hispanics as if they were a homogenous lot. The term Hispanic has made us forget the multiple linguistic, historical, familial, economic, cross-cultural and institutional influences on Mexican-American identity. Keefe and Padilla (1987) have termed these multiple influences cultural blendedness. Biculturalism is a competing construct. I synthesize and summarize these models of cultural and personal change here.

Biculturalism implies that people obtain and internalize some traits from the dominant culture, and behave more or less in ways consistent with the cultural orientations of both the new and native culture. In other words, when people assume traits of the new and native culture, there is the assumption that they can negotiate the two cultures with roughly equal competence (Padilla, 1980; Keefe and Padilla, 1987; Ramirez, 1983; Ramirez and Casteneda, 1974). Biculturalism suggests a multidimensional process

"... that recognizes the acceptance of new cultural traits and the loss of traditional traits varies from trait to trait" (Keefe and Padilla, 1987, p.16). These authors call this selective acculturation or the "... tendency by immigrants and ethnic minorities to adopt certain strategies such as learning English while retaining other traditional cultural values and patterns, including child-rearing practices, family organization, native foods, and music preferences" (Keefe and Padilla, 1987, p. 16).

Ramirez (1983) gives us a similar interpretation of Mexican-American behavioral and identification variability based upon his review and synthesis of research. It is a multicultural scheme of four identities. One is a synthesized, multicultural identity, characteristic of Mexican-Americans who are essentially universalists, who can transcend ethnocentrism, function well socially well across cultures, and who value cultural differences. The second multicultural identity is a functional multicultural person who is oriented behaviorally and normatively to mainstream American culture. These persons, like synthesized, multicultural persons, function well in two cultures--essentially as bicultural persons--but prefer mainstream culture orientations over native culture. Cuellar et al, (1980), refer to these people as highly acculturated to Anglo culture. Ramirez refers to the third type as functional, multicultural Latino oriented persons. These people vary from functional multicultural people only in that they, as Keefe and Padilla would say, have a high degree of ethnic loyalty (Keefe and Padilla, 1987). Finally, monocultural Mexican-Americans are those who are traditionally oriented and who function well only in Mexican or Mexican-American culture.

Whether we employ Ramirez' model (1983), or Keefe and Padilla's model (1987), cultural blendedness best describes Mexican-American sociocultural and behavioral orientations. I believe that it accommodates Ramirez' thoughts on the multidimensionality of cultural identity and intracultural variability. As I have indicated, Keefe and Padilla(1987) coined the term during their three-year survey and case study research of

Chicano ethnicity with nearly 900 families in three southern California coastal communities. Their multidimensional model holds that behaviors and normative orientations are quite often situational and therefore, that acculturation traits will vary situationally. Keefe and Padilla selected the term cultural blendedness because biculturalism has been oversimplified in the psychological literature and because biculturalism implies that Mexican-Americans are equally comfortable and adept at living within and negotiating two cultures.

However, as Keefe and Padilla found in their study, "... cultural blends are not always comfortable in their bicultural roles, and they are even more troubled by the biethnic loyalties they are sometimes called upon to demonstrate. In other words, biculturality is not the ideal state that some social scientists have depicted it to be" (Keefe and Padilla, 1987, p. 81). A cultural blend is a person who does not necessarily fit well with earlier explanations of cultural orientations and behaviors. Idiosyncrasies, family type and degree of functioning during formative years, economic background, generational distance from Mexico, the availability, extent, and quality of educational, economic, or life role models within or outside the nuclear or extended family, present and prior employments, experiences with discrimination and how they were dispositioned, and community influences on identity and ethno-cultural preferences, produce persons of varying identities and orientations which do not fit neatly with popular conceptions of biculturalism. As I found in my study, and as I elaborate in Chapter V, most of my research participants were cultural blends within the framework developed by Keefe and Padilla.

With this discussion of biculturalism and ethnic blendedness in mind together with earlier discussions of generational distance from Mexico, ethnic loyalty, and cultural awareness, I proceed to discuss other research outcomes largely by sociologists and psychologists that affirm Mexican-American cultural heterogeneity. I conclude with a

Americans. The latter discussion is important because I operationalize terms which the research literature, the federal government, and college admissions offices employ in ways which are often at variance with conceptions of those terms as they are employed and understood by Latinos of Mexican and Mexican-American descent.

From Cultural Stereotype to Heterogeneity

When we think of Mexican-Americans in popular and empirical senses, there are common and recurring themes; stereotypes as I suggest, some of which are accurate and some of which are inaccurate. For example, the literature typically presents a Mexican-American character in the following ways: personal or locus of control grounded in the extended family, respect for elders, field dependent locus of control or cooperative ethos grounded in the collective, patriarchal family organization, female domestic orientation, lack of desire to ascend economically or socially, and denial of indigenous origins (Heller, 1966; Lewis, 1959; Madsen, 1964; Rodriguez, 1994; Simmons, 1961). I review some fairly recent and still sustainable empirical research which confirm and negate these stereotypes. I begin with the family, the commonly thought of cornerstone of Mexican-American identity.

Recent research confirms that the extended family is still the basic social unit for Mexican-Americans and from which identity and orientations to engage culturally and cross-culturally still predominate. However, this historical orientation is changing and in its place is the nuclear family. Several studies point to this outcome. For example, in a study of 164 Mexican-American families of varying acculturation levels, socioeconomic backgrounds, and of varying generational distances from Mexico, Sabogal, Marin, and Sabogal (1987) found that what remained intact and consistent with prior research, was respondents' perceived levels of family support from the extended family. What changed though, was actual levels of support and lessening of familial obligations and support for

more highly acculturated family members. In contrast, first-generation, less acculturated immigrants, and despite tremendous psychosocial disruptions that characterize the transition from one nation to another, reported that they perceived extended clan financial and emotional support in ways and in situations that Mexican-Americans of higher acculturation levels could not depend upon.

Relatedly, Alvarez and Bean, (1976), del Castillo, (1984), Miller (1978), and Patterson, Solis, Nader, Atkins, and Abrahamson (1986), inform us that economic pressures and constraints in the United States have reduced incrementally and gradually the role of the extended family as the primary Mexican and Mexican-American social unit. Moreover, there is evidence from several studies that egalitarian relationships based upon joint, democratic decision-making and sharing of household chores are and have been the "traditional" Mexican-American spousal relationship in many Mexican-American families in contrast to the stereotypical, patriarchal model (Baca-Zinn, 1980; Davis and Chavez, 1985; Miller, 1978; Ruiz, 1979; Ybarra, 1982).

Mexican-American machismo--the stereotypical male propensity to be in emotional and physical control of life situations--has also been examined. Ybarra's study is instructive here (Ybarra, 1982). Based upon her study of fifty Mexican-American household couples, and assessment of their cultural values, decision-makings, household task division of labor, extended family networks, family interactions in social and recreational activities, attitudes toward "machismo," gender roles within the family, and all in relation to low or high levels of acculturation and socioeconomic backgrounds, Ybarra found that respondents' acculturation levels and types did not play major roles in terms of changes in "traditional" Mexican-American family roles and structures. It is important to add, though, that one of the outcomes of her study was a broad range of familial orientations, including a mixture of patriarchal and egalitarian or role-sharing relationships. These latter findings are important in relation to my study because there

appears to be a correlation between transcendence of traditional gender roles for Mexican-American females and their educational attainments.

Finally, research and stereotype are in accord concerning Mexican-American child rearing practices regarding the cultivation in children of grounded or prosocial personalities in contrast to individualistically, competitively oriented personalities (Bernal, Knight, Ocampo, and Cota, 1990; Knight Kagan, and Buriel, 1981; Kagan, and Knight, 1981). These orientations derive from Mexicans' and Mexican-Americans' rural and migratory backgrounds wherein cooperation was an important basis of survival (del Castillo, 1984; Moquin, 1971; McWilliams, 1968).

A recent quantitative study on within culture variation, however, by Lucas and Stone (1994), counters earlier research somewhat. In a study of 55 Mexican-Americans from one high school, a community college, and a large university in Iowa, the authors determined that higher acculturation levels did not contribute to greater levels of interpersonal competitiveness. On the other hand, males demonstrated greater levels of interpersonal competitiveness than females. Only a negligible gender difference in goal competitiveness was found between men and women. The gender difference outcomes in this study suggested that women had difficulty in committing to competitions which threatened interpersonal relationships. The average age of these participants was 21.46 years. The mean grade point average for high school students was 3.28. The mean grade point average for college students was 2.89. Acculturation levels were determined by utilizing the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican-Americans (ARSMA), the scale I employed in my study.

Another quantitative study, however, by Espinoza and Garza (1985) with Chicano students found that Chicanos exhibited greater levels of cooperation than did Whites in terms of social interaction. These Chicanos, though, also demonstrated as great a level of competitiveness as did White students when competition carried instrumental value.

competitiveness as did White students when competition carried instrumental value.

Identification and Characterization of Mexican-Americans
in the Social Science and Persistence Research

In too much of the social science and educational research, we are left groping for answers as to whom was studied when persons of Mexican origin were studied. For example, and as a rule, Mexican-Americans, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, Salvadorans, Cubans, Chileans, Argentinians, and Colombians have been lumped and homogenized as Hispanics without being differentiated on the bases of generational distance from their ancestral lands, first and second language proficiencies; personal or family income, family orientations and practices concerning ethnic identification preferences. These distinctions are critically important if persistence researchers are to develop contextual understandings of the social and academic integration problems which Mexican-American students encounter.

There are better ways of identifying and differentiating Hispanics, the most frequently employed ethnic identification referent for Mexican-Americans in the education and persistence literature. It is important because, "... ethnic classification should be based not on demographic variables, but on psychological indices of ethnicity" (Quintana, Vogel, and Ybarra, 1991). Toward this end, it is important to first define Hispanic and transcend the definition as it applies to Mexican-American sociocultural variability. Thereafter, I operationalize commonly employed ethnic identification referents for Mexican-Americans in the final subsection of this discussion of Mexican-American sociocultural variability to structure and explain the outcomes of my research in terms of five levels of acculturation (Cuellar et al, 1980).

Beyond Hispanicism

In a narrow sense, the term Hispanic derives from the archaic term "Ispania" which refers to the peoples, culture, or language of Spain (Forbes, 1992; Oxford English Dictionary, 1987). Historically, the term was used by the Romans to describe the Iberian Peninsula which we now call Spain. Today in the United States, the term connotes a common language, common cultural heritage, and common world view among "Spanish origin" people. In fact, though, these characterizations are inaccurate, and exaggerated social constructions which stem from political expedience about culturally and linguistically different citizens or permanent residents of Latino origins (Hayes-Bautista and Chapa, 1986; Nelson and Tienda, 1985; Oboler, 1992).

The term Hispanic acquired currency in the mid-1970's when Mexican-American congresspersons created the Hispanic Caucus to promote the social and economic interests of Hispanics nationally (Melville, 1988). Munoz (1989) has suggested that the creation of this non-profit organization came in response to the decline of the Chicano Movement in the mid-1970's and because of the historically pejorative connotation of the term Chicano. On the heels of the creation of the Hispanic Caucus, came the creation of the Hispanic Congressional Caucus by Hispanic congresspersons in order to engender Hispanic coalition politics. Subsequently, the nation saw institutionalization of the term in local, state, and federal affirmative action programs as the ethnic identification preference for "Spanish-origin" persons to identify themselves through Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics and Administrative Reporting issued by the Office of Management and Budget (Forbes, 1992). Lamentably, popular use carried over into social science and persistence research.

Hayes-Bautista (1980), a Latino mental health services provider who addresses

clients' ethnicities, acculturation levels and ethnic identification preferences as routine variables in his diagnoses, speaks critically about the impropriety of Hispanicism in mental health work. He says that, "... definitional differences can lead to operational differences which could mean that neither the population studied nor the results can be compared with each other" (p. 355). He speaks here of ethnopsychological differences which characterize Mexican-Americans as a rule. As an alternative to the vaguery of Hispanic, it seems more sensible to identify western hemisphere indigenous people of minimal to moderate Spanish genetic influence as Latinos and then followed by national or as necessary, by unique, ethnic self-identification referents (Hayes-Bautista and Chapa, 1986). In this regard, Latino is more appropriate simply because it refers to a specific group of people of several nations in a specific global region. In this case, I talk of Latin America of which Latinos of the United States should be counted.

By this standard, as I discuss in the final subpart of this discussion on Mexican-American sociocultural variability, Mexican nationals residing in the United States would be referred to as Latinos of Mexican origin. Mexican-Americans would be referred to as Latinos of Mexican-American origin. In the face of these seemingly practical alternatives, we have observed that the advent of Hispanicism has signaled a decline in the usage of and reference to ethnic identification terms for Mexican-Americans, terms which carry greater acculturative symbolism than Hispanic. For example, and notably, we seldom hear today two ethnic identification referents which were commonly used less than one generation ago: Mexican-American and Chicano. As I discuss below in my Synthesis and Annotations of Ethnic Identification Referents for Mexican-Americans, these two terms imply and symbolize distinct acculturative, political, and socioeconomic variabilities (Aguirre and Martinez, 1993; Keefe and Padilla, 1987; Mirande, 1985) which, for all intents and purposes, are obfuscated by the term Hispanic

Operationalization of Ethnic Identification Referents for Mexican-Americans

In this final subsection of my discussion of Mexican-American sociocultural variability, I address and operationalize various ethnic identification terms ascribed to and chosen by Mexican-Americans. Ethnic identification "... is a construct or set of self-ideas about one's own ethnic group membership" (Bernal, et al, 1993; p. 33). It is a very important dimension in Mexican-Americans' self-concepts. And according to Bernal, et al (1990) and Keefe Padilla (1987), it implies dimensions of ethnic loyalty, cultural awareness, and to varying degrees, association with Mexican-Americans as the primary social group.

Relatedly, it is important to understand the personal, interpersonal, and cross-cultural significance of ethnic identification referents by which Mexican-Americans are known. They are partial indicators of acculturation levels. For example, for some Mexican-Americans, ethnic identification referents are symbols to their communities and to non-Mexican-Americans of how they want to be perceived in social relations based upon their own interpretations of what those terms mean. This consideration has implications for symbolic interaction theory which I review in Chapter III. "Chicanos," for example, quite probably have a high degree of ethnic loyalty and are probably unreserved about conveying sentiments about socioeconomic disparity, cross-cultural relations and ethnicity. At the same time, I emphasize that there are behavioral and normative variabilities by others who may prefer different ethnic identifications. These variabilities are consistent with Arce's thoughts in Chapter I about the individualistic, subjective, and private nature of social and ethnic identities (Arce, 1981). Finally, I caution that ethnic labelings and identification preferences are problematic: they are social constructions and into which people cannot be packaged neatly. However, they are generally valid indicators of people's ethnic self-concepts and levels of acculturation.

Trying to understand why Mexicans utilize different ethnic self-identification referents should draw our interest from a phenomenological perspective. There is no grand theory to explain why and how the ethnic identification referents I discuss below are utilized the way they are by Mexican-Americans. For example, there is no consistency across socioeconomic background or linguistic proficiencies in either English, or Spanish to explain ethnic self-identification preferences. The following operationalizations demonstrate this.

Ethnic Label and Identification Referent : MEXICAN ("Meh-hee-cah-no")

Acculturative and Historical Significance

More often than not, the term suggests a traditional orientation or world view: an external locus of control and cooperative socialization patterns. Personal and ethnic identity stems basically from the extended family, the primary social unit. Persons who use the term as their ethnic identification are quite probably first-generation to the United States. Moreover, people who prefer this term may be equally proficient in English, Spanish, or quite likely, more proficient in Spanish. More than any other ethnic identification referents, the term Mexicano implies a strong sense of ethnic loyalty first, but which may not necessarily be matched by corresponding cultural awareness. For example, Mexicano is uttered situationally and with pride by Chicanos, Mexican-Americans, or "Latinos of Mexican-American" origin two, three, and more generations removed from Mexico the same ways that Irish-Americans or other American ethnic groups refer with pride to the ethno-national origins even though they are highly acculturated. It is often used synonymously or interchangeably with "La Raza" or "Raza"--meaning "race"--to refer to "my people," "my own kind," "us." In part, identification as a Mexican or Mexicano is a reflection of oppositional culture to historical marginality.

Popular Connotations and Stereotypical Imagery

Traditional Mexican identity and customs equate with "nice," easygoing people. They are backwards if not lazy. Their temporal orientation is the present; that is why they are "backwards." They are simple and not too smart. They all speak English with Spanish accents. They are criminals and like to smoke marijuana. They are very family oriented. Cultural obligations preclude full engagement with social structures. They are ethnocentric and speak Spanish so Whites cannot know what they are saying. They lack self-esteem and self-concept when engaging mainstream social structures. They are farmworkers and make good servants. They are fatalistic because of their Catholicism. Men are machos and women are subservient. (Arce, 1981; Bernal and Knight, 1993; de la Garza, et al, 1993; Dworkin, 1964; Grebler et al, 1970; Martinez, 1968; McWilliams 1968; Rodriguez, 1983; Romano, 1968).

Ethnic Label and Identification Preference: MEXICAN-AMERICAN

Acculturative and Historical Significance

The term Mexican-American refers to United States born Mexican-Americans, to permanent residents of the United states, or to naturalized citizens. Origins of this term are speculative. One theory is that White settlers in the American southwest coined the term to distinguish Mexicans north of the border from Mexican nationals south of the United States border. This term symbolizes well the Mexican-American experience because more than two-thirds of Mexican-Americans prefer the term as their ethnic identification (de la Garza, et al, 1992; Lampe, 1984). It is because of this fact and because the term Mexican-American refers to a specific people with a unique history in a specific global region that I employ it to refer to the students in my research.

Many Mexicans and Mexican-Americans have common, overlapping and unique ethnic and cultural histories. These histories include structured subordination and being strangers in their ancestral lands in what Acuna (1972) has termed a neo-colonial setting. The term Mexican-American is also important because of the likelihood of continued, albeit varied and malleable maintenance of Mexican culture due to the proximity of Mexico, and to continuing immigration to the United States by Mexicans. More than other terms that I discuss in these annotations, the term best addresses and circumscribes the Mexican-American experience as a unique experience in terms of historical structured subordination, cross-cultural isolation, and sociocultural variability. Compared to Latinos of Mexican origin who employ Hispanic or Chicano as ethnic identification referents, people who choose Mexican-American as their ethnic identification exhibit as a group the greatest ranges of normative variability, cultural awareness, and ethnic loyalty. Politically, Mexican-Americans are of all persuasions. Economically, they are represented in all strata. In terms of religiosity, they are predominantly Catholic. Moreover, Mexican-Americans may be bilingual or monolingual in only Spanish or English.

In terms of acculturation, Mexican-Americans may be low to moderate to highly acculturated to dominant American cultural norms, customs, and traditions. With regard to Keefe and Padilla's construct of cultural blendedness, they may be more Mexican oriented or Anglo-European oriented (Keefe and Padilla, 1987).

Popular Connotations and Stereotypical Imagery

The stereotypes and imagery are essentially the same as for Mexican. Aguilar, (1975), though, lends comic but serious insight about popular perceptions and imagery: ". . . Mexicans pick the crops. Spanish play the guitar and are great lovers. Chicanos burn the flag. Hispanics are congressmen. Mexican-Americans are businessmen."

D. Aguilar (personal communication, 1975; Alvarez, 1973; Arce 1982; Arce and Hurtado,

1982; Camarillo 1990; de la Garza, et al 1992; Grebler, et al 1970; Keefe and Padilla 1987; Penalosa 1970; Sabogal, Marin, and Otero-Sabogal, 1987).

Ethnic Label and Identification Referent: HISPANIC

Acculturative and Historical Significance

As I have indicated, the term is a problematic social construction whose effect has been to lump or homogenize "Spanish origin" persons residing in the United States. Any person of any "race" may be an Hispanic. Persons of Egyptian origin may identify themselves as Hispanic (Forbes, 1992). As many have indicated, it is an amorphous term that accentuates the European influence on North American mestizos who do not identify nearly as much if at all with Spanish culture or who have been influenced genetically by Spaniards as popular convention holds (Forbes, 1992). As Forbes (1992) informs us, how can a people--Mexican-Americans--over 400 years removed from the Spanish conquest and who are minimally "Spanish" genetically, and who base their identities almost exclusively upon indigenous and Mexican-American identity--be termed "Hispanic"?

If there is one commonality among Hispanics, it is the prevalence of extended familism (Sabogal, Marin, and Otero-Sabogal, 1987). Otherwise, the term is unfortunate because it obfuscates the very idea of intracultural variability. It is as unfortunate a term as "colored" was to describe today's African-Americans or Blacks prior to the popularization of Negro. Given the historical politicization of ethnicity by the Bureau of the Census--Mexican-Americans, for example, were counted as Whites in national census data in the 1950's--it is not surprising that Mexican-Americans are homogenized today as Hispanics.

Popular Connotations and Stereotypical Imagery

The term has great institutional and social utility. With regard to the latter we see this in the continued publication of "Hispanic" magazine, a hybrid of Newsweek magazine, People magazine, and the National Enquirer. In terms of the former, we feel its weight, notably in local, state, and regional demographic ethnic self-identification options on employment and admission applications. (Forbes, 1992; Hayes-Bautista 1980; Gimenez, 1992; Hayes-Bautista and Chapa, 1986; Nelson and Tienda, 1980; Oboler, 1992).

Ethnic Label and Identification Preference: CHICANO

Acculturative and Historical Significance

The term symbolizes and expresses self-determination and a Chicano nation that peaked in popularity in the mid 1970's. Its significance is far more political than acculturative even though sociocultural variabilities of those who utilize the term are quite pronounced as with Mexican-Americans. It is analogous to Black versus Negro and attendant ethno-cultural locus of identity experienced by American Blacks in the 1960's. Chicanos may be of any acculturation level and type. They may be English-speaking only or bilingual in English-Spanish to varying degrees. I have not heard nor read of any Spanish-speaking only people--typically, first-generation Mexican-Americans and generally Mexican oriented-- who refer to themselves as Chicanos.

The political genesis of Chicanismo derives from those who popularized the term in the United States: Los Angeles and Texas Zoot Suiters of the late 1930's and especially during World War II. These mostly young males who dressed in lavishly colorful and lengthy coats and pants utilized the term in rejection of Mexican and Mexican-American, both redundancies since Mexicans have always been Americans and especially since Mexican-American was a term given to natives by colonizers. In other words, Chicano is

inherently an oppositional culture term. At the same time, it connotes desire to be integrated with the American dream merely on the basis of indigenous status and without qualification. Comparatively, very few identify with the term in the 1990's (De la Garza, et al, 1992).

Derivation of the term is speculative. It certainly pre-dates use by pachucos or Zoot Suiters in the late 1930's or 1940's. Its first popular political usage which symbolized Chicano nationhood was during the first, large farmworker agricultural strike in the United States by the United Farmworker Organizing Committee in Delano, California, in 1965. Actual usage dates back at least to the 19th century in Mexico where Mexicans would refer to typically low-class persons or "pelados"--uncultured, uncouth--as Chicanos (Cordova, 1990). Some theorists believe that the term derived from elision to the Aztec letter X as "Sh" when pronouncing "Mexicano" and thus, as "Chicano." Otherwise, Chicano is a colloquialism between Mexicans nationals and Chicanos in reference to Mexicanos living in the United States. Related terms are "pocho" or "agringado," the latter meaning "gringo" like--acting like a White--or those who have lost much of their Mexicaness.

A narrower, acculturative interpretation suggests two considerations. First and most important, as the Keefe-Padilla study informs us, "Chicanos" are of great socioeconomic, familial, linguistic and gender variability (Keefe and Padilla, 1987). Second, and based upon my discussion at the outset of this annotation, the term Chicano implies a high degree of ethnic loyalty. However, it does not necessarily imply a high degree of cultural awareness. In fact, as the Keefe and Padilla study revealed and as did mine, many Chicanos possess low levels of cultural awareness.

Popular Connotations and/or Stereotypical Imagery

Chicano is a pejorative term and has been such dating back, perhaps, to its usage as

an ethnic identification referent by Zoot Suiters during the World War II era. Unfortunately, and since Zooters, smoked marijuana--marijuanos as they were referred to--and engaged in turf wars as precursors of what we now call gang activity, the terms Chicano and Zoot Suiter carry strong, anti-social connotations. The term had only fleeting, widescale popularity in the United States in the 1960's and 1970's. The preferred term today by Latinos of Mexican-American origin is Mexican-American (de la Garza, et al, 1992). And unfortunately, terms and stereotypical imagery often associated with Chicano include "low riders," and "batos locos"(crazy guys; cool, hip, crazy machos). Otherwise, the cross-cultural perception of Chicanos is of political radicals who passed through the American social landscape of the Vietnam War era just as hippies and bell bottom pants came and left. (Arce and Hurtado, 1982; Alvarez, 1973; Buriel, 1984; Camarillo, 1984; A. Cordova personal communication, 1990; de la Garza, et al, 1992; Keefe and Padilla, 1987; Martinez, and Mendoza, 1984; Munoz, 1989).

Mexican-American Sociocultural Variability: Summary

To summarize Mexican-American sociocultural variability, it entails more than the degrees to which people adapt to and become knowledgeable of the values, behavioral norms, customs, and ethos of the new or dominant order. As Burnham, Hough, Telles, Karno, and Escobar (1987) indicated after a study of acculturation processes of Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles, California, cultural change and hence sociocultural variability can:

also involve a fundamental change which includes relearning the meaning of symbols, readjusting to a new system of values, and relinquishing some old customs, beliefs, and behaviors. It follows that acculturation can be reflected in many different aspects of behavior and values, including language use in different contexts . . . preferences for food and music. . . and relationships with friends. (p. 113)

This observation complements Arce's thoughts about individual variability of

Mexican-Americans' ethnic and social identities (Arce, 1981). Mexican-American ethnicity tells us about the collective and variability within it. The term Mexican-American is also a symbolic construct calling our attention to disparity in the marketplace and in education. The ways in which people themselves define, construct, and interpret their personal, social, gender, and ethnic identities are equally important. From ethnomethodological and symbolic interactionist perspectives, the theoretical focuses I employed in this study, and in terms of within-culture variation, it is important to note the different ways in which Mexican-Americans perceive, interpret and construct their personal, gender, and ethnic identities. Mendoza (1984), extends this consideration:

There is no prototypical Mexican-American . . . the misfortune of naively or systematically ignoring the cultural backgrounds of Mexican-Americans is equalled by the misfortune of presupposing that Mexican-Americans are prototypically and homogeneously Mexican. You cause as much damage by blindly imposing stereotypical values on an assimilated individual as you can by stripping a newly arrived immigrant of his or her native cultural reality. It is this very issue--examining the effects of diverse sociocultural experiences and the orientation--that may enhance our understanding of the psychological character of the Mexican-American. (pp. 62-63)

My review of Mexican-American ethnicity and related intracultural variabilities as student background variables in terms of Tinto's model creates a framework to now review the persistence literature. As becomes apparent, many of the issues of cultural homogenization I have raised in this section are reflected in the persistence literature.

Persistence Research

Given the historical relations between Mexican-Americans with mainstream social and economic structures wherein Mexican-American have been marginalized, it is not surprising that those few studies of Mexican-American college students, and of K-12 students have been presented in terms of cultural conflict, cultural discontinuity, oppositional culture theory, and resistance theory. These theories, although not without

shortcomings, are important because they address a broader social context of underachievement than does cultural deficit theory. I draw from these theoretical perspectives to structure my review of the literature on academic achievement and goal attainment to explicate Tinto's model of social and academic integration in relation to Mexican-American sociocultural variability (Tinto, 1975, 1987). In particular, I review here Ogbu (1982, 1985; 1987a) and his oppositional culture model of underachievement, and a few studies based upon resistance theory (Foley, 1991; Weis, 1985; Willis, 1977), since the two constructs are similar in their attempts to explain educational achievement. First, I review early models of persistence research to introduce and understand Tinto's model.

Progenitors of Tinto's Model

The science of college student attrition and goal attainment--persistence research as it is referred to typically in the literature--was legitimated through Tinto's seminal work (Tinto, 1975). Tinto set the stage for a new generation of theoretical and empirical research by calling our attention to the qualities of students' social and academic integrations as the central variables by which to understand achievement and goal attainment. Prior to Tinto's model, persistence research had been essentially atheoretical. Today, we take for granted the residuals of Tinto's work. For example, which higher education institution does not offer some type of extended orientation for new students? Priority registration for special populations? Peer advising? Basic skills centers? Directly or indirectly, these retention strategies derive from interpretations and applications of Tinto's model.

Tinto's model, though, has shortcomings. I address those shortcomings later in this review of the persistence literature. Despite those shortcomings, his model is important because of its comparative explanatory power. I review and critique his model and those

that preceded him. Subsequent to my discussion of Tinto's model, I address and review one important theorist who explicated Tinto: Pascarella (1980). Pascarella and associates are important because they have elaborated Tinto's theory of social integration in terms of formal and informal contact with faculty. I conclude the chapter by reviewing research--not to be equated necessarily as persistence research--of Mexican-American educational achievement from the elementary level through higher education. First, I review early influences on Tinto.

Characteristic of virtually all student persistence research is the concept of person-environment or person-role fit. In general, it suggests that answers and explanations to who stays in college and who leaves, are best understood by the degree of fit between students' personal and academic characteristics--background variables in Tinto's model--and the interactions between those background variables with institutional academic and social structures. By these standards, one relatively early, theoretical model of persistence was Rootman's study of freshmen attrition at the U.S. Coast Guard Academy (Rootman, 1972).

Rootman's study was important because it was the first to examine empirically student attrition through a person-environment/role perspective. For example, he found in his causal model that freshmen attrition was the failure by plebes to fit into the adult socialization process of a totally male, adult socialization institution. Specifically, Rootman found that talking about leaving with persons within and outside the Academy--two key independent variables in the departure process--because of lack of reciprocity in interpersonal relationships within the institution, were related positively to attrition. Furthermore, freshmen who withdrew were those who could not integrate the separate but related tasks of interpersonal fit and person-role fit as sailors in an all male setting. In short, plebes left the academy because they could not handle the social integration demands in relation to other institutional demands, the least of which were related to

academic underpreparedness.

Person-environment fit theory was subsequently extended by Spady (1970), and Tinto (1975). Spady's work, a synthetic model, is important because it buttressed the socio-psychological focus of persistence and departure. Specifically, Spady's model transcended earlier one-dimensional, atheoretical models which did not address the interactive effects between students' personal, socioeconomic, and academic backgrounds with institutional normative, academic, and socialization variables (Bean, 1982). I define these latter variables as the way students are expected by college administrators and faculty to deport themselves as college students (normative factors), the successful negotiation of day-to-day intellectual and long-term academic demands (academic factors), and interactions with formal and informal social structures to facilitate their socio-psychological developments (social factors). Spady's and subsequently, Tinto's theoretical syntheses spurred new methodologies--multivariate analyses of longitudinal studies--by which to measure and predict, but not explain, students' social, academic, and normative integrations. Even though Spady's model no longer carries its original weight, it is important to understand his perspectives since Tinto drew considerably from him.

Spady (1970) drew selectively from Durkheim's research on suicide during the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Durkheim, 1961). In particular, he drew from the concept of anomie or normlessness. Spady saw a parallel between behavior patterns of suicidal persons and college student dropouts. He theorized that the parallel behaviors were withdrawal from larger social systems because of peoples' inabilities over time to integrate socially in terms of shared experiences, values, and meanings; and college students' normative incongruences with college structures. Spady believed that dropouts lacked emotional and structurally integrative support from families and that their affective dispositions were at odds with institutional norms. In short, Spady's model tells us that departure hinges ultimately upon moral incongruity between personal and institutional

normative structures, and because of lack of group affiliation over time or longitudinally.

With regard to successful students, Spady theorized that four student background variables were central to persistence and success: prior educational success, potential for academic development, family background--degree of social and structural integration in the community--and family socioeconomic status. Presented as such, Spady called our attention to the sociopsychological dimensions of persistence and withdrawal. While these are not extraordinary insights, we must put Spady's thoughts into perspective and note that prior to his work, persistence research was merely descriptive. Shortly after publishing his model, Spady became the first to estimate and confirm students' commitments to their institutions--commitment to specific educational goals at a particular institution--as an variable in students' persistences or withdrawals (Spady, 1971).

Tinto's Model of Social and Academic Integration

Tinto, drawing considerably from Durkheim (1961), refined Spady's model with his own synthetic model of persistence. It has become the most frequently tested persistence model. The attractiveness of Tinto's model is its explanatory power concerning students' social and academic integrations as the core factors from which to understand persistence. In its simplest form, prior to modification in 1987, Tinto's longitudinal model holds that students' personal and pre-enrollment background characteristics will initially influence their decisions to persist or withdraw through the qualities of their integrations with institutional social and academic structures. Social structures include student activities such as clubs, student government, fraternal systems, academic honor societies, formal and informal contact with faculty. Academic structures denote classroom attendance, expenditure of time expected of college students' needs to stay abreast with study loads, and otherwise, to possess the wherewithal to draw from institutional resources--notably, professorial and recorded knowledge--to negotiate successfully the college experience.

To better understand Tinto's model, it is important to understand the concepts of students' background variables, social, and academic integration.

By background variables, Tinto, like Spady (Spady, 1970), meant parents' educational levels, family, socioeconomic backgrounds, parents' occupations, students' personal attributes including degrees of motivation and task persistence, students' high school academic preparations, and performance, and parental influence on students' to pursue and success in higher education. These background variables in turn influence to varying degrees students' initial goal commitments upon matriculation and academic performances in college. Initial commitments then lead to institutional commitments which are commitments to earn degrees from their own, specific schools. In turn, and cyclically, greater levels of institutional commitment lead to greater social and academic integrations. Equally important, Tinto's model is an interactive one wherein students' background variables interact with institutional, social, and academic structures.

With regard to social integration, Tinto's model suggests that interaction with peers both formally and informally through student organizations, and interaction with instructional faculty, are direct outcomes of students' institutional commitments. In these regards, we see the cyclical or mutually reinforcing nature of the social variables in his model.

Students' integrations with academic structures equate with enhanced academic performance--higher grade point averages--and intellectual growth. Intellectual growth, one outcome of students' initial goal commitments, is defined by Tinto as possessing the capabilities to deal with, synthesize, and utilize environmental and academic stimuli toward attainment of short and long-term goals. Since the model's elements are interactive, students' goal commitments enhance their social integrations. In the end, and not surprisingly, students' enhanced goal commitments engender persistence.

Over time, Tinto (1987), reformulated the theoretical link to Durkheim (Durkheim,

1961), and incorporated the work of Van Gannep (1960). Van Gannep, noted for his anthropological life stages theory of human development, postulated three stages through which people transit cyclically in life: (1) separation or divorce from prior histories or environments; (2) transition to the next or new life stage or period; and (3) incorporation with the new stage or as Tinto describes it, integration with the new environment. Van Gannep viewed the second stage or the transitional period as the most difficult of the three in that it is characterized by uncertainty and anxiety in the face of new experiences, statuses, and roles.

The significance of the link to Van Gannep is that Tinto saw that successful students managed to separate themselves from prior life experiences and associations, make the transition to college life, and then incorporate or integrate themselves fully with college social, academic, and normative structures. Key factors in students accomplishing the transition to college are their backgrounds such as parental mediation of prior schoolings, parental encouragement to pursue higher education, and socioeconomic background. As I discuss later, ethnic minorities and Mexican-Americans have fallen victim to this separation-transition-incorporation thesis (London, 1992; Rendon, 1992). However, and as I discuss in Chapter V, the students in my study did not succumb to this separation-transition-incorporation syndrome. Rather, they benefitted greatly from mediating family influences.

Tinto demonstrates his synthesis of Van Gannep and Durkheim by three types of student departure. The first is fatalistic departure wherein students succumb emotionally to institutional bureaucracy and the formal organization. The second type is egotistical departure wherein students fail to integrate socially and with the normative--academic--demands of the institution. In effect, this second type of departure equates with an inability to integrate with a new life period or new environments consistent with Van Gannep's third life stage. The third type of student withdrawal in Tinto's model is anomic

departure. This type of withdrawal is characteristic of students who leave college when campus ethos, stemming in part from institutional policies or moral- ideological incongruence between students and institutional policies. Students who are on the margins of the campus social life--particularly ethnic minorities and according to Tinto's model, Vietnam era student protestors--are subject to this type of departure.

Prior to incorporating Van Gannep, Tinto had broadened his theoretical base by making more specific an interactional theory of withdrawal wherein he viewed decisions to withdraw as the culmination of students' experiences or interactions with the institutional formal and informal organization (Tinto, 1986). More important, Tinto (1986), postulated that withdrawal decisions hinge upon, ". . . the interpretation and meaning that individuals attach to their experiences with the institution" (pp. 365-66). This reconceptualization is important in terms of enhancing the explanatory power of Tinto's model. For example, it speaks with greater clarity and transcends the more general phraseologies of social and academic integration--Tinto' prototypical constructs (Tinto, 1975)--in relation to students' background variables. The emphasis on students' interpretations and meanings assigned to the college experience suggests the need for qualitative inquiry of students' persistence and withdrawal decisions (Tinto, 1987).

Other considerations are important to understand Tinto's model more fully. Three emerge: (1) withdrawal as a complex, longitudinal process; (2) withdrawal as a process which transcends lack of social and academic integration; and (3) the individual variability of students' perceptions of the college experience.

With regard to the first, Tinto notes departure is the last outcome longitudinally between interactions with institutional social and academic structures. The bases of this longitudinal process are students' pre-matriculation characteristics or background variables. These background variables predispose students to varying degrees of commitments to academic goals, and to choice of institution. Relatedly, these background

variables influence positively or negatively over time, students' integrations with social and academic structures. In short, then, the formal organization and its structures, students' background variables, institutional commitments by students, and ultimately, students' integrations or the lack of with social and academic structures, interact with each other. It is important to add that social and academic integrations do not necessarily supersede each other in Tinto's model. The presumption, based upon follow-up studies, has been that academic integration is more important than social integration.

The second consideration underlying the complexity of Tinto's model is that lack of social and academic integration alone do not account for students' departures. For example, students may leave college for reasons unassociated with or related to the college experience. Whether these factors have anything to do with the perceived lack of benefits to be gained from college, from benefits to be gained comparatively from non-college activities--cost-benefit theory, actually (Tinto and Cullen, 1973)--or simply from family financial needs, students' departures cannot be explained simply by their lack of social or academic integration.

The third consideration toward a better understanding Tinto's model, as Attinasi (1986), demonstrated repeatedly in his case studies of Chicano university students, is that students' perceptions of the college experience will vary individually. Tinto has implied this (1987). Arce (1981), reminded us about this earlier in this chapter. In a narrower sense, students' perceptions and meanings of college may vary across institutions in relation to school size and enrollments, depth and breadth of students support structures, and generally, institutional efforts to accommodate and retain students. Relatedly, students' background or pre-matriculation variables will influence their perceptions and meanings of the college experience.

Equally important to understanding the longitudinal nature and interactive elements of educational goal attainment in terms of policy, is an important question: who is a

college dropout? Tinto suggests that the answer depends upon people's vested interests. For example, his premise regarding formulation of a definition of college dropout is that the three parties central to student attrition and retention--students, college officials, state and local educational policy makers, and analysts--have not agreed historically on the definition of dropout. These three disparate interests are not necessarily aligned on the utility of person-environment/role theory. In this regard, Tinto suggests that definitions of dropout must address not only students' perceptions and meanings that attend with the college experience, but their personal goals and intentions as well upon their matriculations. "Some goals are neither coterminous with degree completion nor necessarily compatible with those of the institution into which entry is made" (Tinto, 1982, p. 4). Some students, for example, enter college with little or no intention of earning a credential. Others pursue college to enhance their employabilities primarily, but not necessarily to earn a credential.

Tinto has suggested a more appropriate way of distinguishing persisters from dropouts in order to transcend the conceptual limitations inherent with a one-dimensional, student-centered theory which presumes that students enter college with clearly defined goals (Tinto, 1982). In reality, though, students often wrestle with goal identification before they make commitments. As a result of uncertainty, students' internal dialogues and subsequent talks with academic advisors or counselors may result in their remaining in school, transferring to or from universities and community colleges, or possibly withdrawing. Tinto's operationalization of dropouts suggests that educators should note and examine students' goals in relation to institutional capabilities to facilitate goal attainments (Tinto, 1987). Tinto directs these considerations to policy makers and retention personnel to shepherd matriculants without clearly defined goals.

In other words, Tinto implies that persistence and dropout processes are essentially a two-way street, a process whereby colleges should accommodate students in clarifying

and attaining their goals, and whereby students should possess a modicum of maturity and follow-through to adapt to institutional social, academic, and normative structures (Tinto, 1982). These perspectives on persistence and dropout processes allow us to see more readily the interactive or reciprocal nature of the Tinto's person-environment-role thesis. By these standards, and implicitly, the institutional environment assumes more specific operational significance and implies a holistic, community endeavor to facilitate students' academic achievements and goal attainments.

In summary, Tinto's model informs us that persistence or withdrawal processes are longitudinal and interactive between students' individual attributes and background variables, and with the quality and degrees of their social and academic integrations. Whether students persist or withdraw will depend generally upon their academic and social integrations, and otherwise, upon their normative integrations. The terms to refer to students who discontinue have traditionally been dropout or withdrawal. I present Tinto's scheme below.

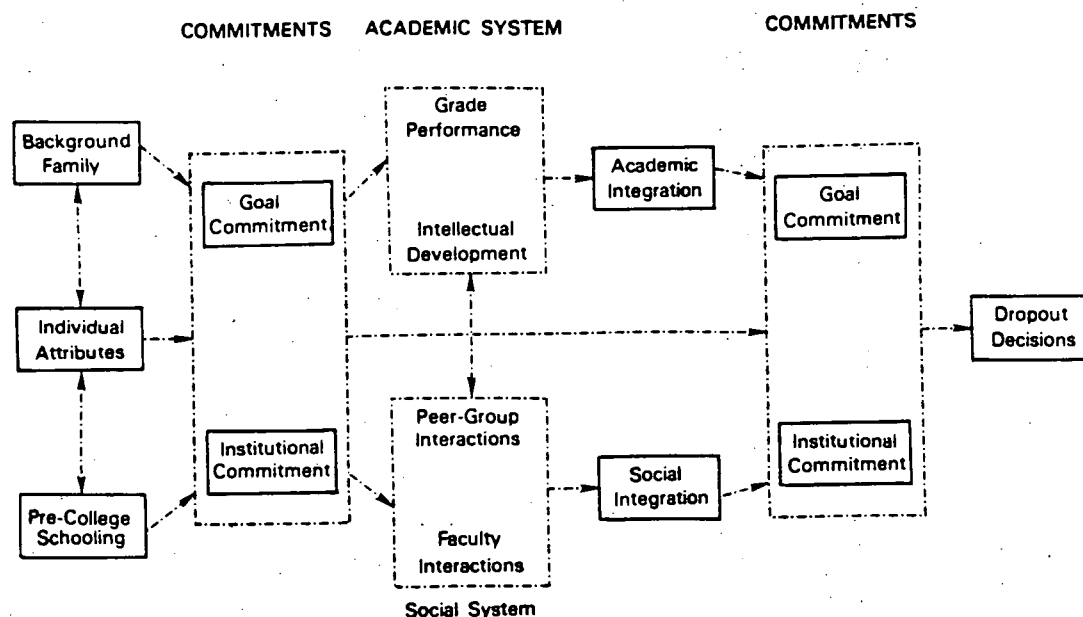


Figure 1. Tinto's Model of Social and Academic Integration. Source: Tinto, V. (1987), p 14.

Pascarella's Model of Student-Faculty Informal Contact

Next to Tinto's model of social and academic integration, Pascarella's model of student-faculty informal contact is the most well-known (Pascarella, 1980). Pascarella derives much of his model from Tinto (1975). His model assessed and incorporated two generations of research on the relationships between students' informal, and non-classroom contacts with faculty as partial determinants of academic achievement and goal attainment. I present and summarize Pascarella because his model is an explication of Tinto's theory generally in terms of social integration, and specifically, in terms of the relations between students and faculty. Pascarella's model is important in relation to persistence by Mexican-Americans because only Rendon's and Valadez' recent study has addressed the issues of Mexican-American students informal contact with faculty as a positive indicator of persistence at the community college (Rendon and Valadez, 1993). As I demonstrate, however, Pascarella has never addressed those interactions qualitatively, cross-culturally, or in terms of institutional culture.

In his conceptualization of student-faculty informal contact, Pascarella has drawn from a varied group of higher education researchers who believe that knowledge is transmitted to students in ways that transcend formal instruction and thus, which influence persistence. Pascarella's thesis is straightforward: academic integration and chances to persist and to attain goals are enhanced greatly by informal contact with college faculty. Pascarella identifies four variables that influence the extent and qualities of student-faculty informal contact: (1) initial student differences; student background variables in Tinto's model (Tinto, 1975, 1987); (2) institutional factors such as organizational structure, institutional image, faculty culture, and generally, institutional type such as commuter versus residential, liberal arts versus technical, and large versus small schools; (3) the context and impact of interactions; and (4) other college experiences, notably student or

peer culture, type, extent, and quality of extracurricular activities as they relate to the need for involvement with faculty. Figure 2 below depicts Pascarella's model and these interactive processes:

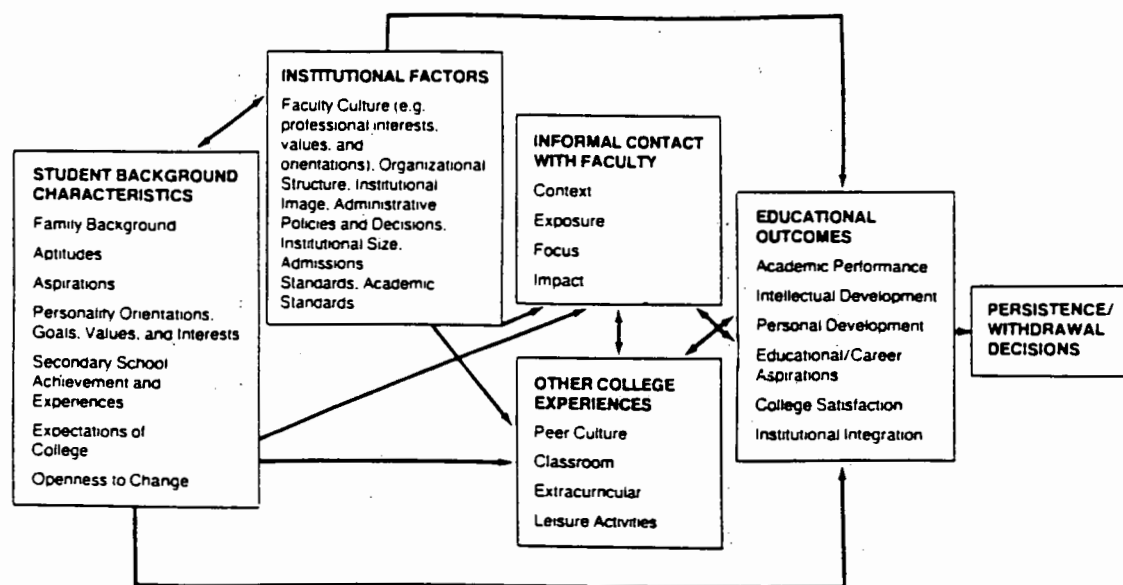


Figure 2. Pascarella's Model of Student-Faculty Informal Contact. Source: Pascarella, E.T. (1985), p. 569.

Schematically, Pascarella's model, like Tinto's (1975) conveys a longitudinal process of student withdrawal from higher education. Methodologically, his model derives from path analysis to estimate and assess the strength of causal linkages between variables described in Figure 2. And as I shall discuss, Pascarella et al, have tested the model in a number of subsequent and prior studies (Pascarella and Terenzini, 1979a; Pascarella and Terenzini, 1979b; Pascarella and Chapman; 1983; Pascarella and Terenzini, 1983). All of Pascarella's research efforts at single and multiple institutions have been based upon multivariate, multiple regression analyses. Like Spady's model (Spady, 1970), and Tinto's

model, Pascarella's model was similarly a synthesis of the research (Pascarella, 1980).

In Pascarella's model, the primary features as well as benefits which accrue to students from positive informal contact are clarification of career plans and educational aspirations, enhanced personal and intellectual growth, greater academic achievement, and greater satisfaction with college life. However, it is important to add that Pascarella and others arrived at these outcomes in their research exclusively through quantitatively based--many post-hoc--studies which were not designed to elicit emic, contextualized informational data. Despite this shortcoming, Pascarella's model has utility for two important reasons.

First, it calls for assessing informal contact in relation to institutional size, institutional structures, and policies as they enhance or constrain students' informal contact with faculty. This is important because it forces us to transcend a one-dimensional, student adaptation theory of educational attainment. In studies subsequent to the development of his model, Pascarella addressed these considerations in studies of four-year residential and commuter schools, and at one community college. The second reason is that Pascarella's model challenges other researchers' definitions of the independent variable. For example, Pascarella (1980) has contended that student-faculty informal contact is not actually a ". . . single (independent) variable but rather, a more comprehensive set of indicators" (p. 567) which include contextual or demographic variables such as students' and faculty backgrounds, students' exposures to faculty over a period of time, purposes of the informal contact, and satisfaction or benefit to be derived from informal contact. In view of this broadened definition of the independent variable, Pascarella has suggested that future research--implicitly, qualitative--would yield richer, descriptive, and contextualized insights on both classroom and informal contact.

In short, Pascarella's informal contact model, like Tinto's (Tinto, 1975, 1987), informs us that social and academic integrations affect directly students' decisions to

persist or withdraw. The two outcomes stem directly from the qualities of students' interactions with institutional structures generally, and specifically from informal contacts with faculty. Relatedly, Pascarella's model holds that the qualities of student-faculty informal contacts are influenced by qualities of in-class contact and that the extent and that quality of both types of contact vary across institutional type. The following discussion on tests of Tinto's model incorporates many research projects by Pascarella's and Pascarella, et al.

Tests of Tinto's Model and Implications for the Study of Mexican-American Student Persistence

Tinto's model has been the most replicated of the dominant persistence models. However, there is disagreement regarding which type of integration--academic or social--is more instrumental to persistence. I think, however, that this is a narrow question. A broader reasoning suggests that the complexities of and variabilities involved in persistence are such that both academic and social integration are critically important (Hossler and Bean, 1990; Tinto, 1987).

For example, students' background variables, personal and academic goals or intentions, all in relation to institutional type and structures, underscore the importance of assigning equal weight to both social and academic integration. Most important, and in relation to my study, Pascarella et al, in a number of studies that I shall cite, found that academic integration supersedes social integration in the community college largely because of the essentially commuter, non-residential natures of two-year schools (Pascarella, E.T., and Terenzini, 1983; Pascarella, E.T., and Chapman, 1983; Pascarella, E.T., 1983). As I have indicated, however, this finding does not necessarily apply to Mexican-American students as Rendon's and Valadez' study revealed (Rendon and Valadez, 1993).

Pascarella et al, conducted eleven follow-up studies on numerous variables of Tinto's model between 1977 and 1983. The majority of these studies were quantitative assessments of freshmen of different cohorts at the same residential university. The focus of each of these studies was students' social and academic integrations. All of these studies reinforced the explanatory power of Tinto's model concerning the interactive nature of student background variables, intervening variables--institutional and academic goal commitments by students--and thus, social and academic integration or the lack of by students (Pascarella and Terenzini, 1977; Pascarella and Terenzini, 1978; Pascarella and Terenzini, 1979a; Pascarella and Terenzini, 1979b; Pascarella and Terenzini, 1980; Terenzini and Pascarella, 1978; Terenzini and Pascarella, 1980). These studies also confirmed the construct validity of Tinto's model. However, the question of the predictive validity had to be extended.

Five subsequent studies by Pascarella and associates, addressed the issue of predictive validity across gender and institutional types. With regard to institutional types, these researchers carried out their work comparatively and individually at residential versus four-year commuter schools, private residential versus public residential schools, and at community colleges. The outcomes demonstrated consistently and similarly that Tinto's model on the whole had strong explanatory power and that causal connections in longitudinal, and path analytic senses, were strong (Pascarella and Chapman, 1983; Pascarella, and Terenzini, 1983; Pascarella, Duby, and Iverson, 1983; Terenzini, Lorang, and Pascarella, 1981; Terenzini, Pascarella, Theophilides, and Lorang, 1983).

Tinto's model underwent additional testing on a multi-institutional basis to confirm its predictive validity and to transcend the limitations of generalizability stemming from single institutional studies. Stoecker, Pascarella, and Wolfe (1988), addressed the issue:

To adequately study the proposed interactional process of persistence-withdrawal, long-term studies are necessary. To date, most research has been limited to populations following one or two-year periods. This limitation creates a picture of

the interactive process between the individual and the institutional environment that cannot at this time be extended to long-term outcomes. If the process is dependent on stages of student integration that vary between matriculation and graduation, research must address extended periods of follow-up. (p. 199)

In view of these shortcomings, Stoecker et al (1988), conducted an autopsy study on data obtained from the Cooperative Inter-Institutional Research Program (CIRP) in longitudinal analyses of more 10,000 students from 487 four-year schools. The final samples were comprised of more than 2,000 White males, 300 Black males, and 500 Black females. The study incorporated variables not included in prior tests of the Tinto model: institutional selectivity in student admissions, institutional size, racial-ethnic demographics, and students' academic majors as measures of structural-organizational characteristics. The causal model incorporated the four primary Tinto constructs: students' background characteristics, initial goal commitments and commitments to the institution, academic and social integration, and persistence-withdrawal decisions. Results from this study enhanced the predictive validity of Tinto's model. In particular, the researchers here found that academic integration and social integration were the most important determinants of persistence. Relatedly, the other three Tinto constructs held-up among the samples and generally, across ethnic-racial groups. This study by Stoecker et al (1988), extended the only three studies to test Tinto's model in multiple settings.

The first, by Munro (1981), was an autopsy analysis of the National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972. Munro studied data from 6,000 matriculants to four-year schools. Two outcomes varied from the Tinto model. The first was that academic integration affected persistence strongly while social integration had no significant effect upon persistence or withdrawal decisions. The second was that parents' and students' educational aspirations had a greater effect upon students' goal commitments than did academic integration. Relatedly, Munro found that academic integration had a stronger effect on institutional commitment than did social integration. In support of

Tinto's model, Munro also found that students' initial goal commitments had the strongest effect on persistence. This outcome, however, must be qualified since Munro's variables, in contrast to Tinto's, included students' ethnicities, their locuses of control, and self-esteem.

The second multi-institutional rest of Tinto was undertaken by Pascarella and Chapman (1983). This longitudinal study collected survey data from more than 2,000 college freshmen from the 1978-79 and 1979-80 school years from eleven colleges and community colleges. Like Munro's study (Munro, 1981), there was variance between outcomes of this study and Tinto's model regarding the importance of social and academic integration. For example, academic integration was a more important factor at community colleges and four-year, primarily commuter based schools. In contrast, social integration factored more strongly at four-year, primarily residential institutions. Notwithstanding the outcomes of this study and in contrast to Tinto's model, Pascarella noted:

The findings suggest that Tinto's model is a potentially useful framework for understanding the process of student persistence/withdrawal decisions. The patterns of influence in the model, however, may vary substantially when it is used to explain persistence/withdrawal behavior at different types of institutions. (p. 100)

In the third study, Pascarella (1985), examined the effects of institutional structures in a large, multi-institutional study. He reviewed institutional survey and demographic data from over 5,000 students from 75 public and private colleges and universities to determine the effects of schools' policies regarding finances, governance, and administration of student affairs. He found that these policies or structurings were negligible on students in terms of persistence or withdrawal decisions because of the absence of conflict between the intended effects of institutional structurings, policies, and quality of students' social and academic integrations.

Other empiricists have tested Tinto's model. I summarize two additional studies on

student satisfaction. Despite minor variations or interpretations of students' persistence and withdrawal decisions in these studies, they generally sustain the viability of the Tinto model. Unfortunately, though, they do tell us anything about Mexican-Americans in the study other than that there were Hispanics in the study.

In a recent study of over 1,200 seniors at the University of Tennessee, Pike (1991), found that satisfaction with college life in general, had a stronger effect on academic performance than vice-versa. The study sought primarily to test Tinto's thesis that greater degrees of satisfaction with student life derive from and are enhanced by students' institutional commitments. Pike's finding from the sample--94% of which was comprised of White students--countered Tinto's model which stipulated that low grade point average is the most critical precipitating factor in departure decisions. The study was important also because seniors were sampled in contrast to freshmen, the predominantly sampled group in virtually all follow-up studies of Tinto's model.

In a related satisfaction study, Clarke (1987), surveyed through the mail over 400 randomly selected residential undergraduates from a medium-sized land grant university regarding their interactions with the college environment and university community. By assessing students' instrumental orientations such as community influence on normative orientations and behaviors such as personal and social relationships, Clarke actually tested person-environment theory within the context of Tinto's model. The study confirmed to a large extent the importance of social fit, not necessarily in terms of interpersonal relationships, but in relation to institutional commitment and thus, in relation to academic integration.

Summary of Tests and Replications of Tinto

While Tinto's model has been affirmed generally with variations in relation to institutional type and students' backgrounds and pre-matriculation characteristics, we are

still left wanting for more information on Mexican-American college student persistence and withdrawal processes. To restate, there are four reasons for this lack of knowledge. The first is the quantitative nature of inquiry into student persistence, thereby leading to decontextualized data. Second, much of the persistence research in the model-building stage has been autopsy based, further insuring decontextualizations of outcomes. Third, the research has not operationalized Mexican-American ethnicity nor has it addressed ethnic identification referents for Latinos of Mexican or Mexican-American descent. Fourth, virtually all of the research has ignored the question of cross-cultural conflict regarding degrees of Mexican-Americans' social integrations with non-Mexican-Americans, with college faculty, and administrators.

The research I present in the next section addresses the question of cross-cultural relations far beyond those studies I have cited. However, as becomes apparent, virtually all of the research summaries I present do not inform us sufficiently about Mexican-American persistence because, like other persistence research efforts, they have been quantitatively based. Furthermore, these studies have failed to differentiate Mexican-Americans from other Latino or Hispanic groups, and they have ignored students sociocultural variabilities. However, and very importantly, they do underscore the importance of cross-cultural relations in higher education as important institutional variables which influence persistence.

Studies of Mexican-American Persistence

I preface my discussion Mexican-American social and academic integration and in relation to Tinto's model by noting that a major portion of Tinto's model is grounded in abnormal psychology (Attinassi, 1986). For example, and as I indicated earlier in my review of Tinto's model, Tinto has paralleled withdrawal decisions with Durkheim's theories of anomie and suicide (Durkheim, 1960). It is not an appropriate theoretical

concept from which to examine and explain Mexican-American achievement (Attinasi, 1986; Bean, 1982), when we consider that this ethnic group has lived in structured subordination for centuries. I do not believe it is appropriate because, as Bean (1982) suggests, it stems from grafting convenient theory onto a phenomenon for which there was no compelling justification at the time Tinto incorporated it. Furthermore and more important, an abnormal psychology focus tends to place inappropriately the onus on the individual--in this case, Mexican-Americans--for success and failure. In short, and given the tendency by some social scientists and educational researchers to attribute Mexican-American educational underachievement to cultural deficit theory (Heller, 1968; Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Ogbu, 1982, 1987a; Rodriguez; 1983; Schwartz, 1968), I believe we are all better served by attempting to explain disparate educational outcomes in terms of cross-cultural and reproductive contexts.

Studies of Mexican-American university students are characterized by three types of inquiry: (1) multi-ethnic studies or those which include "Chicanos," "Hispanics" or "Latinos," and other American ethnic minority students in relation to non-minorities and White American students. A recurring theme in these types of studies has been minority student alienation or isolation; (2) ethnic specific studies which have focused on Latinos of Mexican-American descent exclusively in ways consistent with mainstream persistence research and in terms of allegiance to Tinto's model; and (3) a small number of qualitative studies. To establish a comparative framework, I first review empirical studies which have included Hispanics with other ethnic minority populations.

Multi-Ethnic Studies

Bennet and Okinawa (1990) in quantitative, survey-based, cross-cultural study of Asians, Blacks, Hispanics, and White undergraduates at Indiana University--a "predominantly White university," to introduce a recurring phrase in ethnic minority student

persistence research--found mixed, contravening evidence for student persistence across ethnicity and class standing. These researchers found that Black and Asian seniors or persisters, were less satisfied and less socially integrated than Black and Asian students who had withdrawn. In contrast, White and Hispanic undergraduates--the latter group not identified by national origin nor in terms of sociocultural variabilities--tended to persist or withdraw in direct relation to the degrees of social integration with the university. This study was based on Tinto's model (Tinto, 1975), and Bean's reconceptualization of Tinto's model (Bean, 1982). Bean's model included three variables having direct impact on dropping out: social satisfaction, grade point average, and degree of social interaction trauma. Three mediating variables against trauma stemming from social isolation were students' levels of ethnicity or ethnic loyalty, positive ethnic identification, and positive interracial social integration. Bean's model of Black persistence also includes three positive background variables: pre-college academic performance, pre-college interracial contacts, and parents' educational attainment levels.

Bennet and Okinawa added three new variables to Bean's model for their study: ethnic organization and involvement, friends and the quality of friendships, and opportunities to receive help. In sum, this study is more instructive for the study of Black student persistence and attrition. Characteristic of most of the research on Mexican-Americans, little can be gleaned, unfortunately, from the outcomes on "Hispanics" because of the ethno-cultural homogenization of students to whom the term was assigned. Otherwise, it is important to note that high levels of social integration engendered persistence for Hispanics.

Several other multi-ethnic, cross-cultural studies--all quantitative with no insights nor controls for intracultural variability for research participants--have essentially reaffirmed Tinto's model. Loo and Rollison (1986), for example, surveyed Black, "Chicano", Asian-Americans, and White undergraduates at a University of California institution to test

Tinto's malintegration thesis or as they termed it, minority student sociocultural alienation in relation to alienation experienced by White students. The researchers found that minority student isolation was far greater than that experienced by White students. This outcome stemmed largely from minority students' underrepresentation at the university and because they felt discreet and overt pressures by university structures to incorporate dominant, White middle class values. In addition, and in sharp contrast to Whites, minority students, particularly Blacks and Chicanos, thought more frequently of dropping-out due to lack of social integration. For Blacks and Chicanos, it is interesting to note that over 60% of them were reared in ethnically segregated communities with little cross-cultural contact. Similar data on Whites were not presented. Finally, it is important to note that the term Chicano was not operationalized. Differentiation of Chicanos on the basis of their sociocultural variabilities was limited to neighborhood environments during their formative years.

In another test of Tinto's social integration thesis, Oliver, Rodriguez, and Mickelson (1985), conducted a mail and telephone survey of 75 Black and 63 "Chicano" students at the University of California at Los Angeles. They found that Black and Chicano student attrition was attributable largely to lack of social integration--specifically within the context of "race signaling" across ethnic groups--and in terms of institutional student-staff roles. Race signaling was a term to describe the process and transformation of cultural and cross-cultural behavioral and attitudinal stereotypes into self-fulfilling prophecies. This outcome supported Pascarella's informal contact thesis (Pascarella, 1980) regarding social integration as facilitative of academic integration. Chicanos, perhaps not surprisingly on the basis of their phenotypes --in this study, they were dark-skinned with MesoAmerican features--did not experience the degree of stigmatization as did Black students. Nonetheless, these Chicanos reported high degrees of social isolation at the university, presumably on the basis of phenotype.

In summary, these multi-ethnic tests of Tinto's model tell us the following: (1) Tinto's path, analytic, longitudinal model of college student persistence and withdrawal as an interactive process involving students' goal and institutional commitments, social, and academic integrations, is a viable framework by which to understand persistence and departure decisions; (2) Tinto's model has utility regarding the importance of social and academic integration. Both social and academic integration are important to ethnic minority persistence. Social integration, usually subordinate to academic integration, seems to supersede academic integration in some cases; (3) students' individual variabilities in relation to institutional setting and type are important indicators of persistence and departure. Institutional setting and type in particular, seem to be independent variables in students' decisions to persist or depart; and (4) virtually all studies, were post-hoc or autopsy studies and quantitatively based. As such, and as I continue to restate, they do not afford us emic perspectives of what it is like to persist or depart in terms of affective dispositions, gender, and sociocultural variabilities.

The following discussion on ethnic specific research of Mexican-Americans on their persistence and academic achievement, extends the findings from the preceding discussion. I divide my discussion into two parts: (1) research at the university level; and (2) research undertaken at the community college level. These studies, except for Rendon (1982), Attinasi (1986), and Murguia et al (1991), are not tests or replications of Tinto's theory. They are instructive nonetheless because they address cross-cultural conflict and intracultural variability as important factors in academic achievement and educational goal attainment.

Ethnic Specific Research on Mexican-American Persistence

In a survey study of 126 Mexican-American juniors seniors and graduate students in Texas universities, Hamaker (1986) found that Mexican-Americans valued special support

programs, affirmative relationships with professors, and greater enrollments of their own ethnic group as positive persistence variables more than White student populations. Furthermore, Mexican-American females valued help from faculty more than males. This study did not address cultural or linguistic variabilities of the students surveyed.

Rodriguez (1982), in a survey study at the University of California at Los Angeles of dichotomous Mexican-American socioeconomic groups--36 high school graduates from low and working-class backgrounds versus 27 from middle and upper class families--found, not surprisingly, that economic class correlated positively with higher academic achievement. Most important, and in relation to my study, was Rodriguez' finding that the Mexican-American students were a vastly heterogeneous group linguistically, and intraculturally in terms of familial orientations in their world views.

In an earlier study, Barcello (1980), administered a post-hoc survey to "Chicano" and "Mexican-American" matriculants from the University of Iowa over eleven freshmen year cohorts from 1968 through 1979. The survey dealt with comparative student, administrator, and faculty concerns about educational quality. Barcello operationalized the terms Chicano and Mexican in ways generally consistent with my own operationalizations. Not surprisingly, perhaps, and in view of the fact that the study was conducted during the mid-1970's when Chicano nationalism was at its zenith on United States college campuses (Munoz, 1989), Chicano students and Mexican-Americans felt that "Chicano culture" should be an important factor in the university's academic planning and provision of student services. These sentiments were in contrast to university personnel who, generally, de-emphasized the question of cultural or ethnic diversity in institutional policies. While the study was not couched in a persistence theoretical framework per se, it did reinforce implicitly Tinto's theory of social and academic integration.

In another study, Vasquez (1978), surveyed Anglo women and "Chicanas" to

identify and assess across ethnic groups the effects of students' background variables and institutional factors on persistence and academic performance. Vasquez found in stratified samples across ethnicity, persistence-attrition, and grade point averages, that higher socioeconomic backgrounds correlated with higher academic performance. Across both groups, high school grade point averages, the value of education to students' mothers, and higher socioeconomic background equated with higher academic performance and persistence.

Qualitative Studies of Mexican-American Persistence at Four-Year Institutions

Attinasi (1986), engaged in exploratory, case study research with 18 "Chicano" freshmen at Arizona State University. He employed open-ended questions in a three month study to ascertain how students integrated literally and socially. One of the study's major outcomes was rejection of Tinto and Spady's social integration theses, particularly those parts based upon Durkheim's suicide model (Durkheim, 1961). Attinasi felt that an abnormal psychology conceptual was inappropriate perspective for the study of Chicano social and academic integration since there had been no evidence to confirm its utility. Attinasi undertook his study from symbolic interaction and ethnomethodological perspectives.

Attinasi found that freshmen year persistence was a complex, interrelated process which entailed the following: initial expectation engendering by students, fraternal modeling by older college enrolled siblings, mentor modeling--exhortation and encouragement stimulation by high school teachers--indirect stimulation by high school teachers on how to perform in college, and direct stimulation as college students who were reinforced toward persistence by peers and faculty. As his research title implies, staying in college also entailed negotiation of the university's physical and social environments, of the academic-cognitive challenge of academic choice and major, and of

the adjustment to university life in general. Attinasi termed these persistence processes "getting to know" and "scaling down" information. An example of the former called for students' interpretations of the college's physical geography to fit their cognitive and affective orientations as if to suggest literal establishment of environmental niches.

There were two important theoretical bases to Attinasi's methodology. One derived from Haller and Woelfels reconceptualization of "significant other" (Haller and Woelfels, 1972):

A person, known to the focal individual, who either through direct interaction (a definer) or by example (a model), provides information which influences the local individual's conception of himself in relation to educational or occupational roles of influences his conception of such roles (a concept of an object) (pp. 594-595, Attinasi, 1986, p. 215).

The second organizing construct or basis for Attinasi's qualitative inquiry was anticipatory socialization or role-rehearsing of student roles and social scenes by Chicano students. These activities facilitated "getting ready" and "getting in." Anticipatory socialization existed reciprocally in Attinasi's model in relation to significant others.

Four outcomes were central to students' social and academic integrations: (1) background variables such as low socioeconomic backgrounds, are mediated by relationships with significant others; (2) anticipatory socialization not only influences decisions to attend college, but also to persist; (3) social integration influences persistence in that it transmits to students the wherewithal to negotiate the college's geographic, and academic challenges; and (4) persistence is related positively to and facilitates development and use of cognitive maps to negotiate geographic, social, and academic domains. In this latter sense, academic and social integrations were complementary.

Attinasi's work is also important methodologically. He was the first to address Mexican-American persistence from an ethnomethodological and sociology of everyday life perspective. However and as I have indicated, Attinasi, like others, homogenized

Mexican-Americans and Chicanos socially and culturally by not operationalizing ethnic identification referents. As such, we cannot be sure which social, cultural, linguistic, and economic groups he studied by merely reviewing his interview dialogues. Those dialogues as presented in his study are inadequate data bases upon which to build sociocultural typologies.

In a recent study, Gomez-Cano (1991), engaged four university students of "Mejicano," "Chicano," and "Hispanic" identities to try to understand how problems they encountered at the university affected their ethnic identities, personal identities, and ideological developments. She found that chosen ethnic identification referents, varying degrees of disassimilation from Anglo-European culture generally, and ideological separation from mainstream university structures, were results of a cross-cultural dialectic. The basis of that dialectic was students' perceptions of their social marginalities. Gomez-Cano chose her four participants on the basis of ethnic self-identity and political views as radical, liberal, or conservative. On the basis of having operationalized ethnic identification referents, she recommended institutional strategies to address intracultural differences concerning recruitment of Latinos, new student orientations, and new means of integrating students socially and academically. Gomez-Cano's study is significant in relation to my study for two reasons. First, it acknowledges and explores intracultural variability as an important variable in access and retention strategies. Second, it acknowledges ethnicity necessarily as an ethnopsychology from which cultural identities and world views emerged in part because of cross-cultural contact and cross-cultural conflict (Bernal and Knight, 1993; Padilla, 1984).

Murguia, et al (1991), in a study modeled after Tinto (1975), engaged 24 Hispanic juniors and seniors, and Native American students from a large southwestern university in case study research to generate new theory on student background variables. In this study, they sought to explain how Hispanic and Native American ethnicities influenced

social integration. The research design included open-ended and structured questions. One major outcome of the study was that students' phenotypes were internalized by many of the participants when they encountered discrimination. For example, darker skinned, less Anglo featured students reported more discrimination than fair-skinned, fine facially featured students. Phenotype, then, was found to an important variable in social integration. A second outcome was that ethnicity was rooted in nuclear and extended family support, and in close friendships, primarily with persons of the same ethnic or national background.

Outcomes in the study by Murguia et al, indicated that students' awarenesses of their ethnicities and shared experiences through their involvements with ethnic specific campus clubs stabilized them in dealing with what they considered a foreign, at times hostile campus environment. These students felt that the university community resisted behaviors and orientations outside mainstream American culture. The primary functions of ethnicity, then, as explications of Tinto's social integration variable, were: (1) that it served as an important mediating variable to majority exclusion whereby Hispanics and Native Americans found acceptance with their own kind in certain extracurricular activities; and (2) that since social integration existed peripherally in "ethnic enclaves" through students' involvements with ethnic specific campus clubs and organizations, ". . . well calibrated measurements of ethnicity and enclave efficacy at socializing students need to be included in an operational definition of social integration" (p. 436). Finally, the authors recommended that future studies on social integration should explore more fully interaction across cultures, with particular emphasis on ethnic enclaving in relation to academic outcomes.

Summary of Mexican-American University Student Persistence and Achievement

Four themes emerge from this review of Mexican-American university persistence and achievement: (1) social integration can be impeded by culture conflict; in turn, culture conflict can affect persistence. The studies by Murguia et al, (1991), Loo and Rollison (1986), Oliver et al, (1985), were especially instructive in this regard; (2) with the exception of the studies by Gomez-Cano (1991) and Murguia et al, (1991), ethnicity as a student background variable in the persistence process remains largely unaddressed; (3) in terms of students' ethnicities, explication of their sociocultural variabilities with special attention to level and types of acculturation remain unexplored. Relatedly, and excepting Gomez-Cano's study (1991), operationalization of students' ethnic identifications has not been attempted; and (4) in the Oliver et al (1985), and Murguia et al (1991) studies, dark skinned, non-Anglo phenotype students reported greater difficulty in social integration. To close, it is important to note that the studies I reviewed in the preceding section were undertaken at four-year schools. I now review the literature on community colleges.

The Community College: Reproductive and Sorting Functions

Overview

As a social movement, the American community college has been largely ineffective in addressing the needs of ethnic minority students and Mexican-Americans. Compounding the problem is our limited understanding of the community college itself. Only a handful of studies has helped us transcend but only minimally the essentially atheoretical and anecdotal natures of research on the community college (Kempner, 1986, 1991; London, 1978; McGrath and Spear, 1991; Rendon, Justiz, and Resta, 1988; Rendon, 1992; Rendon and Valadez, 1993; Weis, 1985). Moreover, the problem is our limited understanding contextually. As I elaborate in this section, few qualitative studies

on Mexican-American community college students have been undertaken.

The classic, provocative statement on the relative ineffectiveness of the community college in its work with ethnic minority students, is Clark's cooling-out thesis (Clark, 1960). It holds that marginal students depart after their aspirations have been cooled by counselors. I summarize Clark in greater detail in a subsequent discussion. However, it is important to introduce the cooling-out thesis in this overview because it structures the discussion on the community college's sorting and stratification functions, and because the cooling-out thesis invariably generates debate between proponents and critics of the community college. I also summarize those arguments between defenders and critics of the community college in this section.

London's case studies (1978)--the first theoretical study of community colleges--is especially important as Clark's thesis because it addressed tension and conflict in ways similar but conceptually different from Clark's. Those tensions and conflicts in London's research were between predominantly White, working-class students, instructor culture, and instructor ideological-pedagogical orientations. These conflicts manifested themselves in underachievement, absenteeism, and strongly articulated disrespect for many instructors by students. London found that Clark's cooling-out function (Clark, 1960), was not sustainable because unlike the major outcome in Clark's study--wishful unawareness by students that they were being cooled-out--the students in London's study were by and large aware of their performance statuses. And contravening Clark's thesis, these students were actively engaged--for the good or bad--in their schoolings. London's study is more important than his rebuttal of Clark. His study was prototypical and set the stage for subsequent studies which would explore the interactions of institutional culture, student culture, ethnicity, and generally, conflict in the community college (Kempner, 1991; Rendon, 1982; Rendon, et al, 1988; Rendon and Valadez, 1993; Valadez, 1993; Weis, 1985).

On the other hand, and when we think of Mexican-American underachievement in the community college, reasons for its ineffectiveness--measured traditionally for all students regardless of ethnicity, by transfer rates, transfer rates in relation to expressed intentions to transfer, and associate degree attainment rates; (Brint and Karabel, 1989; Grubb, 1991; Rendon et al, 1988; Rendon, 1992)--have typically been attributed to the sorting, class-based, stratification functions of the community college (Brint and Karabel, 1989; Karabel, 1972; Grubb, 1984, 1991; Spring, 1976; Rendon, 1982), the cooling-out of students (Clark, 1960), and the heightened trend toward vocationalization (Brint and Karabel, 1989). Other studies of Chicano community college students support these theses and that Chicanos have borne the brunt of cooling-out, sorting, and stratifying functions as the national and local data I presented in Chapter I imply (Rendon, 1982, Rendon et al, 1988; Rendon, 1992; Rendon and Valadez, 1993). I concur with these researchers that the sorting, stratification, and cooling-out of Mexican-Americans factor heavily into lack goal attainment by Mexican-Americans.

These factors, alone, though, do not account for underachievement. There are also very important student background variables, notably earlier experiences with schooling which factor into underachievement. Moreover, the community college, as a yet evolving movement, has been subject to external forces which preclude unbridled opportunity to bridge generations of disparity and opportunity (Dougherty, 1994; Kempner, 1991; McGrath and Spear, 1991). I discuss those constraints later in this chapter. To understand the obstacles Mexican-Americans have faced, and to demonstrate the need for qualitative explanations of persistence, I review the literature on the stratification, sorting, and cooling-out functions of community colleges. Clark's cooling-out thesis (Clark, 1960), even though it is suspect methodologically, is a good starting point because it is a lightning rod for the reproductive functions of the community college.

The Cooling-Out of Students

Burton Clark has suggested that one of the latent functions of community colleges is to "cool-out" students' aspirations (Clark, 1960). In his research on working-class students at San Jose Junior College, Clark determined that the process of cooling-out students by college counselors is not necessarily malicious as Brint and Karabel suggest (Brint and Karabel, 1989). Rather, cooling-out is a process whereby students receive information suggesting that they need to be "realistic" about academic and career decision-making based upon their placement test scores or high school academic backgrounds. Students, particularly ethnic minorities, are then channeled into certificate or vocational programs rather than academic or transfer programs. Ultimately, as a result of misguided and negatively reinforcing interactions with college support services and academic structures, and because of academic underpreparedness, students underachieve academically, fail to attain their goals, and then withdraw.

Cooling-out entails six steps: (1) interviews by students with counselors or matriculation personnel and review of course placement related data; (2) placement of students into basic skills or developmental skills curricula; (3) placement of students into basic skills specific orientation classes; (4) unsatisfactory academic performance by students. If students are not in vocational or realistic programs by the time they reach the fourth stage, they soon will be based upon encouragement by counselors to do so; (5) students being placed on academic probation, being dismissed, or withdrawing from school; and (6) students internalizing failure by thinking that they were not smart enough to achieve, or by wishfully ignoring apparent underachievement. In the end, cooled-out students are grateful for the chance to have enrolled in college. As I imply in Chapter V, and in response to Kempner's question of whether or not cooling-out operates only at advising-counseling levels (Kempner, 1989), or also within the structure of the college, I found elements of both in my study.

At face value and methodologically, the cooling-out function is suspect. When Clark formulated the theory, he did not interview nor survey any of the students upon which his theory is built. Neumann (1985), in a very good critique of Clark, and drawing from Clark's own admission that he did not interview or survey students, informs us that Clark built his theory, then, on essentially unsubstantiated, categorical attrition data (Neumann, 1985, p. 24). Notwithstanding these limitations, Clark believes that in some instances, as do I, that the cooling-out function still persists (Clark, 1980). Neumann (1985), though, had a different perspective and indicated that some students in his study were cooled-down, but not out (p. 158). I found the latter to be the case with three of the students I interviewed in my study.

Stratification and Vocationalization in the Community College

In this subsection, I address more specifically research on the tendency by community colleges to stratify students--particularly ethnic minority students--on the basis of their social origins and to track or divert them, into vocational programs. I draw extensively but not exclusively from Karabel (1972), Brint Karabel (1989), and Dougherty (1994), to structure my discussion only because these researchers offer the most compelling arguments on underachievement by ethnic minority students and the ineffectiveness of community colleges to facilitate greater levels of academic achievements and goal attainments. In particular, I cite Dougherty and his recently articulated theory of the relative autonomy of the state in engendering conditions of disparity--presumably unwittingly--while also making the community college an egalitarian, and democratic construct as well. To better understand the transformation of the community college into a vocationalized institution and diminution of its transfer function, I summarize arguments by proponents of the community college first. Dougherty (1994), has called these proponents "functionalists," an unwitting "... assemblage of claims . . . a set of tenets that

are logically organized and closely resemble functionalist theory in the social sciences" (p. 17).

For example, and typical of most functionalist arguments regarding enhancing achievement is that by is that of Parnell (1985). Parnell would have us think that the problem of underachievement and hence, lack of goal attainment, stem from smorgasbord, unfocused high school curricula which leave community college matriculants grossly underprepared academically. Furthermore, Parnell reminds us that the problem also stems from a retreat from demanding excellence in students at the secondary and community college levels. Parnell would ameliorate the problem through technologically enhanced and computer-based instruction, and through programmings which address the diversity of students. Generalities aside, though, Parnell does not inform us how to ameliorate lack of social and academic integration interpersonally, pedagogically, or in relation to institutional culture. Equally important, there is nothing in his contentions to suggest that the problem may be grounded ideologically or cross-culturally.

The tendency by functionalists to legitimate the community college in unbridled fashion is grounded in two well-known outcomes in the community college. These outcomes are not intrinsically bad. Rather, it is the uncritical bantering in support of these outcomes which obscure the direct and indirect effects of vocationalization and divert our attentions from the ideological and cross-cultural dimensions of the community college which make it a battleground and which do contribute in part to underachievement and comparative lack of goal attainment by Mexican-Americans. The first outcome is that the community college gives ethnic minorities and low-income persons, opportunities for social and economic mobility. Valadez (1993), by no means a functionalist in terms of Dougherty's conception, has addressed this function while talking about non-traditional students, " What little hope there is for upward mobility for students of color and other nontraditional students may lie in the community colleges. That is an enormous

responsibility and one that cannot be taken lightly" (pp. 30-31). The second historically derived outcome is that the community college is the nexus for access and democratic intentions, and the fulfillment of community needs, in particular, those of business communities.

For example, Medsker, (1960), has addressed the value of the community college in terms of access, costs and benefits,

The two-year college. . . is perhaps the most effective democratizing agent in higher education. It decentralizes post-high school opportunities by placing them within reach of a large number of students. It makes higher education available at a low cost to the student and at a moderate cost to society. (p. 4)

Similarly, Monroe (1972), calls our attention to the employability functions and private sector nexus of the community college:

The community college is becoming the educational agency which trains persons for entry into an ever widening number of skilled jobs. . . In addition, the community college must retrain employees for new jobs as old jobs become obsolescent. One point on which friends and critics of the community college agree is that the need for occupational training will increase greatly in the years ahead. (p.72)

Others, with good intentions, have advocated the need for community colleges to prepare for the future, to clarify their missions in relation to changed social and economic circumstances, while recognizing that the vitality of the community college rests with balance of comprehensiveness, and quality of instruction (Cross, 1988). Matson and Deegan (1988) suggest that revitalizing student services to become more student-centered while maintaining financial efficiency, should be central to a responsive community college in the future. These contentions, while egalitarian, do not address the gender and cross-cultural tensions which students and faculty bring to the community college. Despite good intent, proponents and moderate critics of the community college like Cross, Matsen and Deegan, and Parnell, have not been circumspect in identifying and addressing the needs of historically marginalized students.

Parnell (1985), though, is partially correct in identifying the secondary school system as a contributor of academic underpreparedness by matriculants. More circumspect theorists on the community college like Brint and Karabel (1989), Dougherty (1994), Karabel (1972), Grubb (1984), Kempner (1988), Pincus (1986), and Rendon (1988, 1992a), although not without flaws, inform us that the roots of the problem are deeper and more profound than the secondary school system, and extend from the very nature of capitalist society. By this perspective, the community college is an agent of technical and cultural reproduction. As such, its functions are twofold: (1) to maintain the existing social order by meting-out disparate, stratified educational outcomes; and (2) to track working-class and ethnic minority students into low-status, remedial or vocational curricula that guarantee immobility within and lack of access to social structures. As Brint and Karabel explicated in later research on the vocationalization of the community college between 1945 and 1985 (Brint and Karabel, 1989), the importance of the community college transfer function has been de-emphasized to low-income and ethnic minority students. Accordingly, low-income and ethnic minority students transfer to universities in comparatively far lesser percentages than do students from more affluent backgrounds.

Recent research by Rendon et al, (1988), Rendon and Valadez (1993), and Grubb (1991) seem to support strongly the stratification thesis. Grubb, for example, drew from the National Postsecondary Student Aid Survey of 1986 and demonstrated a national decline of Hispanic transfers by seven percent from 1972 to 1980. Rendon et al, (1988), found in six California, Texas, and Arizona community colleges that the vast majority of Chicano students--virtually all from low-income backgrounds--ended-up in vocational programs or floundered within their community colleges; never departing, but never attaining their goals. In a similar vein, recent research from the California Postsecondary Education Commission, as I indicated in Chapter I, reveals that Latinos comprised only 12% of those who earned their associate degrees in 1992, and only 2% of transfer

students.

Brint and Karabel (1989) have drawn largely from Bordieu's theories of the cultural and economic reproduction functions of schooling (Bordieu, 1977; Bordieu and Passeron, 1977), and from other theorists on class-based, disparate outcomes for low-income Whites and ethnic minorities in American higher education (Astin, 1982; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Ogbu, 1987; Olivas, 1979) in attempting to explain minority student underachievement. Brint and Karabel's 1989 study extended Karabel's earlier work in 1972 about the stratification function of the community college. The earlier study, however, had methodological and conceptual weaknesses. Notably, it did not address unanswered questions of student attrition data; there is no such presentation. Second, as Neumann (1985), indicates, many community college students in Karabel's study were part-time students. This has a bearing, unaddressed by Karabel, on "... how long community college students take to earn their degrees, and probably accounts for a lower rate of persistence to the degree when relatively short time limits are used" (Neumann, 1985, p.33). Furthermore, Karabel's 1972 study is essentially a macro-based perspective and does not lend insight to cooling-out, sorting, or marginalization processes. These shortcomings alone, however, do not invalidate Karabel's 1972 research, or related studies about stratification and reproduction theories.

Brint and Karabel's 1989 study is more informative and compelling. This is so because it affords us a better perspective from which to understand stratification and sorting functions. For example, they underscore the political arm wrestling between the community colleges and business-corporate interests with respect to the vocationalization of the community college at the expense of a citizenry which would otherwise be better versed on democracy through renewed liberal arts requirements and by re-emphasizing the transfer function of the community college. With regard to the vocationalization of the community college and driving their theory, is their contention that American

economic activity generates, ". . . more ambition than its economic structure can absorb," (p. 15), thereby insuring that many students will not attain their goals either as community college students or as credentialed persons seeking employment. They also contend that community colleges provide an insulating function against university over-crowding by steering qualified university transfer aspirants into vocational programs.

The higher education system in California is a case in point. For example, Brint and Karabel have presented to us a case study of the relationships between the University of California, the California community college system and the California State University to buttress their theory on the stratification and sorting functions of the community college. For example, they present an institutional model whose focus is organizational first and which views institutions as ". . . pursuing their own, unique interests" in a stratified social order (p. 114). They chose this analysis over consumer-choice and business domination models since neither addresses adequately the roles of community college leaders to determine the interests of the organization. Lost often in the shuffle that I describe subsequent to a summary of Brint and Karabel's thesis (1989), are Mexican-American students--generally, they lack the cultural capital as matriculants to adapt readily to community college structures and demands--and Dougherty's argument that business and government interests were at the core of disparity (Dougherty, 1994).

With regard to California and the 1960 California Master Plan for Higher Education--a prototype that would be emulated in other states--it stemmed essentially from a gentlemen's deal between the University of California, the California State University, and the California Community College system. A three-tiered tracking system was constructed to insure that the University of California system would maintain its international renown. The community college system would be a "shock absorber" and "first line of defense" for the University of California to keep it from being inundated by transfer students from the community colleges (Brint and Karabel, 1989, pp. 86-87). As

Clark Kerr, University of California at Berkeley President at the time, and a key player in developing the plan, put it:

When I was guiding the development of the Master Plan for higher education in California in 1959 and 1960, I considered the vast expansion of the community colleges to be the first line of defense for the University of California as an institution of international renown...Otherwise, the University was either going to be overwhelmed by a larger number of students with lower academic attainments or attacked as trying to hold a monopoly over entry into higher status. (Kerr, 1978, p. 267; S. Brint and J. Karabel, 1989, p.78)

Other parts of the agreement were that the community colleges would remain open to all high school students. Transfers to the University of California would need a minimum of a 2.4 grade point average. Transfer students to the California State University would need a 2.0 grade point average. The Master Plan called for a ceiling of 41% of lower-division students in the university system by 1975. Under these constraints, over 55,000 California high school students would have to be diverted to the community college system (Brint and Karabel, 1989; pp. 86-87). In effect, the creation and institutionalization of the three-tiered California system, "... was to create a tracking system in public higher education closely linked to students' social origins (Brint and Karabel, 1989, p.88). Related manifestations of stratification as Grubb's longitudinal analysis of the National Postsecondary Student Aid Survey indicate, are the continuing tendencies by low-income, particularly Mexican-American students, to enroll in the community colleges, and to transfer to four-year schools at significantly lower rates than Whites (Grubb, 1991). Similarly, Rendon et al. (1988), in their study of southwestern border community colleges found clear linkages between low socioeconomic background, ethnicity, and low transfer rates. The comparative, longitudinal tabular data on educational attainment differences between Whites and Mexican-Americans I presented in Chapter 1 reinforce this sorting and stratification thesis.

The vocationalization of the community college has led further to educational

stratification for Mexican-American community college students. There are basically two reasons for the fact that those few Mexican-Americans who earn their degrees and transfer is far less than those who earn vocational degrees and do not transfer. For example, the facts that community colleges have found themselves in structured subordination (Brint and Karabel, 1989), to universities both in terms of student per capita support from state legislatures (Olivas, 1986), and in terms of having to compete unequally against the university system in training and job placement of students, necessitated adaptive strategies which would lead to vocationalization. To find its market niche, then, the community college tried and did modify its curricular offerings to accommodate the needs of business in ways which did not or would not interfere or compete with the university. In this sense, the term "community college" is accurate and responsive to community, local private and public sector needs through diverse vocational curricula we do not see at universities. For example, offerings such as computer repair technology, slot machine repair technology, water well drilling, hotel and restaurant management, secretarial science and the like, reflect the accommodation between business and the community college in ways with which universities cannot contend.

These tensions stemming being subordinate to the needs of the university, and from operating in a presumably egalitarian democratic society noted for structured inequality, has meant that the community college had to steer students away from the university (Brint and Karabel, 1989). Universities, as gatekeepers and purveyors of professional credentials, could and do continually raise admission standards while the community college, as an open access system, has been forced to prepare students primarily for vocational occupations, and to lesser extents, for transfer to baccalaureate institutions, and otherwise, to cool-out students. Brint and Karabel tell us that these tracking and cooling-out functions were built into the community college (Brint and Karabel, 1989, p. 225). While the historical and economic forces which precipitated the sorting and stratification

functions are tenable, I believe that they overstate the cooling-out function.

The overstatement, implied, is that community college students, despite their comparatively and lesser socioeconomic and achievement statuses they bring to college, should not be surprised to be sorted, and cooled-out. We know, however, that community college students, as a rule, are older than university students, tend to be married or single heads of household (Matsen and Deegan, 1988), very low-income (Chapa, 1991; Olivas, 1986), and recipients of public assistance. As such, students' personal backgrounds and lack of finances--much more so than university students--precipitate departure as much as being cooled-out would.

Dougherty (1994), in a sweeping theoretical and empirical study of community colleges, gives us a different perspective on how community colleges have engendered social inequality and disparate outcomes in terms of transferability, comparative baccalaureate attainments by community college transfers and university matriculants, and reasons for vocationalization of the community college. In contrast to arguments by Marxist critics such as Bowles and Gintis (1976), Karabel (1972), and Pincus (1986), who contend that the function of the community college is to reproduce structured, class-based inequality, and in contrast to arguments by critics such as Brint and Karabel (1989) who contend that the function of the community college is to assuage, "... the contradictions between conflicting values in American society" (p. 20), by catering to business and corporate needs, and by catering to the social mobility needs of economically disadvantaged people by providing general education to local communities, by diverting potentially qualified students from universities--the institutionalist function--Dougherty tells us in more compelling ways than reproduction or institutionalist theorists have informed us that the relative autonomy of the state, has been at the core of the vocationalization of the community college and unwittingly insuring disparate outcomes for ethnic minority students.

By relative autonomy of the state, Dougherty refers to historical tendency by government officials, because of their own self-interests, to cater to the needs of marginalized people, state universities, local business and corporate interests. In many instances--notably the Washington and California community college systems as key case studies--the result of these interventions by government officials among whom college presidents are included, has been to reinforce historically-grounded disparate outcomes for non-traditional students in terms of disproportionately high numbers of vocational degrees obtained in relation to those transferring to four-year institutions and in terms of the comparatively few transfer students who do earn baccalaureate degrees in relation to students who begin their schoolings as university matriculants.

Dougherty talks about these local governmental influences--part of which included federal influence as well under the Vocational Education Act of 1963--on the community college. Dougherty contends that government has tried to balance the needs of taxpayers, the disadvantaged, and notably, the needs of business:

Government officials promoted community college expansion beyond the point needed to meet the demands of private interest groups because this met their own values and interests. Even when students were silent, government officials supported the community college out of their own belief in the value of higher educational opportunity. Even when business was mute, they supported postsecondary education in the name of the credo that government has a responsibility to meet the economy's needs. State governors and legislators, finally, preferred the community college because it was cheaper for the state and would better yield vocational education graduates who could attract business investment...But even if government officials' values were not to incline them to serve business interests, their own self-interests would. Those self interests put government officials in a situation of resource dependence. To realize their interests, they need to leverage resources that business controls. But to get that leverage, government officials have to pay a toll in the form of concessions to business. State and federal elected officials are aware that good economic conditions greatly aid their chances for reelection by providing jobs and rising incomes for citizens and rising tax revenues for new government programs. One of the major incentives that government has provided business in order to get it to invest capital and thus spur economic growth has been to provide it with publicly subsidized employee training through the vocationally oriented community college. Elected officials are quite

clear that they are doing business a favor. (pp. 184-185)

In view of the multiple influences which have shaped the community college as we know it today, I believe that we must be cautious about scapegoating the community college for Mexican-American underachievement and lack of goal attainment. Weis (1985), addresses the problem faced by ethnic minority students in community colleges:

No one-way, simple, base-superstructure model will do to explain what goes on in schools. Schools are seen as sites where culture and ideologies are produced in ongoing interactions rather than places where ideologies are imposed on students. This does not mean that economists like Bowles and Gintis are entirely wrong when they argue that schools reproduce a division of labor and a set of ideological characteristics favorable to the maintenance of capitalism. What it does mean is that this process is characterized by tension and contradiction and that ideological hegemony is never secure. (p. 7)

In a similar vein, Valadez (1993), in addressing the need to modify pedagogy to enhance ethnic minority academic achievement, has said:

The idea that schools act as sorting devices to reproduce values of a capitalistic society offers a stark explanation for the persistently low academic achievement of minority students. This view, however, does not explain fully models of teaching and learning that have been used successfully to improve the achievement of minority students. Underachievement does not arise exclusively within the community college. (p.31)

As I found in my study in my discussion of Willy and Nacho in Chapter V, two apparent withdrawers from Small College, underachievement and lack of goal attainment by Mexican-Americans are extensions of marginalization and reproductive functions at the K-12 level. Equally important, though, underachievement and lack of goal attainment also stem from parental capitulation or inability to assume their school mediation functions. Brint and Karabel (1989), Pincus (1986), or Grubb (1984) have not explored or addressed these contentions. Moreover, they have not informed us how sorting, cooling-out, and success occur across cultures or in terms of acculturation.

Kempner, (1988, 1991), and McGrath Spear (1991), lend us a perspectives similar to Weis' (1985). Kempner (1988), for example, has informed us about the loss of autonomy

by community colleges as they are subjected to more state legislation and regulation. The drift toward micro-management by coordinating agencies has been exacerbated by tremendous internal cultural conflicts ideological and pedagogical in nature, and across gender and ethnicity. Compounding the problem are unbridled oppositional culture orientations not only by some ethnic minorities, but generally by low-income people with histories of marginalization. These orientations tend to nurture non-goal attainment. Under such constraints and while aspiring to egalitarian ideals, the community college without a responsively articulated mission in the face of greater public accountability, remains largely ineffective in ameliorating underachievement by historically underrepresented populations.

Consistent with Brint and Karabel's contention that the community college is subject to three, divergent statuses and objectives (Brint and Karabel, 1989)--being subordinate to the needs of state universities, needing to be responsive to the needs of businesses and corporations, while beckoning as an open-access system--Kempner (1988), contends that the community college is still an evolving construct with potential and limitations. Its potential lies in its still relative accessibility. Its limitations rest in its inability as a social movement to understand fully and then implement strategies to deal with the social context--laden with opposing cultural, economic, and ideological forces--in which it exists. As Kempner says, "Rather than being criticized alone for class stratification, the community college should be seen as a part of the larger social context" (p. 7).

McGrath and Spear (1991), in a study of academic culture, are similarly critical of the community college. Like Kempner, though, they attempt to be circumspect and also recognize the community college's plight. For example, they acknowledge the problem of academic and cultural disarticulation--academic underpreparedness and cultural discontinuity as I have discussed in this study--faced by non-traditional students and suggest pedagogical ways in which those problems might be addressed while calling to the

attention of the community college other problems it faces:

For non-traditional students, higher education is a profound challenge that asks them to transform some basic attitudes and behaviors, styles of thinking, talking, and writing. Programs modeled on the university are not likely to help. General education requirements should be the collegial response to students' cultural situations, whatever that may be. At community colleges, that means responding to cultural disarticulation. Ideally, general education should be the most basic communication from faculty to students about the nature of intellectual activity and academic life, and at the community college, that communication is now wrapped and confused in a mix of uncoordinated agendas and practices. Open access institutions cannot perform every desirable social function or develop nontraditional students in every possible way. But, they can do a better job with the academic and career preparation of students than they do now. (pp. 94-95)

McGrath and Spear's observations are especially insightful because they address the tensions inherent in an open-access system and the need to remain faithful to the idea of accommodation on non-traditional students.

In the following discussions, I extend these considerations by reviewing several studies on Mexican-American persistence in the community college. I include anthropological inquiries on Mexican-American educational achievement at the elementary and secondary levels because analyses at these grade levels helps us identify and explicate student background variables. The significance of the studies I address below is that they are more broadly based in their focuses. Specifically, they attempt to elaborate culture conflict in relation to organizational culture in ways other studies I have cited do not.

Studies of Mexican-American Persistence in the Community College

Recently, Rendon and Valadez (1993), completed a segmented study of a larger study undertaken by Rendon et al, (1988). To understand the recent study, I summarize first the larger study. The larger study at six southwest community colleges on the Mexican-U.S. border was a prototypical study of Mexican-American persistence because it identified and attempted to pull-together, although not exhaustively, the key variables

which recur in the educational research on Mexican-American achievement in higher education. Those variables were: acculturation, institutional culture--identified most often as "school climate" or "campus environment" in relation to students' presenting cultural-linguistic and social integration needs--cross-culture conflict, the Mexican-American family, tension and contradiction between familial obligations and students' personal desires, and gender role expectations. The primary objective of the study was to examine these multiple factors and how they influenced transfer patterns of Chicano students.

The findings from this survey study of students, faculty, and administrators regarding low educational achievement levels and low transfer rates were consistent with stratification theory. In this study--the first major and most extensive effort to explore transfer patterns and rates by "Hispanic" students--Rendon et al (1988), modified Tinto's model by including ethnic and cross-cultural communication factors. They examined and described positive and negative influences on students' goal attainments and transfer rates. White students were sampled for comparative purposes. Rendon and associates examined six variables they believed affected students' dispositions to transfer: (1) high school grades; (2) parents' educational backgrounds; (3) encouragement toward achievement; (4) students' institutional and goal commitments; (5) academic integration; and (6) social integration. Furthermore, the researchers attempted to measure direct effects on academic and social integrations and effects on students' predispositions to transfer.

The outcomes from the study were consistent with results from other quantitative studies of Mexican-American higher education achievement. Those results were: (1) upon matriculating their community colleges, the vast majority of Hispanic students expressed desires to transfer to four-year institutions; (2) Hispanic transfer rates compared to Whites were considerably lower; (3) Hispanics, compared to Whites, had considerably lower family income levels and four mean years less education; (4) students had high

levels of goal commitment, however, they reported that they received the least encouragement to transfer from teaching faculty; (5) students had little contact with faculty and counselors outside the classroom and thus, were not integrated socially; faculty confirmed this finding; (6) ethnicity was not a factor in academic or social integrations, or in transferability; (7) poor inter-institutional relations with four-year schools in terms of articulation or transferability of courses diminished the likelihood of transfer; (8) Hispanic parents valued schooling and encouraged their children to continue with their educations; and (9) students' initial educational goal commitments had a positive effect on their pre-dispositions to transfer.

The latter outcome was especially important concerning students who, upon matriculating to the community college, had higher levels of institutional goal commitments. The students applied to more four-year schools and had greater degrees of academic and social integration. In short, they were more goal oriented in their quests toward educational goal attainment. Therefore, as an affirmation of Tinto's model, "... the notion that high levels of congruency between students and their environments lead to high levels of pre-disposition to transfer is supported by this study" (Rendon et al, 1988; p. 82).

Results from the Rendon et al study (1988), were augmented and subsequently contextualized by Rendon and Valadez (1993), through in-depth, focused interviews with college presidents, chief academic officers, directors of institutional research, directors of admissions, directors or financial aid, support services staff, selected faculty, and students from six community colleges of the pilot, quantitative study. Rendon and Valadez drew from Kempner's study of institutional culture and culture conflict at a Pacific Northwest community college to further structure the study (Kempner, 1991).

Emergent findings from questions on how institutional culture affected Chicano students' achievements, progress, and ultimately, the flow of Chicano transfers to four-

year institutions were numerous in Rendon and Valadez' study: (1) the importance of familial customs, behaviors, and attitudes on students' educational decisions, especially decisions by females (Chicanas); with regard to Chicanas, they found that there were dual gender expectations and that it was difficult for most females to find encouragement and support that males received from parents; (2) economic considerations placed students into a triple-bind: working full or part-time to support their families, seeing their grades suffer because of employment loads, choosing vocational majors because of the immediate need to procure employment; (3) a great lack of knowledge of college policies and procedures that affected college-going decisions in terms of financial aid, selecting academic majors, obtaining transfer information; (4) parents lacking the technical information to assist students in attaining their goals; (5) counseling offices were understaffed as a rule and in consequence, the likelihood of students obtaining accurate academic integration information was a barrier to transferring; (6) generally, faculty lacked cross-cultural awareness and sensitivity to Chicano students; for example, they often talked negatively about them behind closed doors and often accused them of lacking motivation and of being lazy. Some faculty felt that the presence of Chicano students forced colleges to lower academic standards; (7) relationships with local high schools and articulation with universities were not high priorities; therefore, many Chicano students did not transfer because of poor articulation from the community college to the university; and (8) the tracking of Chicanos into vocational training programs in high school left them underprepared academically upon their matriculations to the community college.

Rendon and Valadez' study (1993), and the Rendon et al, study (1988) are important for two reasons. First, they call our attention to cultural discontinuity between students' homes and the college experience. Cultural discontinuity is not a new construct. Educational anthropologists, as I discuss at the end of the chapter, have informed us that disparate educational outcomes at the K-12 levels for ethnic minority students stem to a

great extent from conflicts between pedagogy school culture and students' homes, particularly in terms of cooperative versus individualistic learning styles, internal versus external locus of control, and language discontinuities. (Delgado-Gaitan, 1987; Trueba, 1987, 1988; Spindler and Spindler, 1987; Cummins, 1986; Ogbu, 1985, 1987).

Second, these two studies are important because they direct us to Mexican and Mexican-American identities as manifestations of cultural change or levels and types of acculturation. To reiterate, acculturation levels and types are important because they are the core constructs by which to understand Mexican-American sociocultural variability. More important, acculturation levels can inform us about the extent and quality of students' engagements with institutional social structures. Several other quantitative studies on Mexican-American community college goal attainments are notable in these regards.

In another study, this time a survey of 1,786 Chicano students in the initial sampling, and then 227 in the second phase of her research at three Texas community colleges, Rendon (1982), essentially confirmed Tintos' theory of social and academic integration. She based her research design in part on symbolic interaction. The study was a preconceptualization to a larger and more encompassing study undertaken by her, Justiz, and Resta (Rendon, et al, 1988). Specifically, she confirmed interactions between students' background variables and institution variables as central determinants in differential attainment outcomes between Chicano students. The outcomes confirmed two of Rendon's hypotheses--subjective goal attainments or perceptions of degree of satisfaction with present goal attainments socially and academically, and objective attainments or college credits and credentials earned--were related directly to the quality of their interactions with college faculties and staff. Key background characteristics of goal attaining Chicano students were that they: (1) came from high socioeconomic backgrounds; (2) received higher levels of support and motivation from parents, peers,

and high school staff while they were in high school; (3) identified Spanish-speaking academic support staff as vital to their academic achievement; and (4) manifested an external locus of control regarding success or failure in that the institutions were seen by Chicano students as the brokers of educational achievement.

In a related study, Nora (1985), undertook a secondary analysis of Rendon's 1982 study and created a structural equation model of Chicano student retention in terms of Tinto's model (1975). This longitudinal analysis of "Chicano" and "Hispanic" students over four years was based upon replies from 227 respondents. As Rendon (1982) did, Nora examined the interactive effects of three background variables (high school grades, parents' educational backgrounds, and parent-peer-high school staff encouragement to enroll in higher education) on three institutional variables (college academic integration, social integration, and institutional goal commitments). The outcomes from Nora's study basically supported Tinto's model (1975), in that students' background characteristics correlated strongly with academic achievement but not necessarily with social integration. Moreover, and consistent with Tinto's model, initially strong institutional goal commitments by students during matriculation resulted in greater numbers of earned credits, greater satisfaction with college in general, and attainment of an academic credential. Finally, and consistent with Tinto's model, students who demonstrated greater initial goal commitments demonstrated greater degrees of social integration.

In another study, Nora and Rendon (1988), in a single-institution quantitative study of a Texas community college, found that lack of institutional accommodation for "Hispanic" students affected significantly and negatively students' goal attainments. For example, they found that students' high educational aspirations to earn some type of community credential were squelched by an inadequate freshmen orientation, lack of academic and career guidance services, and otherwise, by lack of a comprehensive matriculation program. These findings are consistent with other studies and research

concerning the underprovision of support or retention services for ethnic minority and Hispanic students, information which students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds and mainstream culture students more often than not take for granted (Aguirre and Martinez, 1993; Ballasteros, 1986; Olivas, 1983; Quevedo-Garcia, 1987; Rendon, 1992; Valverde, 1986). Equally important, these findings by Nora and Rendon contravene earlier findings by Tinto (1975), Pascarella (1980, 1983), and Pascarella Terenzini (1980), which had informed us that initial goal commitments serve as mediating variables against matriculation-retention activities which are institutionally and not student-centered. Finally, and more germane to my study, Nora and Rendon found that ethnicity was not a factor in the study's outcomes.

Nora and Rendon's study deserves additional comment regarding barriers to transfer. The most important, perhaps, were the economically depressed communities and environments. According to the authors, unemployment and poverty left many Mexican-Americans unmotivated to improve their conditions according to the authors. Family obligations also constrained educational attainment. Moreover, many Hispanic females were tied to their homes and pursued college in piecemeal fashion. These limited engagements with schooling stemmed from family orientations that females belong in the home.

Nora and Rendon (1990), undertook another quantitative study of Hispanic students' transfer patterns and attitudinal dispositions by surveying 422 Hispanic and 147 White students from the six community colleges which they had examined in earlier studies. This study was another secondary analysis of Rendon et al, (1988) pilot study. As in the latter study, Tinto's model was modified to examine seven constructs to determine how they affected students' predispositions to transfer. Those seven constructs were high school grades, parents' education backgrounds, encouragement received from parents, college counselors and faculty to transfer, institutional commitments by students,

students' goal commitments, academic integration, and social integration. The results in this secondary analysis affirmed the outcomes of the pilot study (Rendon, et al, 1988). Notably, White and Hispanic students with strong initial goal commitments and clear educational goals, higher levels of academic and social integration, and parents with college backgrounds, were more likely to have attitudes and behaviors favorable toward transferring (p. 248). Nora and Rendon also found that students' initial commitments precipitated better academic and social integration. Ethnicity did not have an effect on disposition to transfer. This outcome in the causal model stemmed from the hypothesis of whether ethnicity in and of itself had direct effect on disposition to transfer. Unfortunately, ethnicity was not operationalized. In short, the study affirmed the validity of Tinto's model (Tinto, 1975).

Summary of Research on Mexican-American Community College Student Persistence

The studies I have reviewed in this subsection--despite their quantitative, positivistic underpins excepting Rendon and Valadez's qualitative research on Hispanic student transfer (1993)--are important because they inform us about cultural, cross-cultural, and institutional constraints against Mexican-American academic and social integration, and transfer readiness. The transfer problem is especially important because it symbolizes deferred or diverted access to baccalaureate and advanced degrees and thus, diminished opportunity for Mexican-Americans' economic mobilities. Rendon (1992a), elaborates:

The community colleges I attended were the first gateways on the way out of the poverty cycle. Yet, more students should experience the success I have attained. More students should transfer because a college that is founded on democratic ideals and egalitarian notions of equal opportunity for all, should stay on track with its founding mission. More importantly, if the community college transfer function is neglected and allowed to decline, students of color as well as students from low-income socioeconomic backgrounds will be left with no alternative to initiate an education leading to a bachelor's degree. (p. 8)

Others have echoed Rendon's lament, notably Grubb (1991), Karabel (1972), Brint and Karabel (1989), and Olivas (1979, 1986). However, and as I have indicated, the educational problems faced by Mexican-Americans are not exclusively the responsibility of community colleges. Educational underattainment must also be viewed in a larger context and to a large extent, as an extension of problems emanating from the K-12 levels.

In the following section, and to understand the nature of the problems at the K-12 level, I review ethnographies of Mexican-American achievement and underachievement. Several of these studies focused on high school achievement in terms of oppositional culture or resistance theory. Since my focus here is on conflict qualitatively, I include in my analysis Weis' study of Black community college students' achievements (Weis, 1985), and Willis' study of working-class high schoolers in England (Willis, 1977).

Ethnographic Research on Mexican-American Achievement

Educational anthropologists provide us with cross-cultural and intracultural variability perspectives to help us address the question of Mexican-American sociocultural variability and educational goal attainment in ways which quantitative research does not. In the following and final subsection of this literature review, then, I discuss and synthesize several studies that helped me further conceptualize and structure my research. All of the studies that I review below, except one, were undertaken at high schools. I believe there is application from anthropological inquiry at the secondary and community college levels since the same themes occur at both levels: discontinuities between school and home, oppositional culture orientations against reproductive functions and symbols of schooling, and culture conflict.

In terms of methodology, ethnographies or case study research of Mexican-American achievement at the K-12 level are important because of the contextualized and emic perspectives they give us. The studies I review and synthesize below are important

because they contextualize student-community-institutional interaction processes and also because they elaborate transmission by school or community college personnel of substantive and procedural information to students, and acquisition and utilization by students of that information toward achievement and goal attainment. To attempt to understand and then explain these interactions is, "... a systematic attempt to discover the knowledge a group of people have learned and are using to organize their behavior" (Spradley and McCurdy, 1988; p. 9). In a similar way, Spindler and Spindler (1988), suggest that a focus on transmission and acquisition can help us understand education and its effects on people:

We are not concerned alone with cultural transmission, but also with some portion of the equipment which the child carries into maturity comes from his experience with school systems. It is our task to determine the character and magnitude of the school influence and relate it in meaningful ways to other non-school educative experiences. But the effect of his family and his peers must also be learned. (p. 13)

Generally, anthropologists have attempted to explain ethnic minority and Mexican-American educational underattainment as a tension between accommodation of students' needs versus adaptation by students to school structures. These discussions imply a recurring theme in school relations as Mexican-Americans often attempt to adapt and conform to alien, normative and behavioral orientations (Delgado-Gaitan, 1987; Macias, 1987; Ogbu, 1982; Trueba, 1988a; Vigil, 1982). Typically, there is a conflict--cultural discontinuities--between what children have learned at home versus the functions and symbols of schooling. In the end, students often feel isolated socially and underachieve academically. Tinto would term these maladaptations lack of social and academic integration (Tinto, 1975). This adaptation versus accommodation thesis predominates anthropological inquiry as I elaborate.

For example, Foley (1991), and a few other researchers have attempted to explain the adaptation-accommodation conflict faced by Mexican-American and ethnic minority

underachievement in terms of stratification-reproduction theory modeled after Willis' study of White working-class youth in England (Willis, 1977), and in terms of oppositional culture theory (Ogbu, 1982, 1987a). There is complementarity between oppositional culture theory and stratification theory since they both contend essentially the same: that class-based underachievement stems largely from students' oppositions to the functions and symbols of schooling as tools of dominant order. In the case of oppositional culture theory, opposition or resistance for castelike and involuntary minorities stem from historically based racial and economic stratification (Ogbu, 1982, 1985, 1987a; Ogbu and Matuti-Bianchi, 1986). I discuss Foley's work with Chicano high school students in Texas to as a frame of reference to understand how these different perspectives may help us understand Mexican-American community college persistence.

In Foley's ethnographies of 12 "Chicano" students in a Texas high school, (1991), he attempted to explain how more successful Chicano students from middle-class backgrounds achieved academically over the "vatos locos" (crazy guys; cool dudes) from very low-income backgrounds. He found that the achieving Mexican-American students--like all successful students in the study--were achievers to a large extent by "making out" through creative dialogue with teachers regarding in-class assignments and to circumvent the boredom of daily, pedagogical formalism. In this neo-Marxist analysis, Foley viewed teachers as low-level factory managers who meted-out work loads and who controlled the means of production. He viewed the middle-class students--they called themselves Mexican-Americans--as compliant, non-resistant consumers of the school's reproductive functions. A major reason for their achievement was their having acquired through popular American culture and then utilizing a sophisticated, symbolic type of classroom communication termed "making-out." Colloquially, we refer to this as "bullshitting" through class. It was these popular, feigned communicative means of engaging and placating instructors in socially acceptable ways which distinguished middle-class

Mexican-Americans from the *vatos locos*. The *vatos locos*, on the other hand, and because of their strong barrio orientations, stemming in part from their marginal economic statuses, rejected the functions and symbols of schooling because it was not the Chicano way. They refused to engage compromisingly. They challenged teachers' authority and existed as a Chicano enclave in the school.

Because of their oppositional culture orientations, the *vatos locos* were placed into "stricter," low-achieving classes. They chided teachers and students and their symbolic middle-class culture of making-out. These students were not conciliatory and did not give-and-take in the classroom. Teachers punished these Chicanos often for having too much fun and for their irreverence. Consistent with reproduction theory, Foley theorized that these daily classroom sociodramas were staging grounds for students' adult roles later in their lives which would be class-based employments.

The significance of these different, daily dramaturgical events was that teachers, because of their cross-cultural illiteracies, staged unwittingly these, "... displays of communicating the right way" (p. 548), and thus, socialized students to their status or roles in school and hence, society. In other words, and in terms of reproduction and stratification theory concerning the middle-class Mexican-American students, these low-level managers were helping produce students who would add value to the American market economy and would take mainstream cultural traits of individualism and competitiveness with them to college. On the other hand, *vatos locos*--the "deviants" and failures--would assume their rightful blue collar positions in the American labor economy after their schoolings. The successful, middle-class Mexican-American students, by virtue of their skills at "making-out" and their class-based perspectives avoided marginalization by transcending possibly negative outcomes of sorting mechanisms such as achievement tests, counseling approaches, and stereotyping by teachers. They did this by acquiring and using staging skills in the classroom that would benefit them as adults.

Foley's study reminds us of culture conflict which partially influences educational policy and outcomes in higher education (Kempner, 1991). However, his analysis is incomplete. Even though, he gives us a glimpse of how low-income Chicano students in this south Texas high school chose not to integrate socially nor academically--like Willis' lads in an British high school (Willis, 1977)--he did not inform us how the *vatos locos* came to resist their schoolings. They were merely typecast as *vatos locos* who, on the basis of historical structured subordination, their *barrio* orientations, and oppositions to dominant middle-class conventions, resisted schooling. Furthermore, Foley's exclusively, class-based perspective does not inform us about the dynamics of within-culture variability or agency. To put Foley into better perspective, I summarize Willis' study of British working-class male high school students.

Willis' study is more instructive. In his ethnographies of 12 White working-class students, Willis (1977), found that the students' strong resistances to school structures and formal authority precipitated their academic demise. They degraded intellectual work as effeminate and inherently contradictory to physical labor. These orientations were extensions of their lower economic class origins and influences. In response to formal structures, the students developed an oppositional culture in ways similar to the *vatos locos* in Foley's study (1991). For example, they chided conformists and challenged teachers' legitimacies as teachers and their in-class authority. Feinberg and Soltis (1992), addressed this disposition, "Having rejected the knowledge offered by the school, it is a natural step for the lads to see respect that is demanded by teachers as an illegitimate, unwarranted and oppressive feature of the formal school culture" (pp. 66-67).

Although the apparent difference in the two studies was ethnicity versus economic class, the students in Foley's study were also from low socioeconomic backgrounds. In the end, students' oppositional orientations in Willis' study and their reinterpretations of the functions of schoolings maintained and would insure their continued work as laborers.

In short, and as Willis stated, "The difficult thing to explain about how working-class kids get working-class jobs is why they let themselves (p. 1).

Weis' ethnographies of Black students at a northeastern urban community college are equally insightful (Weis, 1985). Although the participants in Weis' study were not Chicanos, her study is important because many of the variables involved in Black student community college achievement are similar to those I have discussed in studies about Mexican-American achievement and goal attainment. (Rendon, 1982; Rendon et al, 1988; Nora, 1985; Rendon and Valadez, 1993). In her study, Weis surveyed and interviewed students, faculty, and alumni in attempting to understand Black student achievement in relation to Black cultural expressions and academic culture. While acknowledging that community college critics such as Clark (1960) and Karabel (1972) are partially correct in that community colleges ultimately do perform sorting functions and do reproduce structured social inequality through the people who comprise them--administrators, teaching faculty, and students as well as part of a transformative system--Weis also contends that community colleges are also democratizing institutions which alone do not determine students' educational achievements.

As Ogbu (1982, 1985, 1987a), has attempted to do but unfortunately in culturally deterministic and culturally stereotypical ways, Weis found that achievement was also tied to the culture that students brought from their communities; from historically embedded "oppositional cultural impulses" (p. 115). Drawing from Ogbu's theory of racial stratification (Ogbu, 1982, 1985, 1987a), and resistance theory (Willis, 1977), Weis argued that oppositional culture impulses derive from racial subordination, historical inequalities, and from the culture which Black students themselves produced within the college interactively with college faculty. She argued that Black students' repetitive patterns of enrolling and dropping out, habitual tardiness, bringing their children to class, and pervasive drug use on campus were lived and reproduced expressions of historically

embedded oppositional culture to White America. Relatedly, these oppositional tendencies were exacerbated by the faculty ethos linked to dominant cultural ideology that higher education, time, punctuality, and deferred gratification are necessary means toward economic mobility.

Contradictorily, however, and despite the pervasive "raison d'etre" (p.106) of instruction, instructors felt that it was not their responsibility to motivate presumably unmotivated students who were weak in basic skills. On the other hand, some instructors would work more closely with high achievers and ignored "unmotivated" Black students. On the other hand, some instructors would capitulate and thus, get by through by administering multiple-choice and true-false tests rather than essay tests. Expedience, then, dictated minimization of their labor. This was a contradiction within the college, a contradiction at the intersection of faculty and student cultures where each culture reproduced each other to varying extents.

Weis summarized this practice, "Thus, while faculty see themselves as teaching only a few, they are, in fact, working from a curriculum they designed in response to the group" (p. 106). Moreover, Weis characterized these instructors' behaviors in the following way, ". . . dominant ideology plays two roles here: it sustains the urban community college. . . in that the college offers 'equal educational opportunity' at one and the same time that it enables faculty to distance themselves from students" (p. 106). In contrast to Foley's study (1991), Willis', (1977), and studies by Ogbu which I review on the following page, the students in Weis' study legitimated the acquired knowledge as a means of structural integration. They rejected, however, the symbols--foremost of which were White persons and White culture--of the college because of their oppositional culture impulses. These oppositions were manifested prominently in the classroom, the major site of conflict and the intersection of oppositional culture orientations, pedagogy, and the integrity of instructors. And even though they desired transmitted knowledge, Black

students ultimately resisted schooling for alleged lack of fair exchange. Lack of fair exchange was seen by many Black students as cross-cultural unfamiliarity and a lack of reciprocity sharing knowledge.

In short Weis' findings and insights are important because they underscore the historical basis of oppositional culture orientations, cross-cultural conflict, and the transformative nature of the community college stemming partially from conflicting student and faculty cultures. In view of Weis' study and those of Foley (1991), and Willis (1977), it is easier to consider the following studies of Mexican-American achievement at the high school level.

Ogbu (1982; 1983, 1987a), and Ogbu Matute-Bianchi (1985), give us a similar perspective from which to understand ethnic minority academic achievement across ethnic groups and intraculturally at the high school level. Ogbu's motivation as a macro ethnographies has been to characterize ethnic minority cultures and educational disparity in relation to historical conditions. To operationalize his own theory of minority educational underattainment, Ogbu has elaborated a typology of American ethnic minorities and their responses to schooling: (1) voluntary minorities or legal immigrants; and (2) involuntary minorities such as second and later generation Chicano/Mexican-Americans who were made second-class citizens involuntary through slavery, displacement, and colonialism; in short, through instrumental and expressive exploitation; and (3) castelike minorities who have internalized exclusion and thus oppose prevailing social orders, particularly schooling, the purveyor of subordination. These three minority statuses imply different social relations with Whites, different dispositions to schooling, and different educational outcomes.

In several studies, Ogbu has contended that racial stratification is a more encompassing and more appropriate construct than class stratification and its concomitant, resistance theory, to explain minority student underachievement. By racial stratification,

Ogbu suggests that oppositional culture orientations are the result of historical structured subordination on the basis of race. As Weis (1985), drawing from Ogbu (1982), informed us, these historically embedded impulses are the result of trans-generational structured subordination. As I demonstrate in my review below of some studies by Ogbu, he suggests that the strength and embeddedness of these impulses are such that second and later generation Mexican-Americans and Blacks resist White culture, dominant structures, and its greatest purveyor, schooling. Ogbu contends that involuntary, castelike minorities view schooling as cultural hegemony. Accordingly, and consistent with their oppositional cultures, they reject it. To this end, Ogbu has said, "It seems to be a part of an evolved cultural pattern characteristic of the communities from which they came" (Ogbu, 1988a, p. 172). Elsewhere, Ogbu has said, "The oppositional or ambivalent social identity and the oppositional cultural frame of reference becomes particularly important in this school context because Black Americans, like other ethnic minorities, generally equate schooling with the learning of the dominant group, or White culture" (Ogbu, 1988, p. 171).

Ogbu's typology implies differential educational outcomes intraculturally. For example, voluntary or immigrant minorities like Punjabi high school students (Gibson, 1987), Chinese students (Ogbu, 1983; Sung, 1967), or Japanese students (Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi, 1985), see the United States as a land of opportunity which is far better instrumentally than their homelands, and as a place where discrimination is not enduring. According to Ogbu (1987a), Chinese and Punjabi immigrants come from cultural backgrounds where "... parents make it clear to their children that it is very important for them to work hard to succeed in school in order to improve their employment and economic chances in the future" (p. 273). Under these circumstances, then, and because they view discrimination in relation to opportunity differently than castelike or involuntary minorities, Ogbu believes that voluntary minorities have greater achievement in American schools than do involuntary minorities despite cultural orientations which are very

different from dominant American culture.

Castelike minorities--African-Americans, Native Americans, and Mexican-Americans--on the other hand, constrain themselves through four primary adaptive strategies in American society and in schools: (1) cultural inversion: the avoidance of certain mainstream cultural behaviors and symbols because those orientations are not their own cultural orientations; (2) maintaining institutionalized discrimination perspectives and cultural epistemologies on how society works to their exclusion; (3) economic survival strategies such as civil rights activities and rioting; and (4) oppositional culture orientations (Ogbu, 1982; Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi 1985;1987a; 1988). Accordingly, castelike minorities fare very poorly in school. In other words, they have internalized centuries of failure and structured subordination.

There are several problems with Ogbu's explanations of minority educational attainment. First, and most obvious is that he does not address adequately intracultural variability. As Foley (1991), tells us, Ogbu's explanations of minority psychological-affective orientations are too global , and tend to stereotype by blaming the victim. Moreover, Ogbu's studies have been concentrated in urban settings where socioeconomic disparities are more accentuated, and where cross-cultural tensions and oppositional behaviors are more pronounced. Relatedly, the idea that people's behaviors are taxonomically based implies a cultural deterministic purview which Mexican-Americans have been attempting to counter politically and economically for generations (Trueba, 1988). We need not look far to see that social scientists have long characterized Mexican-Americans as lazy, shiftless, and having temporal senses which are incompatible with modernism or post-modernism (Rodriguez, 1983; Schwartz, 1968; Lewis, 1960).

There is qualitative evidence from other studies to the contrary that Mexican-Americans from the same types of neighborhoods and homes which Ogbu and Foley (1991), have examined, do succeed in school without relinquishing their ethnic identities

ethnic loyalties. These studies differ from studies by Ogbu and Foley in two ways: they address schools' efforts to accommodate students' cultural and linguistic variabilities, and they accentuate sociocultural variabilities in relation to accommodation and adaptation. I present and summarize those studies below.

In exploratory case studies, Lucas, Henze, and Donato (1990), studied and interviewed students, parents, teachers, and administrators to explain the characteristics of "effective" schooling of language minority students in five California and one Arizona high school districts with large, low-income Latino populations. Lucas et al, as I elaborate, found that success was essentially a social compact of accommodation and adaptation between parents and schools. Effective schools were defined in terms of quantitative indicators of "success" such as drop-out rates, number of Latino matriculants to higher education, numbers of Latino language minority matriculants to higher education, and average daily attendance rates. On average, the investigators interviewed 24 Latino students from each school. 60% of the students were born in Mexico. 72% of the students spoke Spanish at home. Five of the six high schools had enrollments ranging between 1,700 and 2,200. In all but the smallest school, Latinos were the largest ethnic group.

There were six primary outcomes which validated accommodation and adaptation between the schools, parents, and children: (1) students' languages and cultures were valued. For example, when bilingual instruction was not the focus, Latinos were allowed to speak Spanish openly. In addition, schools routinely celebrated students' cultural customs, traditions, and holidays; (2) school officials had high expectations of students and provided assistance to inspire them and to insure success with activities like college field trips, rewards for attendance, and the like; (3) "remedial" classes were eliminated; teachers were given instructional autonomy and freedom to be creative in their classrooms and to reward students frequently; (4) staff development was taken seriously. For

example, administrators increased teachers' salaries if they earned ESL or bilingual teaching credentials and incorporated the new competencies into their lesson plans; (5) limited English-speaking students were permitted and encouraged to take higher level content courses which challenged them intellectually while being supported with both bilingual instruction and sheltered English instruction; and (6) students' academic and social integrations were enhanced by Latino, Spanish-speaking counselors who were trained and versed in students' social, cultural, linguistic, and acculturative variabilities. Related accommodation-adaptation activities included: periodic mailings by the schools to parents of a multilingual newsletter, monthly parent nights, and requiring that parents meet with teachers periodically concerning possible college enrollments by their children.

In short, the practices of accommodation by the school, and adaptation by students and parents mediated any oppositional orientations that might otherwise have arisen. And although the majority of students were fairly recently arrived immigrants and had not been present in the United States long enough to develop oppositional identities, many of the remaining 40% of the students were born in the United States and were bilingual. This latter group also achieved academically. The point, then, is that Lucas et al (1990) identified and explicated school and student variables--particularly sociocultural variabilities--which Ogbu (1982, 1985, 1987a), nor Foley (1991), did not or could not address in their studies. The significance of the Lucas, et al, study, then is that underachievement as portrayed by Foley and Ogbu is not one-dimensional and that educational researchers should address additional factors, the most important of which are family backgrounds, parental mediations of schooling, and practices and questions related to accommodation-adaptation.

Other research on Mexican-American sociocultural variability which counters Ogbu's typologies is Trueba's sociocultural based theory of achievement (1988a). It assumes that there is a close relationship between language, culture, cognition, and

achievement. Central to this assumption is the role of culture in knowledge acquisition. As I attempted to be cognizant in of in my study, and as Trueba advises us based upon his work with young Mexican and Mexican-American children, ". . . what happens in the home, school, and local community. . . is crucial to understanding the learning processes and academic achievement of minority children" (p. 279).

Trueba and other ethnographers who seek culturally based explanations of achievement have drawn significantly from Vygotsky's sociohistorical school of psychology (Vygotsky, 1978). At the core of Vygotskian theory is that cognitive socialization occurs in children's natural social units and that people's communication systems and behaviors are melded to the process of cognitive development. With behavior and cognitive development tied, then, to social, familial, and cultural interactions, "failure" does occur when socialization within the family and with larger social structures is not sufficient for children to have active and interactive roles. This tenet is based upon the assumption that parents mediate the schooling experience through dialogue and modeling in ethno-cultural contexts. When these elements are present, according to Trueba and Vygotskian theory, failed people should not be blamed. Rather, there has been system failure. The task, then, according to Vygotskian theory, is to create, ". . . appropriate conditions for effective learning" (Trueba, 1988; p. 282). Specifically, understanding children's or people's cultures and intracultural variabilities, are necessary before structuring school learning environments which are culturally appropriate, and which are not discontinuous or incongruent with students' home cultures.

In this sense, when we re-examine the study by Lucas et al, (1990), of Mexican-American achievement, we see that school officials understood that there were discontinuities between school and home and that learning can be enhanced when students' cultures are understood in terms of their family structurings, and in terms of how schools can tacitly or unwittingly tune-out students and then, turn them off to schooling. A few

other researchers have addressed the question of continuity versus discontinuity for Mexican-Americans, and of transmission and acquisition of citizenship skills and basic skills.

Delgado-Gaitan (1988), for example, examined intragroup achievement variability with her ethnographies of 12 Denver, Colorado Chicano high school students. The high school had a 50% dropout rate. All of the students in this study were from the same socioeconomic backgrounds. English was the primary language of all of the students. Delgado-Gaitan interviewed students, peers, parents, teachers, school board members, and community leaders in an effort to explain why and how there was academic performance variability within the same socioeconomic group. Two basic themes emerged from her study.

First, dropping-out was the end product of a dysfunctional school system. The high school was dysfunctional because teachers were dissatisfied with their work and with Chicano students specifically. For example, teachers often displayed dissatisfaction with students by degrading them about their allegedly poor attitudes toward achievement. In turn, students felt humiliated and unsupported by the school. Parents were frustrated because of the school's tacit but never explicitly conveyed expectation that parents should be involved actively in their children's educations. Thus, parents of these dropouts--parents were dropouts themselves--lacked knowledge of how they should be involved in their children's schoolings. This lack of knowledge and thus, lack of involvement with the school, and very important, lack of engagement with their children on how to interpret and deal constructively with school structures and realities, led ultimately to students' departures.

Second and on the other hand, persisters benefitted immeasurably from their parents' active, on-going involvements in their schoolings. In other words, parents were present in their children's zone of proximal development to mediate their schoolings (Vygotsky,

1978). Vygotsky defined the zone of proximal development as ". . . the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers (p. 86). Diaz, Neal, and Amaya-Williams (1990) have explicated the process: ". . . the child is not a mere passive recipient of the adult's teachings, nor is the adult simply a model of expert, successful behavior. Instead, the adult-child dyad engages in joint problem-solving activity, where both share knowledge and responsibility for the task" (p. 140).

In other words, these parents were present to help their children interpret their schoolings. They reinforced the value of schooling even in the face of disciplinary actions by school officials, even though many of these parents were high school dropouts themselves. This finding was especially important because it negates the presumption that parents from low-income backgrounds who dropped-out from high school cannot mediate their children's schoolings. Ironically, and most important, achievement for the most part was not based upon the school's valuation of students but upon the students' need to conform to earn a diploma. Notwithstanding parental endorsement of schooling, the basis of achievement for these special students was conformity to oppressive school policies.

In sum, Delgado-Gaitan (1988), notes that her study was important because it implicitly rejected Ogbu's typologies and that behavior and achievement are not culturally deterministic. Delgado-Gaitan's study calls our attention to school dysfunction and cross-cultural illiteracy by school officials. Her study reminds us of the critically important role of parental mediation of schooling.

Summary

In this chapter, I addressed the need to understand the familial, socioeconomic,

linguistic, gender, generational distance, and individual differences between Mexican-Americans in order to conceptualize and structure a research design which could generate contextualized and emic perspectives on persistence. I termed these differences sociocultural variabilities. This perspective is important because the construct of Hispanicism--the popular and typically employed empirical identification referent for Mexican-Americans--is a highly problematic social construction. I also demonstrated that the problematic nature of the term leads to conceptual problems. In particular, we cannot be sure whom was studied since "Hispanics" cannot be neatly packaged and referred to as an ethnic group. To ameliorate this problem, I operationalized various ethnic identification referents by which Mexican-Americans are known in order to determine in part, acculturation levels of the students of my study.

I also reviewed Tinto's model of social and academic integration, other dominant persistence models, and tests and replications of Tinto's model. Those tests and replications revealed that Tinto's model is basically a sound construct that identifies the major variables which are at work in persistence or departure decisions. However, we know little about Tinto's model in terms of its application to the community college generally, and specifically in terms of students' background variables in qualitative senses. And as I indicated, we know far less about Mexican-Americans in terms of their sociocultural variabilities. Only a small number of studies have addressed the intracultural variability differences which Mexican-Americans bring to the community college as background variables.

Finally, the question of sociocultural variability stands in relation to sorting, stratification, and reproductive functions of the community college. Therefore, I reviewed theories of underachievement by ethnic minorities. Relatedly, I reviewed studies and theories by educational anthropologists on how Mexican-American culture is at odds with the structurings and symbols of the K-12 system in terms of oppositional culture,

resistance theory, and discontinuities between school and home. These issues raise questions of accommodation, adaptation, and agency within the public schools and particularly within the community college.

CHAPTER III

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

Overview

My review of the community college and university persistence research revealed conceptual and methodological shortcomings. With few exceptions, the recurring feature of those studies is that they were quantitatively based and thus, decontextualized. As such, I contend that we know little about Mexican-American community college student persistence in relation to their sociocultural variabilities. In particular, and contextually, we know little about what types of problems students encounter or what they construct in their minds to make sense of their college-going experience. Moreover, we know little about how Mexican-American students see themselves in relation to college social and academic structures and across cultures. Our lack of knowledge about these what and how questions of Mexican-American persistence suggested to me the efficacy of ethnomethodological and symbolic interaction perspectives for my research. In this regard, Attinasi's study Chicano university matriculation is exemplary in terms of ethnomethodological and symbolic interaction (Attinasi, 1986).

My conceptual framework for the study stemmed from six conceptual and methodological problems in the research. Those shortcomings were: (1) the virtually quantitative character of persistence research. These studies have utilized complex methodologies to the exclusion of emic perspectives. Exceptions to these decontextualized reportings are Attinasi's case study research (1986), of how Chicano

students "got in" at a university and how they adjusted during their matriculations in ethnomethodological and in terms of symbolic interactions, Rendon and Valadez' secondary analysis of qualitative indicators of Hispanic student transfer (1993), London's symbolic interaction analysis of student and academic culture at a northeastern community college (London, 1978), Neumann's ethnographies of persisters and non-persisters at the same site of London's study, Weis' ethnographies of Black students' oppositional cultures (1985), and Kempner's case studies of culture conflict within a large community college in the Pacific Northwest (1991). These studies are important because they conveyed insiders' perspectives contextually of how they perceived, reacted to, and acted upon reality in their colleges and in relation to institutional structures. We have not been afforded these perspectives by quantitative persistence research during its formative, model building years; (2) quantitatively based research has not adequately identified or explained students' background variables in their decisions to withdraw or persist. Even though the persistence literature has benefitted from longitudinal research designs which have attempted to identify causal relationships between variables by studying the interactive effects between students and institutional social, academic, and normative structures, we have been left wanting for qualitative insight on persistence since most quantitative studies have controlled for pre-matriculation characteristics and other in-college experiences as well. In short, important student background information and information on their adjustments to college have not been made available to us for analysis and refinement of theory (Braxton, Brier, and Hossler, 1988). Other reasons have been: (3) most persistence studies have been post-hoc or autopsy based (Braxton, Brier, and Hosler, 1988; Terenzini, 1982). As such, they ground their conclusions on decontextualized, comparative student entry and exit data from individual students regarding their reasons for departing at the time of or after departure through institutionally-based post-exit surveys. Other studies have been based exclusively on

national CIRP data several years old, and are similarly decontextualized. And even though these types of research have been important to generate theory, to build, and refine models, they have not informed us about Mexican-American persistence relationally across culture, gender, gender, or in terms of institutional culture; (4) only a handful of studies have explored limited aspects of sociocultural variability in the persistence research. For example, Rendon and Valadez (1993), have addressed sociocultural variability under the heading of acculturation but not as a primary focus of their study. As such, we are short-changed as a matter of policy and in our quests to modify or extend culturally specific retention practices since we do not know for whom those changes should be made in terms of their sociocultural variabilities; (5) findings of most of the empirical research have been generated from studies at single institutions. Because of the variability across institutions in terms of institutional culture, student types, student services, retention philosophies and practices, extent of curricular offerings, and the economic characteristics of the communities served, especially in community college districts, it is difficult to generalize research findings (Chapman and Pascarella, 1983; Hosler and Bean, 1990; Pantages and Creedon, 1978); and (6) institutional culture as a factor in student persistence or withdrawal decisions has been addressed in but a few studies of the community college (Kempner, 1991; London, 1978; Neumann, 1985; Rendon and Valadez, 1993; Weis, 1985). Kempner (1991), has been the most succinct in addressing what he contends has been too narrow a focus by researchers of institutional culture in that they have not addressed political and vested interests external to institutions which influence formulation and implementation of college policies.

Another problem in the research, as Tinto suggests, is that we cannot be sure whether students' understandings of their social and academic environments in a temporal sense, are culturally bound (Tinto, 1988). He suggests therefore, that qualitative inquiry--ethnographic procedures as he terms it (1988, pp. 450-541)--can address how students

make sense of the temporal dimensions of their college experiences, ". . . in the total culture of the institution as manifested in both the formal and informal organization of the institution" (Tinto, 1986; p. 365). I extend Tinto's suggestions in this study in the following discussions. Specifically, and since Mexican-American sociocultural variability is a core construct of my study, I present several definitions of culture to establish a theoretical basis to examine the ethnomethodological and symbolic dimensions of those variabilities in relation to college academic and social structures.

Mexican-American Culture, Ethnomethodology, and Symbolic Interaction

Introduction

Familiarity with Mexican-American culture is central to creation of a qualitative research design and to understand Mexican-American community college student persistence. However, and based upon my review of the literature, we help ourselves beyond measure by noting that there is no universally accepted definition of Mexican-American culture (Keefe and Padilla, 1987; Knight, Bernal, Garza, and Cota, 1993). I tried to be cognizant of this in my operationalizations of Mexican-American culture in my earlier discussions of Mexican-American sociocultural variability in Chapter II and in ways consistent with Penalosa's views (1970), about what constitutes a Mexican-American. For example, Penalosa (1970), advises us that it is better to assess the degrees, more or less, to which Mexican-Americans are traditionally oriented, the degrees to which they are more or less dominant culture oriented, the degrees to which they are more or less aware of Mexican-American culture, and the degrees to which they may be both traditionally oriented as well as highly acculturated to dominant United States culture.

Despite the difficulty in defining Mexican-American culture--actually a foreboding in a country like ours which beckons contradictorily for membership in the American

dream but which excludes on the basis of ethnicity, phenotype, and culture (Arce et al, 1987; Madrid, 1988)--it is a construct which influences all of us daily in our roles as educators, as members of our respective "cultural" groups, and in our interactions with others from different cultural groups. How we see ourselves culturally and others cross-culturally in terms of social interaction are important considerations for employing ethnomethodological and symbolic interaction perspectives for the study of Mexican-American persistence. I address these perspectives below.

Ethnomethodology

Parillo has defined culture as, "... the values, attitudes, customs, beliefs, and habits that are shared by members of a society" (Parillo, 1980). This is a useful construct because it identifies the experiential union between individuals and the group. However, it is a limited construct because it does not address the influence of cross-cultural relations and conflict with other cultures, both of which lead to transformation of the collective and the person. Moerman (1988), augments the definition of culture by saying that another way to understand culture is to examine people's behaviors and conversations contextually and symbolically. Weis (1985), elaborates this consideration by stating, "... culture is truly lived; it is created and recreated on a daily basis and the elements of culture combine in ways unbeknown to its creators" (p. 129). The idea of culture being lived is central to an ethnomethodological focus on Mexican-American persistence. Weis' definition is important for three additional reasons. First, it emphasizes the interactive nature of American cultures. Second, her definition is consistent with theories on the multidimensionality of acculturation. Third, it is consistent with other complementary definitions of culture which I discuss in relation to symbolic interaction and after my discussion on ethnomethodology.

Researchers who attempt to understand how people construct and make sense of

these engagements in social and cross-cultural contexts attempt to render ethnomethodological perspectives (Garfinkle, 1967). Waters (1994), describes the process thusly:

To give an account is to reflect on behaviour and to seek to make it understandable, or meaningful, to oneself and to others. Human beings are argued to do this on a continuous basis and, in so doing, continuously and practically to create and remake the social world. In giving accounts and creating the world, human beings are regarded as essentially competent and skilled in accounting for the settings of everyday social experience. Ethnomethodologists seek to use this competence to expose the taken-for-granted understandings about how the social world works. (p. 37)

In other words, what people do ethnomethodologically is to construct their social realities and elaborate them to derive meaning from the context in which they occur routinely, in everyday life scenarios. "All meaning is in relation to a context. Explicating the meanings requires stating the context. Every meaning is multi-layered: conversation sequential, linguistic, embedded in the present scene, encrusted with past meanings." (Moerman, 1988; p. 10).

Van Mannen (1979), addresses ethnomethodologists in a similar way:

Qualitative methods are rather similar to the interpretive procedures we make use of as we do about our everyday life. The data we collect and act upon in everyday life are...symbolic, contextually embedded, and reflexive. . .(we) claim forcefully to know relatively little about what a given piece of observed behavior means until they have developed a description of the context in which the behavior takes place and attempted to see that behaviour from the position of its originator. (p.10)

More specifically, Garfinkle (1967), advises us that the significance of people's thoughts and actions rests with the temporal and organizational context in which they occur. I offer one example of this approach: Ramos' ethnomethodological study of a poor Mexican-American family (1973).

In his efforts to help a family with a personal problem, Ramos found that the mother's background cultural knowledge was instrumental from an ethnomethodological

perspective in dealing with a problem which, had it not been surmounted, might have put her out on the streets. Ramos referred to this woman's background knowledge because it is "... seen but unnoticed" by most ethnographers (p. 907). Drawing from Cicourel's "reciprocity of perspective principle" (Cicourel, 1970; p. 20), Ramos defined background knowledge as the assumption that:

The sorts of things he takes into account in the management of his affairs are the same for others and that others use the relevant background features of everyday scenes in the same ways that he does. A person works under this assumption until he discovers that others are not operating under the same assumptions." (p. 907)

The latter scenario exemplifies Cicourel's reciprocity of perspective principle.

In the case at hand, and strictly through "detective" work since he originally planned to assist the family and not study its interactions with legal and school systems, Ramos found that the single female head of household with five dependent sons, was in a quandary of how to assist two of them who were bound before court due to extended absenteeism from school. Most important, the mother knew that she could not go to court because the turkey plant at which she worked had been raided by Immigration and Naturalization agents whereby the work force was reduced by 50%. As a result, she and other employees had been threatened by management that they would be fired if they missed one day of work for any reason. Moreover, she knew by prior life experiences and common sense that she could not afford to lose her job. Because of her status as a Mexican-American, and through her dealings with what she perceived to be disparate treatment by her social worker, her sons' juvenile probation officer, school counselor, and her employer, she was able to make sense of a seemingly impossible situation--possible loss of her job and placement of her sons in juvenile detention--and structure her behaviors accordingly. Making sense and structuring her behaviors accordingly meant successful negotiation with her employer to miss one day of work to appear before the judge with the assistance of Ramos as interpreter.

The point here is not so much Mexican-American culture, but experiential knowledge by a single head-of-household living in poverty who tried to make sense of what was happening in her life, who interpreted a complex social situation, understood it--in part based upon her life experiences as a Mexican woman--and dealt with the possible consequences imposed by social structures. We see Mrs. Martinez structuring and making sense of her reality in the following passage excerpted from Ramos' study:

I'm tired. They (the children) tell me that they have to go to court. I send them to school but they don't go. I tell them they're going to end up in the reformatory with their brother. If that's what they want, that's what they are going to get. I leave for work at 6:30 in the morning and come home at 5:00 in the afternoon. I can't stay here to send them to school. I don't know how they (the children) are going to get there (the court, which is 16 miles away). I have to work. Who is going to pay the rent? If the court wants to take them (the children), they can. I suffered too much with their father. (p. 909)

This background information held by Mrs. Martinez demonstrated that she had enough information to make sense of and order her reality. She felt that the judge would understand if she did not appear in court. What she did not know, though, was that the juvenile probation officer was prepared to testify and claim that Mrs. Martinez was an unfit mother with the possibility of having her boys taken by the state. Here we see Cicourel's reciprocity of perspective principle at work (Cicourel, 1970). Ramos, then, became the family helper and drove the family to court. Even though Mrs. Martinez suffered from Cicourel's principle--due almost exclusively to misguided information given to her by her welfare worker, school counselor, and probation officers--she nonetheless made sense of and dealt with threatening external environment. In short, Ramos explained ethnomethodologically how the mother was able to see the meanings of her sons' behaviors in relation to institutional authorities, in relation to her work, and most important, in terms of the implications on herself and her family. Attinasi (1986), drawing from Freeman (1980), has described the process of ethnomethodology this way:

It is this overriding interest in the how to of human understanding that distinguishes ethnomethodologists from other sociologies of everyday life. While a symbolic interactionist will often enter a setting and inquire, "What's going on here?", the ethnomethodologist is interested in how anyone understands what is going on anywhere. He wants to discover, in other words, how human beings make the world sensible. (p. 80)

Symbolic Interaction

Despite the utility of an ethnomethodological focus in helping us understand how people perceive and structure their realities, it does not necessarily afford us a perspective on the symbolic nature of social interaction. In the preceding discussion, Attinasi (1986), addressed this distinction well. I believe that central to the question of "... what is going on," as Attinasi expressed it (p. 80), regarding Mexican-Americans' perceptions of their schoolings, are the constructs of cultural transmission and acquisition. That is, how do Mexican-Americans acquire the cultural and technical capital to integrate themselves socially and academically? What messages and symbols do college personnel and the institutional culture transmit to assist or possibly hinder students?

My approach here follows that of others who focus on transmission and acquisition to explain ethnic minority achievement (Delgado-Gaitan, 1988; Spindler and Spindler, 1987; Trueba, 1988). The significance of these studies is that achievement entails more than acquiring new basic skills competencies. As several cultural discontinuity studies of Mexican-American students from the K-12 level have informed us, social and academic integration in higher education also mean acquisition of new cultural traits and attitudes through interpretation of college symbols and by understanding the symbolic dimension of social discourse across cultures and gender (Chacon and Strover, 1986; Gandara, 1986; Rendon, 1992b; Rodriguez, 1983). The task for researchers in these instances is to see-- as Attinasi (1980), put it--how students find out what is going on before they can integrate socially and academically.

Consistent with the intracultural and cross-cultural focus of my study, and before fully elaborating symbolic interaction, it is important to present other definitions of culture and their relationships to symbolic interaction. Rhoner (1984), for example, tells us that culture is, "...an ideational system of meanings within the heads of multiple individuals within a population" (p. 113). Rhoner's definition is important because it implies symbolic interpretations of existence and shared experiences from which the collective arises. As I elaborate, shared experiences, among other factors, are foundational to symbolic interaction.

Complementing Rhoner's definition is a similar, interpretive one by Pederson (1993). His incorporates elements of ethnicity and multiculturalism:

If we accept a broad definition of culture to include demographic variables (age, gender, place of residence, etc.), status variables (social, economic, educational), and affiliations (formal and informal) as well as ethnographic variables of ethnicity, then, multiculturalism becomes more than a method. From this perspective, culture is described as complex and dynamic relevant to the overlapping cultural identities in which each of us shares some culturally defined unique aspect of our identity. An accurate assessment of the relationship between persons or groups therefore requires attention to both culturally defined similarities and differences. (p. 229)

The significance of Pederson's statement is that it organizes behavioral, normative, and symbolic orientations cross-culturally and in relation to social structures. All three are important elements in Mexican-Americans' efforts to understand what is going on with themselves in relation to others, and in relation to college social and academic structures.

The progenitor of symbolic interaction was Mead (1934), who called our attention to the importance of language--the symbolic dimension of social engagement--and the "generalized other." The generalized other is a person's concept of himself tied to or in relation to society for the good and bad. The significance of the generalized other to symbolic interaction is that it is a pre-requisite to establishing an organized self-concept. The self is central to symbolic interaction. As the self interacts with others, people arrive at transformative interpretations of their self-concepts, and symbolic interpretations of

their realities.

Years later, Blumer (1969), synthesized basic premises of symbolic interaction. He said that such a research focus acknowledges people's interpretations of social interaction and experience as mediating influences of those interactions. The interpretations in which we engage are ideational and are constructed in relation to shared experiences with others. Drawing from Mead (1934), and Cooley (1909), an important dimension of Blumer's concept of symbolic interaction is that shared or common experiences give rise to shared meanings.

Shared experiences and meanings are foundational to the construction and analysis of culture (Goodenough, 1963; Levine and Padilla, 1980), and in understanding our relations with others in social and cultural contexts. I use the term "social" to mean contact with persons outside one's gender or ethno-cultural group. Cultural context means interaction with one's ethnic, cultural, or gender group. To understand those shared meanings calls for examination of the social forces which influence interactions and group outcomes. As I discuss below, symbolic interaction, also entails people's mediations of their social engagements across cultures and gender. Most important, it assumes that people have the potential to make sense of their environments, act upon them, and transcend them (Waters, 1994).

London's (1978), thoughts on symbolic interaction are pertinent in relation to thoughts and perspectives of the preceding theorists:

The central theoretical concept is that an individual can imagine how his actions will be interpreted by others and is thus able to continually to organize and reorganize his behavior by taking into account the anticipated and actual responses of others. Interaction is seen as symbolic, as, though, this role taking, actions are infused with a shared subjective meaning that they otherwise do not have collective actions flowing from this process and the attitudes people come to have concerning them do not exist in a vacuum, but emerge in and are part of larger social networks. In other words, whatever people do is constrained by situations, circumstances, and events not entirely of their own making. They may act back upon them and so influence

and change a given social world (in this case, a community college), but complete freedom and autonomy of action are incompatible with sociological theory, in general and in terms of symbolic interaction in particular. (p. xiii)

London's latter comments about the immutability of social constraints raises the question of agency by individuals and the collective. It is an important consideration as I elaborate in Chapter VI.

Rendon (1992b), a Chicana first-generation college student from a "traditional" Mexican background, and now a university professor who began her education in junior college, talks about these processes and how she tried to make sense of familial constraints and alien, normative environments as an undergraduate and graduate student:

My trip from the barrio to the academy has hardly been silky smooth. I still remember the first time I actually made a decision to attend college. I was . . . in the eighth grade when a counselor came to my English class and announced that on that day we had to make a decision about whether we were going to be on the academic track or the vocational track. When I asked the counselor to explain the difference, she forthrightly explained that the vocational track was for those who planned to get a job after high school and that the academic track was for those who were going to college. I had always dreamed about being a teacher...I remember going home . . . and proudly telling my mother of my decision. Her response triggered the first painful feeling of academic shock. Dismayed and frustrated, she said, 'How can you think of going to college if no one in the family has? That is for the rich.' . . . At Laredo Junior College. . . we were not only uncertain about our future, but perplexed about what it would take to succeed in this new world of higher education. It was here, in this illusory intellectual oasis of the Laredo community, that I experienced some of the sensations of academic shock as I faced new academic demands and tried to reconcile my new world with my old culture. . . When I entered the University of Michigan, I remember being overwhelmed by its intellectual ethos. . . I wondered whether I could compete with these students whose experiences were so different from my own. One White woman graduate student actually found the courage to reveal her stereotyped views of Hispanics and said, 'You know, Laura, you're pretty smart. I'll have to admit that when I first met you, I thought you were kind of dumb.' Higher education often requires not only that students be humble, but that they tolerate humiliation. To become academic success stories, we must. . . reject old values and traditions, mistrust our experience, and disconnect with our past. (pp. 59, 61-62)

Rendon's lamentations are similar to countless others Mexican-American students who have tried to make sense of their experiences as they look at themselves in relation to

others from their own ethnic group and cross-culturally. In short, these insights and considerations give us a broader framework by which to understand Mexican-American culture, the importance of understanding cross-cultural perceptions and communications, and persistence from a symbolic interactionist perspective.

The ways, then, in which we see ourselves as a result of interacting with others--significant others--and how we perceive and interpret those symbols, inform us about the "I" and "me" in relation to others (Mead, 1934). The "I" is the thinking and acting self. The "me" is the objective self, the self upon which the "I" reflects (Waters, 1994, p.225). These constructs are similar to Cooley's "looking-glass self" (Cooley, 1909), or our perceptions of ourselves as we think we see ourselves, as the "I" reconstructs symbolically how significant others of our lives see the "me."

How others see "me" is manifested typically two ways. The first is talk and behavior. As Moerman (1984), puts it, "The objects we record, examine, consider, and write about occur in the course of social interaction. Whether observing a meeting, conducting an interview, or just sitting around the campfire, our primary data are things said as part of socially organized scenes. (pp. 7-8). Second, and more important is the internal or self-dialogue which people undertake to make sense of their worlds. With respect to the internal dialogue, Meltzer, Petras, and Reynolds (1975), tell us:

The 'making sense' process is internalized in the form of thought: for thinking is the intra-individual problem-solving process that is also characteristic of other-individual interaction. In thinking then, there occurs an interaction with oneself . . . Any complete understanding of human behavior must include an awareness of this covert dimension or activity, not simply the observation of overt behavior. (p. viii)

In this regard, Mead's "I" becomes an ethnic specific or gender construct and his "me" becomes cross-cultural or cross-gender constructs when our internal dialogues try to process and make sense of interactions with those who are culturally different or different across gender (Mead, 1934). Typically, as is the case in minority student achievement

studies in terms of cross-cultural relations, internal dialogues are like this: "'I am a Mexican. I know that Whites don't like 'me' ." In the case of cross-gender symbolic processing, " 'I know who I am as a woman.' That guy, though, probably thinks of 'me' as an easy score."

Talk or speech patterns in sociolinguistic theory as a dimension of symbolic interaction, are also indicators to varying extents of Mexican-American's levels and types of acculturation, self-concept, and self-esteem. Our understanding of these character traits and cultural influences is important to understanding these social interactions across cultures. Rendon's internal dialogue on the preceding page is a case in point (Rendon, 1992b). Her dialogue addressed the conflicts between aspiration and coming from a first-generation college background, lack of support from her mother, dealing cross-culturally with a cultural stereotype by a White person, and wondering if she had the aptitude to handle the rigor of a prestigious graduate school (Rendon, 1992b).

The extent to which Mexican-Americans are more or less Spanish-speaking-only or English-speaking-only, or fairly proficient in both, are also partial indicators of acculturation, cultural blendedness (Cuellar et al, 1980; Griffith, 1983; Keefe and Padilla, 1987; Olmedo and Padilla, 1978), and people's symbolic interactions. For example and drawing from Keefe and Padilla's cultural blend construct (Keefe and Padilla, 1987), they noted that there is a certain uneasiness or ambivalence that attends with personal and ethnic identities which derive from two cultural influences. As I indicated in my discussion of the construct of cultural blendedness in Chapter II, the term implies numerous social, political, gender, familial, and mainstream American cultural influences at odds occasionally with each other and which attenuate ethno-cultural identity and ethnic loyalty. In turn, these attenuations influence cross-cultural perceptions and cross-cultural relations. These tensions are often manifested in people's speech patterns or verbal repertoires which reflect symbolic interaction across cultures and across gender.

Trudgill (1983), says this about verbal repertoires to which he also refers as the ethnography of speaking:

Language, in other words, varies not only to the social characteristics of the speaker (such as his social class, ethnic group, and sex), but also according to the social context in which he finds himself. The same speaker uses linguistic varieties for different purposes. The totality of linguistic varieties used in this way--and they may be very many--by a particular community of speakers can be called that linguistic community's verbal repertoire. Many social factors can come into play in controlling which variety from this verbal repertoire is to be used on a particular occasion. . . Some American Indian groups, such as the Navajo and Apache, have traditionally held to the norm that one does not speak unless one actually has something non-trivial to say. (p. 100, 131)

To extend Trudgill's thoughts, Ornstein-Galicia (1987), informs us about the development and status of Chicano "calo," a gypsy slang very popular among Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in Mexico and the American southwest. The term has often been associated with the calo language of Chicano Zoot Suiters of the 1930's and 1940's as an outlaw, countercultural symbolism. The Zoot Suiters--"gang members" by today's standards--were martyrs as the object symbols of police and United States Navy sailor vigilantism and random beatings of Chicano youth on the streets of Los Angeles during World War II (Mazon, 1984). One generation later, Chicanos throughout the United States sustained Chicano calo during the 1960' and 1970's Chicano civil rights "Movimiento" (Munoz, 1989). It endures today. Reyes (1987), has suggested that the origins of Chicano calo may be a blend of Indo-Iranian Gypsy Romany language and Spanish from the 15th century. Ornstein-Galicia (1987), informs us that Chicano calo is:

a discourse of 'underworld' speakers in the Spanish and Spanish American world, from English slang, and from the creation or coining of new lexemes or loan translations making maximum use of simile and particularly metaphor and playing upon exaggeration, minimization, irony, sarcasm, ridicule, and humor. The Chicano calo lexicon is eagerly 'adopted' by younger males to reflect at least mild rebellion, but is used by most sociocultural strata of the Southwest (and Mexican) Spanish speakers... The intra-language borrowing is thus affective in nature. As Mexican-Americans are almost 80% urban dwellers, it may be inferred that Calo use is limited to cities and towns. Such is not the case at all, and from all indications, this variety

is widely understood in villages and on farms in the Southwest. (pp. 359, 363)

Some examples are in order to understand the contextual and symbolic functions, and imageries of Chicano or Mexican-American calo in terms of symbolic interaction. My experiences with Chicano, Mexican-American, and Mexican-American communities from all socioeconomic strata in western United States and Mexico confirm anecdotally Ornstein-Galicia's assertion (1987), of the universality of Chicano or Mexican calo. My interviews with several of my case study participants as I elaborate in Chapter V similarly confirm the practice of calo. I present some typical expressions of calo which include some English as well:

Calo: Sabes que? Ese, que pasa con you?!
Que pasa frijolero? Ponte derecho! Porque andas como cucaracha? Estas norteado? Trucha o te va a pescar la jura.

Translation: You know what? Hey, guy, what's going on with you? What's going on beaner? (Mexican). Get it together! Why are you walking like a cockroach? Are you spaced-out? Be careful or the police will get you.

Formal Spanish: Sabes que? Oiga, que pasa contigo? Que pasa Mejicano? Vale mas que te portas bien. Porque andas si estuviera borracho? Te sientes bien? Tenga cuidado o la policia te va a agarrar.

Translation: You know what? Hey, what is going on with you. What is going on, Mexican? Why are you walking like you are drunk? Do you feel alright? Be careful of the police will come and get you.

The significance or functions of these dialogues is that they symbolize an oppressed condition and engender cultural awareness and ethnic loyalty through an intimate form of communication. For example, calling someone "frijolero" (literally "beaner," meaning Mexican or implicitly, "one of us") is an expression in many locales implying mutual awareness of ethnicity if not marginality. It is similar to many Blacks calling themselves "nigger." On the other hand, it would be intrusive and insensitive for a non-Black to call a Black person or stranger by that term. It would similarly be intrusive and presumptuous for a non-Mexican to use the term frijolero. Most important, and consistent with symbolic

interaction, the basis of these calos, these cultural expressions, are shared experiences transmitted interpersonally and intergenerationally. These linguistic dimensions of symbolic interaction with a focus on the ethnography of speaking--in this case, calo which is laden with cross-cultural and conflict connotations --are important because they help Mexican-Americans understand through shared experiences their social interactions cross-culturally.

The bases of these perspectives cross-culturally derive from Padilla (1984), other Chicano psychologists (Buriel, 1984; Hayes-Bautista, 1982; Hayes Bautista and Chapa, 1986), and Chicano sociologists (Aguirre and Martinez, 1993; Arce, 1982; Mirande, 1985), who remind of us of two important considerations regarding Mexican-Americans' interactions with mainstream social structures. First, and to reiterate, the study of Mexican-American ethnicity and culture is necessarily an ethnopsychology and an ethnopsychology entails necessarily an examination of symbolic perceptions and imageries --both positive and negative--peoples hold for each other across cultures and ethnic groups.

In short, and in terms of sociolinguistics, Mexican-Americans, in partial response to historical structured subordination, have constructed their own communicative devices to capture, reflect, and thus, to try to make sense of the symbolic nature of their interactions with others in social contexts in the same ways that inner-city Black-American youth have fashioned Black English and rap music in the 1980's and 1990's. Second, an ethnopsychological perspective on adaptation and human interaction implies culturally symbolic manipulations and interpretations of reality, and the extent and qualities to which people engage other people within and outside their cultures. For example, the ways in which some Navajo and Apache engage others in dialogue only when they have something important or serious to day as Trudgill informed us (1983), or the ways in which some Chicanos have learned to express their realities through Chicano calo (Galvan and

Teschner, 1989); Ornstein-Galicia, (1987), demonstrate that symbolic interaction is not necessarily a culturally-neutral construct waiting to be discovered and explained by symbolic interactionists. It is also shaped necessarily by cross-cultural influences.

Theoretical and Research Questions

In these discussions, I addressed the shortcomings in the empirical and theoretical persistence literature, and I discussed the appropriateness and utility of ethnomethodological, symbolic interactionist, and sociolinguistic theories to broaden our understanding of Mexican-American persistence in relation to their sociocultural variabilities. My theoretical questions are based upon my review of the literature regarding oppositional culture, resistance theory, anthropological theories of transmission and acquisition, of cultural capital, skills and attitudes in education, and the extent and quality of family mediations of schooling. My research questions derive from the theoretical questions. I combine oppositional culture theory and resistance theory into the first question since they are similar conceptually in terms of their expressive and instrumental functions. The former is a racial stratification theory of underachievement while the latter is essentially a class-based, critical theory perspective. My presentation of theoretical and then, theory-derived research questions are modeled after Rendon's stratification analysis of Chicano community college student outcomes in Texas community colleges (Rendon, 1982, pp. 60-61).

Theoretical Questions

1. Does oppositional culture theory and resistance theory apply to persistence or departure decisions by Mexican-American community college students on the basis of their sociocultural variabilities? If so, how? If not, why and how?
2. How does cultural conflict manifest itself, if at all, in the persistence and

departure decisions by Mexican-American community college students?

Research Questions

1. What are the relationships between students' levels and types of acculturation and persistence?
2. To what extent does ethnic identification preference interface or reflect acculturation levels and types, and persistence?
3. What is the relationship between acculturation levels and academic integration?
4. What is the relationship between acculturation levels and social integration?
5. What is the institutional culture at the research site and how does it help or hinder Mexican-American student persistence?

Summary

In this chapter, I have presented a theoretical orientation for study of Mexican-American community college student persistence and departure decisions based upon ethnomethodological, symbolic interactionist, and sociolinguistic theory. These conceptual and theoretical frameworks are reflections of cultural opposition, resistance-stratification, and cultural conflict theories about educational achievement in American schools generally, and in higher education specifically. Equally important, my theoretical perspective is based to a large extent on the research efforts by Chicano psychologists which suggest that the study of Mexican-Americans is necessarily an ethnopsychology. An ethnopsychology necessarily entails the study of cross-cultural conflict. In my case, I attempted to see if and how culture conflict manifested itself in the community college and in relation to persistence. In short, the importance of this research perspective has been to extend and explicate Tinto's model of persistence (1975, 1987), in terms of students' background variables.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

My objectives in this chapter are to: (1) to discuss the study's research design and appropriateness of data acquisition activities; (2) to discuss and review the appropriateness of data acquisition activities; (3) to review the research setting and selection of student participants and other for the study; and (4) to discuss and review data analysis procedures and ways by which I answered the theoretical and research questions

Research Design and Appropriateness of Data Acquisition Activities

Impetus and Overview

My objectives in the study were to identify, understand, and describe, Mexican-American students' sociocultural variabilities, to understand and explain how students integrated themselves academically and socially in relation their sociocultural variabilities. To do this, I also examined in part what I perceived to be the college's culture. Because of the still too prevalent tendency by persistence researchers to quantify educational outcomes and to view students' social and academic interactions from logical-positivistic perspectives which thus, deny us contextualization of persistence and withdrawal decisions, I drew largely from oppositional culture and resistance theorists, and from educational anthropologists to structure my methodology and to answer the theoretical and research questions. To structure an equally important part of my methodology--

Mexican-American sociocultural variability--I drew from and synthesized research primarily by Chicano psychologists, and to a lesser extent, from Chicano sociologists. In short, I was motivated toward qualitative inquiry of Mexican-American community college persistence based upon other qualitative explanations of student achievement in universities (Attinasi; 1986), and within the community college system (Neumann, 1985; Rendon, 1982; Kempner, 1991; Rendon and Valadez, 1993; Weis, 1985).

My original design called for work with 12 to 18 persisting Mexican-American students. I ended up working with 12 students. I had also originally planned to work with successful, persisting students--defined originally by me as those who had enrolled in and completed at least six units during the prior academic term and who had maintained satisfactory academic performance--in contrast to persistence research which had given us numerous examples of the characteristics of unsuccessful students. As things materialized, however, two male students with whom I worked withdrew and did not return. In addition, two other academically good -standing part-time students with periodic re-enrollment records due to work constraints were also part of the study.

In short, I attempted to explain community college persistence by 12 Mexican-American students of various sociocultural backgrounds and in relation to the college's social and academic structures. In the following discussions, I address the setting of the study, data collection procedures I employed, how I made sense of the data, how I synthesized them, and how I arrived at the emergent major themes and conclusions of the study.

Data Acquisition Procedures and Activities

I utilized seven means of obtaining data from the student participants, in my study: (1) the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican-Americans (ARSMA) (Cuellar, Harris, and Jasso, 1980); (2) open-ended, semi-structured and focused interviews ; (3) participant

and non-participant observations of the students in the college, periodically in their homes, and in the community; (4) students' academic grade transcripts; (5) formal and informal interviews, and simple questionnaires to selected faculty; (6) official college documents and publications; and (7) descriptive statistical data from California higher education governing bodies, and from national data centers.

Obtaining data directly from students and college personnel as a participant and non-participant observer allowed me to obtain emic and contextualized perspectives of students' academic and social integrations within the college. Equally important, they allowed me to understand and explain students' sociocultural variabilities and their interactions with college social and academic structures. I summarize the research activities below.

Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican-Americans (ARSMA)

After students agreed to participate in the project, my first activity with them was to administer the ARSMA to them. The ARSMA is a simple 20-item standardized instrument which assesses respondents' acculturations in terms of the following factors: generational distance from Mexico, English-Spanish language proficiencies, ethno-cultural identity, ethnic loyalty, familiarity with and extent of engagement with dominant culture symbols and with non-Mexican-Americans. I scored all 20 items on a five-point Likert Scale. I obtained mean scores by simple addition and division to yield five types of acculturated identities: Type 1: Very Mexicano; Type 2: Mexican-Oriented Bicultural; Type 3: True Bicultural; Type 4: Anglo-Oriented Bicultural; Type 5: Very Anglicized.

The ARSMA was developed for use with normal and clinical populations. It was tested initially on Mexican-American psychiatric patients, Mexican-American psychologists, hospital aides, and Mexican psychology students from Mexico City. The instrument had internal reliability coefficients of .88 for "normal" participants; and .81 for

hospitalized participants. Cuellar et al, established test-retest reliability at .01 for all populations. The ARSMA has been utilized in earlier studies measures of acculturation and adjustment with mainstream social structures (Gutierrez, Sameroff, and Karrer, 1988; Kunkel, 1990; Lucas and Stone, 1994; Negy and Woods, 1992).

The ARSMA, based essentially on the theory that acculturation and gradations of it are primarily language-based, is a culture change model. It holds that cross-cultural contact and attendant adaptive processes are inevitably linear and unidirectional to varying degrees toward higher levels of acculturation across generations. It differs theoretically from multidimensional models--often called bidirectional--in that people may waver normatively and behaviorally in ways more or less Mexican/Chicano and more or less (American/Mexican Keefe and Padilla, 1987; Olmedo, Martinez, and Martinez, 1978). Multidimensional models also address variation with the five types presented by Cuellar et al, (1980). Despite its weakness in addressing variance within types of acculturated stated or identities, and since the ARSMA, like other acculturation measures, is a proxy or inferred measure (Negy and Woods, 1992), I selected it because of ease-of-use in identifying acculturation types. To address the ARSMA's weakness in identifying within-type differences, I augmented and corroborated it with other data, notably from my Interview Guide, a 149 question instrument I developed for the study.

Open-Ended, Semi-Structured/Focused Interviews

Throughout the project, I engaged all students in open-ended, semi-structured, focused interviews, based in part on a 149 item Interview Guide. The idea of focused interviews stemmed from Merten and Kendall (1946). The purpose of focused interviews is to target specific life experiences and orientations in contextualized ways while attempting to be as fluid and open-ended as possible.

With regard to the Interview Guide, I designed it to elicit information on students'

familial, cultural-linguistic backgrounds, pre-collegiate experiences, and experiences in higher education. Responses to questions from the Interview Guide augmented ARSMA outcomes on students' acculturative types. Responses to the Interview Guide questions also helped me determine preliminarily students' social and academic integrations. There were numerous occasions when I proceeded without the Interview Guide in as naturalistic and open-ended, but context-specific way as possible to clarify and corroborate earlier inputs from students.

Responses to Interview Guide questions, also served as means of generating hypotheses to establish ties or linkages between categories and subcategories of data, and to facilitate differentiation between similarities between and among data (Agar (1980), Glaser and Straus, 1967; Merriam, 1988; Miles and Huberman, 1984; Yin, 1984). I generated hypotheses through the study and, in effect, dialogued with myself regarding apparently significant and insignificant, emergent data. Agar (1980) suggests that the purpose of generating hypotheses is, ". . . to check something out" (p. 171). That is what I tried to do throughout the study as I analyzed data, my own behaviors, and interactions with people. Agar has addressed the functions of hypotheses:

In its classic form, a hypothesis is a statement of the covariation between two variables. This notion of hypothesis is a poor fit indeed with the kinds of things an ethnographer tries to do in her informal work . . .to discuss this aspect of ethnography in the classic sense of hypotheses is like trying to talk about energy in square feet. At the broader level, ethnography is full of hypotheses at all stages of the research . . . something learned in a conversation becomes a hypothesis or observation. (p.171)

I conducted English only, bilingual Spanish-English, and Spanish-only interviews with students at various times and locations during the course of the study. Interview sites were the Small College, restaurants, students' homes or apartments, three times at dinner, twice with one student's parents at her home, in the college lounge many times, and in my office at the college. Because of time constraints, I conducted a few sessions over the

telephone. I developed follow-up questions based upon my review and synthesis of notes and hunches--transformed subsequently into hypotheses--and then, analytic questions stemming from answers from hypotheses. "Analytic questions can be derived from evolving hypotheses, insights gained during interviews, (and) preliminary data analysis" (Murguia et al, 1991, p. 435). These analytic questions helped me classify emergent data and formed an important basis of memoing and re-memoing myself on data from my interactions with students and college staff (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). I discuss the concept of memoing subsequently in my discussion of Data Analysis and Synthesis.

I tried to insure reliability of my findings and conclusions by repeating or asking questions at different times during the course of one interview or during another day (Spradley and McCurdy, 1988). Ultimately, as Spradley and McCurdy have said, my perspective in my dialogues with and observations of was a question: "What do these people see themselves doing?" (p. 9). as they worked toward their goals. I tried to determine how they saw themselves constructing and making sense their efforts toward social and academic integration in ethnomethodological, and symbolic interaction senses while minimizing intrusiveness and attempting to let the project be as naturalistic as possible. Wolcott (1987), is instructive in this regard,

The commitment is not to a field technique per se, to time in the field, or to a host of other procedural aspects of fieldwork: it is to cultural interpretation. And the contribution is in helping educators understand both the little traditions of schools and the big traditions of the large society. (p. 55)

After obtaining initial information from students, I engaged in formal and informal interviews with selected college instructors to broaden perspectives I had obtained from students. I generated specific questions for instructors and thereafter, engaged periodically in open-ended dialogue. I discuss in detail my contacts with college personnel later in this chapter.

Tape Recording and Notetaking

I audio taped recorded the majority of my interviews with students. I did not tape record the participant activities with them because of impracticalities of being a participant and a recorder at the same time. The recordings, in addition to extensive note taking at all interviews based upon from the Interview Guide, allowed me to identify and retrieve important informational themes and direct quotations from students. When I did not tape record sessions, I relied upon my handwritten notes and reconstruction of them upon returning home in the evenings. The process of extensive notetaking and interacting with taped conversations facilitated data analysis.

With regard to recording information from college faculty, I reconstructed my talks with them after I arrived home each evening. Part of the inputs from teachers stemmed from formal questions I drafted and presented to them. I asked them to respond anonymously as I felt that anonymous responses would facilitate more candid responses. Otherwise, a significant part of input from faculty stemmed largely from my interactions with them informally in their offices, hallways, and throughout the college proper.

Because of the large number of written notes I took during all my sessions with students and college personnel, I chose not to transcribe the audio recordings. My handwritten notes and codings made it easy to retrieve and print dialogues which appear in Chapter V. I felt that the extensiveness of my notes--taken in both Spanish and English--were adequate raw data bases from which to structure data analysis.

Students' Academic Grade Transcripts

To obtain an understanding of students academic achievements, I obtained their grade transcripts, analyzed them in terms of basic skills, vocational, and transfer courses taken, and grade point averages. I followed-up with related questions about seeking

tutorial assistance at the college and compared these responses to questions from the Interview Guide concerning their academic histories from the K-12 levels. Very importantly, I asked all students if they remembered whether they were in vocational or college prep tracks in high school.

Participant and Non-Participant Observations

From time to time during the study, I engaged in the following activities with students away from the college, dinners on three occasions, a small meal once with a student and her parents, hanging-out and drinking beer in a student's living room and otherwise, merely engaging in small talk. Relatedly, I observed and talked with several students during the local community's first Dia del "Mexicano-Indigeno" (Mexican-Indigenous People Day) sponsored by the police department. On numerous other occasions, I engaged in conversation and observed two students at the college's child development center where they were employed as student aides.

Most of my non-participant observations were limited to seeing students sit in the student lounge with other students between classes. During my free moments, for example, I would ask students if I could join them. After introducing ourselves, I would join the conversations or sit quietly and read a newspaper. Students had given me their permissions to engage in these activities. In a few instances, I had the opportunity to sit-in and observe some of the students in their classes, but primarily in the college's learning center, the site of tutorial services and basic skills instruction in writing and reading. My observations in these settings augmented data I obtained from other activities. These data helped me in establishing additional linkages to data obtained from other activities.

Inputs from College Personnel

As I neared the end of my research with students, I began to obtain information from teaching faculty. Initial inputs came from simple questions I developed in reaction to ongoing information I was obtaining from students. Thereafter, I followed-up informally with those faculty to extend their initial comments. I also obtained some information--minimal at best--from administrative deans. My reason for minimizing my contact with them stemmed from their centrality in the institution and because of my status as an untenured faculty member. I do not think that my comments about the administrators here disparage them, but rather, reflect in part the conflicts and tensions to which Shor (1986), and Kempner (1991), have alluded regarding conflict in the community college. The fact that the college is very small, has two academic deans and one vice-president, and where word travels quickly and often inaccurately, made me cautious in my dealings with them. Compounding these trepidations was the fact that the administration was engaged with the faculty association to establish the college's first-ever collective bargaining agreement. In short, I thought that it would be pragmatic to forgo administrative inputs in order to carry-out the much larger aspect of the project. Regardless, I did obtain insightful information from several instructors and counselors which helped me construct an image of the college's culture. These inputs augmented my observations and interpretations of the college's institutional culture as obtained from my interactions with students.

The Research Setting: Demographic and Participant Summaries

I undertook this study at Small College during the latter part of Spring term 1993, the Summer and Fall terms of the 1993-94 academic year, and early into the Winter term, 1994. Small College is located in a small town of 30,000 residents and is classified a small college within the California community college system. The college prides itself as being

a "warm and friendly place" according to the college's vice president of academic affairs. The college draws students from a one-county tax base. Student enrollment fluctuates annually between 2,200 and approximately 2,800 full and part-time students. Full-time enrollment is between 400-500 students each academic quarter. Like virtually all community colleges in the United States, Small College is a commuter institution.

As a small college, associate degrees and certificate offerings are few compared to larger California community colleges. Its associate degree offerings include General Studies, Art, Fine Arts, Social Science, Spanish, and the like. Its vocational programs are significantly broader in scope and attract the vast majority of the college's part and full-time students. Business office clerical-secretarial programs are very popular as are computer studies programs. Interestingly, the college's English As Second Language program's headcount has comprised 10-15% of college term enrollments over the past two years. Virtually all of the students are recently arrived immigrants within the past two to ten years. Few ESL students have matriculated from advanced courses to vocational, liberal arts, or transfer programs.

The college has 24 full-time faculty, including myself. There are approximately 140 part-time or adjunct faculty members. The adjuncts teach approximately 75% percent of the course offerings at the college. Of the full-time faculty, two are ethnic minorities. The college's smallness is reflected in the size of its administration and faculty.

Administratively, the college has two academic deans and one vice-president of academic affairs and student services. The administration appointed a part-time dean of student services at the start of the 1994-95 school year. As noted in the college catalog, the college's mission is ". . .dedicated to providing for all individuals who can benefit, the highest quality programs in transfer and career education, and related student services." Toward these ends, Small College, among other things, is committed to quality of instruction, development of individual potential, and diversity that ". . .encourages respect

and understanding for all cultures, provides a nurturing, friendly environment that promotes the open exchange of ideas, encouraging examination of values and self-understanding...acknowledging the inherent worth and dignity of each individual."

Ethnic Minority Enrollments at Small College

Ethnic minority students have comprised a very small part of the college's enrollments over the past five years as the data in Table 13 below indicate:

Table 13. Enrollments by Ethnicity at Small College from Fall 1990 through Spring 1993

Ethnic Group	Fall 1990		Fall 1991		Fall 1992	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
American Indian	41	1.7	40	1.3	56	1.8
Asian	24	1.0	49	1.6	68	2.2
Black	19	.8	19	.6	18	.6
Filipino	23	1.0	26	.8	37	1.2
Hispanic	311	13.2	600	19.4	414	13.2
White	1,549	67.9	2,011	65.0	2,272	72.6

Note: From Institutional Research Office, Small College, January, 1994.

Hispanic enrollments are deceptive since more than 90% of the figures above represent students enrolled in the college's ESL program (Small College Research Office, 1993). The remaining 15 to 20 students--the 10% or less non-ESL population--are enrolled in vocational, transfer, or enrichment programs. How many of the 10% Hispanics who are Mexican-Americans cannot be determined at Small College since Hispanic--the

can include any racial or ethnic group (Forbes, 1992). What is clear, though, is that all "Hispanics" comprise 2-3% of the college's vocational, transfer, or enrichment students. How many of these students were Mexican-Americans entails guesswork. In short, there are very few Hispanic and Mexican-American vocational and transfer students at Small College.

Transfer data reflect a lack of goal attainment by ethnic minorities and Mexican-Americans. In terms of students' expressed goals, the data in Table 14 on the following page indicate that during the 1992-93 school year, 14% of Hispanics planned to earn a community college credential, 6% planned to transfer to four-year institutions, 12% planned to "update" job skills, and 22% planned to improve basic English, reading, or math skills. 15% were undecided about their goals (Small College Research Office, 1993). In contrast to expressed goals and dating back to 1989, the college has transferred three Hispanics and a total of five ethnic minorities during the previous five years (Small College Research Office, 1993). Relatedly, and very importantly, the 16% who expressed interest in transferring is almost half the national figure of 33% of expressed intentions to transfer in 1992 regardless of ethnicity (Dougherty, 1994). This outcome raised the question of whether Post's thesis that Mexican-Americans attain their goals in so few numbers in part because they and their parents lack information to make well-informed, consumer decisions (Post, 1990). These small numbers of transfer students should be interpreted cautiously since there has been a very small pool of students from which to draw and transfer. Relatedly, the college lacks the resources to engage in-depth follow-up on ethnic minority students who have exited to determine accurately why and how so few have transferred.

Table 14. Goals for Hispanic Students at Small College: Unduplicated Counts

Goal	1991-92	1992-93
Transfer to Four-Year School	6%	16%
Update Job Skills/Advance in Field		
Earn Certificate or Associate	14%	15%
Current Job and Career	16%	16%
Intellectual/Cultural Development	25%	27%
Improve Basic Skills in English, Reading or Math	22%	11%
Undecided	15%	6%

Note: From Small College Research Office, January , 1994,

It is interesting to note that while 90% of college's Hispanic enrollment is enrolled in English as Second Language courses--a fact that would prompt us to think that their immediate objective would be desire to improve English proficiencies--only 11% of Hispanic students in 1992-93 indicated that improvement in basic skills was their primary objective. I am not sure how this contradictory response rate occurred other than to say that it may stem in part from the question of who is Hispanic or Mexican-American at Small College.

Research Procedures

Selecting the Research Participants

12 was the minimal number of students I proposed for the study. I was fortunate to

have ended with six females and six males agree to participate in the study. I selected the 12 Mexican-American vocational and transfer students for my study by the following procedures.

During May, 1993, I collaborated with the college ESL Administrative Assistant to identify formally what I hoped might be 60 Mexican-American vocational and transfer students. The task entailed simple elimination of all ESL students--over 300--from the college's 1992-93 "Hispanic" student enrollment list which I obtained from the college's research office. Thereafter, the Director of Admissions and Records drafted an Invitation to Participate in Research. That letter introduced me as the principal investigator of the project. It solicited voluntary participation. After these presumably vocational and transfer students received the Invitation to Participate in Research letters from the college registrar, I contacted students either in person or by telephone to ask if they had received the letter and if they would be interested in participating in the research. I expressed my intentions in accordance with the University of Oregon Research Protocol. 10 students who later identified themselves as Mexican-Americans responded to the inquiry, and agreed to participate by reading and signing the Consent to Participate in Research form I developed for the study. I attracted two additional participants indirectly through word-of-mouth from the originally solicited and volunteered participants. In other words, students contacted friends and told them about my research. They introduced themselves to me as such and I accepted the final two participants for my study after they read and signed the consent form.

Data Analysis and Synthesis

Based upon my review of the literature, I operated from the premise in this study that I would be identifying and operationalizing each of the following variables and then attempting to explain the interactive relationships between them as independent variables

of a larger process called persistence:

1. Mexican-American sociocultural variability;
2. students' academic and social integrations;
3. institutional culture as a facilitator or inhibitor of educational goal attainment;
4. students' pre-collegiate experiences or background variables as facilitative or inhibiting of educational goal attainment;
5. transmission by the college and students' families and acquisition by students of technical-academic skills and cultural capital to facilitate students' goal attainments.

Based upon Tinto's model (1975, 1987), and my review of Mexican-American persistence literature, I was aware that these five variables would probably be basic factors in students' persistence at Small College. However, what I did not know at the outset was the interactive nature of these variables. To begin to understand these interactions, I analyzed resultant data in terms of each of these variables according to the four data acquisition and analysis stages I discuss below. As I indicate in my discussion in stage 4, collapsing the data into interrelated themes and patterns (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, Miles and Huberman, 1984; Yin, 1984), occurred in all four stages.

Stage 1: Coding System

I drew from several theorists to begin to sort, classify and make sense of my data (Miles and Huberman, 1984; Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Yin, 1984). From Glaser and Strauss, and Miles and Huberman, I developed and applied to my field notes and contact summary sheets, an open-coding system and an interview coding system. Please refer to the Appendix to review Interview Code System. Based upon data from all three of these sources--contact summary form, interview code system, open codings, I engaged in pattern matching: the wedding of emergent, conceptual similarities of contextualized information grounded in the data. The Interview Coding System was my primary data

organizer in this regard. It facilitated subsequent coding of informants' responses, and my observations and perceptions of their engagements with Small College and college structures. Equally important, the Interview Coding System was an important cross-reference for subsequent open-codings which I would employ throughout the study. Comparison of my pre-established codes from the Interview Code System with open-codes which emerged from the study ultimately facilitated my collapsing the data into clusters and chains of evidence in Stage 4 as I discuss later. My Interview Coding System had three main conceptual organizers or referents: (1) family background (FBR); (2) pre-collegiate experiences (PCE); and (3) higher education and the community college (HEECC). Those three referents each had subcategorized parts and in turn, each subcategory was comprised of a few to many variables.

In all, there were 77 coded interview guide categories or informational organizers. These categories, as a review of the Interview Coding system indicates, were designed to elicit information on students' sociocultural variabilities, educational experiences at all levels, familial and community of origin influences on academic achievement, and extent of integrations with college social and academic structures.

After notating these codings onto my field notes, I then assigned simple plus (+), minus (-), or neutral (N) symbols to symbolize expressions as facilitative (+), constraining (-), or not significant/neutral (N) to each recorded sentence on my field notes or notes transcribed from taped recordings in my initial drafts of this dissertation. I assigned these symbols only after having referenced a statement from one of the 77 subcategories to another subcategory. My use of these initial symbolings were preliminary and precipitated subsequent inquiry in terms of hypotheses (Miles and Huberman, 1984; Merriam, 1989), memoing, and re-memoing myself (Glaser and Straus, 1967). For example, I open-coded the following statements by Alpha, a 24-year old male, naturalized citizen from Mexico, and then assigned plus (+), minus (-), or neutral (N) signs to his statements. I would

transform initial symbolic classifications subsequently based upon additional interactions with Alpha, and after checking-out my observations and preliminary conceptual assessments of his statements. I employed the same system in my interviews with college staff. In turn, I generated new codings based upon cyclical interaction with original data, transformed again by category (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). The following dialogue with Alpha demonstrates the coding and resultant coding process:

Alpha: Dialogue and Coding

(+/-) Alpha: Mi jefito es ranchero quien vive dia por dia" (My father is a poor farmer).

(Interview Guide Code: PWC= Poor Working Class)

Q: Y como crees que te ha afectado en temas de tu educacion?

Translation: And how do you think this has affected your education?

Alpha: Actualmente, fue una bendicion. Siempre hemos sido pobres. Tengo un tio quien es licenciado. El y mi jefito siempre me han dado el animo a seguir adelante.

Translation: Actually, it has been a blessing. My family has always been poor. I have an uncle who is a lawyer. He and my father have given me the encouragement to move ahead) (Interview Guide Code: no such code. Resultant Code: Male Poverty Role Model (MPRM)

The uses of (+) (-) or (N) symbols were important in my data analysis for two reasons. First, higher education for persisters or withdrawers is basically a positive or negative experience (Neumann, 1985; Rendon and Valadez, 1993; Weis, 1985). This outcome cuts across ethnicity and skin color. This illustration of my engagement with Alpha helped me begin to identify and sort preliminarily emergent themes as positive, negative, or entailing elements of both.

The first stage also entailed triangulation of the ARSMA mean scores with data from the Interview Guide which I designed to elicit complementary data on students' social, linguistic, normative, familial, and thus, sociocultural variabilities. To triangulate the

data, I engaged in a three-step process: (1) categorizing students into one of the five acculturated types in accordance with ARSMA instructions on typologies; (2) triangulating initial indicators of acculturation with multiple indicators. Those multiple indicators were responses to questions from the Interview Guide specifically concerning parents' and grandparents' (P, PG), religious backgrounds (RB), family roles and cohesiveness (FRC), linguistic proficiencies (LP), neighborhood influences (NI), personal and culture orientation (PCO), social integration at the K-12 levels (PSE/E-SI, PCE/MS/SI, PCE/HS/INT); and (3) my perceptions of the students based upon my participant and non-participant observations; in particular and in context, of the types of persons with whom they associated by ethnicity, and on the basis of cultural and religious artifacts in their homes.

I tried to look for consistency and overlap from the data (Jick, 1983; Merriam, 1988), presented by the ARSMA, and from my interactions with and observations of students based upon my subsequent codings. Without exception, there was consistency between the acculturative types which emerged from the ARSMA and from my other involvements with and observations of students. One case in point is Alpha. The ARSMA classified him as Very Mexican oriented. My observations of and interactions with him reinforced the ARSMA outcome. For example, all of his close friends were primarily Mexicans and Mexican-Americans secondarily. His food preferences and musical tastes were Mexican oriented. Even though, he is almost as proficient in English as he is in Spanish, his preference, whenever possible, was Spanish. Moreover, he practiced regularly with me and others, "dichos"--Mexican sayings--which are characteristic of people who are attuned to their native culture. One example of a dicho is, "Crias cuervo y te saca el ojo." The translation is "Raise a crow and he'll take your eye out."

Stage 2: Initial Sortings, Classifications, and Secondary Codings

With the exception of my obtaining mean scores from the ARSMA, and obtaining a picture of students' academic integrations based upon my review of their grade transcripts, the means by which I answered the research and analytic questions was through inductive processes. I began this process by summarizing each contact with a person on a Contact Summary Form. The functions of the summary form were to summarize and classify briefly from my field notes--or from memory when I did not have notes to refer to--each contact I had with people or events. I also developed and utilized a Document Summary Form to classify salient points from documents which I obtained as raw data. The documents from which I drew were students' grade transcripts, the college catalog, college reports and memoranda especially those concerning student equity policies, equity policies from the California Community Colleges Chancellor's Office, and formal, typed responses to me from teaching faculty in response to questions which I had presented to them. I developed my summary forms based upon suggestions by Miles and Huberman (1984). I utilized the Contact Summary Form periodically for three reasons as Miles and Huberman suggest: (1) to suggest new or revised codes for the data; (2) to re-orient myself for follow-ups with people; and (3) to serve as the basis for subsequent data analysis by combining several contact summary sheets and then assigning them new codes (p. 51).

Subsequent to my initial written summaries on the contact summary and document summary forms, I then reviewed periodically those write-ups and looked generally for large themes and patterns. In particular, it was important to see if larger patterns emerged in terms of acculturated types since categorizing on the basis of sociocultural variability was an on-going triangulation activity. Since my study was designed to learn more about an historically marginalized population and in ways which this group had not

been examined before in American higher education, it was in many ways an exploratory study of a small segment of larger formal theory regarding structural integration on the basis of acculturative type.

Stage 3: Preliminary Emergent Themes and Memoing

After having interacted with data on and from contact and document summary forms, I began to identify initial or preliminary emergent themes from the data. I employed open-codes more extensively. In terms of students' sociocultural variabilities in relation to their social and academic integrations, I cross-referenced newly developed open-codings with those which I had employed or drawn from in my Interview Guide Code system. I refer to dialogue with Quinta, a 40-year old student. Quinta is a fifth-generation, English-speaking-only "Californio" who, as I determined, is surprisingly an Anglo-Oriented Mexican-American. I say surprisingly because of her statements below which I present as another illustration of how I interacted with Interview Guide Codes and subsequent open-codings:

Q: So, why would you have an ethnic minorities studies program at the college?

(+) Quinta: We (Mexicans) were here first! The gringos are the one who should

(EL) adapt to us. While they're at it, they should learn to speak Spanish, too.
(X-Cul/Whites (-))

I think that my codings here are self-explanatory. For example, Quinta's support for and identity with Mexicans and Mexican-Americans is apparent and strong. As such, I deemed it a strong sense of Mexican-American ethnic loyalty (EL/+). Even though, the ARSMA results and my interactions with her indicated clearly that she is an Anglo-oriented Mexican-American, a high degree of ethnic loyalty is not necessarily contradictory. Keefe and Padilla (1987) found such apparent incongruencies in their study. Relatedly, Quinta referred to Whites (gringos) as needing to take ethnic studies

courses at the college. Since this transaction involved perceptions and apparently negative sentiment toward Whites, I assigned it "X-Cul" (-), meaning that her feeling for Whites--at least in this transaction--was not endearing. I proceeded to assign these types of symbols or codes to all of my notes of transactions with and observations of students, and transactions in the study.

The significance of these codings and in relation to the acculturative or socioacculturative typologies which I had established for the 12 students is that they were additional referents by which to make connections and to begin to establish linkages and patterns between seemingly disparate data (Yin, 1984). I elaborate the concept of linkages between data, clustering, and data reduction in stage 4. However, it is important to highlight briefly two emergent, secondary themes which emerged from the data as expressed by the following symbols: gender roles and expectations expressed by female students (GRE/F/-); and high expectations and aspirations toward higher education by permanent resident Mexican immigrants (HE/HE/Mi/+). These secondary codes, continuously revised, modified, and re-classified as I interacted with the raw data, facilitated deeper analysis of the data by memoing and re-memoing myself about the research, preliminarily emergent themes, and codes.

Memoing

As the term suggests, a memo is an update, an appraisal, review, synthesis, or partial interpreter of the research experience (Glaser and Straus, 1967). For me, the memos I drafted periodically to myself were an opportunity to attempt to draw together seemingly unconnected data. Part of the memoing process entailed re-memoing wherein I extended thoughts from earlier memos, discarded some from earlier memos, and answered hypotheses I would pose to myself from time to time. Hypotheses, in turn, gave me direction on how to proceed the next day in my research, or as occurred, to return to

earlier data in attempting to link it with more current data.

My memos were an amalgamation of Glaser and Straus (1967), and analytic techniques adapted from Miles and Huberman (1984), whereby my written expressions and reactions were augmented by flow charts and data displays. In short, the memos helped me organize and re-organize the data, create new codes, revise old one, and work toward the emergence of major themes.

Stage 4: Data Reduction, Clustering, Linkages, and Emergent Themes

Saving discussion on data reduction until stage 4 is misleading. Actually, I was engaged in data reduction, expansion, and reduction throughout the entire research project as I coded, re-coded, classified, re-classified, and memoed myself. Yin (1984), calls these activities "... establishing a chain of evidence" (pp. 79-80), by eliminating rival explanations and by establishing linkages between the emerging data and outcomes. To facilitate this process, I attempted to match patterns of apparently disparate information with the question of how sociocultural variability related to persistence (Yin, 1984). As this relates to my study, it was important to use several or multiple sources of inquiry --a standardized instrument, an interview guide, open-ended and semi-structured interviews, participant and non-participant observations--and whenever possible, to corroborate what I had learned from informants either through parties outside my research, or by continually looking for evidence in my data that would contradict what I thought I had found (Yin, 1984).. For example, and as I elaborate in Chapter V, the disparate behavioral patterns of lack of informal contact with faculty by one Mexican Oriented student versus high degrees of social interaction with White students by one Mexican-Oriented male student and little with people from his own ethnic group, were research outcomes which I attempted to explain in terms of sociocultural variability but still cannot.

As I discuss in Chapter VI, I arrived at seven emergent themes to help explain how

Mexican-American students persisted or departed in relation to their sociocultural variabilities and college structures. Clustering my data throughout my research facilitated identification of these themes. Miles and Huberman (1984) tell us that clustering data:

is a tactic that can be applied at many levels to qualitative data; at the level of events of acts, of individual actors, of processes, of settings, of sites as wholes...we are trying to understand a phenomenon better by grouping, then conceptualizing objects that have similar pattern characteristics. (p. 219)

Clustering is an interactional process between theory and the data (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982; Miles and Huberman, 1984). Ultimately, data were reduced to conceptual referents to attempt to explain how students saw, interpreted, and made sense of their experiences. Figure 3 below is an example of how I collapsed and clustered data regarding one emergent theme: the role of students' families in mediating their schoolings.

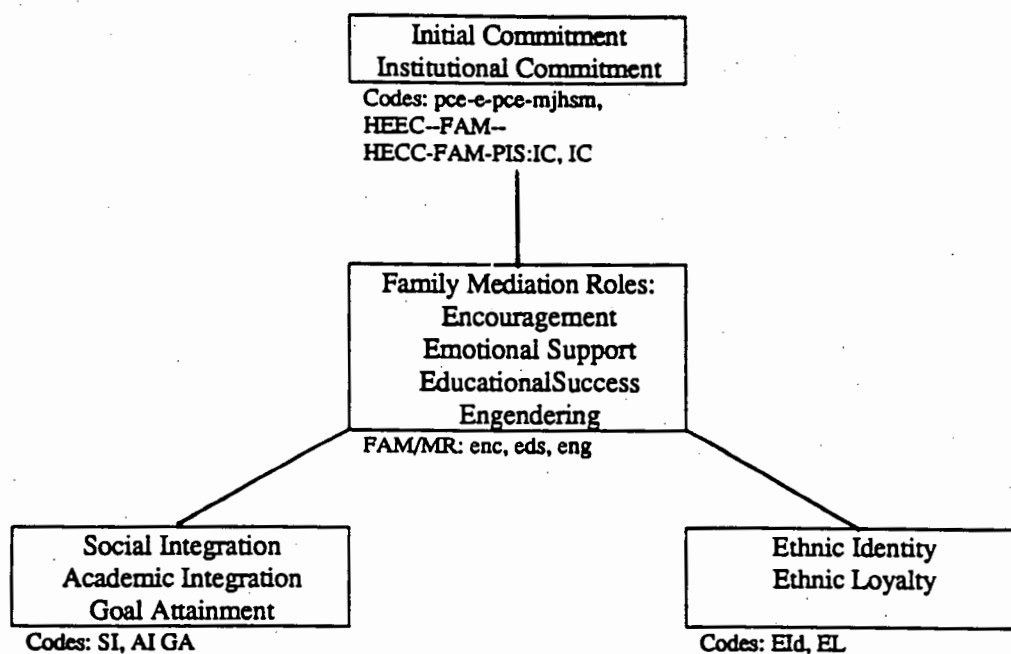


Figure 3. The Role of Family in Engendering Educational Achievement

In my own idiosyncratic way, I clustered the data from several emergent themes by arrows joining the rectangle in the middle of the figure. Symbolically, the family is central

to a constellation of processes which made it an important mediating influence on their lives and schoolings.

Limitations of the Design and the Study

There were a few limitations to this study. First, by logical-positivistic standards, it would lack generalizeability because of the small number of students who participated in the study. Another limitation is that I sometimes acquired data occasionally in haphazard fashion as I worked around participants' schedules. Some, then, might raise the question of validity. On the other hand, as Wolcott (1994) tells us, "getting it right" or conveying a cultural interpretation of human interaction itself is validity in qualitative research. Moreover, he suggests that understanding cultural transmission and acquisition in education is more important than "validity." Citing Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, Wolcott (1994), claims that validity to a large extent is "... the power to make experience intelligible by applying concepts and categories" (p. 367). As I discuss in Chapter V, I think I came close to conveying a cultural interpretation of Mexican-American students' sociocultural variabilities in relation to their integrations with college social and academic structures.

Another limitation of the study was the relative lack of engagement with college staff. As such, my analysis of the institutional culture is incomplete. There were two reasons for this. The first stems from my reticence to engage the administration too much as I discussed earlier. As they say, the study was too close to home in some ways. However, I do not believe that this proximity jeopardized the integrity of the study. As a counselor to many of the students I studied, and as a colleague to many of the faculty from whom I solicited opinions and insights, I believe that I carried on with them as I do during any given work day. Second, I underestimated the amount of time it would take to involve myself with faculty even if there were not political constraints. As such, as I

elaborate in the next chapter, my inputs from teaching faculty and breadth of engagements with them were incomplete. Accordingly, my analysis of the college's culture is incomplete.

Finally, I was not able to follow Kempner's and London's suggestion that a clearer understanding of the workings, policies, and culture of a college can be obtained by assessing the influence of the political and vested interests external to the college (Kempner, 1991; London, 1978). For many of the same reasons that I was not willing to engage the Small College administration in order to further assess institutional culture, I was unable to pursue external influences on policy. Although the latter was not part of my design, I sense that the undertaking would have generated broader insights in relation to my theoretical and research questions.

Summary

In this chapter, I presented a qualitative research methodology to answer questions of how Mexican-American students integrate with a community college's academic, normative, and social structures on the basis of their sociocultural variabilities. I also discussed the sole quantitative measure of my study, the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican-Americans. I profiled the college to give reviewers a general perspective of the opportunities and constraints facing students in their quests toward academic achievement and educational goal attainment.

My methodology, based to a large extent but not exclusively on open-ended, semi-structured questions to 12 Mexican-American students, and to selected college faculty, also included me as a participant and non-participant observer. I also described means of analyzing and transforming the data to facilitate emergence of major patterns and themes. As I discuss in the next chapter, there were seven emergent themes in the study which helped me answer the research questions I had posed in Chapter III. Finally, I closed the

chapter by addressing the limitations of my study.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS

There were two general constructs by which to explicate the outcomes of this study: student background variables and interaction between those variables with institutional social and academic structures. From this study, we can say that 10 of 12 students who have reached or will soon reach their goals is an impressive record. However, numbers alone are one-dimensional and do not inform us about the tribulations and transformations in attitude and behavior on students' parts before and after they arrived at Small College and which helped them become who they are today. I refer to life and educational experiences as background variables they had prior to becoming students.

The student background variables I found in my study which influenced their academic and social integrations, and hence, goal attainments, were: (1) sociocultural variability had some but not great influence on persistence. For first-generation students, it appeared that low-socioeconomic statuses from Mexico, greater cohesiveness of the family and the comparatively stronger elementary and secondary school systems accounted for and explain achievement more than for second and later generation Mexican-Americans. These factors, do not imply, though, that the second group was not strongly motivated by poverty and family. Another perspective for explaining greater achievement by first-generation students is that their mean age was greater than the second and later generation of Mexican-Americans. This may imply a question of relative maturity in relation to achievement and goal attainment; (2) the power of oppositional culture orientation to dominant American culture in the face of intergenerational marginalization; (3) the importance of the Mexican-American family to mediate schooling initially at the K-

12 level and to varying degrees in higher education; relatedly, the family was influential in modeling strong work ethics; and (4) strong initial goal commitments by 10 of the 12 students in the study. As I discuss subsequently, these outcomes suggest that agency was fundamental to each students' success.

The interactive variables in the study were: (1) ethnic affiliation with Mexican-Americans or other ethnic minorities as primary social integration influences, stemming to a large extent from oppositional culture orientations; (2) encouragement and support from faculty; and (3) informal contact with some faculty by a few students facilitated academic integration. The outcomes suggest that Tinto's model has utility to explain Mexican-American persistence.

However, and as I found, my study addresses historical marginality and oppositional culture orientations as important background and interactive variables which engendered achievement and goal attainment. I elaborate and contextualize these findings in the following discussions. During the course of these summaries, students' background variables and interactions with Small College social and academic structures will become apparent. Relatedly, I address directly and implicitly the institutional culture. I first summarize students' life and educational backgrounds. Subsequently, I discuss the findings in terms of interactive variables. The latter discussion begins on page 193 under the heading of "A Warm and Friendly Place."

Background Variables. Social and Academic Integration

The vignettes below accentuate and contextualize students' sociocultural variabilities in relation to their social and academic integrations at Small College. My presentation here is grounded stylistically to an extent to Attinasi's efforts to explain Chicano students' social and academic integrations at a large southwestern university (Attinasi, 1986).

Students' Life and Schooling Biographies

Quinta

Quinta is a fifth generation "Californio." To her family--particularly, her mother and father--identifying herself as a Californio or mestizo whose maternal family pre-dates the arrivals of non-Spanish settlers, is important as a reminder to Whites that Whites themselves were immigrants. Quinta reminds Whites about this jokingly from time to time. Even though Quinta's Spanish proficiencies are limited to a few words and phrases, she has high degrees of ethnic loyalty and cultural awareness. Her mother and father transmitted and continue to transmit to her Mexican and Mexican-American folklore. She is 40 years old and has never married. Her mother and father live with her in her home. She is a first-generation college student.

She lacks about one academic year of coursework to obtain a baccalaureate degree. She has been enrolled at Small College for several years taking enrichment, developmental, and pre-requisite classes to transfer to a university about sixty miles away. She originally attended a California state university in the state's central valley over 20 years ago. For many reasons, the most important of which is her love of and involvement in electoral politics--her political mentor, whom she knows well, and for whom she campaigned door-to-door, is the former and long-time United States Senator, Alan Cranston--and notwithstanding the fact that she was a very good student at the state university, she has yet to complete her degree requirements. Quinta indicated that she found instruction at Small College to be good and that the overall quality of support from instructors and counselors is good. She dreams of earning a master's degree in political science, and possibly teaching at Small College. However, she has been too busy with other pursuits.

For example, after serving one term on the local city council, she was recently

elected mayor for one year. She is prominent and well known throughout the community. Moreover, she is successful in her business as a bail agent. In addition, she is involved in various civic organizations and activities. She prefers Mexican-American as her ethnic identification. She is very Mexican Indian looking phenotypically. Quinta is an anomaly in terms her acculturation level in relation to her degree of ethnic loyalty. For example, compared to other students in my study, based upon my sessions with her and upon her ARSMA results, she has a high degree of ethnic loyalty even though she is an Anglo-Oriented Mexican-American. There are many reasons for this, much of which comes from her parents.

As a child and up to the age of six, Quinta associated almost exclusively with non-Latinos or non-Mexican-Americans. Today she mixes equally or associates with Latinos as much as other ethnic groups.

Rulo

Rulo is a 43 year old, single male. He is a recently naturalized U.S. citizen. Like others, he came to the United States without legal documentation. He has been in the United States for over 16 years. He is a beneficiary of the Amnesty Program of the late 1980's when over one million undocumented Mexicans became permanent residents and U.S citizens subsequently. When he lived in Mexico, he was on a pre-medicine track through high school; there called "La escuela preparatoria" (preparatory school; pre-university level). Rulo is from a working-class family. His father--retired--was a maitre'd, his mother is a housewife.

While he lived in Mexico, he owned his own cab. He and his extended family were of very modest means. Thus, they left and came to the United States. Rulo and his cousin were the "scouts." They brought extended family members one-by-one or in small groups. They came to the United States seeking opportunity and eventually found it. Today, all of

the family is working-class. However, as he told me once in his brother's trailer home, ". . . la vida es mucho mas mejor en este lado" ("Things are much better on this side.") Today, there are nearly twelve family members residing in California. Most of them live in the Small College community. He has a very strong sense of ethnic loyalty and a high degree of cultural awareness. Phenotypically, Rulo is very much indigenous, Native American with high cheek bones, thick lips and long, strandy hair.

Rulo enrolled at Small College five years ago as an English as Second Language student. Subsequently, he passed through intermediate and then advanced levels. Over the past two years, he has enrolled exclusively in college transfer courses. Today, he lacks 12 units to transfer to San Diego State University where he plans to major in International Business. After exiting from ESL classes, he had determined that transferring to San Diego State in International Business so that he may help cross-cultural relations between Mexico and the United States and more important, to assist in the economic development of Mexico. Rulo entered Small College as a matriculant with a very strong initial goal commitment and specific goals for the future.

Academically, Rulo has maintained a 3.5 grade point average. He has attained academically even though he gropes quite often for simple English words. I sense that this is a testimonial of his commitment to college. He is very achievement oriented. He has been a member of Small College's academic honor society for the past two school years. As I elaborate in subsequent discussions, Rulo reported that the quality of instruction and support services were exceptional. He also was a member of the college's student government. However, his primary social group is Mexicans and Mexican-Americans. He tolerates non-Latinos because of the need to get along. During the past year, he has served as a bilingual tutor in the college learning center. How he has managed to do so well after coming to the United States with a very limited English proficiency is attributable, in part, to his family in the Small College community. I asked him once if he

was poor financially, how he managed beyond the assistance provided by college financial aid:

Q: Como lo has hecho sin trabajar? (How have you managed without working?)

A: Traje yo toda mi familia de Mejico. Yo trabaje cuando ellos no tuvieron trabajos. Yo les cuide cuando ellos no podian cuidar a sus mismos. Ya es la hora para mi a relaxiar (Translation: I brought all of my family who are here (in the community) from Mexico. I worked when they didn't have jobs. I took care of them when they couldn't take care of themselves. Now, it's time for me to relax. Note: Rulo's conversion of "relax" by making it into a Spanish verb. This practice, typically referred to as "Spanishized," is characteristic of moderate to low acculturated persons. This is common among Mexican-Americans).

The utility of this arrangement with his brother and sister-in-law with whom he lives rent-free and virtually all cost of living free is that it has freed him to spend at least 30 hours per week in the tutorial center on his coursework. This is another benefit of this Mexican-American family. Rulo's ARSMA and case study results indicate that he is Very Mexican Oriented. Rulo calls himself a Mexicano.

Elena

Elena is a self-proclaimed Chicana. The term makes her feel proud and good about her background. She is a second-generation Chicana. She was born and raised in East Los Angeles. She is 24 years old and a first-generation college student. As a child, she was fluent in Spanish. Now, though, she knows only a few words and phrases. During the time she was a student at Small College for the course of this study, Elena was enrolled in transfer courses. She was a good student with a 2.5 grade point average. When I met her, she had transferred to Small College from another California community college. She transferred to another California community college after my work with her in this study. She transferred in good standing. She does not know what she wants to do with her schooling. She has no clear goal commitment, but she is committed to the idea of

college. Her only sister is completing a Master's degree in music at the University of California at Los Angeles. She is an inspiration for Elena.

Elena's father emigrated from Durango, Mexico as a young person. Her mother is White and does not speak Spanish. She is a secretary for the City of Los Angeles. Her family background is basically working-class. Her father is a ". . .data processing dude," according to Elena. Elena refers to herself as a "biker." One of her big dreams is to own her own her own "Harley" (Harley-Davidson motorcycle). Her dress style is distinctive for a female at Small College, to wit: very faded blue, torn Levi pants, black motorcycle boots, and several rings pierced through her nose and eyebrows. She is a "rocker"--rock'n' roll music--and hangs-out during her free time at a working-class and counter-culture tavern for people in the early 20's and 30's. She is an avid pocket pool player.

Elena's closest friends are "Mexicanas" (Mexican females) from East Los Angeles. She knows the Chicano gang scene from East Los Angeles very well and was on the fringes of gang affiliation when she lived there. She never was a member of a gang. Elena comes from a highly dysfunctional family, and was involved in drugs and alcohol from an early age. Her fairly balanced sense of herself been counterbalanced by negative influences from her own people. For example, she talked about going to college and leaving Los Angeles:

I never had no intention of going to college. Instead of taking it seriously, I got into drugs, gangs, and barely graduated from the ninth grade. College wasn't fathomable. My friends were getting killed. I also came close to getting snuffed when I left L.A. and came to (Small College). Someone wants me dead right now. Old cholos (pachucos) would come back and visit and tell me to get out of the barrio. They'd tell me, 'Don't be a statistic You'll just be a bad statistic.'

During her one academic term at Small College, she did not mix much with the general student population including Latinos. She transferred to San Bernadino Community College because Small College was ". . .too White" for her. I imagine that she went to San Bernadino also because Los Angeles was too hot for her in terms of

gangs or her contacts with gangs. It is important for me to add that Elena would refer to Mexican-Americans periodically as "Raza." That is a term of endearment among Mexican origin people. As I have indicated, it means "(our) race," "our people," "us." I did not get to know Elena long enough to elicit information from her on the quality of instruction and whether or not support services were facilitating her academic integration.

Elena's ARSMA and case study results indicate that she is a True Bicultural and knowledgeable of both Mexican-American and dominant United States culture. The best way to describe her, though, is as a Cultural Blend whose ethnic identification preference is Chicana.

Gene

Gene is a 27 year old single male, U.S. born citizen. He is a third-generation Mexican-American. He did not complete high school. When he was in high school in a small California central valley town populated heavily by Mexican-Americans, he was always on the fringe academically and socially. He was the "troublemaker" and was subjected to numerous disciplinary actions including periodic suspensions. He was "...heavy into drugs and alcohol" when he was in high school.

His mother is native-born California Mexican-American. His father is White. His parents had a terribly strained marriage while they were together. Gene was born out of wedlock. His mother was a hairstylist. He has no recollection of his father's employment. The only thing he remembers about his father is his beatings of his mother. His enrollment pattern at Small College has been more out than in. He has worked odd jobs since arriving in the local community and for some time, worked at the local drug store as a cashier. He enrolled at Small College to take creative writing classes so that he might someday write science fiction books and become an English teacher.

During his time at the college, he really did not associate with anyone. I sensed but

was not able to determine that his social isolation stemmed from his being a private person. To be clear, Gene was a very likeable person, cordial, and unpretentious at all times I was with him and observed him. With regard to his schooling, he has not been very interested in taking other transfer courses or in working even toward an associate degree. However, his ambition is to be an English teacher either at the high school or community college level. His sporadic, in-and-out enrollment patterns at Small College and at another California community college prior to his enrollment at Small College, make his commitment to higher problematic. He is very much into space-age rock-avant garde music, and futurism.

Gene's first language was Spanish. Today, English is his first language. However, he does know a few words and phrases in Spanish. His ARSMA results indicate that he is an Anglo-Oriented Mexican-American. He has a strong sense of ethnic loyalty and pride. His cultural awareness does not match his ethnic loyalty. With regard to cultural awareness, however, he did recount that his (maternal) grandparents were Taramar Indians from Mexico. What he does know about his Mexican background has been transmitted by his mother. Speaking of Mexicans, he once told me lamentably, "What a raw deal Mexicans got cut." I address Gene more fully later in this chapter since he has not returned to school in more than one year. As such, I have classified him as one who did not make it, one who was "iced-out" even before he could fit Clark's cooled-out theory (Clark, 1960).

Eco

Eco is a 22 year old single female. She is a third-generation Mexican-American. She is studying to be an elementary school teacher and by all accounts, is committed to this goal. This has been a big goal of hers for some time. She moved to Fresno, California prematurely during my work with her so that her common law family can assist

her, her infant child, and the father of the child. There, she plans to enroll in a community college to continue her studies in early childhood education. Eco was on a university transfer pattern during her time at Small College. She was a very good student with a near 3.0 grade point average. A very important motivator toward success in Eco's life is that her mother "...was dependent upon men." She does "...not want to be like mom." This was one important reason why she enrolled in Small College. This impetus made her have a strong initial commitment to college. Interestingly, she gave birth to a boy out of wedlock one month before I started my research with her. Ironically, and as I implied, it seems that she is following her mother's footsteps.

Eco came from a divorced and very dysfunctional family. Both of her parents are second-generation Mexican-Americans. Mexicanism was practiced little in her family, however, it was not rejected. Her father understands Spanish but does not speak it. He has been laborer bouncing around from odd jobs to others. Her mother speaks Spanish and English. She has been a secretarial type most of her life.

Eco is best described as a "hippie." Her dress, speech--"cool," "hip," "far out"-- friends, and residence, are reminiscent of the counterculture movement of the 1960's and 1970' in the United States. She had no Mexican, Mexican-American, or ethnic minority friends at Small College. All of her friends in elementary, middle, and high school were White. Eco does not speak Spanish. She understands a few words. Her ARSMA results indicate that she is an Anglo Oriented Mexican-American. My observations of her and her interactions with her friends at school seemed to reveal the same. Eco does not have an ethnic identification preference. During the short time I worked with Eco, she indicated that the quality of instruction at Small College and the support she received from faculty and counselors had helped her greatly in working toward her goal of being an elementary school teacher.

Alpha

Alpha is 24 year-old, single male. He came to the United States five years ago when he forsaked his schooling in Mexico to be with and assist family here. He is one of nine children. When he lived in Mexico, he was on track to attend the University of Mexico, Guadalajara. However, he did not enroll after graduating from high school in order to help his family. His proficiency in English is fairly good, although he still struggles for words in English. He has a very high degree of ethnic loyalty and, not surprisingly, a very high level of cultural awareness. He is extremely polite and polished in social graces at all times in both English and Spanish. Throughout my work with him, he would quiz me periodically on my own Mexican cultural awareness. Once, he asked me if I knew Pancho Villa's "real name." Pancho Villa, along with Emiliano Zapata were heroic, legendary generals of the Mexican Revolution during the early 20th century. I told him that I did not know. Alpha told me that it was "Doroteo Arango," named after one of Villa's uncles.

Alpha knew some but not very much English when he came to the United States. Recently, he was admitted to a University of California school for fall term, 1994. He will major in Computer Science. Alpha has maintained a 3.8 grade point average since completing English As Second Language instruction over two years ago. He has worked 30 to 40 hours per week while carrying a full academic load ever since his initial enrollment as an ESL student five years ago.

Like Rulo, Alpha benefitted from the Amnesty program and will soon become a naturalized citizen. He comes from a very poor background in Jalisco, Mexico. His mother was a homemaker. His father is a fieldworker. His parents had little schooling. His father had a sixth graded education and his mother even less. However, he had strong educational role models when he lived in Mexico. Three of his sisters have high school diplomas and all are "professional secretaries." One of uncles is a lawyer. One of his

cousins lives in France and speaks five languages. A brother in law is a medical doctor in Mexico City. He always had people in his life who told him that he "...could do it."

Alpha said, "They've shown me that the road is to study." Alpha maintains regular and intimate contact with all of his nuclear and extended family members. He writes many letters each week to his family as well as his friends.

During the past school year, Alpha has worked as a Spanish tutor in the college's learning center. This work has facilitated his academic integration within the college. Like virtually all of the other students in my study, Alpha speaks glowingly about the support he has received from instructors and the support staff at the college. His primary social group is Mexicans (permanent residents). He is motivated to succeed in school in part because of his desire to help "Mexicanos" and because of his mistrust for Whites. His ARSMA and case study results indicate that he is a Mexican-Oriented Bicultural. My association with him seemed to indicate the same. Alpha refers to himself as Mexican-American.

Beta

Beta is a 34 year old, single, female head of household. She is a first-generation Mexican-American. She is from Jalisco, Mexico. She is a naturalized citizen and like Rulo, benefitted from the Amnesty program. She knew virtually no English when she came to the United States 16 years ago. She exited advanced ESL courses shortly after she began this study with me and has completed 23 units of college level transfer courses to a California State University. She is not sure what she wants to study although she is thinking of earning a bachelor's degree in international business. She had strong initial commitments to college beginning in 1991 when she was in the position for the first time to attend Small college part time every academic quarter. Beta has found teachers and support staff at the college to be very supportive of her academic and career needs. She

has managed to do this despite working full-time and parenting four children. Her grade point average as a part-time student for college level transfer work is slightly below 3.0. She works 40 hours per week at a job which pays seven dollars per hour. She has four children ranging in ages from six to thirteen.

She recently filed for divorce from her first and only husband. He is an alleged "alcoholic" and apparently quite irresponsible toward his family. He has left the family amicably and now resides in Chicago. My several visits to her and her children in her two-bedroom apartment in the barrio of the local community revealed that the children do not miss him too much. Beta expressed a sigh of relief when I asked her if her husband had finally moved. She said with exasperation, "Si!" (Yes!). I met her husband only once early one Saturday at 8:30 A.M. He answered the door without a shirt, and was highly inebriated with two other men as they drank beer. I found him to be very polite and cordial. He indicated that Beta was showering and asked me to wait. I said no politely and that I was in a hurry to make another appointment.

Beta had only a sixth grade education in Mexico. She was a good student. There was no high school nearby for her to continue her schooling. She comes from a very poor, agrarian family background in Mexico..Her family bartered. Typically, her father was paid or exchanged for pigs, corn, other animals, and the like when he could not make ends meet from a small "grocery" store which he ran. The highest educational attainment level by anyone in her family has been elementary schooling. Because of the poor, rural area in which she lived, there were no schools beyond the sixth grade. Despite her lack of formal education, Beta once told me in English, ". . . I always knew that I would go to college." Once, in response to one of my questions on how she has managed to adapt so well to the United States when she knew virtually no English when she emigrated, she responded, "Donde vive es su tierra ("Where you live is your home.")

Beta is a Very Mexican Oriented Mexican according to ARSMA results and case

study results. She has a very high degree of ethnic loyalty and a high degree of cultural awareness. Her only socialization unit at Small College is Latinos.

Nacho

Nacho is a 22 year old, single male. Like Gene, he did not return to school after this study. He is a second-generation Mexican-American from California's central valley. His family was of seasonal and migratory farmworker background until they moved to the local Small College community when he was in elementary school. He is proficient in both English and Spanish. Even though he is fluent in Spanish, he always dialogued with me in English with few exceptions. During the time I worked with him, he was an exploratory student at Small College. Nacho departed after Spring term, 1993 and did not enroll during the 1993-94 school year. He did not develop an educational goal for himself when he matriculated to Small College or during the time I had worked with him.

Nacho lives with his parents and two brothers. The brothers both graduated recently from the local high school. He lives in a high density, populated area in a one story housing complex apparently for low-income families as far as I could tell from the road where I dropped him off a couple of times after our interviews. The complex is located in the heart of the Mexican-American barrio in the local community. He was the only research participant who never permitted me to meet with him at his home. He never offered and I never asked. His parents are first-generation Americans. His father was originally a farmworker in Mexico. His mother graduated from high school in Mexico. She learned to speak English in 1983.

Nacho is "fairly tight" with Mexicanos from the local community although most of his close friends are White. Even though he told me that he is "tight" with his friends in his barrio, none of them know that he has attended college. I found that to be very interesting as I discuss later in a subsequent discussion about Nacho and Gene, the two

students who I believe were iced-out long before there was any possibility of being cooled-out. Even though he graduated from the local high school thinking that he was on "college prep" track, I later gleaned from him that he in fact was on a vocational track. His grade transcript indicated that he was having difficulty with even the most basic, developmental English and Math skills courses at Small College.

Even though I never got to know Naco very well, I always found him to be unfailingly polite, cordial, and very unpretentious. Nacho's ARSMA results indicate that he is a Mexican-Oriented Bicultural. He also has a high level of ethnic loyalty even though most of his friends are White. I was not able to ascertain well his level of cultural awareness.

Inca

Inca is 39 year old divorced, single parent. She is a very polite, very soft-spoken person, with easy-going demeanor. She is a second generation Chicana. She has two daughters. One of them graduated from the local high school last year and now attends Small College with her. The other daughter is a high school student. Inca re-enrolled at Small College during the 1993-94 school year after sporadic enrollments when she took physical education classes after having been away from college for 15 years. She attended a community college in Stockton, California, after graduating from high school. She was a very good student then as she is now. However, she withdrew from college back then when she became pregnant with the first of her two daughters. She came from a "... pretty rough Chicano and Black neighborhood" in Stockton.

Inca is one to two children. She and her older brother are first-generation college students. Her brother worked his way through a small, private Jesuit university in California. Her father has a third grade education from Mexico, and is a bricklayer. Inca says that her father is "shameful" about speaking English. Her mother has worked at a

"five and dime store for a long time." Inca was fluent in Spanish when she was young. She has lost most of it over the years and speaks only a few words and phrases today. She understands Spanish much better than she speaks it. She is fluent in English.

Inca plans to transfer to a California state university or to a nearby small, private college. More than anything, she wants to work as an elementary school teacher. She flirts with the idea of being a kindergarten teacher. She is strongly committed to this goal. Working as a school counselor with Latinas (females) is also alluring to her. Although she has been on progress probation for withdrawing from too many classes because of parenting responsibilities, she is doing well now academically. She never really had anyone in her family push her on to higher education. She once told me that she was initially attracted to schooling as a little girl because she knew she would have to read. Reading allowed her to forget about her family life which, as I address in a later discussion, was not positive for her as a female.

Unlike most of the students in this study, Inca is not endeared to most of the instructors or the quality of teaching at Small College. Much of her apprehension is grounded cross-culturally and in terms of critical thinking. Characteristic of her thinking in this regard was her opposition to western history or western tradition courses which do not incorporate indigenous perspectives.

Prior to her re-enrollment at Small College last year, Inca had begun to bounce back emotionally from having been dismissed as a claims adjuster for a local insurance company. She was the only Mexican-American and sole ethnic minority employed by the large national firm. She alleges bitterly that she was dismissed because of racial discrimination under fabricated charges of being aloof, flaunting her Mexicanism, and flatulating in public with indifference. She says that she was reprimanded more than once because of the latter. On the other hand, Inca claimed that she was often the butt of racist jokes by white male and females with less rank and tenure than she had. Her

immediate supervisor did nothing about those allegations and retorted that Inca had fabricated the accounts to protect her job. Because of this experience as well as numerous others with Whites in her life, she is extremely mistrustful of them and rejects the dominant culture. Her mistrust of Whites is also matched by her mistrust of men.

Although she does not socialize much at the college because of family and work demands, her primary socialization group is Mexican-Americans and other ethnic minorities. Inca prefers to be called Chicana. She has a very strong sense of ethnic loyalty. Her ARSMA and case study results indicate that she is a True Bicultural.

Lugo

Lugo is a 35 year old single male. He was born and raised in East Los Angeles, California. During my sessions with him, Lugo reaffirmed for me the popular image of East Los Angeles as a rough place in which to grow up. Lugo is a second generation Mexican-American. His mother was originally from Corpus Christi, Texas. His father was originally from Mexico. His parents are working-class people. He has four brothers, two of whom completed high school. Those two also earned associate degrees from East Los Angeles Community College. One brother has almost completed a baccalaureate degree. Lugo always had someone in his nuclear or extended family emphasize the importance of schooling. Despite these proddings, though, Lugo struggled to get to where he is today. Lugo speaks some words and phrases in Spanish, but English is his first language.

At lower grade levels and up through the beginning of his junior year in high school, Lugo was a poor to almost failing student. His academic performance was attributable largely to indifference and oppositional, peer pressure from his Mexican-American friends. Lugo did not have White friends as a kid. He was "...heavy into drugs and drinking" when he was in high school. He was always on the fringes until he was

placed into the alternative school during his junior year. He had violated school policies by drinking alcohol and using drugs on campus. When he saw that his continuation or alternative school mates were all "bums" and "lowlifes," he "freaked-out" and knew that he did not belong there. He made an immediate turn-about and became a near straight A student.

He claims that there were two things in his life that saved him: his mother--she always pushed him to be a disciplined person--and youth organizations in Los Angeles. He won scholarships upon high school graduation and subsequently attended East Los Angeles Community College. There, he excelled as he did during the final two years in high school. Lugo earned an associate degree in general studies at East Los Angeles with a 3.6 grade point average. He did not have a clear, specific goal, then. Back then, though, he did have a strong initial commitment to the idea of college. Thereafter, he transferred to California State University, Los Angeles. However, he lost interest there and dropped-out because he felt that he no longer had anything to prove to himself or others.

However, he is now back in school and has taken classes at Small College only on a part-time basis. He plans to transfer to a nearby university and study business or management. Lugo does not spend much time at Small College. He is too busy as a social worker with youth in the local community. As such I did not get to know Lugo the student very well since his attendance and presence at Small College have been sporadic. However, he did share with me some personal insights about his academic orientation:

Q: Tell me your strengths as a student

A: My ability to decipher information. I read critically. I've always had this.

Q: What about your weaknesses?

A: lack of discipline. . .not completing things. . .a lack of priorities..

Q: Do you visit your teachers or instructors to discuss academic matters?

A: Yes, but only to justify what I wasn't doing rather than asking for help. It's part of the development you go through to bullshit your way through...this is a barrier when you don't realize you're doing it.

Q: Do you plan to go to graduate school?

A: Yes. I can get a scholarship from the national organization I work for. They'll help me complete my bachelor's and then my master's. . . it might be in business or maybe counseling. Whatever I end-up with, I want to continue to help kids.

Lugo has clear commitments and goals today. His has two major life commitments: to his family in Los Angeles, and to young people. His goal is to obtain a graduate degree to be in a position to help Chicano youth more than he is doing today. Part of those commitments stem from his life experiences as a Mexican-American and also because of problems with Chicano gangs when he was an adolescent.

Lugo is very attuned to his identity as a person and as a Mexican-American. His plan is essentially expedient because he can complete his prerequisites at Small College before transferring to a nearby university. Lugo identifies very strongly as a Mexican-American. He has a very strong sense of ethnic loyalty. His ARSMA and case study results indicate that he is a True Bicultural. I found this to be an accurate assessment as I worked with him and got to know him.

Carma

Carma is a 29 year old single mother of two boys. She is a second-generation Mexican-American. She was born in Fresno, California. Her mother was born in Mexico, although her mother denies it according to Carma. Her father, a Mexican-American, was born in Texas. Her father physically abused her mother to extremes. Her mother and father have been divorced for years. They are both working class people. Carma also was involved in extremely physically abusive relationships with her first two boyfriends. She had her first abusive relationship when she was fourteen. She had her first child when she

was thirteen. The father of that child has custody of her. She had her second child when she was eighteen and had a third child three years ago. Carma's first language was Spanish. However, she lost her proficiency over time.

Over the past year, she has recaptured it by majoring in Spanish at Small College. She is pursuing an associate degree, however, she has no immediate plans after completing her degree requirements. Despite this lack of goal definition, she had a strong initial commitment to college when she matriculated to Small College. Carma feels that the instructors and counselors at Small College are among the best things that have happened to her in her life. She feels that they have been instrumental in her achievement and being on track to attain her goal. Most of the classes she is taking are transferable, however, she has not expressed any desire to pursue a baccalaureate degree. Her grade point average was 3.0 during the time I worked with her on this study.

Carma used drugs and was a drug dealer for many years as a teenager and into her early 20's. She floundered through two physically and emotionally abusive relationships during this period. One additional abusive relationship was with her mother who would beat with a hairbrush to discipline her. Carma told me that her mother did this out of love for her and to remind her about the importance of school. Many years later, Carma is finally in school. She enrolled at Small College during the 1992-93 school year and has worked steadily toward her degree. She has been a full-time student since her matriculation. She earned her GED at 16 years of age after having dropped-out during her sophomore year when she was pregnant with her first child. All of her four brothers and sisters have either associate or baccalaureate degrees. They all take great interest in the fact that the younger sister is successful in college. They talk to her frequently about school. They are a big support unit for her.

Carma has few friends at Small College. Those few are Mexican-Americans and ethnic minorities. Some of those are from her church. Carma calls herself Mexican-

American. She has a fairly strong degree of ethnic loyalty and a fairly strong apprehension of Whites. Her ARSMA results indicate that she is a True Bicultural. My work with her seemed to corroborate this outcome.

Cuco

Cuco is a 25 year old, single male from Mexico. He has been a permanent resident of the United States for six years. He comes from an upper middle-class background. Most of the adults in his nuclear and extended are professionals of various types. One of his sisters is an industrial psychologist in Mexico. With regard to the males, his father is a surveyor for the Mexican government, one uncle is a lawyer, several uncles are businessmen. Another is a radio host in Mexico. Cuco always knew that he would go college. He matriculated to Small College two years ago with a strong initial commitment to the idea of college.

Cuco came to the United States initially as a tourist to get away from his father who he describes as extremely fastidious and demanding. While his father is a "cultured" man, he is aloof and overbearing. For example, he pounds his fist on the table and will literally put his face to his children's ears to shout when he feels that they are not performing up to his expectations. Because of his father's demeanor and unrealistic expectations, Cuco changed his tourist visa into permanent residency.

Cuco is very independent and sounds occasionally like a neo-Marxist. Once, for example he talked to me about the "transculturalizacion" (transculturalization) of people in Mexico in terms of what modernism had done to them for the worst. Another time, he talked to me about the exploitation of "gente pobre" (poor people) by capitalists.

Academically, he has carried twelve units per term over the past two years. Amazingly, he works 50 hours per week as a baker at a local firm. He learned that job there after working his way up in the organization as a bus boy. He started out at

minimum wage but now makes more than ten dollars per hour; ". . . not bad for a college student" he told me in Spanish. Cuco speaks English fairly well, although he is not fluent. However, he speaks well enough to maintain a 3.5 grade point average in transfer courses. He plans to transfer to a university, but is not sure where. He plans to earn undergraduate and graduate degrees including a Ph.d. in psychology or business.

Occasionally, I would see Cuco in the college lounge chatting with other people, most often with Mexicans--primarily ESL students--and other Latinos. Cuco has acknowledged the quality of instruction at Small College. These interactions were the extent of his social integration with Small College. However, he is generally apprehensive of teachers because of their ethnicity and his having internalized numerous encounters with prejudice and discrimination during his six years in the United States. My conversations with Cuco were almost always in Spanish. As I elaborate later, I found that Cuco was cordial with Whites but very mistrustful of them. He has a very difficult time dealing with prejudice by Whites against ethnic minorities in the United States. Part of his motivation to continue his education in the United States is to be in a position of power against alleged bigots and to help people of Mexican origin. Cuco's ARSMA results indicate that he is a Mexican-Oriented Mexican-American.

To complete this introduction of the students, I summarize the most important elements of their personal and family backgrounds in Table 15. Thereafter and in Table 16, I present summaries of students' sociocultural variabilities. Table 15 is significant among other things because it reveals the broad within-culture variation which characterized the students in my family. Table 17 is important because it indicates the low-income backgrounds of the students in my study. Equally important is not one of the students chose Hispanic as their ethnic identification preference.

Table 15. Summaries of Students' Academic Backgrounds, Educational Goals, Achievement and Persistence

Student	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Generational Status	Ed Goal	Grade Point Average	Goal Status
Quinta	Female	40	Single	5th	BS, Transfer	3.8	On-track
Rulo	Male	41	Single	1st	BS, Transfer	3.4	On-track
Elena	Female	23	Single	2d	BA, Transfer	2.5	On-track
Gene	Male	26	Single	3d	BA, Transfer	-2.0	Withdrew
Eco	Female	22	Single	3d	BA, Transfer	3.1	On-track
Nacho	Male	21	Single	1st	AA, Not Sure	-2.0	Withdrew
Alpha	Male	23	Single	1st	BS, MS, Ph.D.	3.9	On-track
Beta	Female	36	Divorcing	1st	BS, Transfer	3.5	On-track
Inca	Female	39	Divorced	3d	BA, Transfer	2.3	On-track
Lugo	Male	35	Single	2d	BS, Transfer	3.5	On-track
Carma	Female	29	Single	2d	AA	3.0	On-track
Cuco	Male	25	Single	1st	BA, MS, Ph.D	3.5	On-tack

Table 16. Summary of Students' Sociocultural Variabilities

Student	Acculturation Type	Parents' Socio Economic Levels	Ethnic Identification Preference	Language Preference	Cultural Awareness	Ethnic Loyalty
Quinta	Anglo Oriented	Working Class	Mexican-American	English	High	Strong
Rulo	Very Mexican Oriented	Working Class	Mexicano	English and Spanish	High	Strong
Elena	True Bicultural	Working Class	Chicana	English	Moderate	Strong
Gene	True Bicultural	Working Class	Mexican-American	English	Low	Moderate
Eco	Very Anglo Oriented	Working Class	None	English	Low	None
Nacho	Mexican Oriented Bicultural	Working Class	Mexican-American	English	Unable to Determine	Unable to Determine
Alpha	Mexican Oriented	Working Class	Mexican	Spanish and English	High	Strong
Beta	Mexican Oriented	Working Class	Mexicana	Spanish and English	High	Strong
Inca	True Bicultural	Working Class	Chicana	English	High	Strong
Lugo	True Bicultural	Working Class	Mexican-American	English	Moderate	Strong
Carma	True Bicultural	Working Class	Mexican-American	English	Moderate	Strong
Cuco	Very Mexican Oriented	Upper Middle Class	Mexicano	Spanish and English	High	Strong

In Table 17, I present summaries of educational attainment levels by their mothers, fathers, siblings, and extended family members. Generally, I found that students from those families with at least some higher education experience tended to have clearer senses of the utility of schooling and what they had to do to make higher education a reality and more than a dream. The most significant feature of the data in Table 17 on the following page, is that nine of the 10 achieving students came from working-class or poverty backgrounds. Moreover, all of these students except Cuco, were first-generation college students if we accept the United States Department of Education's definition of first-generation to mean that biological nor adoptive parents had earned bachelor's degrees. This was an interesting outcome since most educational goal attainments by ethnic minority students are often correlated with higher socioeconomic backgrounds (Chapa, 1991; Carter and Wilson, 1992). Equally important for many of the students listed in Table 17 is that many of their siblings and extended family members experienced varying degrees of educational goal attainment. As I elaborate later, these persons were educational models for many of the students in my study and in different ways, helped mediate their experiences at Small College as well as earlier years at lower grade levels.

In my discussion after reviewing the data in Table 17, and to structure subsequent discussions on students' social and academic integrations, I present informational data on what I perceived to be Small College's culture. I address the question of whether institutional culture facilitated or hindered students' achievements and goal attainments. The analyses and dialogues below address the interactions between students' background with college social and academic structures. As I elaborate, and notwithstanding students' oppositional culture orientations, there was essentially a good fit between college structures and students' backgrounds. As such, the evidence supported Tinto's model (Tinto, 1975, 1987).

Table 17. Educational Attainment Levels of Students' Parents, Siblings,
and Extended Family Members

Educational Attainment Levels					
Student	Acculturation Level	Mother	Father	Siblings	Extended Family Members
Quinta	Anglo Oriented	High School	High School	None	High School
Rulo	Very Mexican Oriented	Some College	6th Grade	High School	Mixture of High School, Law School, College
Elena	True Bicultural	High School	High School	Graduate School	All less Than High School
Gene	True Bicultural	8th Grade	Uncertain	None	Grandmother: 8th Grade
Eco	Very Anglo Oriented	High School	Some College	One With Some College	Uncertain
Nacho	Mexican-Oriented Bicultural	High School	High School Dropout	Two in High School	Uncertain
Alpha	Mexican-Oriented Bicultural	Primary School	Primary School	3 With College Degrees	Mixture of High School and Professional Degrees
Beta	Mexican-Oriented Bicultural	Primary School	Primary	Primary School	Primary School
Inca	True Bicultural	Middle School	Primary	1 With College Degree	2 Uncles With Some College
Lugo	True Bicultural	8th Grade	6th Grade	High School, AA Degrees	Primary and High School
Carma	True Bicultural	High School	Primary	All College Degrees	Uncertain
Cuco	Very Mexican Oriented	High School	College Tech	All College Degrees	Variety of Technical and Professional Degrees

A Warm and Friendly Place

Overview

Small College prides itself on being a "warm and friendly place." The vice president for academic affairs uses the phrase periodically in interpersonal conversations. The phrase rings almost true with the diversity section of the college mission. It reads, "Provide a nurturing, friendly environment that promotes the open exchange of ideas, encouraging examination of values and self-understanding." To a very large extent, Small College is warm and friendly. My observations of and interviews with faculty and students revealed that college personnel strive for the most part to make students feel welcome. The symbolism of a warm, friendly place is important for one reason.

The notion of a warm and friendly place calls attention to Small College's culture. That culture, as I describe in this subsection, seemed to be largely accommodating of the academic integration needs of Mexican-Americans in my study. How much of this accommodation stems from protracted--until recently--near-non-compliance with California Community College affirmation action policies regarding underrepresentation of ethnic minority faculty and extremely low transfer and degree attainment rates by Mexican-Americans, was not clear based upon my research. Second, and on the other hand, the college's culture did not seem to be receptive to Mexican-American students in some instances in terms of their social integrations. In the absence of planned and concerted mechanisms to integrate Mexican-American students, ethnic affiliation by these students with other Mexican-Americans, Latinos, or other ethnic minorities as their primary social integration units seemed to mediate institutional shortcomings and therefore, call our attention to the need to examine social integration in terms of cross-cultural relations. In other words, it depended upon who was doing the defining and who

the question hinged on definition and interpretation ethnically and across culture.

The importance of assessing Small College's organizational culture cannot be overstated. To preface my analysis and outcomes, I summarize reasons for the importance of examining institutional culture in relation to students' academic achievements and goal attainment. Attempting to understand an organization's culture is important because as Tierney (1988), tells us:

A central goal of understanding organizational culture is to minimize the occurrence and consequences of cultural conflict and help foster the development of shared goals. Studying the cultural dynamics of educational institutions and systems equips us to understand and, hopefully, reduce adversarial relationships. Equally important, it will enable us to recognize how those actions and shared goals are most likely to succeed and how they can be implemented. (p. 5)

Tierney's caveat is important also because he emphasizes a central theme of my study: cultural or cross-cultural conflict. On the other hand, we must be cautious about about what institutional culture is.

There is no concensus on what constitutes organizational culture (Cameron and Ettington, 1988). Generally, it is described either as something which organizations have or something that they are. Most models derive from the corporate sector. The term was apparently popularized by Petigrew (1979), and his use of the term "organizational cultures" (Hofstede, Neuijen, Ohayv, and Sanders 1990). Cameron and Ettington (1988), tell us that the construct of institutional culture has its conceptual origins in anthropological and sociological theory. These researchers, in tracing the intellectual foundations of organizational culture, also tell us that the sociological basis--essentially, a symbolic interactionist perspective--has as its focus peoples' cognitive frameworks, how they make sense of and interpret social systems, and otherwise, rituals, myths, and the non-rational dimensions of organization. Berger and Luckman's work (1966), and Geertz emphasis on "thick description" (Geertz, 1973), are examples of this framework. On the other hand, Cameron and Ettington (1988), suggest that a sub branch of sociological

theory emphasizes constructionism and views organizational culture in relation to the larger social order. There are two anthropological bases to the study of institutional cultures. One derives from functionalist anthropology which:

focuses on the group, the organization, or the society as a whole and considers how the practices, beliefs, and values embedded in that unit function to maintain social control. Methodologically, the researcher is the central figure in interpreting phenomena that are observed in organizational functions, events, and activities. The researcher's job is to construct a meaning for the organizational phenomena. . . (p. 358)

The second basis by which to assess institutional culture is semiotic. It focuses on language, symbols, and organizational rituals as the primary units by which to understand organization. Methodologically, immersion is called for to obtain emic perspectives. This was my intent and perspective in this study and in terms of the cross-cultural factors which I found and address in this chapter. However, and as I discussed in the limitations of this study in the previous chapter, I did not become as fully engaged as I would have wanted to address the research question of whether it facilitated or constrained students' social and academic integrations.

There are numerous definitions of organizational culture. Drawing from Cameron and Ettington (1988), I mention a few here to call our attention to related issues of methodology and focus:

-The taken-for-granted and shared meanings that people assign to their social surroundings (Wilkens, 1983).

-Informal values, understandings, and expectations indicated through symbolic structures, myths, heroes, and precedents (Lietko, 1984).

-The pattern of basic assumptions that a group has invented, discovered, or developed in learning to cope with its problems of external adaptation and internal integration (Schein, 1984).

Morgan (1986), augments these definitions of organizational culture with what I think are more expansive considerations regarding conflict and perspectives on the mundane to

arrive at explanations of organizational culture:

In organizations, there are often different and competing value systems that create a mosaic of organizational realities rather than a uniform corporate culture. . . subcultural divisions within an organization may also be forged along with different lines. For example, social or ethnic groupings may give rise to different norms and patterns of behavior with a crucial impact on day-to-day functionings. Subcultural divisions may also arise because organizational members have divided loyalties . . . we must root our understanding of organization in the processes that produce systems of shared meaning. In order to come to grips with an organization's culture, it is necessary to uncover the mundane as well as the more vivid aspects of the reality-construction process. . . just as tribal society's values, beliefs, and traditions may be embedded in kinship and other social structures, many aspects of organization's culture are thus embedded in routine aspects of everyday practice. (pp. 127, 131, 132)

While these definitions and perspectives are informative, they do not guide us sufficiently to help us develop a suitable framework to examine institutional culture in relation to Mexican-American persistence. They are instructive though, in that there is consensus that shared values, experiences, rituals, symbols, and meanings can be fruitful areas of inquiry.

Tierney (1988), augments these notions of shared meanings and experiences with an applied framework to assess institutional culture. Based upon his study of a small state college primarily for working-class students, he has posited the following units of analysis to arrive at an understanding of institutional culture: (1) environment (the institution's attitude toward its environment either as hostile or amicable); (2) mission (definition versus basis for decision-making, extent of agreement); (3) socialization (enculturation of members, what and how to know to excel or survive in the organization); (4) information (what is information? who has it? how is it transmitted?), (5) strategy (how decisions are arrived at, which strategy is used, who makes decisions); and (6) leadership (who the leaders are, what people expect from them, whether there are informal leaders). These factors identified by Tierney recur in the higher education literature not only in relation to institutional culture, but generally in terms of organizational efficiency and effectiveness.

Because of their utility in identifying and possibly explicating institutional culture in relation to students' background variables, I utilized his constructions below in my analysis of Small College's culture.

I also incorporated Ott's typology of cognitive orientations and artifact (Ott, 1989), to assess Small College's culture and the question of whether or not it was facilitative of attainment by Mexican-American students. Drawing from Schein (1981, 1984, 1985) who called our attentions to the values, beliefs, and basic underlying assumptions held by employees in order to understand organizational culture, Ott established a typology for the study of cultures. He has identified three interrelated levels of culture--artifacts, values and beliefs, and basic underlying assumptions--to facilitate analysis of cultures.

In Ott's model, cultural artifacts refers to the, "... behavioral patterns and the visible, tangible, and/or audible results of behaviors (Ott, 1989, p. 59). Specifically, this level of organizational culture refers to institutional written and spoken communications. It is consistent generally with Tierney's notion of information which I summarized above (Tierney 1988). Values and beliefs refer to the ideal, a vision. Specifically, values and beliefs refer to, "... how people communicate, explain, rationalize, and justify what they say and do as a community, particularly as transmitted, and received through "... ethos, philosophies, ideologies, ethical and moral codes, and attitudes (pp. 59-60). Finally, the third level--basic underlying assumptions--refers to in Schein's words, "... fundamental beliefs, values, and perceptions that. . . actually guide everyday behaviors, that tell group members how to perceive, think about, and feel about things. Basic assumptions, like theories-in-use, tend to be nonconfrontable and non-debatable (Schein, 1985, pp. 60-61).

I found that Ott's typology--together with Tierney's framework--particularly the notion of uncontestable assumptions and beliefs, was a useful framework by which to assess Small College's culture in relation to achievement and social integration by Mexican-American students. These schemes were important because they make us

cognizant of potential values and normative conflicts between college personnel and students, of gender conflict, and between Mexican-American and non-Latino students. I did not enter this study thinking that Mexican-American students' achievements or non-attainments could be obtained without culture conflict. As the results below indicate, particularly those regarding students' oppositional culture orientations, my early hunch was correct.

I structure my discussion of Small College's culture, then, in terms of Ott's typology (Ott, 1989), and Tierney's framework (Tierney, 1988). I augment it with discussions of pedagogical issues and cross-cultural relations as units of analysis to attempt to understand the culture of Small College and persistence by the Mexican-American students in my study. My discussion of outcomes also incorporates similar frameworks utilized in other qualitative studies of the community college (Kempner, 1991; London, 1978; Neumann, 1985; Rendon and Valadez, 1993; Weis, 1985). As becomes evident, my assessments derived equally from students, faculty, and my interpretation of institutional records.

Leadership, Mission and Strategy

As I indicated earlier, my accounts of the college culture are incomplete. Part of the reason stems from my status within the institution. Second, there is always more to anything than meets the eye. For example, I was not able to determine the political and cultural impacts on the formal organization of Small College stemming from the following facts:

- the college board meet twice each month; this frequency has been the norm at the college for many years;
- the college lacks a vision as noted by external consultants;
- the college has had five vice-presidents of academic affairs during the past five years

due to death and turnover; it is common knowledge that there has been a lack of academic leadership under such circumstances and that the college has suffered from these turnovers.

Despite these limitations, the most important factor for which I attempted to get a feel for the college's culture was the notion of warmth and friendliness. Invariably, comments by faculty directed my attention to the president of the college in order to obtain this understanding. I heard repeatedly about the new president from several instructional faculty members. One instructor attributed much the college's ethos to the president who has been in that position for four years. The president had been the Vice President of Business Affairs the previous seven years. This faculty member said this about him:

The new president is not without his faults, but he has done a good job. It's a hell of a lot different than before. Did you even meet the first president? (Answer: no) He was fuckin dictator, manipulator. . . he was the college's first president and ran it with an iron fist. You did not ever want to get on his bad side. And if you served him well, he would take care of you. If you were on his shit list, it was a godamn state of siege. He had everybody in his pocket . . . The new prez isn't like that. He'll listen and try to bring people together.

The president was responsible for establishing the college's first mission shortly after his initial year. Prior to his first year as president in 1991, the college never had a mission statement. That mission statement is displayed prominently in the college catalog. The mission supersedes what was formerly a de facto mission statement, the college's "philosophy." That 250 word "Philosophy" in the college catalog--it remains in the current catalog, incorporated with the mission--addressed the "post-high school educational needs," of district patrons, "counseling services to assist students, needs of transfer students, courses designed to facilitate employability and to provide a applicant pool for business, industry, and public agencies, and generally, courses for personal and cultural enrichment."

The quality of instruction is the glue of the institution. It is extremely important to the college. The size of the institution is the allure, but the quality of instruction is the college's signature. Word has apparently spread throughout many California communities that Small College is the place to attend in contrast to larger community colleges where enrollments are over 20,000 students and where waiting up to one year for admission to high demand or impacted classes is the norm. As an expression of the college's commitment to instruction, a recent cover to a term schedule of classes read as follows:

The top ten reasons to go to small college

1. You owe it to yourself.
2. An unfed brain eats itself.
3. It's a realistic way to actually get a life.
4. Studies show that learning is actually easier here.
5. You need more mental stimulation than MTV.
6. You can't stand other colleges where the size of your biology class is the same as the population of many small towns in Ohio.
7. Get out of the house on Monday night.
8. Impress your friends.
9. Your knowledge of ancient history is mostly based on reruns of the Flintstones.
10. There's plenty of parking.

These marketings and pronouncements are consistent with and stem from the college's mission regarding instruction. The college catalog's statement on the Quality of Instruction reads as follows:

-Provide a broad range of quality degree and certificate programs in transfer and vocational education.

-Provide excellence in instruction, which creates standards that challenge students to their highest level of achievement and success.

-Provide highly effective instructional support programs, facilities and technology which create a rich learning environment and stimulate students to achieve their goals.

-Provide resources and opportunities which encourage administrators, faculty and staff to pursue their professional development in order to enhance the college's ability to meet its mission and goals.

The quality of instruction statement is augmented by statements on diversity:

- Acknowledge the inherent worth and dignity of each individual.
- Encourage respect and understanding for all cultures and individual differences.
- Provide a nurturing , friendly environment that promotes the open exchange of ideas, encouraging examination of values and self-understanding.

My examination of students' perceptions of the quality of instruction and teachers' comments on their roles pedagogically confirmed the college's commitment to instruction. The following statements, testimonials, and dialogues with teachers and students, with a few exceptions, reflect the commitment to quality instruction. Ironically, I sensed that the quality of instruction stemmed from historical circumstances and salaries. For example, the president must attempt to balance the needs of a full-time instructional faculty which had been constrained politically under the first and theretofore only president in the history of the college. The absence of cost-of-living increases for faculty was also an apparent factor. One faculty member had this to say about these matters. His comments were typical and shared by the majority of the faculty:

I've worked at other schools. . . listen. . . this ain't bad. . .our new president has a lot of work to do. I think he's capable. . .you've heard about the first president. There's . . . freedom now. We're still small. Size has a hell of a lot to do with it. Students aren't numbers here. Our classes are small and students have access to us for office hours almost whenever they want. And then there are our needs. We haven't had a cola (cost of living allowance) in almost four years. . .and we still don't have a collective bargaining agreement. . .by and large, it's not all that bad. Don't forget where we live . . .the president has the support of the community. He's especially got the respect and cooperation of local businesses. He takes hits periodically from outside. . . nobody's perfect. He has priorities as he sees them . . . there is always going to be somebody on the short end of the stick.

This instructor's thoughts are accurate regarding the president and the smallness of the college. The college, one of the smallest in the California Community College system, typically has classes ranging in size from 10 to 20 students. Access to teachers indeed make the college a seemingly warm and friendly place. Smaller is better. This is not to say

that the college is perfect. Indeed, I encountered incidents of alleged racism, sexual harassment, and otherwise, abuse and manipulation of students by instructors. On the whole, however, and even with my study participants as I discuss later, the college is a friendly place which at least puts its best foot forward to facilitate social and academic integration.

Formal written responses from several teachers to a simple questionnaire that I constructed further reinforced the notion that Small College does make an earnest effort to accommodate students academically and socially. Eleven of the 12 students in my study corroborated statements made by teachers below. The following are excerpts from their answers to my question of what they think constitutes effective teaching:

Teacher 1

I feel that teaching has been effective if the students have come to understand the material and are able to apply it to new situations. I do not think that there is only one way to teach effectively, i.e. you must lecture . . . I have become a more effective teacher and my experience has broadened my knowledge of different ways to explain particular concepts. It is also crucial that the students be active participants in their education. They need to ask questions, tackle problems . . . summarize the main concepts, discuss among themselves . . . The effective teacher is a good listener.

Q: How do you know if you have been effective?

A. Primarily, I am interested in finding out whether students find my courses beneficial/worthwhile. I do that by simply asking for feedback about their learning throughout the course. If students respond by giving specific comments on the content of the course and the specific areas where they are being helped, then it is apparent to me that they are fully aware of their learning progress. In other words, instead of me telling students, 'In this course, you are supposed to be learning;' if they are able to say, 'I can write a clear introduction, a focused essay, complete sentences, etc.," then, I feel like I am successful in meeting their academic needs . . . Student comments on my personal involvement in their learning are always rewarding as I spend a lot of time outside the classroom to meet their needs by showing interest and willingness to work with them. Students appreciate and recognize personal involvement. . . At times, it seems that they appreciate this more than learning itself.

Q: So students let you know whether you are effective?

A: Yes. They have to, either way.

This teacher's latter comments about outside contact with students are important because they reinforce Pascarella's thesis of informal contact (Pascarella, 1980). I elaborate informal contact which a few students had with faculty in a subsequent discussion on social integration. For the most part, and despite oppositional culture orientations by most of the students in my study, a few took advantage of the opportunities afforded by informal contact.

Teacher 2

Effective teaching to me is effective communication and exchange of ideas. I very strongly support the transition from lecture-centered to student-centered classrooms, and I support the move from simple memorization and regurgitation to interaction and development of critical thinking skills. Effective teaching is opening up new vistas of learning for both student and teacher.

Teacher 3

Effective teaching means effective delivery systems, yes, the plural "systems." This should include traditional lecture, combined visuals, activities, debates, discussions, written work, oral work, readings, computer software programs, laser discs, etc.

Teacher 4

Another instructor had this to say about effective teaching in response to a few questions I asked him:

A: Students have to show me that they can think, write, and speak critically.

Q: What critical thinking to you? Is it the same as the ed code says?

A: Basically, yes. Students, especially transfer students, have to take in complex materials, mull it over, think about it in relation to their own lives, and then re-articulate it in a synthesized way.

Q: Do you think you're an effective teacher?

A: Well, that's what they (students) all say on my evaluations (laughs). Seriously, I

teach transfer courses and I am concerned that my students go on and not only represent this college well . . . they represent me also.

As I indicated, the quality of instruction at the college as elaborated by these teachers was confirmed by virtually all of the students in my study. And, from the standpoint of classroom-student interaction, students confirmed, in the words of the vice president, that teachers, were, for the most part, warm and friendly.

Students other than my primary research participants and across gender, ethnicity and age, had mixed reactions to the college's social and academic structures. The comments and dialogues below underscore different perceptions about the presumed warmth and friendliness of Small College. In the aggregate, though, the perceptions and observations made by students below generally reinforce those made by the Mexican-American students in the study and that the college's social and academic structures were facilitative of achievement and goal attainment.

Black Male, mid-30's, Liberal Arts, Transfer, Middle-Class Origins

A: This place is OK. The teachers really take their teaching seriously. I've had a few shitheads. . . god's gift to education . . . but they are few. I've liked most of my teachers here. They do a good job.

Q: And you're being Black?

A: There is some of it around, mostly with the adjuncts. The full-timers are all pretty much OK. I like it here. I don't think race is too big a thing.

Q: How do the teachers here do a good job?

A: They listen to you . . . you know, there is 'listening' and then there is paying attention. These people pay attention. . . they listen. I've never been denied in class or in their offices.

White Female, AFDC, Divorcee, Vocational A.A. Goal, early 20's, Working-Class Origins

Ever since I divorced my husband and came here from Los Angeles, I fell in love with the place. You're not a number here. Some students bitch and moan about certain instructors, but listen, if they only went to L.A. City College where they have to wait a goddamn year to get into classes, they'd appreciate this place a bit more.

This student's comments about the size of Small College are important and reinforce a faculty member's earlier comments about scale. Mexican-American students corroborated this in my work with them. I took the significance of size in relation to institutional culture to mean that it does have a bearing on how people go about their business. It seemed that people are not in such a hurry at the college and as they literally go at a slower pace with less demands than a large institution would impose on them, they have the time to be civil and more relaxed with students.

Native American Female, Single Head of Household, Vocational A.A. Goal, early 30's, Poverty Origins

I like this place. I drive thirty miles from the reservation to make things better for me and my kids. I've never had any problems with the teachers. I think they're great. I think some of my people get too excited when things don't go their way. We have to remember that we have to work together.

One student, on the other hand, summarized her perspective as a black woman. She left the college at the end of the recent Winter term because of the alleged "racist" mentality which pervades the school:

Black Female, Single Head of Household, A.A., Transfer, early 30's, Poverty Origins

It doesn't matter here. I could come to school naked with nary a stitch (of clothing). They still wouldn't notice me. I could do the jigaboo naked out in front of the building and nobody would notice. I'm just another Black face.

Q: Why do you say that?

A: People are always smiling here. I never understood it. I see them smiling to Whites but I see them duck and run when they see me or Mexicans. I can see it. Literally, you can see it.

Q: (from student). Did you ever to go class and see empty seats next to you and wonder why when they are no empty seats next to Whites?

My response: Yes.

Her Response: Well, darling, like they say, I have to scat.

On the whole, and despite criticism from the Black student and from some of my case study participants, the college on the whole seems to make an effort to accommodate "all" students' social and academic integrations. My earlier discussions at the outset of this chapter on the academic integrations by the Mexican-American students in the study further solidify the quality of instruction at Small College. In other ways, I sensed that there was congruence between the college mission, and implementation of collegiality, pedagogy--as I discuss in a subsequent section--tolerance for differences, and services to students. In short, the president of Small College seems to be effective in bringing together diverse sectors within and outside the college to give the college a feeling of truly belonging to the community and in being responsive to the community's needs. Specifically, I found that the president is effective in setting the tone for the college's culture and the values and assumptions which characterize it through college employees.

The classified staff and faculty seemed to embody and manifest singularly those values and assumptions. The most evident manifestations of the college's values and underlying assumptions is the apparent sense of cooperation and teamwork among all college employees. For example, employees, despite ideological differences, are expected to disagree civilly and to subordinate emotions. Even though I found deep-rooted ideological, cross-cultural, and gender-based tensions within the college, there is a code that people are expected to deport themselves "professionally." I sensed, but was not able to determine if this standard of civility emanated from the "cooperation" segment of the college mission, to wit: "Provide a collegial governance structure that encourages active participation of students, staff, and trustees in the decision making process; create a campus climate that encourages respect for self and others." I found this spirit evidenced in a fairly large, prominently displayed placard on a wall in the office of the director of personnel. It read, "No whining!" I did not sense from faculty with whom I spoke that the intent of the placard is to intimidate, but rather, that all college personnel are public

employees and that there are standards of efficiency and effectiveness to uphold.

Most of the faculty and virtually all of the classified staff at Small College smile a great deal. Smiling, as mundane or trite as it may sound, is second to none among the college's artifacts. Students reported this quite often for the good or the bad depending upon their feelings about frequently smiling faces across gender and ethnicity. These smiles greet students and visitors to the one-building campus. These smiles lend themselves to the college's being perceived initially by newcomers as a warm and friendly. While no one at Small College talked prominently about "family," one faculty member said the following to an applicant for a faculty position during an interview, "We fight. We have our moments. But when it's done, it's done. We all realize that we have a special thing going here." This special thing, implicitly a sense of family, is evidenced by students' comments about the college and their interactions with faculty. The norm or underlying assumption in terms of Ott's typology (1989), is that faculty and classified staff at Small College put their best foot forward for students and the public, not only because they feel that the public deserves it, but also because of the liveability of the community which apparently no one at the college is willing to forsake by being too political on the job.

Otherwise, and in terms of leadership, the deans and the vice-president of academic affairs all seem to take a back seat to the president in terms of visibility, policy formation and implementation. This is not to say that these personnel are not active or invisible. Feedback from instructional faculty was generally consistent in that collegiality is the norm at the college. Again, and as I have indicated, assessment of administrative leadership was one area of my study which is not complete.

With regard to institutional strategies--how decisions are made, strategies which are employed, and who makes them in terms of Tierney's framework (1988)--I can only report generally and in terms of the college's shared governance structures. Policy and budget development processes are the joint domain of the administration, the faculty senate, and

the College Council. The latter is a body comprised of classified staff, faculty, and administrators. It supersedes the faculty senate as an advisory body to the administration. College Council is the final institutional advisory body to the administration on all college policy and fiscal matters which are forwarded to the administration prior to their submission of the same to the college's Board of Trustees.

The role of the administration regarding policy, short and long-range plannings, and budgetary matters is to propose to both the faculty senate and College Council and solicit input from them in the form of considerations and recommendations. The process is apparently agreeable to all persons with whom I spoke and as evidenced by the minutes from council meetings. Generally, the tenor was that the administration deals with the council at arms length but with respect and apparently, with all cards on the table. I only heard one dissenting voice about the existing shared governance structure. That dissent came from an instructional faculty member who said, "I've never liked the idea of including classified staff in shared governance. Their issues are different from faculty."

Students are also involved in college's governance. For example, there is one, voting representative on the College Council. Students are also represented as voting members of the state mandated Student Equity Committee, and all faculty search committees, although as non-voting members. Finally, there is one voting student on the college's Board of Trustees. These institutional practices and policies imply inclusion and accommodation.

Finally, a tradition and very symbolic gesture by the college to demonstrate its commitment to students and the community, and presumably, to engender loyalty to alma mater is its annual purchase and giving away of graduation caps and gowns at Spring commencement. As one graduating student put it:

This is really neat. I can't think of a better way for me to remember this place. I'm the first one to go to college and graduate from college in my family. This makes up for some shit I had to deal with from some teachers . . . my little boy is going to see

this (cap and gown) and know that if mommy could do it, so can he.

In short, I found that the president sets the tone for the college's values, beliefs, and underlying assumptions through his leadership. In subtle ways, he has apparently won the popular support of students, faculty, classified staff, and the board of trustees. His evaluations by the board have been exemplary. He apparently has it also within the community. For example, it was extremely rare for me to hear disparaging remarks about him in the Small College community from all sectors including ethnic minorities and women. While the organizational consultants who expressed concern about the lack of vision may or may not be correct, the president nonetheless seems to be doing an admirable job in terms of leadership, and shared governance, or strategy. It is an inclusive model which has students involved collaboratively.

Socialization, Information, and Shared Meanings

There are other important dimensions to the college to understand its culture. The most important are symbolic to create shared experiences and to transmit important organizational information. The implication is to create a sense of shared identity among all college classified staff and faculty. As I have indicated, I never heard administrators or faculty members use the term "family," but I got the feel from many faculty members that is what the current administration is attempting to engender. For example, the new president initiated several years ago a "fun" activity for all college staff one week prior to the start of each academic year. During the all faculty-staff orientation immediately prior to the start of each fall term, the president rewards staff and faculty with college logo coffee cups laden with gold stars for special work undertaken the previous year. Equally if not more important, is the annual surprise welcome for new faculty and classified employees. This activity is difficult to describe other than to say that new employee's expectations of being introduced to all through brief summaries of their schoolings and

work experiences, are transcended with related mock rituals and symbolisms.

The president also created his "fireside chats" to bring faculty and classified staff together. These get-togethers are held periodically in the faculty lounge around comfortable chairs and sofas. A videotape of a fireplace with a burning logis turned on near the center of small gatherings which range from six or seven people occasionally. During these "chats," the president raises questions on a number of topics ranging from long-range planning, to fiscal matters, to ways to improve instruction and services to students. The president augments the fireside chats with monthly leadership meetings where representatives from all college units--faculty, adjunct faculty, physical plant, printing and duplication, administrative secretarial, and student services--meet to essentially discuss the same topics covered in the fireside chats.

Finally, four small rituals which accentuate shared experiences within the institution, are worth mentioning. First, faculty who have passed their first year evaluations on their tenure tracks, receive a surprise recognition from faculty and staff. Typically, those new faculty members will be invited to a meeting by the president. Advertised ostensibly as a policy session of one type or another, one thing leads to another during discussions with the session culminating in spontaneous applause, hooting, and recognition of the tenure-track faculty member. I found the objective of this ritual to be an endearment of sorts to new faculty and a recommitment to them by the institution. Second, and less apparent, is the quarterly ritual by registrar's personnel, the college counselors, and all of the administrators, to wear T-shirts or sweat shirts with Small College logos on them as a symbol of identity with the college and of service to students on the first day of term registrations. Third, the college also sponsors an annual faculty-student Bar-B-Q at the end of each school year which is highlighted by a rousing softball game with more than nine players on the field. Finally, the college administration still manages to have surprise birthday parties for all faculty and classified staffs throughout the school year.

Environment

This was my least explored area. What I learned about the institution's relationships with external environments was little. From my attendance at meetings and review of collegewide memos--typically in the form of the Monday Morning Memo--I sensed that the college apparently has a good relationship with the California Community College Chancellor's Office, local and state elected officials, and local businesses. My level of awareness, however, is minimal and insufficient from which to draw conclusions.

Shortcomings

There were perceptions by some students and faculty which apparently contradicted the administration's effort to create a sense of shared community based upon core values and assumptions. The passage below by one faculty member who has been at the college for several years capsulized sentiment by several of the 24 faculty members:

We project an image of being all fun and loving . . . all for one, etc., . . . that mythical camaraderie. Well, it just isn't so. The faculty tried to hang together several years ago. Didn't work. There are too many ideological differences and conflicts between those who had more clout with the administration . . . somebody would be bitching about somebody because so and so got a new computer or a new software package. It's always something. What's clear is the division between administration and classified staff versus faculty. They are not close other than when we get together to celebrate someone's birthday or something like that. Basically, people respect each other. And you really can't ask for more than that in any workplace. But when 5 'O Clock comes, almost everybody goes their separate ways. Except the administration. They always hang together. They have to.

Against the administration's apparent good intent to engender shared experiences and to establish a climate for working together and to apparently accommodate students, the college has other shortcomings. Some of these are structural. One is apparently ideological in terms of its alleged lack of vision. I was not able to determine what the

implications of these shortcomings were on Mexican-American students concerning their social and academic integrations. Apparently, they did not impact students negatively in any way. I list some the most salient shortcomings as listed in the college's recently completed Master Plan. That document was compiled by the entire college staff in active collaboration with educational consultants external to the institution:

- Increase the graduation rate at the college; it has a reputation for not graduating many students.
- Carefully evaluate part-time instructors, 'part-timers need mentors who are full-time teachers.
- Emphasize English as a second language courses and continue to commit resources to the program.
- Plan considering the needs of a rapidly changing population, particularly noting the needs of Hispanics.
- Develop more of a vision: what is the college to be known for?

The college seems to be committed to ethnic minority student access and retention. Recently, for example, the college hired its first, full-time ESL Director, a Chicano from central California. Even before the college generated its Master Plan, the administration had recommended the hiring of a full-time ESL director. The faculty senate balked at the idea initially because it did not recognize the need. At this writing, the administration has apparently committed to giving preference to a Spanish-speaking Latina as the college's third full-time counselor. Moreover, the administration remains committed financially to a part-time multicultural affairs outreach program designed to access and retain more ethnic minority students.

On the surface, then, Small College has made strides to accommodate Latinos. There seems to be sensitivity in support of meeting the need. Two instructors responded in print to the following question I had posed to them: "Based upon your experience at this college, what do you think are the major/minor obstacles that impede Mexican-

American students' academic progress?":

Teacher 1: Many obstacles are blocking the path for Mexican-American students. Cultural differences and misunderstandings, financial woes and concerns, language difficulties, etc. are all contributing factors. These are not solved easily. First, one must see the need for the Mexica American student's educational and economic success. As California is streaking toward becoming the first minority-majority state, the need is great for this population to be highly educated and prosperous. The largest growing group of minorities in California is this particular group which has not been given its rightful place among the job strata in our state, will breed only revolution (as can be proved throughout history with similar situations). California can no longer ignore this serious situation. As a community college, we have the responsibility to aggressively target this group of students to make a difference in their future.

I followed-up with another teacher who did not respond in writing to my request.

Instead, the instructor had the following things to say verbally as I best reconstructed them.

Q: Give me your perceptions about this college commitment to Mexican-American students.

Teacher 2: Historically, this college has not moved on anything unless it absolutely had to do so. The old president wrote the book on 'good old boys.' You were either in or out with him. The new CEO is different. He is complex...much more than people think even though he is recognized as a profound person. To say he's savvy is an understatement. He may give the appearance that he's got a handle and he pretty much does. I sense that he's winging it sometimes even though he gives the appearance that he has a sense of where he would like the college to go . . .if he does, he hasn't given us a blueprint.

Q: What does that mean in relation to Mexican-American students?

A: I guess it's a pretty good guess . . . he'll come through. If for no other reason, because the Chancellor's Office has been breathing down the college's neck for some time concerning affirmative action compliance with minority hires . . . look at the number of minorities who earn the certificates and associates. It's not just Hispanics. It's the school and the changes it's going through since the king left. You're talking money if the college screws up. This guy, first and foremost, is a businessman. He works real hard during the week. . . then he goes and plays golf on Saturday and Sunday.

Another full-time instructor said this in response to my formal written question

about Mexican-American students:

There is so much that needs to be done, but I believe that change can occur. If a few (instructors and administrators) are determined enough, change can begin and can be documented. I believe that we have to get out of our ivory tower and go out into the community to really begin change. At that point, it comes down to how much we want to see change take place or are we only really interested in being able to say on some soon-to-be-forgotten report that we did what we were supposed to do. That is never enough. We have to go out.

In summary, my feel from these testimonials and college documents regarding the college's mission is that the warmth and friendliness of Small College must be qualified based upon earlier comments from some students and from statements made by those teachers above. To a large extent, Small College is warm and friendly. However there are contradictions between word and deeds. For example, and given the low numbers of ethnic minorities who have earned associate degrees, vocational degrees, certificates, or who have transferred over the past five years, and given the very small percentage of ethnic minority vocational, associate program, and transfer students enrolled at the college last year, it is interesting to note that only five of the 24 full-time faculty volunteered for a recently announced faculty mentor program for ethnic minority students. That program only requires one hour of contact with students per week. The college administrators, on the other hand, had a 100% response rate or commitment to mentoring. In short, warmth and friendliness and its underlying norms and values, at least for some faculty, seems to have limits with respect to reaching out above and beyond.

The Family: Encouragement and Mediation of Schooling

Central to seven of the 10 achieving students in this study has been their families. This is not to say that the family has been an ally at all times for these students. In fact, as students explain below, family members have been highly antagonistic at various times during these students formative years. However, and in the end, the family has provided

three things for these students. First, and perhaps, most important for most of them has been the provision of emotional support for a multitude of students' problems. Second, most of these families modeled conscientiousness if not employability and college-going student skills. Attinasi (1986), in his study of university Chicano students, referred to these processes generally as engendering behaviors, habits, and attitudes for students to be primed to experience success. In most of the instances I present below, it was the intervention or guidance by parents which helped make a difference in students' lives beginning with their elementary schoolings. At other times, it was provided by nuclear family or extended family members. While these engenderments or by Vygotskian terminology, parental presence in students' zones of proximal development (Vygotsky, 1978), may not necessarily have facilitated students' social integrations at Small College, they appear to have at least given students the vision to value education and to persist. Third, these students' families grounded them with senses of personal and ethnic identity. As such, they knew who they are as people, as Mexicans, and as Mexican-Americans, Chicanos, or in the case of Eco, as having no preferred ethnic identity. These factors made it possible, then, for the students to make initial academic commitments within the college.

The Mexican and Mexican-American family, then, played an important role in most of the students' academic achievements. Its roles were to encourage and provide emotional support to the students and to mediate their schoolings. For most of the students, mediation took the form of apprising them of the value of schooling dating back to their formative years. I present here contexts of those mediations by the Mexican-American family.

Lugo

Lugo was, perhaps, the most expressive regarding the role of his family in his education success or achievement and the role played by his mother. It took him a long time to get there, however. He recounted one situation which was the start of a turning point in his life. He had been suspended from middle school for excessive "ditching." Actually, as Lugo indicated, ". . .it had been going on for years." For some reason, his mother had been led to believe that Lugo's school attendance was satisfactory. He continues:

All those years when I was ditching. I thought I was cool because everybody else was doing it. I came home then, and mom was standing in the kitchen. She looked at me and said, 'They called from school and they said you weren't there.' That's all she said. It killed me when I let her down!" I owe everything to her. It was just love that she wanted. . .we really weren't pushed toward education. Education in our parents' eyes was not that important. I have an older brother who went to USC, but he didn't finish. My parents were happy for him after the fact even though he did not finish. . . My mom is a faithful Catholic, very traditional. She never really pushed religion, not the superficial crap. She raised the kids to be good people.

Lugo went on to describe the East Los Angeles ethos which reinforced to an extent but which also conflicted with his mother's desires:

The thing in East L.A. is to be a good person, get a job, marry a nice girl. It wasn't 'get a college degree.' Mom took an active interest in my life, like, 'do you have a job?' 'Don't stay out late at night.' There wasn't any real heavy pressure. . .but I was also into staying out late at night, drinking, partying, womanizing. . .We weren't cholos. (i.e., "uncultured" second generation Mexican-American street "punks")

I then asked Lugo who the head of his family was:

A: My mom was the heart and soul of the family. My dad was like the figurehead...all of us respected our mother tremendously even though our behavior outside the house was inconsistent. Our dad did some disciplining, but mom did the moral disciplining. Almost everything I am today is attributable to my mom.

Q: How was she the heart and soul?

A: She just set the tone.

Lugo had other help from his grandmother as well. Even though he had shamed himself with his mother in middle school, he reverted to earlier ways only worse. For example, he was selling dope all throughout high school, was high on drugs quite often, hung-out on the streets, and was a freshman in units early in his junior year. He was busted, and as I indicated in his short biography at the outset of this chapter, and was placed in continuation school. He recalls walking into continuation school the first day:

All the babosos (worms) were in there. That hit me the way that guy hit me earlier. I told myself, "I'm not a pendejo" (I'm not stupid). I asked a social worker to intervene. He did and I got placed back in regular school conditionally; I had to keep a C average. That's the shot I needed. I got a job at a Catholic school. A female teacher took an interest in me and motivated me. I started carrying books. People stared at me, but I started kicking ass. There is no such thing as being 'smart.' It's just how much homework you put in. I told my grandmother to tell my friends that I wasn't home so I could study. My grandmother really bailed me out. I couldn't have made it without her.

Lugo's siblings also bailed him out for his earlier indifference to schooling. The following dialogue depicts the lack of encouragement from parents and the modeling and pushing done by his brothers who had attended college before Lugo and who helped him turn on to the idea of college. First, he recounts his parents' attitudes toward school:

Education in our parents' eyes wasn't important...my mom was like a lot of Mexicans, their place was in the home...and my dad told me, 'you can't make any money going to school.'

In contrast, Lugo's brothers gave him encouragement to go to school and to expand his horizons:

They encouraged me to do well when I was in school. They always talked to me about the news, what was going on in the world, about books, and things like that...after I got good grades in my last couple of years in high school, my parents were happy after the fact. . . they really couldn't comprehend it. . . other family members were also happy after the fact.

Elena

Elena presents a similar experience where at least one person took an interest in her schooling: her father. Her father is a humble man of farmworker background originally. She indicated to me that his encouragement was instrumental even though he had little schooling. What was important to her about her father was that he takes continuous interest in her schooling. Elena said the following things about him:

Dad wants me to finish college and keep at it. He's said, 'if you need help, I'll do what I can. It's important because he cares about me. He doesn't have much schooling. . .but he's a smart man. . . you don't have to go to school to be smart. He told me not to be like him and not go to school. He also told me I'd. . .have to work harder since I'm a Mexicana.

Elena had other support. After she dropped out of high school and was living off the streets of Los Angeles, she says:

Grammie (Grandma) was the one who prepared me to get my GED. She drove me to the test center. I was living on the streets in L.A. . . . my grammie was real cool. She knew my situation and what I had been through. She never pushed me and was there when I needed her. . . I had help in high school, too. The teachers really supported me, but one time I got into a fight and I was kicked out. I went back and I dropped out after that. I didn't get any help from my mom. She wouldn't let me go back. She just wanted me to get a job, get my license, and get a job. I fell so far behind, I couldn't catch up.

Several years ago, Elena's father and mother divorced. She is contact with her father at least twice per week. He still supports her with little amounts of money here and there. She recounts other ways that her father has helped her out in preparing for adult life:

Dad had a lot of hassles being Mexican. He didn't want us kids to learn Spanish because he didn't want us to be discriminated against. But it doesn't matter. We learned Spanish early. It always comes out anyway when you're in line at the grocery store or in line at the car wash. My dad has helped me a lot, maybe not with money, but he's helped me think that I can make it. Even if everything goes down the tube, at least I know he'll be there until he dies.

There are other students who have been grounded by their family orientations, and

other types of support. Three who stand out are Alpha, Rulo, and Beta. Most notable is Alpha and the frequency of contact by telephone or letters with their nuclear, extended, and fictive clan--compadres, padrinos, padrinas--in Mexico.

Alpha

Alpha is the oldest male sibling in his family. With regard to his contact with his grandparents, for example, he says:

Yo les hago visitas regularmente; a lo menos, una vez por ano. . .no me recuerdo bien que tantos anos tienen, pero creo ochenta y cinco hasta noventa, mas o menos (Translation: I visit them regularly, at least once a year. . . I don't remember how old they; I think somewhere between eighty-five and ninety).

Alpha also maintains regular and frequent contact with his cousins in Mexico by telephone and letter. In response to my question of why he had such frequent communications, he said, "To know if there is any type of help I can provide to them in case they need it." I was taken back by the comment and wondered how he could help anyone since he has been a full-time student and works between 40 to 50 ours per week. I thought that this sense of cooperation, transmitted to him by nuclear and extended families, was sustaining him and motivated him to commit to schooling here in the United States. In other words, and as I learned, Alpha was attending college just as much for his family and to be in a position to help them in the future, as he was for himself.

Alpha has also benefitted other ways from his family even though he comes from a poor background in Mexico. He received great encouragement from uncles, and cousins to either attend military school or the University of Mexico as a medical student. He talked about that support from his uncles who gave him early impetus:

Q: Who encouraged you the most in your family to go to college?

A: My uncles.

Q: How so?

A: Querian que fuera a la escuela militar primariamente, pero no queria ser soldado. Pero, a lo menos querian que asistiera a colegio. Eso es lo que queria yo. Tambien uno de mis tios es abogado. Tambien, tengo un cunado quien es medico. Por eso, siempre he tenido el apoyo e interes de seguir adelante. (Translation: They wanted me to go to military school first, but I didn't want to be a soldier. But at least, they wanted me to go to college and that is what I wanted to do. I have an uncle who is a lawyer. And I have a brother in law who is a medical doctor. Therefore, I've always had the support and encouragement to move ahead).

Alpha had originally dreamed of being a lawyer, and subsequently a medical doctor for which he was on track in high school in Mexico. However, he encountered resistance from his mother and father who are both "traditional." Alpha had this to say about them as he mixed English with Spanish:

They must change because eso es proceso de la vida ("Eso es proceso de vida" means "That's a life process."). Estamos evolucionando. (We are evolving) Life is not static. Como quiera, doy credito a mi papa. (Anyway, I thank my father). El siempre ha ido los Estados Unidos a visitar desde cuando fui nino. (He always has come to the United States to visit ever since I was little). Since he came and went, he had to know how to speak English. So, he emphasized English to us as well. I also had a grandfather on my father's side. He would read stories to us and mention words and phrases in English. It made it easier for me to learn English.

Alpha has other thoughts about the value of his education. It is a reciprocity to his family and his own people, "My motivation is my desire to help my family and my sweetheart. I need to have to have the tools to help my people. We need to deal with discrimination." Discrimination is a recurring theme not only with Alpha, but with all--save one--of the other students in this study as I discuss later in the chapter. In short, Alpha has committed himself to schooling to help his family and to be in the position to deal with discrimination against Mexicans and Mexican-Americans. His feelings about marginalization were not as pronounced as Cuco's whom I discuss later.

Beta

Beta has been motivated similarly although not as strongly by her family in Mexico. Although Beta was next to least talkative of all the research participants, she believes that "La sangre es muy importante." (Blood is important). "La sangre"--blood--is euphemism for family. To Beta, her extended family still has great unity. And in ways very consistent with traditional Mexican orientations, she remembers her godparents from her baptism, confirmation, and communion in the Catholic Church:

Yo si me recuerdo bien. Y los nombres de me mi madrina y padrinos de cada ocasion. Es importante porque son mis cuidantes. Yo me figuro si mis padres los respetaban tanto a estar conmigo, pues, yo les debo el mismo nivel de respeto. Para mi, ellos son familia. (Translation: I remember well. And the names of my godmother and godfathers on each occasion. It's important because they are my caretakers. I figure that if my parents respected them enough to be with me, I should show them the same level of respect).

As I understood it, Beta's mentor and motivator to this day was her father. He died several years ago. She recounts a small transaction in which she engaged daily when she was a girl and her father would go to work:

Beta: Y donde va, papa? (And where are you going, papa?).

Father: Voy a luchar! (I am going to war!). Hay trabajo que tengo que hacer. No hay bastantes horas en el dia a hacer lo que tengo que hacer. (I'm going to war. There is work that I have to do. There are not enough hours in the day for me to do what I have to do).

Although the transaction was in gest, Beta speaks reverently of it and her father. For her, it meant that her father took his work seriously. This modeling by her father and internalization of that modeling by Beta would prove later to be instrumental in her initial commitment to schooling and later to her family. The dialogue continued:

Q: Y que fue la impresion cuando tu jefito hablo asi? (And what was the impression on you when your father spoke like that?)

A: Pues, para mi, yo sentia que mi papa fue un hombre serio... sabia reir tambien

pero fue un hombre serio y yo queria ser como el (Translation: Well, for me, I felt that my father was a serious man. . . he knew how to laugh also and I knew that I wanted to be like him).

Her father was a small businessman and apparently, a very diligent worker. Beta said this about him:

Fue muy bien conocido en la region. Tuvo una reputacion de ser muy fuerte. Todos los rancheros lo conocieron. Fue un hombre de honor y de palabra. Fue un lider en nuestra comunidad. Organizo juntas entre los padres y los maestros de la escuela. Tambien, organizo la celebracion del Cinco de Mayo y El Dia De Las Madres. (Translation: He was very well known in the region. He had a reputation of being a very strong man. All of the ranchers knew him. He was a man of honor and of his word. He was a leader in our community. He also organized the 5th of May Celebration in the community as well as Mothers' Day).

Interestingly, Beta said that she ". . . always knew that I would go to college," but that she was not sure where she got the idea. I told her that it seemed logical that it would have come from her father by the things she had told me about him and how much she admired him. She said, "Pues, no me recuerdo." (Well, I do not remember).

Rulo

Rulo presents similar accounts of the importance of his family and Mexicans in his life as bases to continue with his schooling. More than all other students in my study, Rulo identifies strongly as a Mejica Indian, not just a Mexican. He talked at various times of the "sane" life as an extension of family and cultural influences:

Siempre hemos sidos gente pobre, pero, siempre hemos sido gente civilizado. Para nosotros, Mejicanos, eso es muy importante en el mundo gringo. Yo he beneficiado de mi mama y papa y en modos que no expresan palabras. Lo mas importante es a vivir con dignidad y a vivir una vida sana. He vivido yo en barrios de Mejico que no son sanas. Me disfrute de la vida alla, pero nunca fui parte de cosas malas. Nosotros Mejicanos tenemos algo profundo que muchos de nosotros a veces no reconocen. Peor, ya que hay muchos mas de nosotros en los Estados Unidos--casi cuarenta porciento pertenicio a Mejico en un tiempo--nos estamos olvidiendo el

poder de la familia. La familia nos ha sostenido. Ojala que no se nos olvide de eso. (Translation: We have always been poor people, but, we have always been civilized people. For us, Mexicans, that is very important in the gringo (White) world. . . I have benefitted from my mother and my father in ways that words cannot express. The most important is to live with dignity and to live a sane life. . . I have lived in some rough neighborhoods in Mexico. I enjoyed living there, but I was never involved in any crazy stuff. We Mexicans have something profound that many of us do not recognize. Worse, now that there are more of us in the United States--almost 40%percent belonged to Mexico a one time--we are forgetting the power of the family. The family has sustained us. Let's hope that we don't forget that).

As I indicated in my short biography of Rulo at the outset of this chapter, he is 43 years and together with his cousin, was the "scout" for his family in Mexico. One by one or in small groups, Rulo has sacrificed to keep his family intact by bringing them over to the United States. There are now 12 brothers, sisters, uncles, and cousins in the Small college community. With regard to his schooling, he always had models and pushers. One of his brothers was a lawyer in Mexico. Today, that uncle washes dishes for work at a restaurant in the Small College community. One of his aunts is a nurse in Mexico. Another is a dietary technician in Mexico. One of his cousins is a medical doctor in Mexico. Rulo was on track to be a medical doctor in Mexico when he had to forsake it for family obligations. With regard to schooling, Rulo says:

Mis jefitos siempre me avisaron del valor de educacion. Los dos son muy fuertes dirigidos. Los dos reconocen el valor de mejorarse. (Translation: Both of my parents always told me about the importance of schooling. Both of them are strong and directed. Both of them understand the importance of improving yourself).

In response to my question of how they conveyed the importance of schooling, Rulo said:

Siempre pusieron emfasis el la escuela, no unicamente en los grados primarios, pero tambien en colegio. Decia me papa que si pudieramos, que debemos ir a colegio, porque asi se abre la mente (Translation: My parents always emphasized the importance of schooling to us, not only elementary school, but college as well. My father would say that if we could, we should go to college because that way we would open our minds).

Cuco

Cuco, a Very Mexican Oriented, Mexican-American from Mexico. He has been on his own financially in the United States. He speaks well in English, although he speaks Spanish whenever possible. He has always had his family's emotional and financial support. The financial support ended, however, ended when he became a permanent resident. Cuco's family influence on his schooling begins with his father. It is an odd story in relation to other students in my study, because as the accounts below reveal, it does not make too much sense. It does not make sense because his father who holds high aspirations for Cuco and has always pushed him to higher education has ironically turned out to be indirectly an adversary. Ultimately, his father would be a primary motivation for Cuco's initial commitment to college. Cuco said this about his father:

He is a driven man. Es raro! No me crees, pero es raro. Fijate, por ejemplo, cuando el cree que yo o lo demas no hicimos la esfuerza que el queria, el te grita en tu oreja. Y tambien golpea la mesa a puno. Es perfeccionista. Siempre expecto que todos los muchachos iban a continuar con la escuela y que ibamos a tener exito. Yes cierto, que eso si ha pasado. (Translation: He is a driven man. He is rare. No believe me, he is rare. Note, for example, when he thinks that I and the rest of us did not make the effort in school he expected of us, he would shout in your ear. And he pounds his fist on the table. He always expected us (children) to continue with school, and that we would be successful. And it's true, that has happened).

Cuco went on to explain that all of his brothers and sisters have gone on to college in Mexico in large part due to their father. He is a self-made man who has expected each of his children to attain as he has: through discipline and hard work. As the accounts below indicate, he is an extremely fastidious person. He works as a surveyor for the Mexican government and apparently has been successful in pushing his children toward academic success and professional development in Mexico. Cuco elaborated more:

He reads all the time. Books, newspapers. He has never drank. He has never smoked. He is a very intense man. He is very intelligent. He is very demanding and always has very high expectations. That is why I am here in the United States. I

just couldn't deal with it. He scares people. He would never hit you, pero confronta a gente de volada! (He would never hit you, but he confronts people right away!).

Cuco added that his desire to be in college comes not only from his father. His mother, who has a high school education--not a limited experience compared to American education; there, for example, students in la Preparatoria take physics, calculus, chemistry, community organization, and the like before they graduate and matriculate to the university--has also taken a strong interest in his schooling ever since he can remember. Likewise, his extended family--the majority of whom are "professionals" in Mexico--check his progress periodically. They do this in a variety of ways, most often times by correspondence. They are important to him not only in terms of engendering expectations modeling academic behaviors and earnestness, but also because they mediate Cuco's relationship with his father. Many of them know personally how the father has been and continues to be. The dialogue below addresses the nature of the relationship with his extended family members concerning his presence in the United States:

Q: And what do you tell them?

A: Les digo que estoy bien y que tengo exito en este colegio. (Translation: I tell them that I'm well and doing OK in this college).

Q: Do they ever put pressure on you to do well?

A: Bueno, si y no. Si, desde cuando fui nino, mis tios, tias, primas, hermanos y hermanas siempre me platicaron del valor de escuela. . . no me recuerdo cuando, pero siempre me dijeron que iba a tener un buen trabajo en el futuro. Y siempre me ayudaron cuando tenia preguntas de la escuela. En una manera o otra, siempre he tenido el apoyo de mi familia. Somos una familia quines que da la mano a otros. (Translation: Well, yes and no. Yes, since I was little, my uncles, aunts, cousins, brothers, and sisters always talked to me about the value of schooling. . . I don't remember, but they always told me that I would have a good job in the future. And they always helped me when I had questions from school. One way or another, I have always had my family's support. We are the type of family to help each other).

It is not surprising that Cuco did well academically in high school in Mexico. He

graduated with a 9.5 grade point average. A 10.0 would be the equivalent of straight A average.

Quinta

Quinta presents a unique story of all 12 students with whom I worked in this study. She has always been a superior student in terms of grade point average. She is at Small College to meet pre-requisites before transferring to a university. She lacks less than one year to earn her baccalaureate degree. She had attended a California State university over fifteen years ago and accumulated a 3.7 grade point average. However, had to withdraw because of lack of finances and because her grades were not high enough to qualify for merit scholarships. She gets her ambition and drive from her parents. As Quinta puts it, her parents told her from a very early age, "Never take 'no' for an answer," and "never let authority go unchallenged." They also told her, "If you're going to do something, be sure you're right." Her mother and father--both in their 60's--were present in Quinta's kitchen when she told me this. They looked at me and nodded their heads simultaneously without saying anything. I add that Quinta's parents were the only family members with whom I communicated personally. Their remarks and sense of character were insightful methodologically because they allowed me to corroborate comments made at other times by Quinta in other settings when her parents were not present.

Her parents always pushed her on to bigger and better things. I imagine that is why she is now the only ethnic minority and Latina on the city council in the Small College community. To say that Quinta is assertive is an understatement. She verges on aggression for people who do not know her. For those who know her, her apparent gruffness is easily recognized as the way that Quinta is with only best intentions in mind. For example, I found during my sessions with her, in contrast to other students, that my role was much more a listener. The following dialogue demonstrates this based on a

conversation we had at her kitchen table while her mother sat nearby and as her father sat a counter reading the newspaper:

Q: Tell me your strengths as a student.

A: I never took no for an answer. Last term, the algebra teacher told us that we all had done poorly on the final portion of the mid-term. I told him, "Wait a minute, we didn't do poorly. You didn't teach it!"

Q: What happened?

A: He said he thought that he had covered the material. He didn't and then adjusted the scores.

This assertiveness characterizes Quinta's locus of control. She takes this approach to electoral politics. It marks her commitment to herself as a person and to her goals as Small College. In a similar way, Quinta recounted two stories about how seriously she has taken her schooling. The second reflects her ethnic pride or ethnic loyalty:

Quinta: Once when I was in grade school, I told a teacher that I didn't like the way she was teaching. She disagreed with me. So I went to see the principal and demanded a meeting between me, the principal and the teacher. I got the meeting.

Q: What happened?

A: It was just a chance for the teacher to explain herself.

Q: What happened after that?

A: The teacher made it a point to explain things to me.

During another time, Quinta retells this story from junior high school:

Quinta: There was this racist teacher. She let the White kids stay in the shade. The Mexican kids had to play in the sun when it was one hundred degrees. I complained to the principal about that racist teacher and I told him, "I don't want this woman as teacher. She's a racist and I'm not going back to that class."

During my few sessions with Quinta, I learned that her parents were the driving force behind her inquisitiveness and drive. In particular, her mother seemed to be the driving

force for Quinta. The mother is an Indian-looking woman in her early 60's. Periodically, she would make a point to me by pointing her finger emphatically. It was easy for me to sense that much of Quinta's identity as a Mexican-American and her high degree of ethnic loyalty stem from her relationship with her mother. In short, I found both of her parents to be very instrumental in Quinta's sense of herself as a person and as a Mexican-American who should not take a back seat in life to anyone.

Eco

Eco recently gave birth to a baby boy. The child's father is White and apparently has lived with Eco for a fairly long period of time. As I indicated at the outset of this chapter, she comes from a very dysfunctional family. Her parents divorced when she was three years old. She lived more with her aunt and with friends as a young girl than she did with her mother. Her mother is a third generation Mexican-American who speaks Spanish. Her natural father is a third generation Mexican-American and speaks no Spanish. Despite her family problems, she remembers that both her parents took more than a marginal interest in her schooling:

My mom always talked to me about school. Her expectations were not super strong, but she always asked me how I was doing and if I was having any problems. I always appreciated that. She was also involved with the PTA. My dad also took an interest in my schoolwork. He wasn't around like my mom, but I knew that he was there if I needed him.

Q: What do you mean if you needed him?

A: I always liked school, but I had to work things out like relationships at school, friends, enemies. . . I could talk to my dad about those kinds of things.

Eco lived with her aunt because of on-going fights with her mother, part of which stemmed later from peer pressure to cut school. Even though she later became involved in drugs and "running the streets," she talked about her teen years and her motivation to

want to go school. Those years were essentially like many young teens we see today who, without parental interest or supervision, hang-out in front of convenience stores until very late hours, and who otherwise, come and go from their homes at will. Those teenage years were difficult and painful for Eco as she elaborates. However, she always valued schooling and had parents who took interest in her schooling:

I grew up older. . . now I know that I need to work to make things work. I'm tired of going nowhere. I remember the last time I moved in with my aunt that I needed to be independent. This independence thing has now kicked-in. Mom was dependent upon men and I don't want to be like my mom.

Q: Somebody like you, though, is not supposed to make it. Know what I mean? Your home life was not good, and as you say, you were out running the streets.

A: I know, but school always came fairly easy for me. I don't know why. I was bored, though, with school. I really didn't have a family life. But my mom and dad always took an interest in school. Maybe I was out to please them. Maybe that's why.

Q: What other ways did you parents take interest in your schooling?

A: It wasn't anything special. They would just ask me how school was when I'd come home. They'd ask me about my teachers, my math, my art work. Stuff like that.

Q: How often did they talk to you about school?

A: Every day. Every day when I would come home after school. My aunt did too when I was staying with her.

The level of interest taken by Eco's parents in her schooling are characteristic of virtually all of the students in my study. She was a very good student while she was at Small College. She maintained a 3.0 grade point average in transfer classes at Small College. She has always been committed strongly to the idea of higher education. She left early after I began my research with her last summer. She moved to another California town with the father of her child to move in with his family. That family will provide

them with a rent-free home and pay their tuition for them to attend the local community college. After that, she plans to transfer to a state university in the same town and complete requirements for an elementary teaching credential.

Carma

Carma, like Inca, is one of the two achieving students in my study who did not have family or emotional support or encouragement from her family for her grade schooling, or to attend college. This has changed in recent years as I indicated in her biography at the outset of this chapter. Today, she has the active encouragement and support from her mother, and four of her siblings who have earned either associate or four-year degrees. She is about two terms from completing associate degree requirements in Spanish. Most of her curriculum is transferable. She was the product of abusive relationships with her mother when she lived at home.

As a teenager, she was a heavy drug user. All the while, she was going through extremely physically abusive relationships with two boyfriends who bore two children by her. Her boyfriends would beat her regularly either stemming from jealousy or from the desire to be in control. She once told me that she was "black and blue" a great deal of the time from beatings inflicted upon her. She had her first child at fourteen years of age during her freshman year in high school. She had her second boy four years later. She dropped-out of high school. Carma's mother was originally a migrant farmworker. She talks about the role her mother played in her development:

Mom was also a real estate person and now works as a car dealer in Las Vegas. She never wanted me to go to school. I was her little 'problem child.' Once I got into a fight in grade school over some stupid thing. I can't remember what. But my mom did not support me when we had to meet the principal. She sided with the other girl. That really hurt me. . . She always favored the boys. . . She had gone through a very abusive relationship with my father, so I guess she was trying to help me go straight in the best way she could tell me. There were just two things she wanted

from us kids: work as much as possible to help the family and not get into fights. We were afraid of her. We knew she would kick our butts if we fucked up. . . she used to hit me with a brush.

But, things were not all that bad later on for Carma. Like other students in my study, Carma benefitted from nuclear family members to helped her see the importance of schooling in less strident ways than her mother. Her two sisters and two brothers have taken a strong interest in her schooling. The two sisters have some college education, but Carma does not know how much. She thinks they have associate degrees. One of her brothers is a deputy sheriff and another works for the City of Watsonville. Both brothers have bachelor's degrees. They call her periodically and ask about her children and about her coursework at Small College. About that, Carma told me:

It means a lot. After what I went through in my life. . . Jesus, my first boyfriend; what a fucking wimp; stuck a gun up my you know what and threatened to blow it away if he ever saw me with another man. I was just a kid at the time. And then having two kids before I could turn around. Yah, it means a lot to have my brothers and sisters believe in me, the fuck-up. We all get along well now. There was a time when we didn't. I tried to stab my brother when we were kids.

Q: You what?

A: Yah, I tried to stab him with a kitchen knife. I was mean, my mom was mean to me, everybody was mean.

Later, I talked with Carma about her relationships with abusive men and why she finally decided to enroll in Small College. One interesting outcome from the dialogue below is that she has a strong sense of where she has gone with her life in her relationships with men and that she could no longer tolerate those types of abusive relationships.

Carma: All I had done with my life was just bounce around. I was into drugs. I had two kids. I had picked doozies for boyfriends. My first one, used to slap me in the car if he thought I looked at men on the street. We'd be driving down the street and he'd whack me. I'd just be sitting there and not looking at anything and wham (Carma pretends that she has been hit with the back of her boyfriend's hand).

Carma was a teenager and was living with her boyfriend--another teenager--when she had this relationship. She went on to describe how possessive this boyfriend was:

Carma: He used to lock me in the house when he'd leave. He'd stick a piece of paper in the cracks of the doors to make sure that I had been there while he was gone.

Q: Why didn't you go out the windows?

A: I was afraid he'd see me somewhere and then he'd beat the shit out of me.

Q: So this is two shitty relationships you've had.

A: I know, tell me.

Later, Carma told me why she ended-up at Small College:

Carma: I had to do something. I just got tired of men beating the shit out of me. I don't know what was wrong with me and the first boyfriend. He was smaller than me. He just talked tough and he always had a gun. I should have kicked his ass. The church has also turned things around for me (Carma became a Jehovah's Witness over the past few years).

Today, and as a result of these relationships, Carma is a Jehovah's Witness. As I discuss in the final subsection of this chapter, she has apparently found another boyfriend--ironically White despite her reservations about Whites--whom she would marry if he were to commit to her church.

Gene

Gene never had anyone in his family to help him interpret his schooling realities or prod him onto schooling. He came from a very psychologically and physically abusive family. He once told me that the ". . . only thing I remember about my father was him beating my mom." They divorced early. Gene's mother works as a tax preparer for migrant farmworkers in a Sacramento Valley town in California. Gene was raised by his maternal grandmother, apparently, because his mother did not want to care for him. She was the only one in his life who emphasized schooling to him. However, Gene was never receptive:

She would guilt trip me. I didn't need that at that point in my life. My mom hardly talked to me about school. Whenever I saw her, she always seemed too busy. Mom really did not have any expectations of me. I think she might have wanted me to be an actor.

Gene remembers "... always getting into fights" when he was in grade school.

About this, he said: "I always got blamed. I got the rep for being a bad guy and people just kind of stayed away from me. But I wasn't a bad guy. You know how kids can be in school." And even though "kids will be kids," so to speak, Gene's mother never was present to help him with the pain that he experienced at all grade levels..As I elaborate in a later discussion about Gene and Nacho in reference to Clark's cooling-out thesis (Clark, 1960), it seemed that this lack of family support and failed interventions by school officials marked him for diversion from an early age.

Gene also remembers that few people accepted him. This perspective is based on race relations. He said:

In junior high, I realized that race played a big part in my life. Mexican kids would not accept me because I didn't speak Spanish and probably because I was a pocho to them. The White kids wouldn't accept me because I was a Mexican.

Gene's first language was Spanish. He lost that proficiency when he was young. He cannot remember how or when. He enrolled at a San Francisco Bay area community college several years ago to earn his GED. Along the way, he met an English teacher "... who really turned me on to literature." He came to Small College about two years ago. He has not enrolled since Fall term, 1993. I discuss Gene along with Nacho in a subsequent section as the two who apparently dropped-out from Small College.

Inca

Inca was originally admitted to a California state university over twenty years ago after graduating from high school in Stockton. Like Carma, she never received

encouragement or support from anyone in her family to continue her schooling. For example, one of her uncles told her that "... school is a waste of time." Compounding matters, her mother would never defend her in the presence of her uncle. Her mother never encouraged her. Worse, her father--"a decent man"-- was never in a position to be aware of the problem or to deal with it for reasons I yet do not understand. He was a "shameful illiterate" according to Inca. Inca's mother had to show him how to write and read. It was this lack of support, two bad relationships with men, sexism within her family, and life-long encounters with racism which have motivated Carma to continue her schooling at Small College.

Despite these major constraints, Inca was a good student at all grade levels. She was a very good student in high school. However, because of family obligations, she stayed home and enrolled at the local community college in her hometown. Even though she was a good student, she "bombed-out" her first year. As she said, there was peer pressure to party and do drugs. Inca became pregnant and had her first of two girls. It became impossible to continue her schooling, so she withdrew from this first community college when she was 18 years old.

Inca excelled in grade school and high school because of her "miserable" home life and neighborhood life. She resented her family life as she describes:

Mom always catered to my dad and my brothers. Me and my sister and my mom had to serve the men their meals. They ate first. After we picked-up their plates, then we ate.

Ironically, Inca's mother was "smart" according to Inca. I pursued her comment:

Q: If your mom was so smart, why didn't she finish high school?

A: To help her older brothers who were in college.

Q: Help how?

A: Somebody had to work. Somebody had to cook. . . so my mom gave up school to help the men of the house. She always helped the men in her families. When she was a young kid, and then with my brothers when I was living at home.

Later, I followed-up with Inca about this double standard in her home. She elaborated about the frustration of school and family life:

It was hard to know that you were pretty good at something that you really liked, but you never got any rewards or encouragement for it from anybody at home. All I ever got was reminders that I was not a man. That's the way it was in my family. And I don't know why mom let this happen.

Compounding things for her was her neighborhood. It was located in the "bad part" of Stockton. As Inca said, ". . . there were just Blacks and Chicanos there. Once there was an ugly race riot between the Chicanos and Blacks. It wasn't a good place to live. Still isn't." According to Inca, it was because of her home life and her neighborhood that she liked school so much. For her, it was the idea ". . . of being stimulated. It was a happy place for me. It was a substitution for a poor family life."

Years after being away from college and a second failed relationship, she moved to the Small College community to rebuild her life. Part of that re-building was to enroll at Small College. She began by taking aerobics and physical education classes. During the 1992-93 school year, over 20 years after she was admitted to Fresno State University, she began anew with college transfer classes at Small College. She said, "I decided to continue because if you start something, you should finish it."

Marginality and the Will to Succeed

Go very lightly on the vices such as carrying on in society. The social rumble ain't restful.

--Satchel Page, The First Major League Black Pitcher--

When Lois Weis (1985), explained how oppositional culture by Blacks and the

contradictions between professed democratic ideals of the community college and how those ideals were transformed by instructors in their pedagogies to deal with presumably recalcitrant Black students, she addressed cross-cultural relations and how they worked at a Boston community college to the detriment of Black students. The implication on a broader level was clear: cross-cultural relations in the community college suggest conflict. Kempner (1991), Rendon and Valadez (1993), similarly found culture conflicts in their studies at community colleges.

I found cross-cultural conflict in my study as well. These outcomes, though, dealt with the way in which the students in my study integrated themselves socially within Small College. These findings about social integration were clearer and more distinct than those I found regarding students' pre-collegiate--background--variables stemming from their social, linguistic, and generational distances from Mexico. What I saw in my observations of students confirmed what they told me during my interviews with them: conflict across culture. Eleven students reported conflict to me regardless of their acculturation levels. Interestingly, only one student--the only Anglo-Oriented student in my study--did not report any type of conflict. Were it not for her surname, one would never think that she is of Mexican or Mexican-American origin on the basis of her phenotype.

Manifestly, then, all of the students in my study, with but two exceptions, recognized two things: (1) achievement is but a hoop through which to jump in order to be economically mobile and marketable. With regard to academic integration, this awareness fueled to a large extent their initial goal commitments at Small College; and (2) it is wise as one student put it, and the sooner the better, to smile and "eat shit" because, "... you can never forget that you are Brown; even if you want, a lot of people won't let you forget." The latter is particularly instructive, because it is similar to sentiments expressed by students in Weis' study (1985), and numerous studies by Ogbu (1982, 1985, 1987a),

Foley (1991), and Ogbu Matute-Bianchi (1986). The importance of those studies is that historically transmitted and embedded feelings of marginalization typically manifest themselves as oppositional cultures or resistance to schooling.

In my study, the vast majority of students expressed--albeit subdued--strong oppositional culture orientations. I believe that these orientations and attendant behaviors stemmed from internalizing their marginalizations in social structures and interpersonally over the years. I did not find variation in oppositional culture orientations on the basis of sociocultural variabilities. Instead, I found that oppositional culture orientations were closely related to students' phenotypes. I also found that families had transmitted to most of these students knowledge of structured subordination over the years. These marginalities and oppositional orientations, then, were major, although, not exclusive, impetuses to achieve academically in order and ultimately to become marketable in the workplace.

There was a difference, however, between the oppositional culture orientations by the students in my study and those in studies by Ogbu (1982, 1983, 1987a), Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi (1986), and Foley (1991). Most important, and consistent with Weis' study, the Mexican-Americans in my study accepted transmitted knowledge by the instructors. And unlike the students in Weis's study (1985), the students in my study did not reproduce a culture that would have been antagonistic toward schooling. Rather, these students maintained ideological and ethno-cultural oppositional orientations to the symbolism of schooling. In other words, and paradoxically, they embraced and legitimated knowledge, but they rejected the individualism and competitiveness to which they knew the knowledge was to be applied in the future. Very importantly, they did so while embracing their ethnic identities.

In terms of Tinto's model (1975), I found that these oppositional culture orientations were operable as background variables and as interactive variables. With regard to

background variables, as I have indicated, these orientations were cultivated throughout their lives of marginalization cross-culturally and interpersonally. In terms of interactive variables, oppositional culture orientations for eight of the achieving 10 students were manifested largely through ethnic affiliations as the primary means of social integration. Periodically, oppositional culture orientations were also manifested by derisive, derogatory cross-cultural perceptions as I discuss in this next subsection.

None of these outcomes or considerations are meant to imply that students evaded social integration with faculty or administrators. In fact and to the contrary, there was engagement to varying extents by several students. However, it was tempered by their understandings of historical relations between Mexicans' and Mexican-Americans' engagements with the United States government, American popular cultural depictions of Mexicans, and their engagements with American social institutions historically and presently. As the title of the subsection implies, students learned to be pragmatic when dealing with college social and academic structures as they worked to use them to their advantage without sacrificing their ethnic identities. It was as if the students in my study were receptive to contact with White faculty and White students but with one arm raised peacefully to keep a distance.

In view of these considerations, I discuss how students integrated themselves socially and academically, in relation to the institutional culture which the students themselves perceived, and in relation to their sociocultural variabilities in the remaining portions of this chapter.

Pragmatism and Expedience

In this subsection, I summarize the final factor in students' goal attainments: their wills to succeed after having been marginalized much of their lives by social structures and interpersonally across cultures. The statements provided here by students reflect their

marginalizations as well as oppositions to much of mainstream United States culture. They also reflect expedience in using Small College as a vehicle to avoid structured subordination in the future. For three of these students, structured subordination also meant internalizing and transforming their relationships with men at earlier points in their lives. In other words, not wanting to be dependent upon or subservient to men in addition to being the objects of ethnic and racial discrimination were additional motivations to persist.

To varying but similar extents, all of the achieving students brought these orientations to Small College. And to similar extents, these orientations influenced their social and academic integrations within the college. For most, their sociocultural variabilities did not influence the ways in which they reacted to or integrated within the college socially or academically. To what extent this outcome was related to students' ages, is a behavioral dimension I did not explore. I sense that parts of their social and academic integrations also depended simply upon their individual personalities as Arce (1982), reminded us in Chapter II. I obtained a glimpse of this but not as much as would have liked because of time constraints and because individual variability was not the primary focus of my study.

I found that the least important factor regarding persistence was the question of ethnic identification preference in relation to persistence. While ethnic identification was important to all of the students except Norma, and while it carried important symbolic value, it apparently had little if anything to do with persistence. As a symbolic construct, however, it did signal for a few of the students strong senses of ethnic loyalty and cultural awareness. Only a handful of students were willing to address at length the question of ethnic identification preferences and what those preferences meant to them personally. Here, then, I present sentiments expressed well by many of the students. I present this information from students in relation to the broader and more important questions of social and academic integration within Small College.

On the whole, most of these students were not very involved socially within the college. Within the exceptions of Juan and Alpha--student government and honor society representatives as I discuss below--students' primary social groups were themselves or other ethnic minority students in virtually all instances. Moreover, all of the students recounted a few incidents of prejudice or alleged discrimination by students and occasionally by instructors. The important consideration here is that the students sounded somewhat like those in Weis's study of Black students at a northeastern community college (Weis, 1985). The difference, however, was that rather than opposing college structures or its symbolism, the students in my study embraced the idea of transmitted knowledge and became more committed to their goals.

The following testimonials by the students in terms of their ethnic identities, ethnic loyalties, and in terms of cross-cultural relations convey oppositional culture orientations as they integrated themselves academically and socially.

Ethnic Identity, Ethnic Loyalty, Oppositional Culture, Social and Academic Integration

Cuco, a first-generation student said this about his identity and relations with Whites since he had been in the United States:

Yo me siento muy orgulloso a ser Mexicano. Eso es el nombre que prefiero porque es algo historico. Yo soy parte de algo mucho mas grande que yo. Mejico es un pais tremendo. Tenemos una historia mas rica que la historia de los Estados Unidos. Mucha gente no la quieren reconocer. (Translation: I am very proud to be a Mexican. That's the name I prefer because it is something historic. I am part of something much bigger than I am. Mexico is a tremendous country. Mexico's history is richer than the United States.' Many people do not want to recognize that).

Relatedly, in describing his relations with White students at the college, he said:

Se creen mejores. Eso es la historia de ellos. Yo no tengo nada que ver con ellos

si no es necesario. Yo se muy bien quien soy yo. Y tambien se muy bien lo que hicieron especialmente en Tejas y Mejico. No todos son malos, pero segun mi punto de vista, hacen cosas y chingaderas contra minorias. Se nota socialmente, se nota politicamente, se nota en el negocio. (Translation: They think they're better. That's their history. I know who I am. And I know what they did especially in Texas and Mexico. Not all of them are bad, but, from my perspective, they do things and some damn things against minorities. You see it socially, you see it politically, you see it in business relations).

Cuco, was profound, angered, but subdued about the discrimination he has faced in the United States. As a result of these marginalizations, he said: "Quiero cambiar esta enfermedad." (I want to change this sickness). In contrast to Mexico where, as he put it, Cuco said, ". . . nunca me faltaba nada en Mexico" (I never lacked for anything in Mexico). Pero aqui, me falta respeto porque soy Mexicano (But here, I am not given respect because I am Mexican). He extended the thought in a very soft-spoken, dismayed voice, in a mix of Spanish and English:

Yo me descanso de esta gente cuando estoy manijando mi carro con la ventana abierta, y me gritan a mi, "Hey, fucking wetback, go back where you came from and stop taking our fucking jobs! Nunca encuentre estas chingaderas en Mexico, mano. Que pais loco! (Translation: I get tired of these people. I'm driving my car with my window down and they shout at me, 'hey, fucking wetback, go back to where you came from and stop taking our jobs!' What barbarians! I never experienced this kind of shit in Mexico. What a barbaric country).

Cuco went on to say, "El racismo en este pais es increible. . . no me cae bien este pais. . . a ver como va la cosa; es posible que me voy patras a Mejico. Pero si me quedo, quiero hacer algo. (Translation: The racism in this country is incredible. . . this country does not sit well with me. I'll see how it goes; I just might go back to Mexico. But if I stay, I want to do something).

Cuco's earlier comment about having as little to do with White students was evidenced by the quality of his social life at the college. As I mentioned in his life and schooling biography at the outset of this chapter, I seldom saw Cuco socializing with

non-Latinos at the college. In terms of academic integration, Cuco attributed it, in part, the "good" academic advising he had received and assistance he received periodically from the college's tutorial center. Part of Cuco's academic integration also stemmed from the mentoring and family mediations of his schoolings over the years in Mexico and here in the United States.

Rulo spoke similarly when I had my first session with him at his brother's trailer house where Juan lives with his brother, sister and law, and their two children. As we sat down and began setting-up for my interview, Rulo said to me, "Aqui viven puros Mexicanos." (Translation: "Here, Mexicans to the core live.") This was a very simple, unsolicited statement. It capsulized what would later emerge from all of my sessions with Rulo: that he had a very high level of ethnic loyalty matched by a strong sense of cultural awareness. In this regard, one hero in his life who instilled in him the idea of ethnic awareness and ethnic loyalty was his father. About his father, Rulo said this in English:

My father taught himself to read and write German, French, Italian, and English. He read a lot. His hero was Che Guevarra. My father was a classic macho. His way was the law. Mi papa brought our families together; he united the families. He was the oldest of the brothers and therefore had the authority. (Note: Che Guevarra was the legendary Latin American guerilla revolutionary leader of the 1960's against American imperialism in Latin America). I admire and have tremendous respect for him. I believe that if he could do those things, I can do the same about my education.

Rulo was also a student senator at Small College and also a member of the college's academic honor society. These activities augmented his primary social integration of ethnic affiliation with Latinos, and to lesser extents, informal involvement with faculty. However, I noted many times at the college that he never socialized with White students outside his role as student leader. Once, I asked him in at his brother's trailer house why he minimized his contact with non-Latinos. He said:

A: No me siento muy comodo con ellos. A mi se me hace que muchos de ellos

tienen buenas intenciones, pero tambien se bien que no se sienten comodo conmigo y Mexicanos in general. Se nota en el tono de voz, los ojos cuando te miran, y se portan, al contrario, con su misma gente. (Translation: I don't feel very comfortable with them. I think some of them have good intentions, but I know well that they don't feel comfortable with me or Mexicans in general. You notice it in their tones of voice, the way that they look at you, and the different way that they behave when they are with their own people).

In this sense, Rulo's cross-cultural engagements were mimimized very much like Cuco's.

Q: Is this what makes you keep your guard up even though you might not show it?

A: En mi opinion, la cosa es que muchos de ellos, no todos, pero muchos, se creen mejores (In my opinion, the thing is that many of them, not all of them, but many of them think that they are better). Asi son, desde cuando vinieron a Atzlan, han sido asi (Translation: That's the way they are, ever since they came to Aztlan. Note: Aztlan is that territory of the Southwest which includes California, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, Texas and parts of Utah which Aztec Indians claimed as their homeland in pre-Cortesian times).

Q: Did you have many dealings with Whites when you lived in Mexico?

A: Si, seguro que si. No es tan malo alla porque estuvieron en otro pais, pero mas o menos, es igual. Ha sido igual. (Translation: Yes, sure. It's not so bad there because they were in another country, but it's the same more or less. It's been the same).

With regard to Rulo's academic integration, he attributed much of it to assistance he obtains from the college's tutorial center and from appropriate placement into developmental classes after exiting advanced ESL courses. However, much of Rulo's academic integration also stemmed from informal contact with faculty related to his work on the student senate and the college honor society. Concerning the latter two activities, Rulo said, "Me dan animo y mucha informacion tecnica tocante las oportunidades que existen en educacion. Si no estuviera envuelto en estas actividades, creo que mis chansas de irme a una escuela buenas no seran tan buenas." (Translation: They give me encouragement and a lot of technical information about opportunities that exist in higher

education. If I were not involved in these activities, I don't think that my chances of going--transferring--to a good school would be as good). At the same time, Rulo said this about his involvement with student government, ". . . the only reason I'm involved in this is because I know it will help me on my resume and when I want to transfer. Otherwise, a mi no me importa." (Otherwise, it doesn't matter to me). In this scenario, Rulo shows that he has learned to "play the game."

Rulo went on to say the following about his academic integration at the college:

Q: Is GPA the same thing to you as learning?

A: No. No son iguales. Alguien puede mantener un GPA alto sin saber los modos del mundo, como respetar a gente. A aprender es otra cosa. Cuando una persona aprende, aprende a hacer preguntas. Aprenda que hay mas que un punto de vista. (Translation: No. No, they are not the same. A person can have a high GPA without knowing how to get along in the world; how to know the ways of the world. When a person learns, he learns to ask questions. He learns that there is more than one point of view).

Rulo made an early commitment toward a goal early in his tenure as a student. His objectives have been business or law:

Q: What is your academic major?

A: Business

Q: Have you changed your major since your initial enrollment at the college:

A: Yes. It was social science at first because I thought it would be good preparation for a law degree. But some people in-the-know told me that business would also be good preparation for law.

Subsequent to this initial change in academic major, Rulo was a business management major. He would have graduated last academic year, however, three of the courses he needed were not offered. Therefore, he had to defer graduation until the coming fall term. Rulo has been successful for other reasons as his responses to my questions indicated:

Q: What do you think your strengths as a student are?

A: Discipline, dedication, commitment.

Q: Do you visit your professors or instructors to discuss academic matters, homework, or tests?

A: Yes. Regularly when I have questions about the classes or tests. I only do it in classes I think I'm weak.

Q: Yes, regularly.

Q: Tell me about your impression of the teachers or professors at this college.

A: Son muy buenos. Excellent. Allí, no hay complaint, excepto cuando tenía yo problemas con matemáticas. Pero, no complaint. (Translation: They are very good. Excellent. There, I don't have any complaints, except when I had problems with math. But, no complaint).

Q: Por que son excelentes? (Why are they excellent?)

A: Porque te dedican su tiempo. Se dedican a ti como persona. No te ven como estudiante. Te hacen sentir que vales algo...si yo tengo una pregunta o una duda, inmediatamente, me atienden. (Translation: Because they dedicate their time. They dedicate themselves to you as a person. They don't look at you as a student. They make you feel that you're worth something. If I have a question or a doubt, they attend to me immediately).

Like Cuco, however, and as I described in my earlier discussion of the role of the Mexican-American family, much of Rulo's drive and discipline came from his family.

Q: Rulo, the last time you said that part of the reason--not the only reason--you're going to college is because you don't want to have a White person to treat you like a servant again.

A: Eso sí, es correcto. Muchas veces, el gavacho me ha discriminado únicamente porque soy Mexicano. Con muchos de ellos, no me gusta lo que representan. Tantos de ellos creen en la reputación e dinero. Yo no soy así. Muchos de nosotros no somos así. Eso es la batalla. Y cuando llego a una posición de poder, no les voy a tratar como me han tratado a mí. (Translation: That's right. I have been discriminated against many times by Whites only because I'm a Mexican. For me, I do not like what many of them stand for. So many of them want a reputation and

money. I am not like that. A lot of us--Mexicans--are not like that. That is the battle. And . . . when I get into a position of power, I'm not going to treat them the way they have treated me).

Inca, a True Bicultural and a Chicana, likewise, has orientations and experiences like Rulo. These experiences and orientations have given her directions and goal commitments. Like Cuco and Elena, Inca had no relationships with White students at Small College. She spent little time at the college between classes because of family and work demands. However, when she was present at the college, her spare time was spent either in the tutoring lab, working in the college's child care center as an aide, being with Mexican-Americans, or ethnic minorities as her primary socializing groups. Part of her orientation stems from her choice of Chicana as her ethnic identification referent. Based upon my operationalization of ethnic identification referents in Chapter 1, Chicano or Chicana is a political ethnic identification referent and implies recognition of the historically strained cross-cultural relations between the dominant order and Latinos of Mexican origins. In this vein, Inca was a Chicana because as she put it, ". . . that's what was going on when I was younger in the early 1970's. . . our high school was a circus . . . the minorities were the animals in the eyes of the administration. . . the White kids were hardly ever disciplined."

When Inca was in high school, she was the only Chicana college prep student in her class. The bulk of her classmates were Whites and Blacks. She told me that she had nothing to do with either group; Whites because she mistrusted them, Blacks because of fights over territory with them in her neighborhood. For Inca, being a Chicana gives her a sense of pride and identity which I do not think she would not have otherwise. She is still deeply embittered by her experiences at and dismissal from the local automobile insurance company. That experience has solidified even more her ethnic loyalty and ethnic identity, to the exclusion of Whites. In this regard, she told me:

I just can't trust them. . . it's not about the 'best and brightest' in school, it's the way you are raised which makes it easier for Whites to fit in. If you're a minority, you're out, your 'disadvantaged.' Have you ever noticed the way Whites stare at you? Don't they stare at you here in town? I don't think that they're all bigots. . . but I've met enough of them to know that they feel very uneasy with anyone who is not White. That's why I have to finish (school). I want to work with little Chicanos and tell them that they're OK.

She feels uneasy at times about her daughter who graduated from the local high school last year and who joined her at Small College later that Fall. Her daughter was nearly an honors student at the high school as a college prep students. According to Inca, racism, discrimination, sexism, and prejudice have been long lasting arguments between the two ever since her daughter entered high school. Her daughter is tall and very attractive. She is very American Indian looking by phenoptype. When I first talked with Inca in this study, she told me the following about her arguments with her daughter:

I have told her again and again. There is racism out there in this world. She thinks I'm crazy. She thinks that I'm just one of these 60's and 70's radicals who was too up-tight about race relations. She thinks that racism is a thing of the past... I've told her until I'm blue in the face. I've told her that someday she'll know what I mean. She's still into that high school stuff. I know what that was like. It hasn't been that long ago for me to remember well. It's a fantasy sometimes.

After her daughter enrolled at Small College this past school year, Inca told me one day that her daughter has ". . . finally begun to understand a little bit of what I was trying to tell her. She's finally begun to see that the world is ". . . not as rosy as she knew in high school."

Inca plans to work as an elementary school teacher or school counselor. She wants to help Latinas (females). It is important for her to succeed not only for herself but for other Latinas. Her academic performance has improved dramatically over the past 18 months at the college. This does not mean that she was not capable before. Her problem before was situational stemming from being a single parent of two teenage girls on a marginal income, and being on progress probation for having accumulated too many

course withdrawals. She still faces obstacles, though, as the following dialogue reveals concerning lack of engagement with instructors:

Q: What's your impression of the instructors or professors at the college?

A: I personally have had a hard time finding good ones. . . that really get me personally motivated. . . and interested in subjects. The one that I really like so far is the math teacher. She's kind of like inspiring me. I like her teaching methods and the way she relates to people. It's just a good learning experience. . . the thing I really have a lot of problems with is other teachers when they lecture you and you have your exams and then you have your answer sheet in your own words. I don't always agree with everything that is being taught to me.

Q: You mean in terms of the content?

A: Yah, but you know, you have to go with the flow...but I would fail...rather than to fight a system that you couldn't go up against.

Q: The word I want to use is "dialogue". . . are you implying that other teachers don't engage you in a dialogue?

A: They engage you in a dialogue, but in their minds, they want you to respond the way they want you to respond. You have to respond in their thinking. If you don't respond in their thinking, they don't understand you.

This kind of talk characterizes her cross-cultural relations today and her involvement with social structures. She is a mature person who articulates her perceived reality well. Without wanting to sound trite, she is a fighter. She challenges authority and is determined to succeed. At an earlier session, she talked about other obstacles she is facing as a determined and ordered person for whom it would have been easier when she was 18 years old and before she had family obligations:

starting the building blocks to achieve what I want to achieve. . . I know what I want, but I feel discouraged that it's so overwhelming. It looks so big.

My response: well, you've got young ones.

Inca : Well, I'm fortunate. . . I know what it was like when I was her age (her youngest daughter). My mother tried to hang on to me. She wouldn't let me go.

She didn't want me to go very far. She didn't want me to do anything different than what she had done. So, I feel that. . . I want to encourage her (her daughter) to do whatever she wants to do or doesn't want to do, but give her the freedom to make a choice.

Inca then spoke of the double standard in her family: being a Latina in a family oriented toward men. This double standard made it hard for her to break from her home without her mother's remorse. The dichotomy motivated her even more toward higher education. Her feelings about special treatment one of her brothers received from her parents and about the behaviors of college-going Chicanos (males) at Fresno State University, when she was a student there, galvanized her resentment toward males:

My brother, they bought him cars. They gave him money. Anything he wanted, they were right there for him. The only thing they ever did for me as far as going to college was they drove me to Fresno. That was it. There was. . . no, 'we'll be back here to see you, we'll help you out if you need anything, just call.' It was, 'well, you're here. See you. Bye.' I was only 17 years old. Didn't know anybody and people that I did know. . . back then, there were a couple of other Chicanos that were going to Fresno State. . . they're were real different. They were like partying and not into school at all.

Inca also talked about the socialization process in her family which kept her and her mother subordinate, a process which she has apparently overcome:

They start you really young. I mean you don't even know that these things are being put in your head. You know, 'have a family and if you do this, you're going to be a good mother you're going to be a good this, a good that.' And you're not having those type of desires.

Inca also talked about success. It was an eloquent presentation on her being trapped by her family because of her gender. Indirectly, she talked about making sense of her reality. The most interesting point of this monologue is that she figured things out over time by herself as a brown female who was constrained ultimately by both her family and by social structures:

Well, now I can actually say what success means. It means doing something I want to do as an occupation and being able to have the necessities I'm going to need to

have to do the types of jobs I want and having the . . . ability to succeed in school...that's what I'm doing right now, building the educational ability that I don't think I ever got. Education means a whole bunch more to me now than it ever has. There is so much to learn. It's there for anybody who wants to learn it. And it's having gone the route of working a job nine to five and being lost in that world where you're the puppet and someone else is holding your strings and if someone wants to come along and cut your strings, they can do it.

For Inca, then, her motivations to achieve were prompted by marginalization and sexism. I found from her, as was the case with Rulo, that the college experience is merely another "hoop" through which she must jump in order to attain her goals. It is important to add that Inca was the only student who was critical of Small College's academic structures. The other students, though, reflected Inca's, Rulo's, and Cuco's thoughts about cross-cultural relations and social integration.

Elena, the biker Chicana from East Los Angeles, is a case in point. My work with her and her ARSMA results confirmed that she operates fairly well in two cultures. As I indicated earlier, she grew-up around Chicanos and other Latinos in southern California. She left Small College after only one academic quarter because it was "too White." Although she was not as apprehensive about Whites as were Cuco, Inca, or Rulo, her reason for leaving Small College was a powerful statement. During the one academic term she was at Small College, I never saw Elena mix with Whites in the student lounge. The entrance to the college's main building, the commons as it is referred to, is the only area in which students can socialize. It is easy for anyone to observe social interaction.

Elena described these feelings of marginalization to me in the following dialogue. As I indicated, her phenotype is Anglo-European. She speaks with a slight Spanish accent, a carryover from her youth when Spanish was her first and only language. And even though English is now her first language, she still has a very high degree of ethnic loyalty. Once when I asked her who her closest friends were, she paused for a few seconds and said, ". . . my cholas from East L.A." (my Mexican female friends--pachucas--from East Los

Angeles). Elena said relatedly that the number of Latinos or Chicanos in her high school was very important to her today:

I attended a predominantly Latino populated high school in Los Angeles. . . there were about 2,000 students. 75% were Latinos. . . we were not a minority. They (Whites) had to adapt to us. It was important to me because I got tired so much having to explain myself to Whites. . . having to justify my existence when I saw that some of the White people they hung with were "weirder" than they thought I was. I never understood that. They (Whites) were always tripping.

The following dialogue illustrates the basis of Elena's cultural conflict. As becomes apparent, Elena's gave me an idea of her perceived marginalized and oppositional identities:

Q: How did they trip?

A: How long do you have?

My Response: long as you want

A: Did anybody ever ask you if you speak English?

My Response: Yup. Lots of times...ever since I can remember.

Elena: How did you feel?

My Response: just like another 'Mexican'. . . you know, just another wetback. People look at me and just assume a lot of things. By my experience or recollection, it's happened a million times. I know it will happen again.

Elena: You answered my question.

With regard to Elena's academic integration, she said that there was not anything of great significance that had helped her do well at the college. She said this without being critical of counselors, teachers, or the tutorial center. In fact, Elena seldom used the tutorial center. She was a good student who despite her lack of goals, was nonetheless committed to schooling. However, the tension from cross-cultural relations is important and in part, has motivated her to continue her schooling.

Lugo, like Elana, is also from East Los Angeles. He prefers the term Mexican American rather than Chicano. Even though, he feels more comfortable with Mexican-Americans and Latinos, his social interaction today includes a mix of Mexican-Americans and other ethnic groups. The latter largely stems from his work in the community which calls for broadly based, cross-cultural constituencies. Nonetheless, Lugo is apprehensive of Whites based upon his life experiences. Once, for example, he told me, "You can't stop. You just keep plugging. What else are we going to do? There are too many of them."

Another time, he was more extended and specific about his ethnic loyalty, being a Mexican-American, and his relations with Whites:

When I was a kid, I had a lot of shit to deal with. . . a lot of it came from gavachos (Whites). You know, they think you're just another fuckin 'Mesican.' You get tired of that. You've been through that, haven't you? . . . one of reasons I went to college was to stop shining shoes. I just don't want to do that anymore, especially when I think that I'm smarter than the one whose shoes I'm shining. I mean I was lucky to be alive coming out of Ees Los (East Los Angeles) without having to kiss some ass. There is an arrogance to them that I have never liked. What else is new? (he chuckles). I'm not in this (schooling) for the money. I'm doing it because of my familia and because of justice. Somewhere there has got to be some justice in the world. I'm tired of being looked at funny.

Many times when I met with Lugo, he colored his reference to Mexicans and Mexican-Americans as "raza" meaning "our people." Once, he referred to them as the ". . . greatness of our people." These types of statements are characteristic of Mexican-Americans with strong senses of ethnic identity and ethnic loyalty.

During the time of this study, there was no opportunity to assess the extent of Lugo's social integration since he had only taken one class at the college on a part-time basis. He was not present, therefore, to engage socially. For the same reason, I had no basis to determine the extent of his academic integration. However, and in reference to his earlier academic performance at a Los Angeles community college, there is every reason

to believe that Lugo was a high achiever with strong a strong commitment to schooling.

Alpha, a Mexican Oriented Bicultural, is not as strong in his feelings about marginalization, but, nonetheless, he knows the jolt of discrimination. As I indicated earlier, he was admitted recently to a University of California school as a transfer student. He will enter with junior status in fall, 1994 with a 3.8 grade point average. When I began interviewing him several months ago, he told me that he had been fired from his job as a busboy because he allegedly had lost some basic, simple paperwork. He asked me rhetorically, "Si estoy ganando un 3.8, como voy a perder papeles de la cocina?" (Translation: If I am earning a 3.8, how is it possible that I am going to lose some basic kitchen paperwork?). He went on to say, "Eso es la vida en este pueblo. Eso es lo que pasa con la Mejjicana. Y que? Que voy a hacer yo? Conseguir otro trabajo. Sincho!" (Translation: That's life in this town. That's what happens to Mexicans in this town. And so what? What am I going to do? I'm going to get another job, that's what).

Alpha refers to Small College as a "... very good college, but racism is a problem." I asked him what he meant since he had intimated this problem in different ways during earlier talks:

A: Hay maestros--unos cuantos--y estudiantes, mas que maestros, que tratan a Mexicanos diferente que los gringos. (Translation: There are teachers--a few, and students, more than teachers, who treat Mexicans differently than they do Whites).

Q: Por ejemplo. (For example).

A. Bueno, por ejemplo cuando estudiantes estan sentados juntos y creen que nadie oye, dicen cosas como, 'greasers,' 'dumb Mexicans,' cosas asi. (Translation: Well, for example, when White students are sitting together and they think that nobody is listening, they say things like 'greasers,' 'dumb Mexicans,' those kinds of things).

Q: Y los maestros? (And the teachers?)

A: Eso es otra cosa No hay muchos, pero la cosa es como te hablan a ti y como comunican con los hueros. Hay algunos que no te saludan, que tratan de ignorarte cuando ven que me estoy acercando. Esos son juegos que hacen ninos. (Translation:

you and the way they talk to White students. There are some who try to ignore me when I approach. Those are children's games).

Despite these constraints, Alpha is an optimist. In response to my question of, "Is it true that it's not what you know but who you know that counts if you get the job that you want?," he responded, "... an objective person will judge you on your merits." He stated that he is aware that 'unqualified' people often get jobs and that some people use connections as "palanca" (leverage).

Alpha has been involved as a tutor in the college tutoring center, and has also been a member of the college academic honor society. He told me that his motivation for these activities, like Rulo's, is "... because it would look good on my resume when I would apply to a university." Alpha, like Rulo, has also benefitted from informal contact with faculty stemming from his involvement with the honor society. He told me this about his participation:

Benificio yo de conocer otros maestros. Saben que soy buen estudiante porque he tomado classes de ellos. Pero, lo que pasa, es que saben que estoy envuelto con este grupo y me dicen cosas como si puedan ayudar en temas de cartas de recomendacion, o si quiero informacion especifica tocante una escuela... cosas asi. (Translation: I benefit by knowing other instructors. They know that I am a good student because I have taken classes from them. But what happens is that they know that I am involved with the group (honor society) and they tell me things like if they can help me in terms letters of recommendation, or if I want specific information on universities... these types of things

With regard to his social integration, Alpha, like the other students in this discussion, associates almost exclusively with Latinos and Mexican-Americans. He, too, feels compelled to deal with and overcome alleged arrogance of "la culture gavacha" (White culture). In this vein, he told me:

Mira, mano, no estoy acostumbrado a esta cultura. Lo que le falta en este pais es algo autentico... algo mas autentico que dinero. Mi papa y mama, aunque no me dieron mucha direccion en temas de escuela, a lo menos me dieron--no yo solo, pero a todos mis hermanos y hermanas--el sentido de respeto para otros y a vivir. En este pais, a mi se me hace que mucha gente no saben vivir. Vengo yo de una familia

pobre y habia muchas cosas materiales que no tuvimos. . . pero, esta loquera de correr y, peor, de chingar a gente como nosotros que actualmente no amezan...no lo entiendo. (Translation: Look, brother, I'm not accustomed to this culture. What is missing in this country is something authentic...something more authentic than money. My father and my mother, even though they did not give me much direction concerning schooling, at least gave me--not just me, but all my brothers and sisters--a sense of respect for others and how to live. I don't think that people know how to live in this country. I'm from a poor family and there were many things that we did not have. . . but, this madness of running all the time, and worse, damning people like us who, actually, are not a threat. . . I don't understand it).

Relatedly, and consistent with virtually all of his expressed sentiments to me, one of the most poignant things I remember from my talks with Alpha was that he said that he ". . . need(s) to have the tools to help my people."

Quinta, the fifth-generation Californian who said in Chapter II that Anglos should learn to speak Spanish since Mexicans ". . . were here first," has also articulated similar sentiment about disparate treatment by Whites and her pride in being Mexican-American. In her position as recently elected position of mayor of the local community, she reported the following incident with an elected official from another state:

a worker from city hall went with me to _____ meet with the state senator. I was introduced as the mayor...the senator acknowledged me. Then, he continued talking with the aide. She asked him what part of the state he represented. He said _____. She said, 'Oh, what a lovely area.' He said, "It used to be until Hispanics moved in." I was numb. I couldn't believe that this elected official had said that with me, a Mexican, standing right beside him. What's worse, I didn't say anything. I didn't want to start anything, so I didn't say anything. That was it and I told myself, never again. I will never let White people say that kind of stuff again and get away with it. I don't care who they are or where it happens.

Ironically, Quinta, clearly, the most assertive of the students in my study, was pitifully silent--by her standards--in this instance. Her opposition to these types of White elitism is strong. For her, like the other achieving students in my study, completing her lower-division transfer requirements so that she can complete her baccalaureate degree is very important so that she not be subservient. I asked Quinta if she felt comfortable with my publishing this encounter since readers of this dissertation would know who Quinta is

in real life; that there is only one Mexican-American mayor in the Small College community. She demanded that I print it. She said, "They all know me. They all know where I'm coming from. I'll never be quiet again. That's the only time in my life I didn't stand up."

Finally, Carma, the former drug user and dealer who dropped-out of high school at age 14 to have her first child, recounted her opposition to dominant culture and structures and why, until recently, her orientation was the original impetus to attend college:

There was nothing about Whites and what they stood for that I liked. . . they seemed stiff and cold. I wasn't like that. Mexicans and Blacks weren't like that. Maybe we weren't good in school, but at least we knew how to move. I got tired of getting beat by them emotionally, being turned away because I was a Mexican.

Later, in the same discussion, she recounted her relationships with males and how those dead-ends similarly motivated her to matriculate to college.

Q: So what were you thinking after the second relationship fizzled?

A: I knew (emphatically) that there would be no mr. wonderful or mr. fairy tale coming along. My second boyfriend, my Black boyfriend, was screwing a white women in our bed during the day while I was away at work. So not anymore. But I think I've got one now. He's White, six years younger than me. I really like him. This is the first time I've felt high about a relationship without being on drugs.

Q: You're going to marry a White? What about everything you've said so far about Whites?

A: That was then. I don't feel as strong about that as I used to. He was dogged, I was dogged when I was younger. If he becomes a Jehovah, I'll marry him.

Even though Carma's latter statements about having toned-down her animosity and opposition to Whites, there remain vestiges of it. Equally important, her sense of feminism remains an equally important motivator to continue to achieve.

You Can't Be Cooled-Out if You've Been Iced: Nacho and Gene

There were two students who departed Small College after I completed my work with them: Nacho and Gene. They had a difficult time getting started in education and experienced lesser success at the K-12 level than did the 10 students in my study who apparently will attain their goals. Nacho and Gene are important, then, because they apparently have not "made it." Whether or not they have dropped or stopped-out is debatable. As Tinto (1987) advised us, dropout is a matter of perspective. Ultimately, we must examine students' intentions and experiences. Tinto's point stands in relation to Clark's thesis of cooling-out (Clark, 1960). As I discuss, I believe that these two students did not have the chance to be cooled-out because, as the following dialogues indicate, they were iced-out by their families, and the K-12 system long before they ever thought about college. In contrast to the other students in my study, the family was conspicuously absent from the lives of these two students.

As I write, Nacho has been away from the college for almost one year now. He was marginal academically to begin with. Gene was enrolled during the fall quarter of the current school year. He earned a C in an English Short Story class and withdrew from two other classes. He did not enroll during the past Winter or Spring quarters. His enrollment record the previous year was identical.

What separates these two from the other six Mexican-Americans born in the United States--versus the four, first-generation students born in Mexico--is that they have not had anyone to mediate their schoolings. And by the time they had spent some time in the lower grade levels, there apparently was no one ready or able to assist them. Gene came from a very dysfunctional family which clearly did not assist him. Nacho, came from an apparently tight-knit family, but one which could not assist him. Thus, they meandered

important and finally, I did not sense from either Nacho or Gene strong senses of ethnic identity or oppositional culture orientation. I raise these perceptions because I am not sure if the absence of such sentiments hindered them in their academic achievements and apparent lack of goal attainments.

Kempner (1989), has raised a related question about the point at which students begin to be cooled-out in their schoolings:

We might ask for instance, if the cooling-out function operates only at the advising or counseling level for a particular college or is it implicit in the structure of all community colleges? Or does cooling-out begin much earlier in a students' educational career and the community college merely delivers the final message? (p. 23).

Clark (1960), implied that cooling-out was exclusively a function of the community college. I found to the contrary, and that in ways consistent with the reproductive functions of schooling, cooling-out for Nacho and Gene began long before they enrolled in the community college. Actually, though, they were not cooled-out. Their quests for learning were iced, frozen. Public schools alone were not the basis of the problem. Family dysfunction contributed greatly. From the accounts which follow, I sensed that schools exacerbated familial problems or ineptness at mediating their children's schoolings. In short, it was not even so much that Small College delivered the final message, but what had transpired in their prior schoolings and equally important, in their homes.

Nacho

Nacho encountered structured isolation at the local high school long before he departed from Small College. He was a member of his high school wrestling and soccer teams. The coaches of these two teams were the only two school personnel who ever talked to him about going to college. Nacho's experiences at the local high school seemed to be extensions of his experiences in grade school. I say seemed because Nacho was so

short and elusive in most of his conversations with me. However, he was as nice a young man as anybody would want to meet. Somebody taught him social graces. To be called a gentleman in our politically correct era is problematic. But, Nacho was, first and foremost, a gentleman. He always presented himself well. His body language, his gentle voice, his ease about himself and with me in English and hardly ever in Spanish. He understood Spanish very well, but he seemingly answered in English.

In short, everything about his experience in the barrio, his academic and social integrations or the lack of at the local high school, indicated to me that he was iced-out before he could even be cooled-out at Small College. The dialogue below begins with me asking Nacho about his social interaction within the college.

Q: Who or which group of people do you associate with at Small College?

A: Classmates

Q: Like whom?

Nacho: Only one. A Filipina (a young Filipino woman).

Q: What's attracted you to her or vice versa?

A: She's nice and stuff.

Q: Is that all?

A: Yah.

Q: Are you involved in extracurricular activities at Small College?

A: No. I don't have any time. I have to work.

Q: Would you if you didn't have to work?

A: No.

Q: Why?

A: It's just not for me.

Earlier, I had asked about his parents' occupational backgrounds:

Q: What about your dad, what kind of work.

A: My dad, he used to be working in . . . a farm background; now, he's in the engineering. . . doing like, fixing refrigerators, and stuff like that.

Q: Where?

A: at _____, he's like one of the top...

Q: Really? What's he work on?

A: Big old refrigerators, air conditioners. . . stuff like that, lot of things he works on.

Q: Do your parents have expectations of you? Te ponen presion? (Do they put pressure on you?)

A: Yah.

Q: Like what?

A: (several seconds of laughter, then): they appreciate me and stuff like that and certain things.

Q: But they really don't put pressure on you?

A: No, they never do.

This dialogue was characteristic of my time with Nacho. Later, we got into questions and answers about public schooling and levels of support from his family:

Q: And your mom and dad never really talked to you about (college)?

A: My mom and my dad were pushing me to it too. . . my mom was always pushing me to go to school. . . to go to college

Q: Did you mom ever tell you, "You're going to be a doctor, a lawyer, etc?"

A: No not at all.

Q: Y, tu papa? (And your dad?)

A: No, not that much; not at all.

Q: Do you remember what your expectations of your parents were of you (when you were living with them? School is one, que no? (School is one, right?).

A: We never do talk about it that much, though. I never see 'em that much because I work so much.

Later, I followed-up on this lack of engagement by his parents.

Q: Has it always been that way since you've been in school?

A: Pretty much.

Q: Don't you think sometimes that you wish they would have talked to you more about school?

A: No, not really.

Q: Why not?

A: They're always so busy.

Later, we talked about his neighborhood and how many of his friends went to college:

Q: Were you fairly tight with your neighbors? buddies? Mejicanos?

A: Yah, uh huh...Yah, all of em, all my neighborhood. . . Mejicanos.

Q: Did any of your neighborhood friends go to college?

A: None of em. . . they're all immigrants, still, just only my American friend.

Q: A gringo (White person), you mean? but otherwise, en temas de Mejicanos, you're the only one?

A. (Nacho nods his head affirmatively and there was silence for about 10 seconds)

Q: Did you ever think about that? The fact that you're the only one in your

neighborhood to go to college?

A: I always think about that. I'm the only one. . . first one here. I'm going to college. It's kind of weird. . . nobody knows that I'm going.

Q: Really? Nobody in the neighborhood know that you're going?

A: No.

Q: Why, why's that?

A: I just don't advertise it

Q: How come?

A: Cause, uh, strangers I don't even talk to.

Not much of this dialogue made sense. Earlier, for example, Nacho had said that he knew the Small College community well after living there 14 years. Subsequently, he said that did not know anyone because all of his buddies had moved away and in their place came "immigrants." As I dialogued more with him more, it seemed that his maternal family from Mexico were the only people who engaged him about schooling. His mother would talk to him occasionally. We continued with related questions about his schooling:

Q: Do you remember what type of student you were in grade school?

A: Mostly A's and B's

Note: Based upon his academic achievement at Small College, I doubt that Nacho earned A's and B's when he was in grade school.

Q: Do you remember what type of interest your parents took in your schooling then?

A: Don't remember.

Q: Do you remember what type of interest other family members took in your schooling?

A: Don't remember.

Q: Were you ever interested in school activities back then? Involved in them?

A: Nada (nothing). Never heard about them.

Q: What do you mean you never heard about them?

A: I never heard about them.

Q: You mean you didn't even know any kids who might have been involved in any types of activities?

A: Yup.

Q: Not even from the teachers?

A: No, never.

Subsequently, we got into a talk about his grade school performance. In the sixth grade, teachers complained to his parents that he was "goofing off" too much and paying no attention in school.

Q: You were daydreaming and doing drawings on your paper and stuff?

A: Yah.

Q: This might be a tough question, but do you know why you horsed around back then?

A: Yah. I horsed around because there were a bunch of other kids doing that.

Q: Ah, peer pressure, huh? Do you think that if your parents had talked to you, that things would have been different.

A: That didn't work. It was the same thing with my brother.

Q: What kind of students did you feel comfortable with or hang-around with?

A: The mischief kids.

I continued this conversation later with him at a restaurant:

Q: What was the mischief kids?

A: We'd get in trouble.

Q: For doing what?

A: Chasing girls, pulling their hair, stuff like that.

Q: What did you parents say?

A: Just to behave better.

Q: That's all?

A: That's all.

Q: Did you have any teachers when you were in grade school that you respected, really-respected and looked-up to?

A: Yah, I had one. My math teacher. She seemed so nice. She talked Spanish, too.

Q: And so that made an impression?.

A: Yah.

Q: Anybody else?

A: No.

Q: Why?

A: Nobody really seemed interested.

Q: Why?

A: They seemed to busy.

Q: Did you ever ask many questions in class?

Nacho became nervous with this question. He just kind of shrugged his shoulders. I felt that race or ethnicity had something to do with his response, so I took liberty based largely upon my own experiences in grade school and proceeded:

Q: Let me ask you this. Do you think--it's a long time ago, but I think it's a fair

question--most of the teachers there did not understand Mejicanos?

A: Yah, probably that.

Q: Do you think that they treated the White kids differently. . . from the Mejicanos?

A: Yah, I saw that.

Q: I don't mean to imply that it was discrimination.

A: There wasn't any. . . nothing at all.

Q: Most of the school was White back then?

A: Yah.

My Comment: Well, it's not like that today (the school today is probably 75% Mexican-American)

A: Now, it's worse. It's a Mejicano school now.

I did not follow-up with Nacho on his comment about the school being "worse" now that there were more Mexicans in the school today than when he was a student there. I was somewhat embarrassed by the comment and was not sure what he meant by it. I wish now that I would have pursued his response.

Nacho claims that he was a "mostly A's and B's" student in middle school. Again, I doubted this. He was also involved on the school track and field team and wrestling team. He also said that his parents did take an interest in his middle school years. They would tell him to "keep up the grades." However, no one else apparently took any interest in his schooling. None of this made too much sense to me. At another time, I asked him if his parents ever had any contact with school teachers or the principal. He said no.

Later, during a follow-up interview at a restaurant, I had changed the focus of the questions and asked Nacho if he enjoyed Small College socially. He said, "yes." Subsequently and ironically, I would see Nacho hanging-out in the student lounge. He would always be sitting by himself. Less frequently, I would see him with his Filipina

friend or one or two Latinos wherein they engaged in small talk like "... long time no see...the last time I saw you was in 10th grade," etc. The only time that I was able to penetrate his veneer was when he was talking about his experiences as a soccer player at the local high school. He recalled that all of his friends then were White because, "There were few Mexicans involved in sports." After he had to leave the team, though, because of academic reasons, "They stopped being friends." I asked Nacho if that bothered or hurt him. He said, " Well, a little. . . it was weird that people are friends today and I'm a stranger tomorrow."

As I indicated earlier, I never got a complete handle on Nacho. The following dialogue reveals additional incongruities:

Q: Did any teacher ever talk to you about going to college?

A: Just one, my driver's education teacher. He was the best teacher I ever had.

Q: What was it about him that you liked?

A: He was just a neat guy. He was Latino.

Q: Did any of your counselors ever talk to you about college?

A: No

Q: Did anybody else talk to you about going to college?

A: Yah, the wrestling coach.

Q: Don't you think it's odd; you told me earlier that you wanted to go to college and the idea didn't come to you overnight?

A: I guess so.

Later in my session with Nacho, I learned that he never took an algebra class, no foreign language, or biology classes. He had thought that he had been in a college prep track. The following dialogue reveals how we determined together that he had obviously

been in vocational track. I believe that the line of questions and answers here indicate the extent of a pattern of lack of engagement with public school systems which developed in elementary school, continued through middle school and into high school:

Q: What kind of student were you there at the high school?

A: I was good, very good; teacher's pet.

Q: Why the teacher's pet?

A: I never caused any trouble.

Q: So they liked you because you didn't cause any trouble?

A: Yah.

Q: What did you talk about with your teachers?

A: Nothing.

Q: How could you be teacher's pet if you didn't talk?

A: I didn't cause problems so they liked me.

Q: What about your grades? A's? B's?

A: Sometimes, oh, I had some terrible years and stuff.

Q: What's terrible mean?

A: My ninth grade year wasn't the best; my tenth grade got worse back and forth.

Q: Roughly, what were your grades? C's and D's?

A: My grades were going down, yah. It was getting hard and stuff.

Q: What about 11th grade?

A: 11th grade? going up. . . it went up. Got to the A's and B's again cause I had to study harder. Like knowing what to do.

Note: Again, I did not sense that he earned these grades based upon my knowledge

of his academic performance at Small College.

Q: What about your senior year?

A: My senior year was the best, A's and B's.

Q: Do you think that your high school prepared you adequately for college?

A: Yes. I took an accounting class. I did really well.

Q: Did they test you there? You know, placement tests?

A: Um huh

Q: Did the teachers or counselors there ever share the results with you?

A: Nah, I never did get any..I was doing pretty good until they started screwing me around and put me into stupid basic math in high school.

Q: Do you remember the highest level math class you took at the high school?

A: I don't remember

Q: Well, like for example, here at the college, what math course did you take this year?

A: Basic math

Q: It sounds like you did not take algebra in high school?

A: I did not take it.

Q: In other words, you took basic math in high school, like fractions, percents, decimals?

A: I hate those decimal things!

Q: Por Que? (Why?)

A: Well, you know, it's hard to know where you have to put em. . . it's hard..

Q: Do you remember the highest level science classes you took?

Q: Do you know what kind of science it was?

A: I forgot; I forgot all of it.

Q: You took biology?

A: I didn't get to.

Q: Did you ever have any big career and lifestyle dreams?

A: Firefighter or a policeman

Q: What about today?

A: Hard to tell.

When Nacho arrived at the community college, then, and basically at the behest of his mother who told him that he could ". . . not just sit around" after graduating from high school, he brought the same dispositions which he had learned in the public school system. He enrolled in the most basic skills classes which the college offers. It is not that he was not earnest. I observed many times that Nacho would study and attend classes. However, I think it was a pattern of unfulfilled expectations time and again. His mother a lifelong housewife, learned to speak English only in 1983. She was born in Mexico and according to Nacho, was "pretty traditional." She was of little help to Nacho in terms of helping him interpret his experiences in the school systems. Even though she apparently graduated from high school in Mexico, her minimal proficiency in English compounded matters. In short, she could not really help Nacho. Nacho's father dropped out of high school in Mexico and came to the United States as a migratory farmworker. Nacho's father was never involved in his schoolings. Part of the reason is that he was working more than 40 hours per week. Nacho worked 40 and occasionally more hours a week during his first and only year at Small College to assist the family. During his first term at the college, Nacho was taking diagnostic tests to determine if he had a learning disability. He never followed through on those battery of tests.

The most that Nacho could say about Small College was that the people are "really great . . . better than the high school. They respect you more and are not strict like the high school. They treat you fair. They don't screw around." In retrospect, my feel for Nacho is that he was overwhelmed emotionally and ill-equipped to handle even modest demands of basic writing and basic math classes. By all accounts, Nacho did not integrate academically nor socially in Small College. The local schools apparently did not do much either to assist Nacho in upgrading his skills. There was an apparent lack of communication between school personnel, Nacho and his family. Nacho told me that no teacher or counselor ever talked to his parents during his four years in high school. Yet, despite the neglect of Nacho by the schools, he gave the impression to me repeatedly that he was not too bothered by the outcome. I speculate that he learned to accept this fate by a cultural system at home which relied upon the "expertise" of school personnel and which, otherwise, was too absorbed in economic survival to their son the attention and support he needed.

Gene

Gene's story is very similar to Nacho's, but he apparently had more going for himself than Nacho. I think that the following dialogue reveals these attributes. He was an outsider in elementary, middle, and high schools. My assessment of Gene is that despite his apparently high aptitude, a broken, dysfunctional family, social relations at school, and authoritative, non-accommodating structures, all made it impossible for him to continue through high school. Never-ending problems with his mother with whom he lived off and on, exacerbated matters.

Gene is an avid reader of fiction. When I visited his apartment which he shared with his girlfriend, I saw numerous books scattered throughout the place and on book shelves.

To understand Gene, I begin by talking about his family:

Q: What about your mom? Did she emphasize education much to you?

A: No. She always thought that I would stay in school because I was smart and she always thought I would do well. But, I didn't.

Q: So, it was your grandma who really cared about you and school? How did she react when you told her that you were thinking about dropping-out of high school?

A: She said, "Don't even say that!" She was heavy duty Catholic. Now, she's a born-again Christian and sinner. She always tried to influence me that way and I never liked it. I told her it was too much. My grandma was married three times and she had a bad rep in the family.

Q: But she really didn't or couldn't give you direction?

A: Nah.

Earlier, we had talked about his formative years and schooling experiences.

Q: Did you have an educational role model when you were living with your parents? With your grandma or your mother?

A: No, not really

Q: It sounds like you didn't even think of college at that age, did you?

A: Well I did at first. Like I don't know. When I was in kindergarten, we lived in Sacramento and they did testing on me and I tested out like genius. And then, I think it was the middle of first grade when we moved back to Woodland. . . and when I was in Sacramento, they had moved me ahead. . . and at Woodland, their school program, I started at kindergarten, so I had to do everything all over again. My mom didn't want me to go up a year. She thought that would be too much; that I might end up missing something. But then I was so disinterested.

Q: You repeated kindergarten?

A: No, first grade. All the beginning reading, writing, and math.

Q: Do you remember that? Was it a pain in the ass?

A: Oh yah. It sucked. You know, that's when it started. I got a really bad attitude

about school. I was like the new kid. I was depressed about leaving all my friends and stuff (in Sacramento). I just felt everyone was against me having to repeat that stuff. I got into a lot of fights.

Q: Why?

A: Cause I was the new kid. They just, I don't know, they always wanted to mess with me. I said, 'fine: let's do it.' They (the school administration) thought that since I was raised in this violent home, that I was starting all these fights. It wasn't me, it was these other kids. They just wanted to fight me. I remember, these White kids came to fight me one time. I knew there was no way I could fight them all. So I went up to this girl and she was jumping a rope and I said, 'Gimme that!' I grabbed the rope and I started swinging it around. They kept a distance and had circled around me and like, or course, there's no teacher, no nothing around. No one saw anything. One kid came up and kicked me. And I swung the rope around and I ripped him. And he started wailing. And I backed-up. Like after he got whipped, they all like went, 'Oh, well.' That was it.

Q: What did your grandma say about that?

A: No, after that, I was living with my mom again and her second husband.

Q: Did they support you?

A: No, they just didn't know what was going on. . . like I played like I was really happy at home when a lot of times I wasn't. Just to please your parents, I made my mom happy. I just though it would be easier on her. Plus, I had a good sense of humor, so I could always make her laugh.

These ups and downs continued for Mike until he dropped-out of high school. His mother would go through another marriage and her relationship with Mike would remain tenuous at best. There was hardly any talk between them about Mike's continuing elementary, middle, and high school experiences. All the while, Mike maintained a sense of decency or egalitarianism. I say this because of his response to the following question:

Q: Do you have important values or beliefs that you want your children to always remember?

A: People aren't better than other people because of the color of their skin or religion or anything. My uncle told me that when I was really young. It always stayed with me. I think I may have said something about Blacks I had seen on TV.

And he said, 'well, what makes you think you're better than them?' I knew I was getting scolded. 'There are people out there who think they're better than you because you're a Mexican.' It's like (I knew), 'we're not on the top of the ladder.' You, know, I didn't understand that at the time.

I continued with questions about Mike's elementary, and middle school experiences:

Q: Do you have any recollections about your primary school experiences?

A: When I had to repeat first grade. I always got blamed for the fights in school because they knew that my mom had been beaten and that I grew up in a violent home, so I instigated all these fights. My uncle was a boxer, too, and I had a cousin who was a boxer. They thought I was a maniac or something.

Q: How'd they know about your mom?

A: Small town. 10,000 people. Everybody knew everybody's business.

Q: How about junior high?

A: Junior high was when I started realizing that race placed an importance in life; at least about what people thought about me. I mean I was poor; raggy clothes. I would make friends who were White and I'd go over to their parents' house and they'd kick me out.

Gene wasn't accepted by Mexicans either since he no longer spoke Spanish. Thus I asked him:

Q: So, how did it feel not being accepted by either group. Not feeling comfortable in either world, huh?

A: Yah, which is exactly how I felt in school, too. By the time they caught-up with me, I had lost interest. I don't know what happened. I never was interested in school again.

Q: And was that reflected in your grades, too?

A: Oh, please; ohhhhh. Yah, I remember those Dick and Jane books. I used to take them home and read the whole book. The teacher would say, "If you can read a couple of pages tonight and then come back tomorrow." I'd go back the next day and have the whole book read. I would read them with my mom. But the teacher didn't believe me.

Q: Mike, after the teacher said that he didn't believe you, that you didn't read the book at night, then they started testing you?

A: Yah.

Q: What kind of tests were they?

A: It was like I.Q. tests, shapes, digits.

Q: And what were the results of those tests? What did they tell you afterwards?

A: Well, I think I was a genius. But as I got older, I think that they were trying to figure out what was wrong with me. But they never sent me the results. Like when I asked, they'd say, 'We'll send you the results.' They never did.

Q: You really weren't in college prep classes, so they had no reason other than to let you know. I think that was the beginning of the end for you.

A: Yah, I started slowing down in about fifth grade and it just went downhill. And hey, in high school, it was like, I'm here to find out where the parties are and the girls.

Q: What type of interest did your parents take in your (middle/junior high) schooling?

A: None

Q: What type of interest did other members of your family take?

A: Just my grandma. She just said, 'Make sure you graduate.'

Q: Grandma only?

A: Yah.

Q: Did you have any teachers in grade school or middle school that you looked-up to or really respected?

A: In high school, I had a history teacher. . . middle school, no one. Grade school, I looked-up to someone, but he didn't teach me anything (laugh).

Gene's situation, like Nacho's is tragic. In Gene's case, a broken and dysfunctional family equated with no involvement by his mother and only slightly more by his

grandmother in his schooling. Attitudes not only by Whites but by Mexican-American students in grade school exacerbated his problem. By the time he was in high school, Gene was heavily into substance abuse. When I worked with him during this study, he weighed about 160 pounds. When he was in high school, he weighed 230 pounds. He told me that he was obese because of excessive drinking, eating, and basically, because he did not like himself. Predictably, he dropped-out of high school. His interest in school since then has been marginal. As he told me once, he has a difficult time sitting in a class and taking "meaningless tests which only test your ability to take tests."

Outcomes in Relation to the Theoretical and Research Questions

In this chapter, I have presented the outcomes stemming from semi-structured and open-ended questions from my Interview Guide. Furthermore, many of the outcomes derived from subsequently derived, impromptu, naturalistic inquiry in participant and non-participant settings. These outcomes stand in relation to the theoretical and research questions I posed in Chapter IV. In this final subsection of the chapter, I present and summarize the most salient data to answer the questions I posed.

The theoretical and research questions stemmed from the literature and to lesser extents from the Interview guide. They were designed to elicit information which would help me obtain a fairly comprehensive picture of students' backgrounds in order to better understand their engagements with the college's social and academic structures across cultures. I drew from ethnomethodological and symbolic interaction perspectives to structure my inquiry. These perspectives helped me understand how students made sense of their schooling and how they understood the symbolic dimensions of their interactions with people intraculturally and across cultures. For most of the students in my study, the most basic symbol with which they had to contend before they could fully integrate

socially and academically, was the conflicts or cultural discontinuities between their home experiences and the culture of the community college.

Theoretical Question 1: Does oppositional culture theory or resistance theory apply to persistence or departure decisions by Mexican-American community college students on the basis of their sociocultural variabilities? If so, how? If not, why not?

As I have indicated, oppositional culture or resistance orientations by students in this study did affect persistence decisions. I use the two terms interchangeably since I believe both processes are essentially the same and also because the literature in effect has not clearly differentiated them. To be clear, though, Ogbu (1978, 1982, 1983, 1985, 1987a, 1988), deems oppositional culture theory a racial stratification theory. Willis (1987), on the other hand, examines differential outcomes and resistance to schooling on the basis of socioeconomic backgrounds and class-based influences. Weis (1985), paralleled both constructs and used them interchangeably in her study of Black community college student achievement. I have done the same in this study.

Unlike Ogbu's thesis, oppositional culture orientations by eight of the 10 persisting students in my study motivated them to achieve academically with the hope of one day attaining economic mobility and structural integration. Equally important and unlike catelike minorities in Ogbu's studies, or the vatos locos in Foley's study of low-achieving Chicano high school students (Foley, 1991), the students in my study embraced and legitimated transmitted knowledge and its utility. They did so while maintaining their ethnic identities and they did so while understanding the technical and cultural symbols embedded in the community college experience. The students in Weis' study also legitimated the idea of acquired knowledge (Weis, 1985). However, and unlike the students in her study, the persisting 10 students in my study did not transform the embedded meanings and symbols of the college experience into an antagonistic forum, a forum that ultimately would work to Black students' detriments in Weis' study. Instead,

and as I have discussed, the students in my study held onto the idea of schooling as a vehicle toward structural integration . These attitudes derived from their own senses of agency.

As I indicated, there seemed to be a correlation a between phenotype, degree of perceived marginalization, and degree of ethnic affiliation in terms of social integration. I have cited some research which indicates that dark-skinned, MesoAmerican phenotypes do not integrate well with social structures (Arce et al, 1987; Murguia et al, 1991). The Arce et al study d(1987), is particularly insightful in that they found that very Indian featured Chicanos lived fewer years and earned less income than more Anglo featured Chicanos. In a recent, theoretical study, Hall (1994), found that dark-skinned Hispanics experienced greater degrees of depression, and other mental health disorders than did fair-skinned, Anglo phenotype Hispanics. Hall's theoretical link is significant because it is similar to efforts by ethnic minorities and Mexican-Americans to integrate socially in the community college. These studies are similar conceptually to cross-cultural studies by Loo and Rollison (1986), and Oliver, et al, (1986) wherein Black university students reported far greater degrees of alienation and marginality than did Mexican-Americans and other ethnic minority students. I believe there is a parallel then, between Cooley's "looking-glass self" (Cooley, 1909) and Mexican-American's students' social integrations on the basis of their phenotypes. I found in my study that for the majority of students in my study, years of being marginalized on the basis of their phenotypes, galvanized them to strong initial goal commitments.

Students' families had an important mediating effect not only on their oppositional orientations, but also on their schoolings. In these regards, the roles and influences appeared to be major and significant as background variables which would subsequently precipitate strong initial goal commitments upon their matriculations to the community college. Interestingly, and in contrast to earlier oppositional culture studies on Chicano

high school students (Foley, 1991; Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi, 1985; Ogbu, 1987a), generational distance and socioeconomic backgrounds were not mediating influences on oppositional culture orientations.

Theoretical Question 2: How does cultural conflict manifest itself, if at all in the persistence and departure decisions by Mexican-American students?

Culture or cross-cultural conflict was manifested largely by students through their oppositional culture orientations. These were not necessarily overt behaviors. Rather, they were attitudinal and derived from life-long encounters--for second and later generation students--with prejudice and discrimination interpersonally and from social structures. For first-generation students, it stemmed from the same experiences since their arrivals to the United States. And as I have indicated, it was these oppositional culture orientations which were foundational to initial goal commitments.

To far lesser extents, the students in this study experienced culture conflict with some students and some White instructors. These conflicts stemmed typically from alleged White perceptions that Whites are superior intellectually, or that all Mexican-Americans are the same behaviorally, attitudinally, or that Whites are the victims of reverse discrimination. These conflicts seemed to gird students' oppositional orientations and motivate them more toward goal attainment.

Research Question 1: What are the relationships between students' levels and types of acculturation and persistence?

There were more prominent outcomes in this study which influenced students' persistence and departure decisions than sociocultural variabilities. Two outcomes between first-generation and later generation students deserve mention. I qualify my remarks here, though, by referring to Arce (1982) whom I referenced in Chapter 1. Arce informed us that there is a time when we must augment our analyses of social phenomena

on the basis of ethnicity and culture, with focuses on, ". . . an individual's private definition and categorization of his or her social identity. If such a distinction were adopted, it would be possible to assess the importance of ethnic identity in the broader framework of a multi-dimensional society" (p. 183). As my study progressed, I kept Arce's precaution in mind and found some behaviors, attitudes, and normative orientations which must be attributed to individual variability in relation to broader social and cross-cultural influences.

The first difference between the four first-generation and subsequent generation students is that the first-generation students appeared to have calmer adaptations to and integrations with the college's academic structures. For example, the first generation students, despite their comparatively lesser command of English than second and later generation students, all had higher grade point averages than the second group with the exception of Quinta. It is important to add that all 10 of the persisting students were registered for transfer and associate degree level courses.

Second, first-generation students seemed to accept with little worry whatever types of pre-requisites presented themselves. In Rulo's case, for example, he exhausted all of his comparatively less demanding academic major transfer courses before fulfilling the remainder of his general education courses. The latter called for English 1A--college level--Reading and Composition as a pre-requisite for social science and humanities, fine arts, and other general education courses. When he expressed some concern about his readiness for the English 1A courses, he could say that it might be better if he repeated an advanced ESL course to refresh his basic writing skills. This occurred two times notwithstanding the fact the he had passed a fairly demanding, final pre-requisite to the English 1A course. Alpha, Cuco, and Beta, all first-generation students, demonstrated similar pragmatisms in their curricular choices and educational programmings.

This outcome for first-generation students was significant for other reasons. For

example, and except for Rulo who was being sustained financially to a large extent by his brothers and sisters, maintaining households and living costs were burdens shared equally by all first-generation students. Cuco worked 50 hours per week as a baker while carrying 12 units each term. Beta worked 40 hours per week while carrying six units each term and while rearing four children. All of these students came to the United States with very minimal English proficiencies. They gradually upgraded them. Their academic progress was slow and methodical. Except for Cuco, they all received California financial aid as well. In short, these four first-generation students maintained highly demanding work and academic schedules. And very importantly, each demonstrated without exception, calm, soft-spoken, easy-going demeanors whenever we encountered each other within and outside the college.

Matute-Bianchi (1986), Ogbu (1982, 1983, 1987a, 1987b), Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi (1985), might have explained these adaptations as typical of first-generation immigrant-voluntary minorities in Ogbu's typology. According to Ogbu, voluntary minorities welcome economic and educational opportunity in the new order, and have not yet become embittered or stratified on the basis of race like second or subsequent generation students. However, the first-generation students in my study, while opposing dominant cultural values embedded in the school and in White culture in general, embraced the idea of transmitted knowledge as an expedient means of transcending marginality which they had already and strongly encountered in the United States.

I speculate that one factor which might have accounted for this difference between first and later generation students was family cohesiveness. For example, all of the first-generation students' nuclear and extended families--except Beta who initiated divorce proceedings while I was working with her--were still intact. These units were important not only in terms of their mediations and engenderings, but also in terms of their identifies

as Mexicanos. Second and later generation students also benefitted from family support, but not from extended families the way in which first-generation students did. Quinta, a fifth-generation student, whose primary influence was her parents, is the exception to this outcome for second and later generation students. Beyond these apparent differences, I did not find other familial influences which would explain differences in academic achievement.

Research Question 2: To what extent does ethnic identification interface with or reflect acculturation levels and types, and persistence?

I did not find any relationships between ethnic identifications preferences, acculturation levels, and persistence. As I have indicated, other student background variables and their interactions with institutional factors were instrumental in terms of whether or not students persisted or departed. Nonetheless, I summarize ethnic identification preferences here in relation to students' acculturation levels to call attention to identifications in relation to generational distances from Mexico. Not surprisingly, none of the 12 students chose Hispanic as their ethnic identification. However, I did find that identification preferences were generally consistent with levels of acculturation and in terms of generational distance from Mexico. First-generation students all referred to themselves as Mexicanos. Second and later generation students, except two students, referred to themselves as Mexican-Americans.

Beta, a first-generation female, preferred Mexicana as her ethnic identification. This was consistent with her ARSMA rating as very Mexican Oriented. On the other hand, Inca and Elena, both second-generation students and with ARSMA ratings as True Biculturals, preferred Chicana as their identifications. These identifications as Chicanas are not consistent with a major, national study by de la Garza et al (1992), which indicates overwhelmingly that second and later generation Mexican-Americans prefer Mexican-

Mexican-American as their ethnic identification. Carma, a second generation person, preferred Mexican-American as her identification. This was consistent with her ARSMA as a true bicultural. Finally, Quinta, a fifth-generation True Bicultural "Californio," preferred Mexican-American as her ethnic identification. Part of the influence here seemed to have been transmitted by her father, an Italian national who emigrated to Argentina as a young boy, and who later came to the United States.

Male students similarly reported ethnic identification preferences generally consistent with their ARSMA ratings. Lugo, a second-generation person, preferred Mexican-American as his identification. Gene, a third-generation, similarly preferred Mexican-American. This was consistent with his ARSMA as a True Bicultural. Interestingly, Alpha whose ARSMA indicated that he is a Mexican-Oriented Bicultural, preferred Mexican as his ethnic identification. Rulo, a first-generation person, preferred Mexican also as his ethnic identification. This was consistent with his ARSMA rating as Very Mexican Oriented. Finally, Cuco, a first-generation, preferred Mexican as his ethnic identification. This was consistent with his ARSMA rating as Very Mexican-Oriented.

Finally, I offer one note on ethnic identification preferences and possible relationships with academic integration. When we examine Eco's non-ethnic identification preference in relation to her academic achievement--a 3.00 grade point average--compared to other students' ethnic identification preferences and academic achievements, there is little consistent information from which to draw conclusions on the significance of identification preference in relation to achievement and goal attainment. The sole study I was able to find on the relationships between ethnic identification and achievement was by Villaroel (1986). In that survey study of college-going community college and university females throughout the Oregon system of higher education, Villaroel found that those who preferred Chicana as their ethnic identifications, had greater levels of achievement, self-

concept, and self-esteem. That study, however, is not particularly instructive since it did not address students' sociocultural variabilities.

Research Question 3: What is the relationship between acculturation levels and types and academic integration?

I did not find any relationships between students' acculturation levels and types with academic integration other than the higher levels of achievement by first-generation students. Higher achievement by this group--all Mexican-Oriented or Mexican-Oriented biculturals--however, does not imply that the remaining six persisters did not integrate academically. To the contrary, and as the data in Table 15 indicated, all achieving students had integrated academically as evidenced by their initial commitments, having chosen an academic goal, maintaining satisfactory academic progress, and by having committed themselves toward achieving their goals at Small College.

A related point on academic integration deserves mention. It concerns competitiveness and individualism. In reference to Lucas and Stone's study of high achieving Mexican-American high school, community college, and university students, wherein competitiveness toward goal attainment to the subordination of interpersonal competitiveness was the primary outcome (Lucas and Stone, 1994), I found that students in my study were committed to and competitive toward their academic goals. Although I did not examine data for levels of interpersonal competitiveness, I sense that the students in my study were minimally competitive in their interpersonal relationships. In short, the idea of goal competitiveness is consistent with Tinto's constructs of initial goal commitments and then institutional commitments by persisting students.

Research Question 4: What is the relationship between acculturation levels and types and social integration?

Data from one student, Eco, was the only, apparently consistent outcome in terms of

acculturation level and type, and social integration. In her case--a Very Anglo Oriented Mexican-American who chose not to identify with any ethnic group--she associated exclusively with White students. In contrast, the remaining nine achieving students--all of varying acculturative levels and types--demonstrated cross-cultural awareness and communication proficiencies as evidenced by periodic, albeit minimal, socialization with non-Latinos and Whites. Most important, though, these nine students had fellow Mexican-Americans as their primary social unit. The ethnic affiliations were the primary means of their social integrations. In turn, these affiliations contributed partially to their desires to persist, to achieve, to goal commitments, and in turn, to institutional commitments. The functions of these ethnic specific affiliations were sympathetic, and empathic in nature in terms of helping each other interpret their day-to-day engagements academically, socially, and across cultures.

For four of the students, social integration meant active involvement with college structures. For example, and for Alpha and Ruio, their involvements with the honor society and student government were also expedient means of augmenting their resumes. For Carma and Inca, social integration--in addition to ethnic affiliation--took the form of part-time employments at the college child care center as teacher's aides. That experience was constructive in that it allowed them to interact with other single parents regarding issues of mutual concern.

Otherwise and finally, a few of the students reported that informal contact with faculty outside the classroom enhanced their social integrations and thus, their renewed goal commitments.

Research Question 5: What is the institutional culture at the research site and how does it help or hinder Mexican-American persistence?

On the whole, the institutional culture, in terms of the typology established by Schein

(Schein, 1981, 1984, 1989), appeared to facilitate students' academic achievements and goal attainments. I qualify my remarks by noting that I did not follow-up with students and administrators on the outcomes of the study. Time and political constraints, as I indicated in my discussion on the limitations of this study, precluded greater elaboration of Small College's culture and its relationship to persistence. As such, some of what I present here is largely anecdotal. However, I believe that my insights provide a general, fairly accurate account of how Mexican-American students perceived and experienced Small College in terms of accommodation.

Virtually all of the students did find Small College facilitative of their needs during their formal and informal engagements with academic and social structures. With regard to the central institutional artifact--the pronouncement that the college is a warm and friendly place--there was a consensus by students that it was largely accommodating. Very importantly, institutional size had a great deal to do with students' social and academic integrations. As a rule, classes were small and ranged between 10 to 20 students. Moreover, students had virtually unimpeded access to instructors and counselors. On the other hand, but not to a great extent, there were periodically reported ideological and cross-cultural conflicts between Mexican-Americans, non-Latinos, and instructors.

With respect to culture conflict, Kempner (1991), in his study of a Pacific Northwest community college, defined it as:

Culture conflict is the opposition or antagonism among individuals over the beliefs and values they hold for another group. When beliefs, values, and symbols of one group clash with what is significant for another group, we find culture conflict. The community college is embedded, likewise, in this larger conflict that helps define its role and function. All community colleges are linked to a larger social movement, yet they differ from each other because of the character of the local community and the internal culture of each particular college. (p. 132)

Kempner's definition is instructive, particularly in relation to the fact that the Small

College employee profile--including classified staffs and adjunct faculty--is more than 99% White.

The conflict between the college's culture and students' values, seemed to revolve around an apparent incongruence between the institution's central norm--ostensibly, a warm and friendly place dedicated to student achievement and goal attainment--and its values and beliefs and underlying assumptions. There was a feel, for example, by several students that efforts by some faculty and mid-level managers were perfunctory and disingenuous in nature rather than emanating from egalitarianism and real interest in pluralism. These observations were reinforced by several faculty as well. Specifically, students felt placated and patronized by certain White faculty. As one student put it, "They're liberals. They're supposed to reach out to us. But they really do not know what we are about." In other words, being a "liberal" may have meant that in our politically correct era, educators--in this case, White educators and college employees since they comprised 99% of all college staff--with tendency to reach out, albeit awkwardly if not disingenuously, to ethnic minorities while pretending to be sensitive and knowing their plights. These perceived incongruities by students of the college mission, culture, and what was delivered interpersonally and cross-culturally, were bases of cross-cultural conflict. It was not a heightened conflict, and it apparently did not impede students' achievements and goal attainments, but it was a conflict nonetheless and manifested as I have discussed.

And as I have discussed, the most obvious manifestations were pronounced senses of ethnic loyalty and ethnic affiliation in response to the social order. Ethnic affiliation, more than any other interaction between students' background variables and college structures, was the primary means of social integration for most of the students in my study. Those ethnic affiliations and attendant world views which students brought to the

college were matched by orientations which non-Latinos similarly brought to the college. In part, I suspect that these orientations derived from the neighborhoods in which people lived within the Small College community. Like most communities in the United States, there are segregated neighborhoods on the basis of economic class and ethnicity. Several of the students in my study lived in the Mexican barrio by choice even though they had the wherewithal to live elsewhere. Several White students whom I got to know and who live in "nicer" neighborhoods, would refer periodically to Mexicans as having to speak English if they wanted to integrate. Relatedly, many White instructors told me that they thought the biggest obstacles facing Mexican-Americans was their lack of self-esteem and self-concept. As I determined, the basis of these comments by White students and White instructors, was not interpersonal contact with Mexican-Americans, but rather, perceptions they had gleaned from the popular media and from one or two Mexican-American students they may have known over the years. I found that virtually all of these instructors and students who expressed these sentiments, had no social or informal contact with Mexican-American students at the college.

The point here, is that people from different walks of life, of different ethnicities, and essentially racially segregated neighborhoods, enter Small College with cross-cultural ignorances if not ethnocentrism, and in the case of Mexican-Americans with life-long encounters with subordination. Under these circumstances, there is a tendency for people to typecast and avoid each other. Whether we term these behaviors culture avoidance or culture conflict, Kempner's point is well taken by informing us about the differing values, beliefs, and life histories which engender tension and conflict (Kempner, 1991). At Small College, and despite the fact that the students found the institutional culture to be largely conducive to their social and academic integrations, these conflicts precipitated ethnic affiliation by Mexican-American students as the primary means of social integration, and

hence, persistence.

Summary

In this chapter, I reviewed background and interactive variables, and how they influenced students' social and academic integrations. 10 of 12 students in my study are on track to attain their educational goals. For most of the students in terms of background variables, academic success at the grade school level, oppositional culture orientations, and feminist orientations, gave them the will to succeed. For most of the students, nuclear and extended familial mediations of schooling at pre-college and college levels were instrumental in their achievements and goal attainments. Because of their marginalizations as Mexican-Americans and as women, these students learned to be pragmatic and expedient in their schoolings. In contrast to oppositional culture or resistance theory, these students achieved while maintaining oppositional identities and by maintaining their ethnic identities. Socioeconomic backgrounds did not appear to have influenced persistence. Sociocultural variability did seem to influence persistence on for first generation students.

With regard to interactive variables, the institutional culture was generally facilitative of students' academic achievements and goal attainments. Social integration, on the other hand, was attained overwhelmingly through ethnic affiliation. Ethnic affiliation was an extension of oppositional culture orientation and ethnic loyalty. For two students, informal contact with faculty seemed to facilitate their social and academic integrations. There was no evidence that the former influenced the latter. However, there was some evidence that academic integration influenced social integration as evidenced by these two male students who became members of the college's academic honor society. Finally, I addressed the theoretical and research questions in terms of the research outcomes and

the empirical data.

In the following chapter, I analyze the outcomes in terms of the theoretical perspective and research methodology I employed. I conclude by discussing implications for future research and institutional strategies to accommodate Mexican-Americans in the community college.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, THEORETICAL INTERPRETATIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

Overview

To interpret and make sense of the findings in this study, I address them generally in terms of Tinto's constructs of students' background variables (Tinto, 1975)--sociocultural variabilities as I termed them for the purposes of my study--and their interactions with institutional normative, academic and social structures. With regard to background variables, there were four major outcomes around which I organize my discussion: (1) sociocultural variability; (2) oppositional culture orientations; (3) the Mexican-American family; and (4) strong, initial commitments. Interactive variables in the study were: (1) ethnic affiliation as the primary means of social integration; (2) encouragement and support from faculty; and (3) informal contact with faculty by two students. I address the theoretical interpretations after a reprise of Tinto's model. Then, I discuss the outcomes in terms of background variables and interactive variables. Thereafter, I discuss the theoretical and practical implications from the study. I conclude with implications for future research.

Tinto's Model: Reprise

In Tinto's model, persistence is a longitudinal process and is the result of interactions between students' background variables--prior school performance, family

backgrounds, individual characteristics--with institutional social and academic structures. An important dimension of students' background variables are their commitments to completing high school and initial commitments to the idea of college. Thereafter, interactive processes or engagements between students and institutional social and academic structures result in transformations of their goal and institutional commitments. These transformation may or may not lead to greater levels of goal and institutional commitments. Ultimately, stronger goal and institutional commitments lead to goal attainment. The opposite results in departure. Pascarella and associates explicated the construct of social integration by finding that students' informal contacts with faculty enhance their social and academic integrations (Pascarella and Terenzini, 1978, 1979b; Pascarella, 1980).

Tinto's model has been criticized by numerous researchers because it does not address adequately students' background variables. I agree with the critics. I extend those criticisms by adding that Tinto's model is silent about cross-cultural relations. To deal with this shortcoming, I addressed students' sociocultural variabilities as background variables and in terms of relations across cultures. I found that ethno-cultural factors and attendant cross-cultural interactions as interactive variables were central to the outcomes of my study. My study, then, was an ethnopsychology of cross-cultural conflict in relation to persistence in a small community college

Background Variables

Sociocultural Variability

With regard to sociocultural variability, there were two important outcomes worth discussing. First, there appeared to be a difference between generational distance and achievement. As I noted in the previous chapter, and with the exception of Quinta, a fifth-

generation student, the first-generation students demonstrated greater academic achievement. All of these students were Mexican-Oriented or Very Mexican Oriented in their acculturations. Several reasons account for this.

First, and at face value, Ogbu's thesis that first-generation minority students--voluntary minorities in his typology--have not resided in the United States long enough to develop oppositional culture orientations, would seem to be correct (Ogbu, 1982, 1987a). As Ogbu has informed us, voluntary minorities conform gratefully without opposing schooling and see no contradiction between schooling and their statuses as ethnic minorities. In my study, however, each first-generation student demonstrated clear oppositional culture orientations. These orientations fueled their initial commitments, academic integrations, and subsequent institutional commitments in ways consistent with Tinto's model (1975). More specifically, oppositional orientations for three of the four first-generation students stemmed in part from subordination in the United States on the basis of their dark, Indian phenotypes. In addition to research on phenotype by Arce et al, (1987), Murguia et al, (1991), and Hall (1994), Portes and Zhou (1993), inform us more succinctly that for immigrants, "It is by virtue of moving into a new social environment, marked by different values and prejudices, that physical features become defined as a handicap" (p. 11). Marginalization on the basis of phenotype, however, and cultivation of subsequent oppositional orientations were not the only impetuses for higher academic achievement by first-generation students.

I suspect that achievement by first-generation students was also probably attributable to the Mexican high school system. However, I do not know to what extent. The Mexican system is apparently more demanding than most United States public high schools. For example, students in the Mexican system attend school 10 months each year, and must pass all subjects before being advanced to the next grade level. Moreover, the standard curriculum includes physics, chemistry, two years of algebra, one year of

geometry, and community service. Even though the first-generation students were adequate but not fluent in English when they matriculated to Small College, they acknowledged the importance of their schoolings in Mexico in terms of breadth and the discipline it instilled in them. In obvious contrast, second and later generation Mexican-American students in this study, did not speak enthusiastically about high schooling in the United States.

Finally, and as I summarized in the previous chapter, the nuclear and extended families of first-generation students were more cohesive and concerted in their encouragements, engenderings, and in short, in their mediations of students' schoolings while they lived in Mexico and now while they live in the United States. Attinasi's study of Chicano university students' matriculations is instructive in this regard concerning the importance of family mediation of schooling (Attinasi, 1986). In sum, parents' engagements with these first-generation students was consistent with Tinto's model and the impact with these background variables can have on initial commitments and subsequent academic integrations.

Oppositional Culture Orientations and Feminism

As I indicated, the basis of initial commitments and goal commitments by the majority of students in my study was Mexican-American students' oppositions to the dominant cultural ethos of individualism, competitiveness, and marginalizing on the basis of ethnicity and gender. I also found that students' primary social orientations were cooperatively-based although there was no question about them being competitive in terms of their goals. These student orientations ran counter to the competition-individualism ethos of western society (Bell, 1976; Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton, 1985; Kagan and Knight, 1981; Triandis, Kagitcibasi, Choi, Yoon, 1994).

Unlike the outcomes in studies by Weis (1985), Willis (1977), Foley (1991), Matute-

Bianchi, (1986), Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi (1985), and Ogbu (1987a), oppositional culture orientations engendered commitment toward achievement and goal attainment. And unlike the outcomes in those studies except for Weis' study (1985), the students in my study accepted the power and legitimacy of formal knowledge transmitted by the college. In short, and with the exception of Eco and Nacho, the students learned to construct and organize their social lives to varying but significant extents on the basis of life long encounters with dominant cultural forms, and social structures which marginalized them either as Mexican-Americans or as women. The problem was compounded for three women who suffered because of their gender at the hands of spouses, boyfriends, or parents' tradition-bound gender socializations. It is important to add that subordination was not an everyday occurrence for these students. However, it occurred frequently and at important times during their lives. It did not constrain them though. Mediating influences by the family, ethnic affiliation, and by college support systems facilitated their academic achievements and goal attainments.

Oppositional culture orientations which sustained students in my study are similar conceptually to Rendon's "system blame" construct (Rendon, 1982, p. 161). Rendon employed that term in her study of Texas Chicano community college students' achievements. System blame orientations by students suggests that socioeconomic disparity and marginalization stem from the dominant order which excludes them and their families on the basis of race and gender. In her study, Rendon found that Chicano students with system blame perspectives completed more credit hours, and generally, were higher achievers. She implied that this orientation may have motivated students toward greater achievement. I found essentially the same in my study. Gene and Nacho, however, apparently contravened this thesis. Even though they sensed their marginalizations were attributable in part to prejudice, discrimination, and indifference, they did not demonstrate the anger, strong senses of ethnic loyalty, oppositional culture

orientations, or goal commitments which the achieving students in my study did.

These outcomes imply a question of agency in relation to reproduction. With regard to reproduction, Small College, without question, does reproduce valued economic-technical and cultural traits. However, the students in my study possessed sufficiently strong gender and ethnic identities, self-concepts, self-esteems, oppositional orientations, and senses of expedience to sort through normative, ideological, and cross-cultural conflicts in the college-going experience to use the transmitted knowledge to their advantages. In this sense, the outcomes of this study demonstrated that Small College does not necessarily reproduce the stratified order of which Karabel (1972), and Brint and Karabel (1989), have theorized.

Feminism was tied to oppositional culture orientation. Three female students were successful also and in large part because of the way they had internalized their relationships with men over the years. Inca, Eco, and Carma had tired of emotional and physical abuse and control by men. Over time they learned that they could no longer rely upon them and that they had to re-construct their lives. Education would play a central role in the process. These considerations are important in view of the constraints women have faced and despite contravening research which suggests that egalitarian relationships characterize Mexican-American households (Baca-Zinn, 1985; Miller, 1978; Ruiz, 1979). The reported experiences by these three females fit the traditional, stereotypical mold which these women have faced in their families and in their relationships with spouses or boyfriends. These three women were not equals in their families during their formative years. They were not equals with the males with whom they later lived as adults. For these women, then, their battle for independence from male domination facilitated in part, their initial commitments to college. To get out of their homes and to merely matriculate to college were major life accomplishments for these women. They transcended an historically oppressive home environment which discourages access to higher education by

females (Gandara, 1982; Young, 1992).

To conclude on these constructs of oppositional culture orientations and liberation by women, it is important to note that the achieving students in my study--all from very low-income families excepting Cuco--contravened the pattern that persistence correlates with higher socioeconomic backgrounds (Chapa, 1990; Commission on Higher Education, 1982; Rendon, 1982). Rendon (1982), reminds us of the backgrounds which Chicano students' they bring to higher education.

The educational progress of Chicano students may be shaped prior to college attendance. Evidently, environmental factors such as poverty and other related socio-economic conditions are significant segments of the external environment which work against minority groups. The impact of external environmental factors prior to and during college enrollment needs to be incorporated in student persistence models for Chicano groups. (p. 166)

I tried to identify and explicate those external factors and their interactions with college social academic and social structures which Rendon has prodded us to deal with.

The Mexican-American Family

Achieving and goal attaining students also had the guidance, encouragement, modeling, and in short, mediations by families in their schoolings. This outcome is consistent with two other studies on Mexican-American college students (Attinasi, 1986; Cardoza, 1991) wherein the Mexican-American family engendered goal attainment through anticipatory socialization and by modeling goal attainment. The role of the family cannot be overemphasized. In every case of achieving students excepting Inca, students' families mediated their schoolings.

These mediations and influences meant more than emphasizing the intrinsic value of schooling. They also included modeling work ethics and self-responsibility. In addition, and very importantly, I sense that one of the discreet functions of the family--including inputs from extended and fictive clan such as godparents--was transmission of collective

identity and ethnic loyalty. For example, and in most instances, it was not just students' parents, sisters or brothers who were doing the cheerleading, it was the collective. And it was this collective effort which prompted several of the students to commit to their schoolings, ultimately to assist Mexican-Americans and their families in turn in the future.

From another perspective and for many of the students in this study as I summarized in their life and schooling biographies in Chapter V, family mediations extended to students' elementary schoolings by helping them make sense of their perceived school realities. These mediations were extensions of students' familial and social learnings when they were children. While not Vygotskian in a strict sense (Vygotsky, 1978), I suspect that several of these students acquired the attributes achieve in school from their families' engagements with their schoolings. Moll and Greenberg have referred to the process as acquiring, "... funds of knowledge through events or activities. . . of people-in-activity. . . in a social matrix" (Moll and Greenberg (1990, p. 326). These zones of proximal development in turn, lead to the notion of reciprocity and transmission of attributes conducive to achievement notwithstanding socioeconomic background. Citing Velez-Ibanez (1988), Moll and Greenberg (1990), add that reciprocity:

establishes serious obligations that are not only based on the assumptions of *confianza* (trust) but lead to the re-establishment of trust with each exchange and the development of long-term relationships. Each exchange with kinsmen, friends, and neighbors not only entails many practical activities (everything from home and automobile repair to animal husbandry and music) but constantly provides contexts in which proximal development can occur; contexts where children have ample opportunities with people with whom they trust. (p.326)

I cannot say with certainty if the work ethics and motivations most of the students possessed stemmed from these processes described by Moll and Greenberg Velez-Ibanez (1988). However, my discussions with students seemed to indicate that the idea of reciprocity was at work in their relationships with their families. Accordingly, they derived initial direction from their families, and then, support through the years in

understanding the importance of schooling.

How families transmitted these attributes and orientations was generally consistent with the 10 achieving students in my study. They did it in some instances by fraternal engendering of attributes facilitative of successful college-goingness. Parents did it by modeling conscientiousness and personal responsibility. They also did it by transmitting strong ethnic identities to their children. Ironically, but not surprisingly, these identities would later be buttressed by their marginalizations as they engaged school systems and social structures. The salient point here is that self-defeating behaviors--oppositional culture and rejection of the symbolism of schooling--need not be the only by-product of subordination. The students in my study demonstrated this repeatedly. We need to be clear about the relative nature of agency, then, as we recognize the outcomes of my study. For example, the Horatio Algers of the world can more readily transcend marginality on the basis of Anglo phenotypes oftentimes by being in the right place at the right time. The students in my study--all moderate to very high academic achievers--did not enjoy that luxury. These were very astute and disciplined people who continue to be subordinate in their dealings with Whites interpersonally and in employments. Personal accounts by Cuco, Quinta, Inca, Alpha, Rulo, and Lugo in Chapter V are instructive in this regard.

Generally, the vast majority of the students' families mediated their schoolings by taking active and on-going interests in their children's schoolings. Most of the parents may not have known about the particulars of education, but they knew the importance of it in terms of economic mobility and hopefully, structural integration. Cuco, the Very Mexican Oriented, first-generation student is an exception. The approach and style of his overbearing father whose fastidiousness and strident demeanor regarding earnestness and success, were unusual for this study. Those posturings were mediated by compassion and modeling of educational attainment, and success in employment from brothers, sisters, and

extended family.

In summary, and with regard to students' experiences in higher education, families generally dialogued with and gave them opportunities to interpret and make sense of their experiences. They did this by mediating their schoolings--in most instances, beginning at the primary grade levels--by transmitting attitudes and orientations which were facilitative of acquisition of formal knowledge, and by minimizing cultural discontinuities between school and home. These encouragements, and supports were characteristic of communications between most of the successful students in my study. The need to establish goals was important in this regard. Except for Cuco's father, families did not dictate or intimate that students should be doctors or lawyers. They did emphasize, though, the importance of schooling and its utility. These familial functions are consistent with Vygotskian theory (Vygotsky, 1978), and the importance of familial bridging of cultural discontinuities between school and home (Delgado-Gaitan, 1987, 1988; Trueba, 1988).

According to Attinasi (1986), these types of interactions between students and families--"expectation engendering" and educational role modeling (pp. 130-135)--comprise "... fraternal modeling. . . the informant's having observed and/or having received information about college-going behavior of a relative, usually, a sibling" (p. 135). Attinasi also related that fraternal modeling had significance because, "... it provides knowledge of a relative's college-going behaviors and attitudes" (p. 137). As I have noted, guidance also came from nuclear and extended family members, and otherwise, from some family members with only elementary schoolings.

Strong Initial Commitments

In this study, the 10 achieving students demonstrated strong initial commitments to the idea of higher education. Rendon (1982), and Attinasi (1986), obtained similar

outcomes from their studies with Chicano students. Sociocultural variability seemed to factor only minimally in this outcome of my study. This finding of strong, initial commitments is consistent with Tinto's model which holds that initial commitments are a pre-requisite for subsequent academic and social integration. In contrast, Nacho and Gene--students who apparently departed--did not have strong initial commitments.

I sense that these initial commitments derived partially from early and continued achievement beginning at the grade school level. Carma is an exception here only because of the highly adversarial relationship--now transformed to friendship--she had with her mother for years. Interestingly, the four first-generation Mexican-American students all experienced greater academic success in Mexico than the second and third generation Mexican-Americans did in the United States. Quinta, the fifth generation "Californio" is the exception to this outcome. More interesting is the fact that first-generation Mexican-Americans, excepting Cuco, were all from very poor backgrounds. I address this difference in the final part of this chapter.

Age also seemed to factor into students' initial commitments. While community colleges are notorious for attracting "older-than-average" students, it is interesting to note that achievement and goal attainment patterns of the students in this study in relation to their ages. Of the 12 students, for example, four were in their mid to late 20's, three were in their late 30's, and two were in the 40's. The mean student age at Small College during the study was 29.2. The mean age for the students in my study was slightly higher at 30.0. As a rule and excepting two students at age extremes, older students--those 25 and older--had higher achievement levels and seemed to be comparatively more clear and certain about their goals. Rendon (1982), found the same in her study of Chicano community college students. This outcome appears to be significant against national data which indicate that Mexican-Americans 25 and older for many years have continued to have the highest high school dropout rates in the nation at more than 50% annually (Chapa, 1990).

In other words, the odds were against the older students in my study. Equally important, only two of the students--both females--enrolled in college immediately after high school.

This outcome of older Mexican-American students being successful at the community college counters new research by Dougherty (1994) which affirms other studies which indicate that chances for baccalaureate attainment are diminished by enrolling in the community college (Brint and Karabel, 1989; Grubb, 1991; Karabel, 1972). This outcome also contravenes at first glance, a 10-year follow-up study of 2,100 Oregon high school graduates by Kempner and Kinnick (1990). They found that "starting on time" is critically important toward goal attainment in higher education. The outcomes of that study defined starting on time as matriculating to college immediately after high school graduation. The authors qualified the outcome, however, by assigning importance to mediating variables such as college counseling, financial aid, and emotional support from parents. As I have indicated, all of these mediating variables were present in my study.

Interactive Variables

Ethnic Affiliation and Social Integration

Oppositional culture orientations engendered students' social integrations by drawing them toward Mexican-Americans, other Latinos, and other ethnic minority students as their primary socializing units. While social integration has not been assigned great weight in Tinto's model (Tinto, 1975, 1987), its importance was de-emphasized in one study by Pascarella at a community institution (Pascarella, 1985). On the other hand, several studies of Hispanics or Chicano community college students, have found ethnic affiliation to be an important determinant in social integration and hence, achievement (Rendon, 1982; Rendon et al, 1988; Rendon and Valadez, 1993).

Rendon's study (1982), of Chicano community college achievement and goal attainment deserves elaboration. She found similar socializing factors toward social--and academic--integration. The first was system blame. Second, and similar to the constructs of oppositional culture orientations and ethnic affiliation, was Chicano collective consciousness. Collective consciousness was comprised of ethnic identification preferences, internal-external blame perceptions, extent of ethnic association, and ethnic commitment. I think those two constructs are similar if not the same constructs I found in my study--ethnic affiliation and ethnic loyalty--and which were instrumental in facilitating students' social integrations.

Other studies (Loo and Rolison, 1986; Oliver, et al, 1985), at the university level underscore the importance of ethnic affiliation and social integration. What seems to be implied from these studies is that marginalization and oppositional culture orientations--"system-blame" in Rendon's 1982 study--generally seem to be the key variables which force ethnic minorities to seek out their own kind as an expedient means of social integration. As I have indicated, the functions of ethnic affiliation in my study were to help each other mediate the college social and academic experience by interpreting social interaction and academic endeavors across cultures.

To use Cooley's "I" versus "me" paradigm (Cooley, 1909), all but two of the students in my study knew from life experiences, that the "me"--typically "greaser," "taco," or "spic,"--was not particularly endearing in American society. At Small College, on the other hand, virtually all of the students in my study encountered receptivity to varying extents. However, there were conflicts across cultures from time to time.

Yet, and with the exception of Nacho and Gene, these students overcame the odds and persisted. One way of understanding this outcome is to examine it in terms of agency. I present two complementary definitions as they relate to the symbolic interpretations of their world by the students in my study, and as they relate to their wills and abilities to

overcome social and familial obstacles toward structural integration. First, Waters (1994), synthesizing a history of sociological theory, gives us this definition of agency. He draws from Weber (1978):

Agency theories are frequently described as theories of social action. Action occurs wherever the actor attaches a subjective meaning to behavior. Thus, the subject matter of sociology is defined by the agent. The process of acting in relation to a set of meanings, reasons or intentions is known as agency. A stress on agency implies that individuals are not the products or even the victims of the social world, but rather, that they are thinking, feeling, and acting subjects who create the world around them. They may do this intentionally or unintentionally, but they do it by giving meaning to their own behaviour and the behaviour of others. (p. 15)

This is a limited definition of agency because it does not address sufficiently engagement with social structures and transcendence of institutional constraints on the basis of race or gender. Foster (1991), gives us a better and contextualized definition:

Indeed, individuals acting within a social organization can create change, though, as will be developed, not through scientific paradigms. Rather, the agent here is a moral actor whose preparation allows her or him to exert leadership actively in the social setting. Agency then, is a construct that suggests the active, engaged efforts of individuals to effect changes in social structures. It assumes a 'real' world, historically informed, yet one that can be altered through the interventions of actors. Reality, in this view, is not a system that operates regardless of the individual actors within it...nor is it an ahistorical construction. Rather, in this view, it is an on-going accomplishment of the particular agents who act within the constraints imposed by history and circumstance (p.118).

I found most of the students in my study working against history and circumstance. Others have chronologued and explained the struggle by Mexicans, Mexican-Americans and Chicanos since the arrival of European settlers in the west (Acuna, 1972; Arce, 1982; McWilliams, 1968; Munoz, 1989; Steiner, 1969). Other theorists have described and explained the manifestations in education stemming from these historical outcomes grounded in racism and structured subordination (Aguirre and Martinez, 1993; Carter & Segura, 1979; Olivas, 1986; Vigil, 1982). Through will and determination, the students in my study struggled against structured subordination and in effect, have become change

agents and role models for themselves, their families, and their children.

Encouragement and Support From Faculty

Most of the students in my study reported that encouragement and support from college staff were important toward their achievements and goal attainments. I found in several instances that support from instructors was more than mere encouragement and interest in students as students. Encouragement also entailed transmission of technical information in terms of career and occupational information, associate and certificate degree requirements, and transfer requirements for competitive fields. These interactions between students and faculty tended to support partially the notion of Small College being a warm, friendly place.

These outcomes are consistent with research by Rendon (1982), Rendon, et al, (1988), and Attinasi (1986), on Mexican-American students. These studies inform us that encouragement and support from faculty facilitate social and academic integration, and goal attainment. Notwithstanding these constructive interventions, and as I indicated in the previous chapter, there were some accounts by students that some instructors were cold, paternalistic, or one-dimensional in their dealings with them. By one-dimensionality, I sensed from students that they perceived those instructors to be of the persuasion that the community college is only for those students who possess the maturity and sense of direction to compete.

Informal Contact With Faculty

Finally, two students, Rulo and Alpha, reported that their participations in extracurricular programmings and resultant, non-classroom contact with faculty, provided them with additional information and motivation toward goal attainment. Many of these informal contacts were in the college commons, the only social setting in the college aside

from a small, stoned seating area adjacent to the entrance of the college. This commons or lounge setting made student and faculty access to each other very easy. These outcome are consistent with work by Pascarella and Terenzini (1977), Pascarella and Terenzini (1979b), and Pascarella (1980). Alpha, perhaps, talked about the direct benefit of this informal contact by saying:

Se ven como regulares. De vez en cuando, platicamos sobre sus experiencias y como llegaron al punto de ser profesores en un colegio. Pienso yo, entonces, si ellos lo hicieron, yo tambien, yo si puedo (Translation: One notices that they are just plain people. We talk from time to time about experiences and how they became college teachers. I think, then, that if they made it, so can I).

I sensed that the functions of informal contact were similar to mentoring of students by their siblings and extended family members who had achieved academically in higher education in Mexico or the United States. While the technical information which was imparted to Alpha and Rulo benefitted them directly in terms of how to negotiate requirements either for associate degree requirements or to transfer to universities, it seemed that the greatest benefit was that contact with faculty solidified their social integrations beyond that obtained through ethnic affiliation. These contacts with faculty, however, did not extend to broadened relations with White students who were involved with them in some of their extracurricular activities.

Implications From the Findings

An all too often taken-for-granted assumption held by educational researchers and community college personnel is that all Hispanics, Latinos, Mexican-Americans, or Chicanos are all similar normatively, in terms of their world views, and thus, culturally. My review of the literature and presentation of the outcomes of my study, however, contravened these notions. And even though these heterogeneities had little directly to do with the outcomes of my study, they underscore nonetheless, the importance of

sociocultural variability in terms people's perceptions of culturally different populations, of cross-cultural communications, and the importance of developing or modifying access and retention policies for Mexican-American community college students on the basis of divergent backgrounds they bring to the community college.

The notions of cross cultural perception and communications are especially important in relation to sociocultural variability. For example, I sensed that many of the faculty at Small College--all well-intentioned people--knew very little about Mexican-Americans and unfortunately, perceived them stereotypically in ways identical to my operationalizations of Mexican-American ethnic identities in Chapter II. Specifically, it was not uncommon for people to think that Mexican-Americans are all family oriented, lack self-esteem, self-concept, and the like. As I indicated in Chapter II, some of these stereotypes are accurate, some not. In terms of cross-cultural communication, the difficulty with flawed perceptions of others is that they do not allow the humanness or individual variability of Mexican-Americans to emerge. Rather, Mexican-American students--Carma and Inca, for example, two females in my study with some cultural commonalities but very divergent personalities and interests as well--oftentimes are not perceived as individuals first, but rather as Carma and Inca, Mexican-Americans. I believe that the construct of sociocultural variability diverts our attention from these types of stereotyping and forces us to deal with individuals rather than someone who is deemed the "other" of which Madrid (1988), has spoken:

Like it or not. . . we were Americans by virtue of having been born Americans, and English was the common language of Americans. But there was a myth, a pervasive myth that said that only if we learned to speak English well--and particularly without accent--we would be welcomed to the American fellowship. Senator Sam Hayakawa notwithstanding, the true test was not our speech, but rather our names and appearance, for we would always have an accent, however divine our diction, however excellent our enunciation, however perfect our pronunciation. The accent would be heard in our pigmentation, our physiognomy, our names. We we, in short, the 'other.' Being the 'other' means feeling different; it is awareness of being distinct;

of consciousness of being dissimilar. Otherness means feeling excluded, closed out, precluded, even disdained and scorned. It produces a sense of isolation, of apartness, of disconnectedness, of alienation. . . Being the other involves a contradictory phenomenon. On the one hand, being the other frequently means being invisible. Ralph Ellison wrote eloquently about that experience in his magisterial novel, *The Invisible Man*. On the one hand, being the other sometimes means sticking out like a sore thumb. If one is the other, one will inevitably be perceived unidimensionally; will be seen stereotypically; will be defined and delimited by mental sets that may not bear much relation to existing realities (pp. 58-59).

As Madrid expresses and implies, sociocultural variability is a culturally relational construct, a cross-cultural construct. It calls our attention to lack of awareness and how stereotyping can constrain communications.

It is important to note that the outcomes from my study were an exception to virtually all other studies on Mexican-American achievement and goal attainment not only in the community college, but in higher education in general. An 83% success rate in my study--the figure represents those 10 of 12 who have been successful--is an aberration. It is far above local and national goal attainment rates for Mexican-Americans. Not even White students are as successful as were the students as a group in my study. This success rate was attributable merely to chance and the students who responded to my solicitation for research participants. My study was also different from other studies because nine of the 10 achieving students were from very low-income families. In contrast, achieving Mexican-American college students typically come from higher socioeconomic backgrounds.

Several factors mediated students' socioeconomic backgrounds. While I have discussed those influences in the previous chapter, it is important to restate them briefly to understand more fully the implications from the study. Again, background variables which facilitated either academic achievement or goal attainments for students were: first-generation statuses, the role of the Mexican-American family in terms of encouragement, modeling work ethnics, engendering achievement through modeling by siblings, parents

or extended family members with prior, successful college experiences, oppositional culture orientations and feminism, and strong, initial commitments to college. Interactive variables were ethnic affiliation, encouragement and support from faculty, and informal contact with faculty.

Most Mexican-American community college students today do not have these background variables working to their advantage--ironic it is that oppositional culture orientation can be an advantage if tempered--or interactions of those variables with college social and academic structures. The implications on the following pages incorporate these variables. However, and most important for my discussion below, and since most Mexican-American community college students do not succeed, I have structured my discussion to address the needs of underachieving students.

Empowerment at the K-12 Level

The problem of underachievement does not rest exclusively with the community college. The willingness and ability of public school systems at the K-12 level to empower students, parents, and teachers through multicultural programmings and systems of accountability such as those explicated by Lucas et al, (1990), and Cummins (1986), are important first steps toward establishing collaborations between home and school to minimize cultural and linguistic discontinuities. Ideally, these structurings and collaborations should involve community college personnel who would outreach actively to students, teachers, and parents in order to orient students and parents to the particulars and the accessibility of higher education. It is not too early to begin orientation to higher education programmings prior to the high school level (Green, 1989).

A Culturally Relational Work Setting

For many community college personnel--including ethnic minorities--viewing the world and schooling with ethnocentric, gender or dominant culture perspectives, can be problematic. Counseling philosophies, in particular are often not geared to accommodate culturally different populations (Sue, 1981; Sue and Sue, 1990). Client-centered counseling--Rogerian counseling (Rogers, 1960)--perspectives and individualistically oriented counseling approaches tend to predominate in counselor training programs . The problem is that these types of counseling philosophies and approaches work fairly well with middle-class White populations and even middle-class, highly acculturated Mexican-Americans--who tend generally to have internal locuses of control--but not so well with low-income, moderate to low acculturated ethnic minority groups and Mexican-Americans (Katz, 1985; Kunkel, 1990; Pomales and Williams, 1989; Ponce and Atkinson, 1989; Ponteretto, 1987; Sanchez and King, 1989).

An equally important and related point here, as others have addressed (Kempner, 1991; Rendon, 1982; Rendon, et al, 1988; Rendon and Valadez, 1993; Weis, 1985) is that the community college is a site of conflict. In this case, the conflict is ideological across cultures about the way the world should function. This idea is sensitive and to which White college personnel react invariably by asserting to minority educators--as did occur to me three times during my conversations with White faculty at Small College--that ethnic minorities are either overly sensitive about cross-cultural relations, or worse, by saying, ". . . are you saying that this is a racism issue?" (see Essed, 1991, and Pederson, 1993).

The problem is that these types of perceptions and then contentions is that opportunity for productive cross-cultural dialogue is constrained. To enhance cross-cultural dialogue, I suggest that culturally relational training--sensitivity training by other

standards--needs to be institutionalized as an element of staff or professional development for community college personnel. The objective of these types of trainings would be to make Mexican-American academic achievement and goal attainment college-wide responsibilities. The functions of these trainings, workshops, or the like, should be the debunking of cultural stereotypes, and otherwise, to cultivate culturally relational ways of looking at the world and which transcend ethnocentric perspectives.

More specifically, educators, regardless of ethnicity or gender, need to identify and examine the impacts of their own cultural and gender orientations, and professional trainings on their relations with culturally and gender-different populations (Helms, 1993; Katz, 1985; Proudfoot, 1988; Sue and Sue, 1990; Sue, 1993). Ironically, we know more about organizational efficiency than we do about organizational effectiveness in terms of two characteristics which everyone brings to schools: ethnicity and gender.

These types of activities should augment existing ethnic minority and women's studies curricular offerings. They would call our attention to access and retention being a total college or systemwide responsibility, and that these responsibilities rest upon cross-cultural awareness, cross-gender awareness and effective cross-cultural communication. The idea of periodic, on-going cross-cultural awareness is important. Toward this end, Sue, Arrendondo, and McDavis (1992), tell us, ". . . becoming culturally skilled is an active process that is on-going, and. . . is a process that never reaches an end point" (p. 75).

Basic Skills Students: Empowerment and Monitoring Progress

All students in my study began their college educations by taking basic writing, or math courses. They eventually progressed to college level writing courses or completed additional math courses to fulfill math requirements--the equivalent of high school algebra and business math--for the associate degree. However, the 10 achieving students in my

study were exceptional. In contrast, and typically, Mexican-Americans students from low-income backgrounds who must take basic skills courses to remedy earlier academic deficiencies, do not attain their goals. It is important, then, for student service providers, especially counselors in collaboration with basic skills instructors, to meet periodically with students to monitor their academic developments. As necessary, counselors should refer students to tutorial centers and follow-up with those students and instructors.

In the California community college system, the Educational Opportunity Programs and Services--a financial aid and support services program for low-income students, many of whom are ethnic minorities--requires students to report their mid-term grades each academic quarter regardless of academic achievement levels. This requirement is designed to identify students who may need academic support. Non-EOPS financial aid recipients are monitored by financial aid staffs as well as a condition for continued receipt of financial aid. However, not all Mexican-American community college students in California or elsewhere are eligible for the types of monitoring and other services which EOPS students receive. As such, there are no formal mechanisms to identify and track marginal--not necessarily deficient--students. Marginal students are those near a 2.00 grade point average. Invariably, it is these students who experience academic deficiency and thereafter, who are placed on probation. Thereafter, students must meet with counselors to co-sign registration materials prior to registration as symbolic notice to the registrar's office that students have met with counselors who informed them of their responsibilities students. However, there is a problem with these processes.

If these students are not already of the verge of being cooled-out (Clark, 1960), with these types of interventions by counselors who may not be competent cross-culturally in working with Mexican-Americans, they quite likely remain underserved. For example, and without the benefit or peer counselors or cross-culturally competent counseling, students may assume that they themselves are the root of the problem since they have

never really experienced extended academic success at lower grade levels and that there are no remedial or tutorial services available to help them. The problem can be critical for older students who work more than 20 hours per week. In short, and for community college systems which do not have support systems comparable to California's EOPS, it is in everyone's interests to review college policies regarding early outreach and identification of potentially deficient Mexican-American students who are not financial aid recipients in order to increase their chances of academic success by providing intensive counseling and extended orientation programs.

Access to CEO's by Ethnic Minority Faculty Who Assist Mexican-Americans

Most community colleges do not have ethnic minorities or Mexican-Americans at mid-management or vice presidential positions. In the names of efficiency and communication channels, then, advocates for Mexican-American students--typically counselors or support services managers--have their interests and concerns reduced to short memoranda or budget summaries presented to high level administrators for future program plannings. Under these circumstances, the voices of those who have been hired ostensibly to see to the developmental needs and attainments by Mexican-Americans, are muted. It is imperative that these types of top-down managerial practices cease and that Mexican-American faculty or whomever provides access and retention services to Mexican-American students, have direct access to at least the vice president for academic affairs of the institution.

At issue here is managerial prerogative and possibly to-be-alleged preferential treatment. The considerations lack merit, though, in the face of established practices at most institutions. For example, staff members at the informal culture level, often transcend protocol and have greater access and input on policy formation than do personnel of greater rank and tenure. Similarly, persons and groups external to

institutions have access, input, and influence in ways greater than faculty who represent protected classes. In this vein, and although not germane directly, Kempner (1991), has addressed the need to acknowledge and examine the influence of external influences on organization. My point, then, is that it would behoove institutions and protected classes to give stakeholders opportunities to direct access to vice-presidents or presidents for input on the statuses of opportunities for and constraints against Mexican-American achievement and goal attainment.

Engendering Student Success: Faculty Mentoring

The outcomes from my study indicate the importance of internal encouragement by college personnel. Internal encouragement means more than merely telling students to persist and that practice, and hard work lead to goal attainment. The fallacy of the latter is that people oftentimes practice imperfectly and then, do not attain their goals. Internal encouragement, then, means creation of systems and activities which facilitate students' social and academic integrations. One such activity is a faculty mentoring program. Small College plans to implement a mentoring program during the 1994-95 academic year. Despite the very few faculty who have committed themselves to the project--the administration, on the other hand, had a 100% commitment rate to the project--the concept is sound and can help integrate students with institutional structures. The plan at Small College will include mentoring students in areas of instructors' academic competencies. Implied is transmission to students of career and technical information and information on planning for goal attainment. The program will be voluntary, but faculty will be given the opportunity to include these activities as part of their annual professional development requirements.

Anticipated outcomes from mentor programs like Small College's should be greater awareness of technical requirements in students' academic areas, employability

enhancement, and goal attainments. Equally important, faculty of little cross-cultural awareness will have those competencies enhanced by their interaction with ethnic minority students. For students, these informal contacts would hopefully expedite social integration beyond ethnic affiliation if ethnic affiliation is their primary means of integration.

Ethnic Minority or Mexican-American Faculty, Social and Academic Integration

Ethnic affiliation by Mexican-Americans with each other was critically important for students' social integrations in my study. Rendon (1982), reported the same in her study of Texas Chicano community college students. As Rendon (1982), and others have suggested (Green, 1989; Olivas, 1986), the employment of additional ethnic minority and ethnic minority instructors and support services staff are important in terms of modeling success for students; and provision of empathic support to facilitate students' self-explorations, career explorations, academic achievements, and goal attainments.

Institutional Ethnic Identification Schemes

For institutions which employ Hispanic as the sole ethnic identification option for Mexican-Americans and other Latinos on admissions and financial aid applications, and other institutional forms, it is imperative that they adopt a typology suggested by Hayes-Bautista and Chapa (1986). For example, a Cuban national would identify as a "Latino of Cuban origin." A Mexican-American would self-identify as a "Latino of Mexican-American origin." Otherwise, it remains impossible for institutions to identify or track academic achievement and goal attainments by Mexican-Americans. As I discuss under research implications at the end of this chapter, and when combined with other data on students' socioeconomic backgrounds including high school achievements, implementation

would allow institutions to have better data bases from which to identify academic achievement and goal attainment variables and then to assess the quality of interventions in order to assist Mexican-American students achieve, attain their goals, and in relation to their sociocultural variabilities.

Advisory Committees

By institutional or state coordinating commission policies, most community college instructional and support service programmings must be overseen by advisory committees comprised typically of college personnel, students occasionally, and community representatives with vested interests or technical competence to advise colleges on implementation or modification of activities and services. With regard to colleges which do not have formal policy-making or advisory bodies to track access and goal attainment rates of Mexican-Americans and other historically underrepresented populations, it is important for executives to create advisory committees with which to consult regularly concerning Mexican-American access and retention. For colleges with existing committees but which are ineffective, boards of trustees and college presidents should empower them in collaboration with institutional research units to advise administrators and student service units on means of facilitating greater access and attainment.

At minimum, areas of inquiry should include student' socioeconomic backgrounds, acculturative differences which could be obtained simply as I did with the Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican-Americans or similar instruments, short and long-term trends on goal attainments by students, and tracking departed students. Ideally, these should be working advisory committees which, in concert with institutional research units, would have at hand broadened data bases from which to advise colleges on ways of enhancing success by Mexican-American students.

Future Research

My study extended and elaborated Tinto's construct of student background variables in acculturative and cross-cultural contexts. It also incorporated elements of Rendon's study of Texas Chicano community college students in terms of resistance-oppositional culture theory, ethnic affiliation, and how these orientations facilitated students' achievements and goal attainments (Rendon, 1982). Although I found that sociocultural variability did not affect greatly the outcomes of this study, I believe that it is still an important construct which warrants inquiry in the future. I offer some possibilities as well as implications for future research.

The importance of an ethnopsychological focus on Mexican-American community college persistence is that it necessarily calls for examination of structural, intra-cultural and cross-cultural influences on achievement. A broader research design in this regard would entail greater involvement with students' families in order to understand the cultural and familial influences on students' personal, gender, and ethnic identities. I spent only a few hours with the parents of one student in my study. I wish I could have spent more time with parents or other family members. Time constraints and the unavailability of other students' family members precluded more extensive involvement.

Interviewing or hanging-out with parents were not part of my research design. However, meeting Quinta's parents and spending two hours with them and Quinta was serendipitous because I found that they corroborated each other's perspectives in several instances. Future persistence research can give us broader insights on students' personal identities and within-culture differences as background variables they bring to the community college by incorporating parents and families into the study. Making this type of qualitative research manageable would be difficult if the number of students were not reduced. Methodologically, major benefits from including families in the research design

would be to solidify conclusions on acculturative types, to better understand familial and cultural transmission, and to establish stronger linkages between categorical data from these familial inputs.

Beyond the question of more broadly-based input from families as background data, there are related questions of the need for more in-depth analysis of institutional culture. Because of the breadth of my study and my primary focus on sociocultural variability, I did not expend as much time and energy as I feel the college's culture deserved. And as I indicated, my position within the college precluded extensive inquiry. Future research should allow for greater examination of institutional culture. In particular, it should address the formal and informal organization and their possibly differential impacts on students' social and academic integrations.

Drawing from Rendon (1982), I also believe that it is critically important for future researchers to avoid the tendency to define achievement and goal attainment solely in terms of student or person-centered variables. As I indicated at the outset of this dissertation, and as I restated in terms of symbolic interaction and ethnomethodology, educational systems mete out disparity as part of their reproductive functions. The focus of future research, then, should at least incorporate the following two considerations: (1) the community college as a site of conflict where moderate to low acculturated Mexican-Americans are forced to adapt; under these circumstances, cross-culture conflict or the manifestation of historically embedded feelings of subordination arise thereby aiding or hindering students' achievements and attainments; and (2) the balance between institutional accommodation of backgrounds which students bring to the community college, and the degrees to which institutional policies and practices accommodate or force students to adapt to the formal and informal organization.

Finally, and drawing from Rendon (1982), there is an additional implication for institutional research units. I believe that it is important for researchers to track Mexican-

American achievement and goal attainment in relation to these two constructs of adaptation and accommodation. With these conceptual organizers, we would augment existing research methodologies which typically include students' expressed goals upon matriculating to the community college, in relation to attainment, and in relation to gender and ethnicity. Typically, ethnic identity is limited to Hispanicism. As I have indicated, however, Hispanicism is too global a construct as an ethnic identification referent to be meaningful in terms of research designs which should address adaptation and accommodation. Designs which would incorporate sociocultural variability, several ethnic identification options such as those I employed in this study.

The constructs of accommodation versus adaptation would be a more encompassing and would hopefully yield more broadly-based data. It would be important to operationalize the concept of institutional accommodation. This could be done quite easily by examining institutional missions in relation to dollar outlays to accessing and retaining students, the extent of involvement by entire college communities to insure students' success, and the extent of cross-culturally competent support systems and programmings. Operationalizing student adaptation could be accomplished by examining the breadth of cross-cultural social interactions by Mexican-American students, academic integration as reflected by compliance with minimal requirements for obtaining a community college credential, and transfer rates to universities.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE

INTERVIEW GUIDE

Student _____ Gender _____ Birthdate _____

Birthplace _____ Lived in U.S. Since _____

Residency Status

Permanent Resident Since When _____ U.S. Citizen Since When _____

Living Arrangement

Single ___ Married ___ Divorced ___ Widowed ___ Remarried ___ Single Parent ___

Number of Children _____ Number of Dependents _____

Do you live with your married family? ___ Yes ___ No If No, where does your family
live? _____ How long living apart? _____A. FAMILY BACKGROUND AND RELATED

1. Parents' geographical origins:
 - a. where were your parents born?
 - b. when (year) were they born?
 - c. if not native to the U.S., when did they first come to the U.S.?
 1. under what circumstances?
2. What was your parents' first language(s)?
3. Did either of your parents ever identify with the indigenous or Indian side of their backgrounds?
4. Grandparents: REPEAT QUESTIONS 1-3, above
5. Occupational types over the lifespan: Which of the following descriptions best apply to members of your family listed below: professional, skilled, semi-skilled, working class, campesino, industrio, periodically employed, always employed, migratory laborer?
 - a. mother
 - b. father
 - c. grandparents
 - d. aunts and uncles
 - e. sisters
 - f. brothers'

g. cousins

- 6 Parents Socioeconomic Class- How would you classify your parents social and economic backgrounds over the years? : a.) upper/wealthy class; b.) upper middle class; c.) middle class; d.) lower middle class; e.) working class/seasonally employed; f.) poor
7. Family Educational Levels- Please tell me about the educational levels of your parents, grandparents, brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, and cousins.
8. Do you talk with anyone in your nuclear and/or extended families about your being a college student?
9. Did you have an educational role model when you were living with your parents?
10. Did anybody in your immediate or extended families take an active, on-going interest in your education?
11. What was/is your family's religion?
12. How "religious" was/is your family?
13. Who was the "head" of your family?
14. Was your immediate family "close"?
15. Was your immediate family close with your extended family?
16. Who would try to bring your family together with extended clan? Mother? Father?
17. Do you have a padrino? Padrina?
18. What was your first language?
19. When did you first learn English? Spanish?
20. What language did your parents emphasize at home?
21. What recollections do you have of your neighborhood(s) when you were growing-up?
22. Are you in touch with any neighborhood friends?
23. Did any of your neighborhood friends go to college?
24. Did your family interact as a unit with other neighborhood families?
25. Do you remember what your parents' expectations were of you when you were living with them? (Note: "expectations" is an open-ended question that should be responded to in a multitude of ways if applicable).
26. Do you remember what your parents' expectations were of your brothers and sisters?
27. What is your spouse's/girlfriend's/boyfriend's ethno-cultural background?
28. Does your spouse/girlfriend/boyfriend work? Attend college? Both?
29. What language(s) does your spouse/girlfriend/boyfriend speak?
30. What is/are your children's first language?
31. Do you have important values/beliefs that you want your children always to remember?
32. Describe your social life here in the ____ area

B. PRE-COLLEGE

K-6

1. Do you have any recollections about your primary school experiences?

2. Can you remember what type of student you were in grade school? "Good", "Average", "Below Average"?
3. Were you involved in school activities back then?
4. Do you remember what type of interest your parents took in you education?
5. Can you remember if other family members took interest in your schooling?
6. Did you enjoy your primary schooling
7. What types of students did you feel most comfortable with or hang-around with?
8. Did you have any teachers that you looked-up to or really respected?
9. Do you remember the "highest" level Math courses you took in school?
10. Did you attend a public or private school?

MIDDLE OR JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL : Repeat questions 1-10 listed under K-6, above, and substitute "middle" or "junior high" when appropriate

HIGH SCHOOL

1. High school name and location
2. Do you remember the school nickname ?
3. Urban or Rural/Small town school?
4. How many Mexicanos, Chicanos, or Latinos?
5. What type of student were you in high school? "good"?, "average"?, "below average"?
- a. What is "good", "average", "below average"?
6. Was it a public or private school?
7. What was your school's enrollment?
8. Do you know if you were in a "college prep" or "shop/vocational track"?
9. Do you think that your schooling prepared you adequately for college??
10. Do you remember the "highest" level math courses you took in high school?
11. Do you remember the "highest" level "science" courses you took?
12. Do you remembers the highest level English courses you took?
13. Did you ever take college entrance exams?
- a. Why? b. Why not?
14. Did you do as well academically as you would have liked to?
15. Do you have any recollections (positive, negative, neutral) about your teachers?
16. Do you have any recollections (" " ") about your high school counselors?
17. Did you ever violate any school policies (behavioral or academic)
- a.) if you were penalized, did you think that you were dealt with fairly?
18. Did any teacher ever talk to you about going to college?
19. Did any counselor ever talk to you about going to college?
20. Did you have a certain crowd or group that you hung-out with?
- a. Why?
- b. Why not?
21. What types of students were your buddies in high school? (Academically).

22. Are you still in touch with any of your friends from high school?
 - a. Did any of them go to college?
 - b.) Did any of them complete a college program?
23. Did you ever think about going to college, even if you never received the support you think you should have received from teachers or counselors?
- 24 Did you ever have any BIG career and lifestyle dreams?
 - a.) Did you ever share these dreams with anybody in a serious way?
 - b.) Did you believe that these dreams would be attainable?
25. Were you involved in extracurricular activities? (Clubs, sports, fundraising activities, etc..).
26. Did anyone else in your immediate/nuclear or extended family graduate from high school?
 - a. From college?
- 27 How would you describe the type/level of interest your parents took in your high school?
28. How would you describe the type/leve of interest in your high school education by your brothers? sisters? aunts? uncles? etc.. Did their interests or lack make a difference in your motivation to succeed?
- 29 How do you define success?
- 30 Did you apply for admission to colleges other than this college?
31. Did you ever think about attending other community colleges after you left high school?
32. Do you remember when you thought seriously about attending college, this or any other type of higher education program or institution?
33. Did you know what a "community college" was before you graduated from high school?
34. Did you know what a community college was after you graduated from high school?
35. Did you know the difference between a community college and a "university" while you were in high school?
36. Did you ever drop-out of high school?
 - a. What was your parents' reaction?
 - b. What was your extended family's reaction?
 - c. What was the reaction from your friends?
37. Did you ever think of dropping-out of high school?
38. Did you ever go back to your high school to visit?
39. Did you go "straight" to college or this college after finishing high school?
40. Did you visit this college for academic and career information while you were still in high school?
41. Did you visit this college for academic and career information after you left high school but before you enrolled at the college?
- 42 If you did not enroll at (Small College) right after high school graduation, what di you do in the meantime?

C. Higher Education and the Community College

1. Your Objectives at this college (Choose those which apply):
 - Liberal Arts AA/Transfer Certificate
 - Occupational AA/Transfer Uncertain
 - Occupational/ Vocational AA/ No Transfer
2. What is your academic major?
3. Have you changed majors since your initial enrollment at this college?
4. Have you changed your objective since first enrolling at this college?
5. When did your first enroll at this college?
6. Have you attended other colleges before or after enrolling at this college?
 - a. Why did you attend other colleges?
7. Since your enrollment at this college, what has been your enrollment pattern: Part-Time? Full-Time?
8. Since your initial college enrollment (at any college) have you ever "dropped-out" for more than one academic quarter or one semester?
9. Academic Performance (Refer to Students' Grade Transcripts)
 - a. are you satisfied with your grade point average to date?
 - b. is GPA the same thing to you as "learning"?
 - c. do you think you are capable of better academic performance?
 - d. what do you think your strength as a student are?
 - e. weaknesses?
 - f. barriers to academic performance: are there any barriers to you academic performance that are not "academic" in nature?
 - g. do you seek tutorial assistance at the college from anyone?
10. What do your parents think about you being a college student?
11. Do they talk to you often about college studies, college life, etc..?
12. What do your brothers and sisters think about you being a college student?
13. Do your brothers and sisters talk to you about college studies, college life, etc..?
14. Do extended family members talk to you about studies, etc..?
15. Do you talk to classmates or friends about college studies?
16. What group(s) of people do you associate outside the college?
17. Are you or have you been involved in extracurricular activities at the college? At other colleges?
18. Are your close friends involved in extracurricular activities at the college?
19. Have you received any academic honors at the college? Elsewhere?
20. Do you study as much as you would like to?
21. Do you study as intensely as you would like to?
22. Do you/can you study as intensely as you would like to?
23. Do you think you prepare adequately for exams, quizzes, finals, etc.?
24. Are you a good writer?
25. How good are you at math?
26. Do you like "science"?

27. Describe your typical day during the present school year.
28. Do you practice "idle" time during the day? If yes, when?
29. What is your impression of or impressions of the professors/instructors at this college?
 - a. Have you gotten to know any of the instructors/professors personally in ways above and beyond the "normal-traditional" student-staff relationships?
30. What are your impressions of support services at the college?
 - a. Have you gotten to know any of the support staff in ways that go beyond the "normal-traditional" student-staff relationship?
31. If you were to tell a close friend or family member to attend this college, what would the reasons be?
32. If you were to tell a close friend or family member not to attend this college, what would the reasons be?
33. Have you had a difficult time any time here at this college? Academically? Socially?
34. Some people say that "...it is not what you know, it is who you know that counts..." if you want to get ahead? As a college student, presumably wanting to get a "decent" job after you are done with your studies, a.) what do you think of this saying? b.) how do you feel about this saying?
35. Have you identified the possible list of schools to which you would like to transfer?
36. What do you know about these institutions:
 - a. "academic reputations"?
 - b. tuition (costs)?
 - c. enrollment size
 - d. credentials of the professors in the department in which you would like to enroll?
 - e. job placement rates of the department in which you plan to enroll?
37. How do you know that the courses you plan to take will transfer?
38. Why do you want to transfer?
39. What are your plans after you earn your B.A. or B.S. degree?
40. Are you planning to go to graduate school?
41. When did you first think of going to graduate school?
42. Why do you want to go to graduate school?
43. Have you thought about graduate schools you might attend?
44. Why these schools?
45. Does this choice of graduate schools represent a change of goals:
 - a. from what you are presently studying?
 - b. from what your interests were before you entered this college?
 - c. from what your interests were when you attended other colleges?
46. Are you receiving financial aid at this college?
47. Is your aid package sufficient to meet your basic educational and living costs?
48. Do you have a work-study job at the college?
49. How many hours do you work each week? month?
50. Do you have another job or a non-work-study job in the community?
51. Is there/are there any connections between your work and college studies that you think benefit your studies?

52. Have you received financial aid at this college in prior years?
53. Are you on scholarship assistance at this college?
54. Have you received scholarships at other colleges?
55. Have your parents or other family members assisted you financially at this college?
 - a. At any other college?
56. What words best describe your experiences at this college?

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE CODING SYSTEM

Interview Code System
Re: Ph.d Empirical Project

IntCoSys

<u>A. Family Background and Related (FB)</u>	<u>Initial Code</u>	<u>Interview Question</u>
<u>Parents and Grandparents (PG)</u>		
FB--PG--Parents' geographical origins	FB-PGO	1
FB--PG--Parents' 1st language	FB-P1stLang	2
FB--PG--Parent's Indigenour ID	FB-PGIndID	3
FB--PG--Grandparents' Geographical Origins	FB-PGAbuelOrg	4
FB--PG--Grandparents' 1st Lang	FB-PGAbuelIndID	
FB--PG--Grandparents' Indigenour ID	FB-PGAbuelIndID	4
<u>Occupational Types Over Lifespan (OT)</u>		
FB--OT--Poor, Work Class	FB-OT-PWC	5,6
FB--OT--Working Class	FB-OT/WC	5,6
FB--OT--Middle Class	FB-OT-MC	5,6
FB--OT--Upper Class	FB-OT-UC	5,6
FB--OT--Farmworker	FB-OT-FW	5,6
FB--OT--Periodically Employed	FB-OT-PE	5,6
FB--OT--Always Employed	FB-OT-AE	5,6
FB--OT--Professional	FB-OT-Pro	5,6
FB--OT--Skilled, Semi-Skilled	FB-OT-SkSS	5,6
<u>Educational Level (EL)</u>		
FB--EL--No School	FB-EL-NS	7
FB--EL--Grades 1-6	FB-EL-1-6	7
FB--EL--Grades 7-9	FB-EL-7-9	7
FB--EL--Grades 10-12	FB-EL10-12	7
FB--EL--Some Comm. Coll.	FB-EL-SCC	7
FB--EL--Completed Comm. Coll.	FB-EL-CCC	7
FB--EL--Completed 4 Yrs.	FB-EL-BA	7
FB--EL/Beyond BA	FB-El-GradS	7

Religious Background (RB)

FB--RB--Catholic	FB-RB-CAT	11,12
FB--RB--Non-Catholic	FB-RB-NC	11,12
FB--RB--Faithful	FB-RB-F	11,12
FB--RB--Peripher Influence	FB-RB-PI	11,12
FB--RB--No Faith	FB-RB-NF	11,12

Family Roles and Cohesiveness (FRC)

FB--FRC--Matriarchal	FB-FRC-M	13,15,16
FB--FRC--Patriarchal	FB-FRC-P	13,15,16
FB--FRC--Dysfunctional	FB-FRC-D	13,14,15 16,17
FB--FRC--Cohesiveness (+) (-) (+/-)	FB-FRC-C	14,15,16

Linguistic Proficiencies (LP)

FB--LP--Spanish only	FB-LP-SO	18,19,20
FB--LP--English only	FB-LP-E	18,19,20
FB--LP--Spanish & English	FB-LP-S-E	18,19,20

Neighborhood Influence (NI)

FB--NI--Still Influential	FB-NI-SI	21,22,23,24
FB--NI--Moderately Influential	FB-NI-MI	21,22,23,24
FB--NI--No Influence	FNI-NI	21,22,23,24

Parents' Expectations (PE)

FB--PE--Gender Based for Self	FB-PE--GBS	25
FB--PE--Gender Based for Siblings	FB-PE-GBSib	26
FB--PE--Egalitarian	FB-PE-Egal	26

Personal and Cultural Orientation (PCO)

FB--PCO--High Acculturation	FB-PCO/HA	27-32
FB--PCO--Moderate Acculturation	FB-PCO-MA	27-32
FB--PCO--Low Acculturation	FB-PCO-LA	27-32

B.) Pre-Collegiate Experiences (PCE)

Elementary (E)

PCE--Academic Integration (+) (-) (+/-)	PCE-E-AI	1,2,8
PCE--Social Integration (+) (-) (+/-)	PCE-E-SI	1,3,7,8
PCE--Family/Parental Influence & Model	PCE-E-FPI	4,5
	PCE-E-M	4,5

Middle/Junior High School (MJHS)

PCE--Academic Integration (+) (-) (+/-)	PCE-MJHS-AI	1,2 8
PCE--Social Integration (+) (-) (+/)	PCE-MJHS-SI	1,3,7,8
PCE--Family/Parental Influence & Model	PCE-MJHS-SI	4,5
	PCE-MJHS-M	4,5

High School (HS)

PCE--HS--Academic Integration (+) (-) (+/-)	PCE-HS-AI	1,2,8
PCE--HS--Social Integration (+) (-) (+/-)	PCE-HS-SI	17,20,21,22,25
PCE--HS--Family/Parent Interest (+) (-) (+/-)	PCE-HS-FPI	27,28,36A 28,36A, 36B,39C, 39E
PCE--HS--Role Model (+) (-) (+/-)	PCE-HS-RM	26
PCE--Basic Skills Readiness (+) (-) (+/-)	PCE-HS-BS	8,14,23,24 29,36,37 38
PCE--Teacher Interaction (+) (-) (+/-)	PCE-HS-TI	15,17,18
PCE--Counselor Interaction (+) (-) (+/-)	PCE-HS-CI	16,17
PCE--HS--College Awareness (+) (-) (+/-)	PCE-HS-CA	30,33,34,35 36,37,38, 39,42
PCE--HS--Commitment to College	PCE-HS-CC	31,32,36,37, 38,39,42

C.) Higher Education and the Community College (HECC)

Integration (INT)

HECC--INT--Academic Integration (+) (-) (+/-)	HECC-INT-AI	9,9d,9e,9f,9g, 9h,9i,16a,19, 20,21,22,23, 27,28,29,30, 31,32,33a,34, 9a,9c
-----------------------------------------------	-------------	-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

HECC--INT--Social Integration (+) (-) (+/-)	HECC-INT-AI	16,16a,17, 18,27,27, 28,29,29a,30 30,30a,31,32, 33b,34
HECC-INT--Basic Skills Readiness (+) (-) (+/-)	HECC-INT-BSR	24,25,26
HECC--INT--Academic Commitment (+) (-) (+/-)	HECC-INT-AC	9a,9c
<u>Academic Objective (AO)</u>		
HEEC--AO--Clear-On Track	HECC-AO-OT	1,2,3,4
HEEC--AO--Not On-Track	HECC-AO-NOT	1,2,3,4
HEEC--AO--Unclear-On-Track	HECC-AO-UOT	1,2,3,4
HECC--AO--Off Track	HECC-AO-OFFT	1,2,3,4
<u>Finances (F)</u>		
HEEC--F--Financial Aid (+) (-) (+/-)	HECC-F-FA	46,47,48,49, 50
HECC--F--Non-College Work (+) (-) (+/-)	HECC-F-NCW	50
HECC--College Wk. Study (+) (-) (+/-)	HECC-F-CWS	48,49,50
HECC--Work Exp. Relationship To Studies (+) (-) (+/-)	HECC-F-WERS	51
HECC--F--Parent/Family Support (+) (-) (+/-)	HECC-F-P/FS	55
<u>Family (FAM)</u>		
HECC--FAM--Family Interest in Studies (+) (-) (+/-)	HECC-FAM-FI	12,13,14,39A
HECC--FAM--Parents' Interest in Studies (+) (-) (+/-)	HECC-FAM-PIS	10,11
<u>Future Plans (FP)</u>		
HECC--FP--Work, No School	HECC-FP-WNS	
HEEC--FP--Work& School	HECC-FPWS	
HECC--FP--Transfer BA	HECC-FP-TrBA	35,36,37,38, 39
HECC--FP--Graduate School	HECC-FP-GS	39, 40,41,42 43,44,45

APPENDIX C

ACCULTURATION RATING SCALE FOR MEXICAN-AMERICANS

Acculturation Rating Scale for Mexican Americans

 Name

 Nombre

 Sex

 Sexo

 Age

 Edad

 Marital Status

 Estado Civil

 What Is Your Religious Preference?

 Cual Es Su Religion Predilecta?

 Last Grade Completed in School:

 Hasta Grado Asistio Usted
en La Escuela?:

1. Elementary 0-5
2. 6-8th Grade
3. 9-12th Grade
4. 1-2 Years of College
5. 2 Years of College or More

1. Primaria 6
 2. Secundaria 7-9
 3. Preparatoria 10-12
 4. Universidad 1-2 Anos
 5. Universidad 2 anos o mas
-

Circle the number next to the answer that best fits the question.

1. What language do you speak?
 1. Spanish only
 2. Mostly Spanish, some English
 3. Spanish and English about equally (bilingual)
 4. Mostly English, some Spanish
 5. English only
2. What language do you prefer?
 1. Spanish only
 2. Mostly Spanish, some English
 3. Spanish and English about equally (bilingual)
 4. Mostly English, some Spanish
 5. English only
3. How do you identify yourself?
 1. Mexican
 2. Chicano

Indique con un círculo la respuesta que considere mas adecuada.

1. ¿Qué idioma habla usted?
 1. Solamente Español
 2. Mas Español, menos Inglés
 3. Igual en Español y en Inglés (bilingue)
 4. Mas Inglés, menos Español
 5. Solamente Inglés
2. ¿En qué idioma preliere hablar?
 1. Solamente Español
 2. Mas Español, menos Inglés
 3. Igual en Español que en Inglés (bilingue)
 4. Mas Inglés, menos Español
 5. Solamente Inglés
3. ¿Cómo se identifica usted?
 1. Mexicano
 2. Chicano

3. Mexican American
 4. Spanish American, Latin American, Hispanic American, American
 5. Anglo American or other
4. Which ethnic identification does (did) your mother use?
 1. Mexican
 2. Chicano
 3. Mexican American
 4. Spanish, Hispanic, Latin American, American
 5. Anglo American or other
 5. Which ethnic identification does (did) your father use?
 1. Mexican
 2. Chicano
 3. Mexican American
 4. Spanish, Hispanic, Latin American, American
 5. Anglo American or other
 - 6-7. What was the ethnic origin of the friends and peers you had, as a child up to age 6? ____ (use codes 1-5 below)
from 6 to 18? ____ (use codes 1-5 below)
 1. Almost exclusively Mexicans, Chicanos, Mexican Americans (LA RAZA)
 2. Mostly Mexicans, Chicanos, Mexican Americans
 3. About equally Raza (Mexicans, Chicanos, or Mexican Americans) and Anglos or other ethnic groups
 4. Mostly Anglos, Blacks, or other ethnic groups
 5. Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, or other ethnic groups
 8. Whom do you now associate with in the outside community?
 1. Almost exclusively Mexicans, Chicanos, Mexican Americans (La Raza)
 2. Mostly Mexicans, Chicanos, Mexican Americans
 3. About equally Raza (Mexicans, Chicanos, or Mexican Americans) and Anglos or other ethnic groups
 4. Mostly Anglos, Blacks, or other ethnic groups
 5. Almost exclusively Anglos, Blacks, or other ethnic groups
 9. What is your music preference?
 1. Only Spanish
 2. Mostly Spanish
 3. Equally Spanish and English
 4. Mostly English
 5. English only
3. México Americano
 4. Español Americano, Latino Americano, Hispánico Americano, Americano
 5. Anglo Americano u otro
4. ¿Cuál identificación étnica tiene (tenía) su madre?
 1. Mexicana
 2. Chicana
 3. México Americana
 4. Española, Latina Americana, Hispánica, Americana
 5. Anglo Americana u otro
 5. ¿Cuál identificación étnica tiene (tenía) su padre?
 1. Mexicano
 2. Chicano
 3. México Americano
 4. Español, Hispánico, Latino Americano, Americano
 5. Anglo Americano u otro
 - 6-7. ¿Cuál era el origen étnico de sus amigos y compañeros hasta la edad de seis (6) años? ____ (use codes 1-5 below)
de 6 a 18? ____ (use codes 1-5 below)
 1. Exclusivamente Mexicanos, Chicanos, México Americanos (LA RAZA)
 2. En su mayoría Mexicanos, Chicanos, México Americanos (LA RAZA)
 3. Casi igual (Mexicanos, Chicanos, México Americanos o RAZA) y otros grupos étnicos
 4. En su mayoría Anglo Americanos, Negros u otros grupos étnicos
 5. Exclusivamente Anglo Americanos, Negros u otros grupos étnicos
 8. ¿Con quién se asocia ahora en la comunidad?
 1. Exclusivamente Mexicanos, Chicanos, México Americanos (Raza)
 2. En su mayoría Mexicanos, Chicanos, México Americanos (Raza)
 3. Casi igual (Mexicanos, Chicanos, México Americanos o Raza) y otros grupos étnicos
 4. En su mayoría Anglo Americanos, Negros u otros grupos étnicos
 5. Exclusivamente Anglo Americanos, Negros u otros grupos étnicos
 9. ¿Cuál música prefiere?
 1. Solamente música en Español
 2. Por la mayor parte en Español
 3. Casi igual en español como Inglés
 4. Por la mayor parte en Inglés
 5. Solamente Inglés

10. What is your TV viewing preference?
1. Only programs in Spanish
 2. Mostly programs in Spanish
 3. Equally Spanish and English programs
 4. Mostly programs in English
 5. Only programs in English
11. What is your movie preference?
1. Spanish-language movies only
 2. Spanish-language movies mostly
 3. Equally English/Spanish
 4. English-language movies mostly
 5. English-language movies only
12. a. Where were you born (subject)
 Mexico U.S. Other
 (Parents)
- b. Where was your father born?
 Mexico U.S. Other
- c. Where was your mother born?
 Mexico U.S. Other
 (Grandparents)
- d. Where was your father's mother born?
 Mexico U.S. Other
- e. Where was your father's father born?
 Mexico U.S. Other
- f. Where was your mother's mother born?
 Mexico U.S. Other
- g. Where was your mother's father born?
 Mexico U.S. Other
10. ¿Qué tipo de programas de televisión prefiere?
1. Solamente programas en Español
 2. Por la mayor parte programas en Español
 3. Igual programas en Español como Inglés
 4. Por la mayor parte en Inglés
 5. Solamente programas en Inglés
11. ¿Qué tipo de películas prefiere?
1. Solamente películas en Español
 2. Por la mayor parte películas en Español
 3. Igual Inglés y Español
 4. Por la mayor parte en Inglés
 5. Solamente películas en Inglés
12. a. ¿En dónde nació usted? (sujeto)
 México Estados Unidos
 Otro País
- b. ¿En dónde nació su padre?
 México Estados Unidos
 Otro País
- c. ¿En dónde nació su madre?
 México Estados Unidos
 Otro País
 (Abuelos)
- d. ¿En dónde nació la mamá de su padre?
 México Estados Unidos
 Otro País
- e. ¿En dónde nació el papá de su padre?
 México Estados Unidos
 Otro País
- f. ¿En dónde nació la mamá de su madre?
 México Estados Unidos
 Otro País
- g. ¿En dónde nació el papá de su madre?
 México Estados Unidos
 Otro País

On the basis of the above answers, circle the generation that best applies.

1. 1st generation = subject born in Mexico or other
2. 2nd generation = subject born in U.S., either parent born in Mexico or other
3. 3rd generation = subject born in U.S., both parents born in U.S., and all grandparents born in Mexico or other

Sobre la información anterior indique el número de la generación que mejor le corresponde.

1. 1a generación = sujeto nació en México u otro país
2. 2a generación = sujeto nació en los Estados Unidos, cualquiera de sus padres nacidos en México u otro país
3. 3a generación = sujeto nació en los Estados Unidos, sus dos padres nacidos en los Estados Unidos y todos los abuelos nacidos en México u otro país

4. 4th generation = subject and parents born in U.S. and at least one grandparent born in Mexico or other with remainder born in the U.S.
5. 5th generation = subject and parents born in U.S. and all grandparents born in U.S.
4. 4a generación = sujeto nacido en los Estados Unidos. los dos padres nacidos en los Estados Unidos y por lo menos un abuelo nacido en México u otro país
5. 5a generación = sujeto y sus dos padres nacidos en los Estados Unidos y todos sus abuelos nacidos en los Estados Unidos
13. Where were you raised?
1. In Mexico only
 2. Mostly in Mexico, some in U.S.
 3. Equally in U.S. and Mexico
 4. Mostly in U.S., some in Mexico
 5. In U.S. only
13. ¿En dónde creció usted?
1. En México
 2. La mayor parte del tiempo en México y la menor parte en los Estados Unidos
 3. La misma cantidad de tiempo en los Estados Unidos y en México
 4. La mayor parte del tiempo en los Estados Unidos y la menor parte en México
 5. En Los Estados Unidos
14. What contact have you had with Mexico?
1. Raised for one year or more in Mexico
 2. Lived for less than 1 year in Mexico
 3. Occasional visits to Mexico
 4. Occasional communications (letters, phone calls, etc.) with people in Mexico
 5. No exposure or communications with people in Mexico
14. ¿Qué contacto ha tenido usted con México?
1. Criado un año o más en México
 2. Criado menos de un año en México
 3. Visitas ocasionales a México
 4. Comunicaciones ocasionales (cartas, llamadas telefónicas, etc.) con gente de México
 5. Ningún contacto o comunicación con gente de México
15. What is your food preference?
1. Exclusively Mexican food
 2. Mostly Mexican food, some American
 3. About equally Mexican and American
 4. Mostly American food
 5. Exclusively American food
15. ¿Qué tipo de comida prefiere?
1. Solamente comida Mexicana
 2. Por la mayor parte comida Mexicana, parte Americana
 3. Lo mismo Mexicana y Americana
 4. Por la mayor parte comida Americana
 5. Solamente comida Americana
16. In what language do you think?
1. Only in Spanish
 2. Mostly in Spanish
 3. Equally in English and Spanish
 4. Mostly in English
 5. Only in English
16. ¿En qué idioma piensa usted?
1. Solamente en Español
 2. La mayor parte en Español
 3. Igual en Inglés y Español
 4. La mayor parte en Inglés
 5. Solamente en Inglés
17. Can you read Spanish? Yes No
Can you read English? Yes No
Which do you read better? Rate the subject on the following continuum:
1. Reads only Spanish
 2. Reads Spanish better than English
 3. Reads both Spanish and English equally well
 4. Reads English better than Spanish
 5. Reads only English
17. ¿Puede leer en Español? Sí No
¿Puede leer en Inglés? Sí No
¿En cuál lenguaje lee mejor? Indique con un círculo el número que mejor corresponde:
1. Lee solamente Español
 2. Lee mejor Español que Inglés
 3. Lee igual en Inglés que en Español
 4. Lee mejor en Inglés que en Español
 5. Lee solamente en Inglés

18. Can you write in English?
Yes No
Can you write in Spanish?
Yes No
Which do you write better? Rate the subject on the following continuum:
1. Writes only Spanish
2. Writes Spanish better than English
3. Writes both Spanish and English equally well
4. Writes English better than Spanish
5. Writes only in English
19. If you consider yourself a Mexican, Chicano, Mexican American, member of La Raza, or however you identify this group, how much pride do you have in this group?
1. Extremely proud
2. Moderately proud
3. Little pride
4. No pride but does not feel negative toward group
5. No pride and feels negative toward La Raza
20. How would you rate yourself?
1. Very Mexican
2. Mostly Mexican
3. Bicultural
4. Mostly Anglicized
5. Very Anglicized
18. ¿Puede escribir en Inglés?
 Sí No
¿Puede escribir en Español?
 Sí No
¿En cuál lenguaje escribe mejor? Indique con un círculo el número que mejor corresponde:
1. Escribe solamente en Español
2. Escribe mejor en Español
3. Escribe igual en Inglés y Español
4. Escribe mejor en Inglés que en Español
5. Escribe solamente en Inglés
19. ¿Si se considera usted como Mexicano, Chicano, México Americano, Miembro de la Raza, o cualquiera que sea su identidad con éste grupo, qué tan orgulloso se siente de ser un miembro de este grupo?
1. Extremo orgullo
2. Orgulloso moderadamente
3. Poco de orgullo
4. Nada de orgullo, pero tampoco no se siente negativo respecto a este grupo
5. Nada de orgullo y tiene sentimientos negativos hacia miembros de La Raza
20. ¿Qué clasificación se daría a usted mismo?
1. Muy Mexicano
2. En gran parte Mexicano
3. Bicultural en gran parte
4. En gran parte Americanizado
5. Muy Americanizado

Total score _____ Total score is the sum of all 20 multiple-choice items circled.
Average score _____ Average score is the total score divided by 20.

Copyright, 1979, Cuellar and Jasso

APPENDIX D

QUESTIONS FOR INSTRUCTORS

QUESTIONS FOR INSTRUCTORS

1. In terms of the community college, what is effective teaching to you?
2. Notwithstanding end-of-term students evaluations of you, how do you know if you have been effective with students?
3. Describe your teaching style.
4. Where does "teaching" begin and end for you in your relationships with students?
5. How important, if at all, are students' ethnicities in your communications with them?
6. How important, if at all, are students' genders in your communications with them?
7. Based upon your experiences in this college, what do you think are major/minor obstacles that impede Mexican-American students' academic progress?
8. Based upon your experiences at this college, what do you think are major/minor obstacles that impede Mexican-Americans' educational goal attainments?
9. Do you have other thoughts about Mexican-American students?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acosta, O.Z. (1972). The autobiography of a brown buffalo. New York: Vintage.
- Acosta, F. (1977). Ethnic variables in psychotherapy: the Mexican-American. In J.L. Martinez (Ed.). Chicano Psychology. (pp. 215-231). Orlando: Academic Press.
- Acuna, R. (1972). Occupied America: the Chicano's struggle toward liberation. New York: Canfield Press.
- Agar, M. (1980). The professional stranger: an informal introduction to ethnography. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Aguirre Jr., A., & Martinez, R.O. (1993). Chicanos in higher education: issues and dilemmas for the 21st century. ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report No. 3. Washington, DC: The George Washington University. School of Education and Human Development.
- Alvarez, R. (1973). The psycho-historical and socioeconomic development of the Chicano community in the United States. Social Science Quarterly, 53 (1), 15-29.
- Alvarez, D., & Bean, F. (1976). The Mexican-American family. In C.H. Mindel, and R. Habenstein (Eds.). Ethnic families in America: patterns and variations. (pp. 271-292). New York: Elsevier.
- Apple, M. (1982). Education and Power. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul
- Arce, C. (1981). A reconsideration of Chicano culture and identity. Daedalus, 110, (2), 177-191.
- Arce, C., Murguia, E., & Frisbie, W.P. (1987). Phenotype and life chances among Chicanos. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 9, (1), 19-32.

- Astin, A. (1982). Minorities in American higher education. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Attinasi, L.C. (1986). Getting in: Chicanos' perceptions of university going with implications for freshmen-year persistence. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Arizona State University.
- Baca-Zinn, M. (1980). Employment and education of Mexican-American women: the interplay of modernity and ethnicity in eight families. Harvard Educational Review, 50, (1), 47-62.
- Baca-Zinn, M. (1982). Mexican-American women in the social sciences. Signs, 7, 259-272.
- Ballasteros, E. (1986). Do Hispanics receive an equal educational opportunity? The relationship of school outcomes, family background, and high school curriculum. In M. Olivas (Ed.). Latino College Students. (pp. 47-70). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Barcello, N. (1980/1981). A descriptive study of the educational concerns of Chicanos at the University of Iowa. Dissertation Abstracts International. A42, (1), July, 1981, 404. University of Iowa.
- Bean, J. (1982). Student attrition, intentions, and confidence: interaction effects in a path model. Research in Higher Education, 17, 291-320.
- Bell, D. (1976). The cultural contradictions of capitalism. New York: Basic.
- Bellah, R.N., Madsen, R., Sullivan, W.M., Swidler, A., & Tipton, S.M. (1985). Habits of the heart. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Bennett, C., & Okinawa, A. M. (1990). Factors related to persistence of Asian, Black, Hispanic, and White undergraduates at a predominantly White university: comparison between first and fourth-year cohorts. The Urban Review, 22, (1), 33-60.
- Berger, P.L., & Luckman, T. (1966). The social construction of reality. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Bernal, M.E., & Knight, G.P. (Eds.). (1993). Ethnic identity: formation and transmission among Hispanics and other minorities. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

- Bernal, M.E., Knight, G.P., Garza, C.A., Ocampo, K.A., & Cota, M.K. (1990). The development of ethnic identity in Mexican-American children. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 12, (1), 3-24.
- Blumer, H. (1969). Symbolic Interactionism. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Bogden, R., & Biklen, S. (1982). Qualitative Research for education: an introduction to theory and methods. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). Cultural reproduction and social reproduction. In J. Karabel, and A.H. Halsey (Eds.). Power in sociology and education. (pp. 487-511). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.C. (1977). Reproduction. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (1976). Schooling in capitalist America: educational reforms and contradictions in economic life. New York: Basic Books.
- Braxton, J.B., Brier, E.M., and Hossler, D. (1988). The influence of students' problems on student withdrawal decisions: an autopsy on "autopsy" studies. Research in Higher Education, 28, (3), 241-253.
- Brint, S., & Karabel, J. (1989). The diverted dream: community colleges and the promise of educational opportunity in America, 1945-1985. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Buriel, R. (1984). Integration with traditional Mexican-American culture and socio-cultural adjustment. In J.L. Martinez, & R.H. Mendoza (Eds.). Chicano Psychology Second Edition, (pp. 95-130). Orlando: Academic Press.
- Burnham, M., Hough, R.L., Telles, C., Karno, M., & Escobar, J. (1987). Measurement of acculturation in a community population of Mexican-Americans. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 9, (2), 105-130.
- Cabrera, A., Nora, & Casteneda, M.B. (1992). The role of finances in the persistence process. Research in Higher Education, 33, (4), 571-593.
- California Community Colleges Board of Governors. (1992). Student Equity Policy. Sacramento, CA: California Community Colleges.
- California Postsecondary Education Commission. (1993). Student Profiles. Profile 1-11. Latino enrollments (for credit) at the California community colleges. Fall 1981 to Fall 1992. Sacramento, CA: California Postsecondary Education Commission.

- California Postsecondary Education Commission (1993, July). Student Profiles. Profile 6-4. Flow of Latino students from California community college districts and colleges to the California State University from 1990-91 through 1992-93. Sacramento, CA: California Postsecondary Education Commission.
- California Postsecondary Education Commission. (1993, September). Student Profiles. Profile 6-3. Flow of Latino students from California community college districts and colleges to the California State University from 1990- through 1992-93. Sacramento, CA: California Postsecondary Education Commission.
- California Postsecondary Education Commission. (1993, September). Student Profiles. Profile 6-4. Flow of Latino transfer students from California community college districts and colleges to the University of California. full year. 1990-91 through 1992-93. Sacramento, CA: California Postsecondary Education Commission.
- California Postsecondary Education Commission. (1993). Student Profiles. Profile 6-3. Flow of Latino transfer students from California community college districts and colleges to the University of California. full year. 1990-91 through 1992-93. Sacramento, CA: California Postsecondary Education Commission.
- California Postsecondary Education Commission. (1993). Student Profiles. Profiles 3-12 Latino Undergraduate enrollments at the California State University. Fall 1983 through Fall 1992. Profile 3-12, Section 3. New Students. Sacramento, CA: California Postsecondary Education Commission.
- California Postsecondary Education Commission. (1993, March). Major gains and losses: a report on the shifts in the popularity of various academic disciplines as fields of study at California's public universities. Table CS-26, and CS-O. Sacramento, CA: California Postsecondary Education Commission.
- California Postsecondary Education Commission. (1993, March). Student Profiles. Profiles CS-23, CS-24, CS-27, CS-29 Baccalaureate attainments by non-Latinos at the California State University. 1986-87 through 1991-92.. Sacramento, CA: California Postsecondary Education Commission.
- California Postsecondary Education Commission. (1993, March). Baccalaureate degree completion rates by ethnicity in relation to ethnic group enrollments in the California State University, 1986-87 through 1991-92. Major Gains and Losses: a report on the shifts in the popularity of various academic disciplines as fields of study at California's public universities. CS-0, CS-23, CS-24, CS-29. Sacramento, CA: California Postsecondary Education Commission.

- California Postsecondary Education Commission. (1993, October). Student Profiles New Students: Profiles 3-12, Section 3. Sacramento, CA: California Postsecondary Education Commission.
- California Postsecondary Education Commission. (1993, July). Student Profiles, Profile 1-10. Latino Undergraduate Enrollments at the University of California, 1984-85 through 1992-93. Sacramento, CA: California Postsecondary Education Commission.
- California Postsecondary Education Commission. (1993, March). Major gains and losses: a report on shifts in the popularity of various academic disciplines as fields of study at California's public universities. Baccalaureate degrees earned by Latino students at the University of California from 1986-87 through 1991-92. UC-15. Sacramento, CA: California Postsecondary Education Commission.
- California Postsecondary Education Commission. (1994, January). Degree Abstracts, July, 1992 through June, 1993. Sequential summaries. Provided Upon Special Request. Sacramento, CA: California Postsecondary Education Commission.
- Camarillo, A. (1979). Chicanos in a changing society: from Mexican pueblos to American barrios in Santa Barbara and southern California. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Cameron, K.S., & Ettington, D.R. (1988). The conceptual foundations of organizational culture. In Higher education: handbook of theory and research. Vol. IV. (pp. 356-396). New York: Agathon Press.
- Cardoza, D. (1991). College attendance and persistence among Hispanic women: an examination of some contributing factors. Sex Roles, 24, (3/4), 133-147.
- Carter, T., & Segura, R. (1979). Mexican-Americans in school: a decade of change. New York: College Entrance Examination Board.
- Carter, D., & Wilson, R. (1990). Minorities in higher education: ninth annual status report. Washington, DC: American Council on Education.
- Carter, D., & Wilson, R. (1992). Minorities in higher education: eleventh annual status report. Washington, DC: American Council on Education.
- Chacon, M., Cohen, E.G., & Strover, S. (1986). Chicanos and Chicanas: barriers to progress in higher education. In M. Olivas (Ed.). Latino college students (pp. 296-324). New York: Teachers College Press.

- Chapa, J. (1990). Special focus: Hispanic demographic and educational trends. In D.J. Carter and R. Wilson (Eds). Minorities in higher education: ninth annual status report. (pp. 11-18). Washington, DC: American Council on Education.
- Cicourel, A. (1970). Generative semantics and the structure of social interaction. International Days of Sociolinguistics. Rome: Luigi Sturzo Institute (p. 20). In R. Ramos. A case in point: an ethnomethodological study of a poor Mexican-American family. Social Science Quarterly, 53, (4), 905-919.
- Clark, B. (1960). The 'cooling-out' function in higher education. American Journal of Sociology, 65, 269-276.
- Clark, B. (1980). The cooling-out function revisited. In G.B. Vaughn (Ed.). Questioning the community college role. New Directions for Community Colleges: No. 32. (pp. 15-31). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Clark, J.H. (1987). Improving student fit with academic environment. Journal of College Student Personnel, 28, (2), 115-122.
- Clark, M., Kaufman, S., & Pierce, R. (1976). Explorations of acculturation: toward a model of ethnic identity. Human Organization, 35, (3), 231-238.
- Cohen, A.M., Brawler, F.B., & Bensimon, E.M. (1985). Transfer education in American community colleges. Los Angeles: Center for the Study of Community Colleges.
- Commission on the Higher Education of Minorities. (1982). Final report on the higher education of minorities. Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute, Inc.
- Cooley, C.H. (1909). Social organizations: a study of the larger mind. New York: Charles Scribner Sons.
- Cromwell, V., & Ruiz, R.A. (1978). The myth of macho dominance in decision making within Mexican and Chicano families. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 14, (4), 355-373.
- Cross, K.P. (1988). Determining missions and priorities for the fifth generation. In W.L. Deegan, D. Tillery, & Associates (Eds.). Renewing the American community college (pp. 34-50). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Cuellar, I., Harris, L.C., & Jasso, R. (1980). An acculturation rating scale for Mexican-American normal and clinical populations. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 2, 199-217.

- Cummins, J. (1986). Empowering minority students: a framework for intervention. Harvard Educational Review, 56, (1), 18-36.
- Davis, S.K., & Chavez, V. Hispanic househusbands. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 7, (4), 317-332.
- de la Garza, R.O., DeSipio, L., Garcia, F.C., Garcia, J., & Falcon, A. (1992). Latino voices: Mexican, Puerto Rican, & Cuban perspectives on American politics. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- del Castillo, R.G. (1984). La familia: Chicano families in the urban southwest, 1848 to the present. Notre Dame. University of Notre Dame Press.
- Delgado-Gaitan, C. (1986). Teacher attitudes on diversity affecting student socio-academic responses: an ethnographic view. Journal of Adolescent Research, 1, (1), 103-114.
- Delgado-Gaitan, C. (1987). Traditions and transitions in the learning process of Mexican children: an ethnographic view. In G. Spindler, & L. Spindler (Eds.). Interpretive ethnography at home and abroad. (pp. 333-359). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Delgado-Gaitan, C. (1988). The value of conformity: learning to stay in school. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 19, 4, 354-381.
- Diaz, R.M., Neal, C.J., & Amaya-Williams, M. (1990). The social origins of self-regulation. In L. Moll (Ed.). Vygotsky and education: instructional implications of sociocultural psychology. (pp. 127-154). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Diaz, S., Moll, L.C., & Mehan, H. (1986). Sociocultural resources in instruction: a context specific approach. In California State Department of Education, Bilingual Education Office (Ed). (pp. 187-230). Beyond language: social and cultural factors in schooling language minority students. Los Angeles: California State University, Evaluation, Dissemination, and Assessment Center.
- Dominio, G., & Acosta, A. (1987). The relation of acculturation and values in Mexican-Americans. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 9, 131-150.
- Dougherty, K.J. (1994). The contradictory college: the conflicting origins, impacts, and futures of the community college. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Durkheim, E. (1961). Suicide: a study in sociology. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

- Dworkin, A.G. (1964). Stereotypes and self-images held by native-born and foreign-born Mexican-Americans. Sociology and Social Research, 49, 214-224.
- Espinoza, J., & Garza, R.T. (1985). Social group salience and interethnic competition. Journal of Experimental and Social Psychology, 21, 380-392.
- Essed, P. (1992). Understanding everyday racism. Thousand Oaks: Sage
- Feinberg, W., & Soltas, J.F. (1992). School and society (2d Ed.). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Foley, D.E. (1991, August). Rethinking school ethnographies of colonial settings: a performance perspective of reproduction and resistance. Comparative Education Review, 532-549.
- Forbes, J. (1992). The Hispanic spin: party politics and governmental manipulation of ethnic identity. Latin American Perspectives, 19, (4), 59-78.
- Foster, W. (1991). A model of agency for postgraduate education. In W.G. Tierney. (Ed.). Culture and ideology in higher education (pp. 107-125). New York: Praeger.
- Freeman, C.R. (1980). Phenomenological sociology and ethnomethodology. In J.D. Douglas (Ed.). Introduction to the sociology of everyday life. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Galvan, R., & Teschner, R. (1989). El diccionario del espanol Chicano. Lincolnwood, IL: National Textbook Company.
- Gandara, P. (1982). Passing through the eye of the needle: high achieving Chicanas in education. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 4, 167-179.
- Gandara, P. (1986). Chicanos in higher education: the politics of higher education. American Journal of Education, 95 (1), 257-272.
- Garcia, J. (1984). The logic and limits of mental aptitude testing. In J.L. Martinez & R.H. Mendoza (Eds.). Chicano Psychology, Second Edition (pp. 41-58). Orlando: Academic Press.
- Garfinkle, H. (1967). Studies in ethnomethodology. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall. In M. Waters. (1994). Modern sociological theory. (p. 37). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

- Garza, R.T., & Widlak, F.W. (1976). Antecedents of Chicano and Anglo student perceptions of the university environment. Journal of College Student Personnel, July, 295-299.
- Geertz, C. (1973). The interpretation of cultures. New York: Basic Books.
- Gernand, R. (Ed.). (1993). The college handbook. New York: College Entrance Examination Board.
- Gibson, M.A. (1987). Punjabi immigrants in an American high school. In G. Spindler, & L. Spindler (Eds.). Interpretive ethnography of education at home and abroad. (pp. 281-310). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Gimenez, M.E. (1992). U.S. ethnic politics: implications for Latin Americans. Latin American Perspectives. 19, (4), 7-17.
- Giroux, H., & McLaren, P. (Eds.). (1989). Critical pedagogy, the state, and cultural struggle. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Glaser, B., & Straus, A.L. (1967). The discovery of grounded theory. Chicago: Adline.
- Gomez-Cano, G.R. (1991/1991). The ideological formation of Mexican-American students: the Mejicano, Chicano, and Hispanic identities. Dissertation Abstracts International. A52,(5), Nov., 1991, 1653. University of Houston.
- Goodenough, W.H. (1980). Ethnographic field techniques. In H. C. Triandis, and J.W. Berry (Eds.). Handbook of cross-cultural psychology. Vol II. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Gordon, M. (1964). Assimilation in American Life. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Grebler, L., Moore, J.W., & Guzman, R.C. (1970). The Mexican-American People. New York: Free Press.
- Green, M.F. (1989). Minorities on campus: a handbook for enhancing diversity. Washington, DC: American Council on Education.
- Griffith, J. (1983). Relationship between acculturation and psychological impairment in adult Mexican-Americans. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 5, 431-459.

- Griffith, J., & Villavicencio, S. (1985). Relationships among acculturation, sociodemographic characteristics and social support in Mexican-American adults. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 7, 75-92.
- Grubb, W.N. (1984). The bandwagon once more: vocational preparation for high-tech occupations. Harvard Educational Review, 54, (4), 429-451.
- Grubb, W. N. (1991). The decline of community college transfer rates: evidence from national longitudinal surveys. Journal of Higher Education, 62, (2), 194-222.
- Gutierrez, J., Sameroff, A.J., & Karrer, B.M. (1988). Acculturation and SES effects on Mexican-American parents' concepts of development. Child Development, 59, (10), 250-255.
- Hacker, A. (1992). Two nations: Black and White, separate, hostile, and unequal. New York: McMillan.
- Hall, R.E. (1994). The "bleaching" syndrome: implications of light skin for Hispanic American assimilation. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 16, (3), 307-314.
- Haller, A.D., & Woelfel, J. (1972). Significant others and their expectations: Concepts and instruments to measure interpersonal influence on status aspirations. Rural Sociology, 37, (4), 591-622.
- Hamaker, M.L.N. (1986/1987). American language minority college performance and persistence. Dissertation Abstracts International. A47, (7), July, 1987, 2476. University of Southern California.
- Haro, C.M. (1983). Chicanos and higher education: a review of selected literature. Aztlan, 14, (1), 35-76.
- Hayes-Bautista, D. (1980). Identifying Hispanic populations: the influence of research methodology and public policy. American Journal of Public Health, 70, (4), 353-356.
- Hayes-Bautista, D., & Chapa, J. (1986). Latino terminology: conceptual bases for standardized terminology. American Journal of Public Health, 77, (1), 61-68.
- Heller, C.S. (1966). Mexican-American youth: forgotten youth at the crossroads. New York: Random House.
- Helms, J.E. (1993). I also said "White racial identity influences White researchers." The Counseling Psychologist, 21, (2), 240-243.

- Hofstede, G., Neuijen, B., Ohayv, D., & Sanders, G. (1990). Measuring organizational cultures: a qualitative and quantitative study across twenty cases. Administrative Science Quarterly, 35, 286-316.
- Hossler, D., & Bean, J.P. (1990). The strategic management of college enrollments. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Hurtado, A., & Arce, C. (1970). Mexicans, Chicanos, Mexican-Americans, or pochos... que somos? the impact of nativity on ethnic labeling. Aztlan, 17, (1), 103-130.
- Jick, T.D. (1983). Mixing qualitative and quantitative methods: triangulation in action. In Van Mannen, J. (Ed.). Qualitative methodology (pp. 135-148). Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Kagan, S., & Knight, G.P. (1981). Social motives among Anglo-American and Mexican-American children: experimental and projective measures. Journal of Research in Personality, 15, 93-106.
- Karabel, J. (1972). Community colleges and social stratification. Harvard Educational Review, 42, 521-562.
- Katz, J.H. (1985). The sociopolitical nature of counseling. The Counseling Psychologist, 13, (4), 615-624.
- Keefe, S.E. (1984). Real and ideal extended familism among Mexican-Americans: on the meaning of close family ties. Human Organization, 43, (1), 65-70.
- Keefe, S.E., and Padilla, A. (1987). Chicano ethnicity. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Kempner, K. (1988). Do community colleges serve the oppressed or the oppressors? Unpublished Manuscript. Division of Educational Policy and Management. University of Oregon, Eugene.
- Kempner, K. (1989). The community college as a site of cultural conflict. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association. San Francisco, March.
- Kempner, K., & Kinnick, M. (1990). Catching the window of opportunity: being on time for higher education. Journal of Higher Education, 61, (5), 535-547.
- Kempner, K. (1991). Understanding cultural conflict. In W.G. Tierney (Ed.). Culture and ideology in higher education (pp.129-150). New York: Praeger

- Kerr, C. (1978). Higher education: paradise lost? *Higher Education*, 7, 261-278. In J. Brint, and S. Karabel (1989). The diverted dream: community colleges and the promise of educational opportunity in America: 1900-1985. (p.78). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kim, U., Triandis, H.C., Kagitcibasi, C., Choi, S-G, & Yoon, G. (1994). Individualism and collectivism. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Knight, G.P., Bernal, M.E., Garza, C.A., and Cota, M.K. (1993). A social cognitive model of the development of ethnic identity and ethnically based behavior. In M.E. Bernal and G. Knight (Eds.). Ethnic identity: formation and transmission among Hispanic and other minorities (pp. 213-234). New York: State University of New York Press.
- Knight, G.P., Kagan, S., & Buriel, R. (1981). Confounding effects of children's cooperation-competition social motive measures. Motivation and Emotion, 5, (2), 167-178.
- Kunkel, M.A. (1990). Expectations about counseling in relation to acculturation in Mexican-American student samples. Journal of Counseling Psychology, 37, (3), 286-292.
- Lampe, P. E. (1984). Mexican-Americans: labeling and mislabeling. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 6, (1), 77-85.
- Levine, E.S., & Padilla, A.M. (1980). Crossing cultures in therapy: pluralistic counseling for the Hispanic. Monterey: Brooks/Cole Publishing.
- Lewis, O. (1959). Five families. New York: Basic Books.
- Lietko, T.A. (1988). Organizational culture change: theme appreciation in a university. *Sociological Practice*, 5, (1), 37-64. In K.S. Cameron, and D.R. Ettington (Eds.). The conceptual foundations of organizational culture. Higher education: handbook of theory and research. Vol IV. (p.61). New York: Agathon Press.
- Lincoln, Y.S. (1991). Advancing a critical agenda. In W.G. Tierney (Ed.). Culture and ideology in higher education: advancing a critical agenda (pp. 17-32). New York: Praeger.
- Lofland, J., & Lofland, L.H. (1984). Analyzing social settings: a guide to qualitative observation and analysis. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.
- London, H.B. (1978). A culture of a community college. New York: Praeger

- London, H.B. (1992). Transformations: cultural challenges faced by first-generation students. In L.S. Zwerling & H.B. London (Eds.). *First-generation students: confronting the cultural issues*. New Directions for Community Colleges, 80, 5-12.
- Loo, C., & Rollison, G. (1986). Alienation of ethnic minority students at a predominantly White university. Journal of Higher Education, 57, (1), 57-77.
- Lucas, T., Henze, & Donato, R. (1990). Promoting the success of Latino language-minority students: an exploratory study of six high schools. Harvard Educational Review, 60, (3), 315-340.
- Lucas, J.R., & Stone, G.L. (1994). Acculturation and competition among Mexican-Americans. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 16, (2), 129-142.
- Macias, J. (1987). The hidden curriculum of Papago teachers: American Indian strategies for mitigating cultural discontinuity in early schooling. In G. Spindler & L. Spindler (Eds.). Interpretive ethnography of education at home and abroad (pp. 333-359). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Madrid, A. (1988). Missing people and others. Change, 20, 55-59.
- Madsen, W. (1964). Mexican-Americans of south Texas: case studies in cultural anthropology. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.
- Martinez, T. (1968). Racism and advertising: the case of the Mexican-American. El Grito, 3, (4), 56-63.
- Martinez, J.L., & Mendoza, R.H. (Eds.). (1984). Chicano Psychology, Second Edition. Orlando: Academic Press.
- Matsen, J.E., & Deegan, W.L. (1988). Revitalizing student services. In W.L. Deegan, and D. Tillery, and Associates (Eds.). Renewing the American community college (pp. 131-149). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Matute-Bianchi, E. (1986). Ethnic identities and patterns of school success and failure among Mexican-descent and Japanese-American descent students in a California high school: an ethnographic analysis. American Journal of Education, 95, (1), 235-255.
- Mazon, M. (1984). The zoot suit riots: the psychology of symbolic annihilation. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- McGrath, D., and Spear, M.B. (1991). The academic crisis of the community college. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

- McWilliams, C. (1968). North from Mexico. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Mead, G.H. (1934). Mind and Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Medina, M. (1988). Hispanic apartheid in American public education. Education Administration Quarterly, 24, 336-349.
- Medsker, L.L. (1960). The junior college. New York: McGraw Hill. In K.J. Dougherty. The contradictory college: the conflicting origins, impacts, and futures of the community college. (p. 17). Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.
- Meltzer, B., Petras, J., & Reynolds, L. (1975). Symbolic interaction. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul. In M. Waters. Modern sociological theory (p. 25). London: Sage.
- Melville, M. (1988). Hispanics: race, class, or ethnicity? The Journal of Ethnic Studies, 16, (1), 67-83.
- Mendoza, R.H. (1984). Acculturation and sociocultural variability. In J.L. Martinez, and R.H. Mendoza (Eds.). Chicano Psychology: Second Edition (pp. 61-75). Orlando: Academic Press.
- Merriam, S.B. (1988). Case study research in education: a qualitative approach. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Merten, R.K., and Kendall, P.L. (1946). The focused interview. American Journal of Sociology, 51, 541-557.
- Miles, M.B., & Huberman, M.A. (1984). Qualitative Data Analysis: A sourcebook of new methods. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Miller, M. (1978). Variations in Mexican-American family life: a review synthesis of empirical research. Aztlan, 9, 209-231.
- Mindel, C.H., & Habenstein, R.W. (1976). Ethnic families in America: patterns and variations. New York: Elsevier.
- Mirande, A. (1985). The Chicano experience. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Moerman, M. (1988). Talking culture: ethnography and conversational analysis. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

- Moll, L., & Diaz, S. (1987). Change as the goal of educational research. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 18, (4), 300-311.
- Moll, L.C., & Greenberg, J.B. (1990). Creating zones of possibilities: combining social contexts. In L.C. Moll (Ed.). Vygotsky and education: instructional implications for applications of sociohistorical psychology (pp. 319-348). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Monroe, C.R. (1972). A profile of the community college. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass. In K.J. Dougherty. The contradictory college: the conflicting origins, impacts, and futures of the community college. (pp. 17-18). Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.
- Moquin, W. (1978). A documentary history of the Mexican-American. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers.
- Morgan, G. (1986). Images of Organization. Sage: Beverly Hills.
- Munoz, C. Jr. (1989). Youth, identity, power: the Chicano movement. London: Verso.
- Munro, B.H. (1981). Dropouts from higher education: path analysis of a national sample. American Educational Research Journal, 18, (2), 133-141.
- Murguia, E., Padilla, R.V., and Pavel, M. (1991). Ethnicity and the concept of social integration in Tinto's model of institutional departure. Journal of College Student Development, 32, (5), 433-439.
- Negy, C., & Woods, D.J. (1992). A note on the relationship between acculturation and socioeconomic status. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 14, (2), 248-251.
- Nelson, C., & Tienda, M. (1985). The structuring of Hispanic ethnicity: historical and contemporary perspectives. Ethnic and Racial Studies, 8, (1), 49-74.
- Neumann, W.F. (1985). Persistence in the community college: the student perspective. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Syracuse University.
- Nora, A. (1986). Determinants of retention among Chicano college students: a structural model. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Houston.
- Nora, A., & Rendon, L.I. (1988) Hispanic students in community colleges: reconciling access with outcomes. In L. Weis (Ed). Class, race, and gender in U.S. Education (pp. 126-143). New York: State University of New York Press.

- Nora, A., & Rendon, L. (1990). Determinants of predisposition to transfer among community college students: a structural equation model. Research in Higher Education, 31, (3), 235-255.
- Oboler, S. (1992). The politics of labeling: Latino/a cultural identities of self and others. Latin American Perspectives, 19, (4), 18-36.
- Ocampo, K.A., Bernal, M.E., & Knight, G.P. (1993). Gender, race, and ethnicity: the sequencing of social constancies. In M.D. Bernal, and G.P. Knight (Eds). Ethnicity identity: formation and transmission among Hispanics and other minorities (pp. 11-30). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Ogbu, J.U. (1978). Minority education and caste. New York: Academic Press.
- Ogbu, J.U. (1982a). Cultural discontinuities and schooling. Anthropology and Educational Quarterly, 13, (4), 290-307.
- Ogbu, J.U. (1982b). Equalization of educational opportunity and racial/ethnic identity. In P. Altbach, R. Armove, and G. Kelly (Eds.). Comparative education (pp. 269-289). New York: MacMillan.
- Ogbu, J.U. (1983). Minority status and schooling in plural societies. Comparative Education Review, 27, (2), 168-190.
- Ogbu, J.U., & Matute-Bianchi, M. E. (1985). Understanding sociocultural factors: knowledge, identity, and school adjustment. In California State Department of Education, Bilingual Education Office, California (Ed). Beyond language: social and cultural factors in schooling minority students (pp.73-142). Los Angeles: California State University, Los Angeles: Evaluation, Dissemination, and Assessment Center.
- Ogbu, J.U. (1987a). Variability in minority responses to schooling: nonimmigrants vs. immigrants. In G. Spindler, & L. Spindler (Eds.). Interpretive ethnography of education at home and abroad (pp. 333-359). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Ogbu, J.U. (1987b). Variability in minority school performance: a problem in search of an answer. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 18, (4), 312-334.
- Ogbu, J.U. (1988). Class Stratification, racial stratification, and schooling. In L. Weis (Ed.). Class, race and gender in American education. (pp. 163-182). Albany: State University of New York Press.

- Olivas, M. (1979). The dilemma of access: minorities in two-year colleges. Washington, DC: Howard University Press.
- Olivas, M.A. (1983). Research and theory on Hispanic education: students, finance, and governance. Aztlan, 14, (1), 111-146.
- Olivas, M. (1986). Latino college students. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Oliver, M.L., Rodriguez, C.J., & Mickelson, R.A. (1985). Brown, Black in White: the social and academic performance of Chicano and Black students at a predominantly White university. The Urban Review, 17, (1), 3-24.
- Olmedo, E., & Martinez, J.L. (1978). Measure of acculturation for Chicano adolescents. Psychological Reports, 42, 159-170.
- Olmedo, E., & Padilla, A. (1978). Empirical and construct validation of an acculturation scale for Mexican-Americans. Journal of Social Psychology, 105, 179-187.
- Ornstein-Galicia, J.L. (1987). Chicano calo: description and review of a border variety. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 9, (4), 359-373.
- Ott, S.J. (1989). The organizational culture perspective. Pacific Grove: Brooks/Cole Publishing Company.
- Oxford English Dictionary. (1989, 2d Ed.). Oxford: Clarendon Press. (pp. 251-252).
- Padilla, A. (1984). Synopsis of the history of Chicano psychology. In J.L. Mendoza, & R.H. Mendoza (Eds.). Chicano Psychology, Second Edition (pp. 1-19). Orlando: Academic Press.
- Padilla, A. (1980). Acculturation: theory, models, and some new findings. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Pantages, T.J., & Creedon, C.F. (1978). Studies of college attrition:1950-1975. Review of Educational Research, 48, (1), 49-101.
- Parillo, V. (1980). Strangers to these shores: race and ethnic relations in the United States. In V. D'Andrea, & P. Salovey (Eds.). Peer counseling: skills and perspectives (pp. 105-115). Palo Alto: Science and Behavior Books.
- Park, R. (1950). Race and culture. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.

- Pascarella, E.T. (1980). Student-informal contact and college outcomes. Review of Educational Research, 50, 545-595.
- Pascarella, E.T. (1985). The influence of on-campus living versus commuting to college on intellectual and interpersonal self-concept. Journal of College Student Personnel, 26, 292-299.
- Pascarella, E.T., Duby, P.B., & Iverson, B.K. (1983). A test and reconceptualization of a theoretical model of college withdrawal in a commuter institution setting. Sociology of Education, 56, (2), 88-100.
- Pascarella, E.T., & Terenzini, P.T. (1977). Patterns of student-informal interaction beyond the classroom and informal voluntary freshmen attrition. Journal of Higher Education, 48, (5), 540-552.
- Pascarella, E.T. & Terenzini, P.T. (1978). Student-faculty informal relationships and freshmen year education outcomes. Journal of Educational Research, 71, 183-189.
- Pascarella, E.T., & Terenzini, P.T. (1979a). Interaction effects in Spady's and Tinto's models of college dropout. Sociology of Education, 52,(4), 197-210.
- Pascarella, E.T., & Terenzini, P.T. (1979b). Student-faculty informal contact and college persistence: a further investigation. Journal of Educational Research, 72, (4), 214-218.
- Pascarella, E.T., & Terenzini, P.T. (1980). Predicting freshmen persistence and voluntary decisions from a theoretical model. Journal of Higher Education, 15, (1), 60-75.
- Pascarella, E.T., & Terenzini, P.T. (1983). Predicting voluntary freshman year persistence/withdrawal behavior in a residential university: a path analytic validation of Tinto's model. Journal of Educational Psychology, 75, (2), 215-226.
- Pascarella, E.T., & Chapman, D.W. (1983). A multiinstitutional path analytic validation of Tinto's model of college withdrawal. American Education Research Journal, 20, (1), 87-102.
- Patterson, T., Solis, J., Nader, P., Atkins, C., & Abrahamson, I. (1986). Cohesion and adaptability in Mexican-American and Anglo families. Journal of Marriage and Family, 48, 857-867.
- Pederson, P. (1993). The multicultural dilemma of White cross-cultural researchers. The Counseling Psychologist, 21, (2), 229-232.

- Penalosa, F. (1970). Toward an operational definition of the Mexican-American. Aztlán, 1, (1), 1-12.
- Pettigrew, A.M. (1979). On studying organizational cultures. Administrative Science Quarterly. 24, 570-581.
- Pike, G.R. (1991). The effects of background, coursework, and involvement on students' grades and satisfaction, Research in Higher Education. 32, (1), 15-30.
- Pincus, F.L. (1986). Vocational education: more false promises. In L.S. Zwerling (Ed). The Community College and its Critics. New Directions for the Community College. No. 54. pp. 41-52. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Pomales, J., & Williams, V. (1989). Effects of acculturation and counseling style on Hispanic students. Journal of Counseling Psychology. 36, (1), 79-83.
- Ponce, F.Q., & Atkinson, D.R. (1989). Mexican-American acculturation, counselor ethnicity, counseling style, and perceived counselor credibility. Journal of Counseling Psychology. 36, (2), 201-208.
- Ponteretto, J.G. (1987). Counseling Mexican-Americans: a multi-modal approach. Journal of Counseling and Development. 65, 308-312.
- Portes, A., & Zhou, M. (1993). The new second generation: segmented assimilation and its variants among post-1965 immigrant youth. Unpublished Manuscript. The Johns Hopkins University.
- Post, D. (1990). College-going decisions by Chicanos: the politics of misinformation. Educational Policy Evaluation and Analysis. 12, (2), 174-187.
- Proudfoot, R. (1988). A culturally relational model of education. Manuscript. Division of Curriculum and Instruction. Unpublished Manuscript. University of Oregon, Eugene.
- Quevedo-Garcia, E.L. (1987). Facilitating the development of Hispanic college students. In D.J. Wright (Ed.). New Directions for student services: responding to the needs of today's minority students. (pp. 49-63). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Quintana, S.M., Vogel, M.C., & Ybarra, V.C. (1991). Meta analysis of Latino students adjustments in higher education. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences 13, (2), 155-168.

- Ramirez, M. III. (1977). Recognizing and understanding diversity: multiculturalism and the Chicano movement in psychology. In J.L. Martinez (Ed.). Chicano Psychology (pp. 343-353). New York: Academic Press.
- Ramirez, M. III. (1983). Psychology of the Americas: mestizo perspectives on personality. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Ramirez, M. III, & Castaneda, A. (1974). Cultural democracy: bicognitive development and education. New York: Academic Press.
- Ramos, R. (1973). A case in point: an ethnomethodological study of a poor Mexican-American family. Social Science Quarterly, 53, (4), 905-919.
- Reichardt, C., & Cook, T.D. (1978). Beyond qualitative versus quantitative methods. In C.S. Reichardt, & T.D. Cook (Eds.). Qualitative and quantitative methods in evaluation research. (pp. 7-32). Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Rendon, L.I. (1982). Chicano students in south Texas community colleges: a study of institution-related determinants of educational outcomes. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Michigan.
- Rendon, L.I. (1992a). Eyes on the prize: students of color and the bachelor's degree. Washington, DC: The National Center for Academic Achievement and Transfer.
- Rendon, L.I. (1992b). From the barrio to the academy: revelations of a Mexican-American "scholarship girl." In L.S. Zwering & H.B. London (Eds.). New Directions for Community Colleges. 80, pp. 55-64.
- Rendon, L.I., Justiz, M., and Resta, P. (1988). Transfer education in the southwest community colleges. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.
- Rendon, L.I. & Nora, A. (1989). A synthesis and application of research on Hispanic students in community colleges. Community College Review, 17, (1), 17-24.
- Rendon, L.I., & Nora, A.M. (1989) Hispanic students: stopping the leaks in the pipeline. Educational Record. 68, (4), 79-85.
- Rendon, L.I., & Valadez, J. (1993). Qualitative indicators of Hispanic transfer. Community College Review, 20, (3), 27-37.
- Reyes, R. (1987). The social and linguistic foundations of Chicano calo: trends for future research. In J.L. Ornstein-Galicia. Chicano calo: description and review of border variety. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences. 2, (4), 359-373.

- Reyes, M. de la Luz, & Halcon, J. (1988). Racism in academia: the old wolf revisited. Harvard Educational Review, 58, 299-315.
- Rhoner, R.P. (1984). Toward a conception of culture for cross-cultural psychology. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 15, (1), 111-138.
- Rodriguez, R. (1983). Hunger of memory: the education of Richard Rodriguez. Toronto: Bantam.
- Rodriguez, R. (1994, February 27). The hardest thing for a Mexican to say. San Jose Mercury News. pp. F1, F8.
- Rogers, C. (1960). On becoming a person. New York: Houghton & Mifflin.
- Romano, O. (1968). The anthropology and sociology of the Mexican-American: the distortion of Mexican-American history. El Grito, 2, (1), 13-26.
- Rootman, I. (1972). Voluntary withdrawal from a total adult socializing organization: a model. Sociology of Education, 45, (3), 258-270.
- Sabogal, F., Marin, G., Otero-Sabogal, R., Marin, B. VanOss, & Perez-Stable, E.J. (1987). Hispanic familism and acculturation: what changes and what doesn't. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 2, (4): 397-412.
- Sanchez, A.R., & King, M. (1989). Mexican-Americans' use of counseling services: Journal of College Student Personnel. 27, July, 344-349.
- Schein, E.H. (1981). Does Japanese management style have a message for American managers? Sloan Management Review, 23, 55-68. In J.S. Ott. The organizational culture perspective (pp. 58-61). Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co.
- Schein, E.H. (1984). Coming to a new awareness of organizational culture. Sloan Management Review, 25, 3-16. In J.S. Ott. The organizational culture perspective (pp. 58-61). Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co.
- Schein, E.H. (1989) The organizational culture perspective. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co.
- Schwartz, A.J. (1968). Educational achievement and aspirations of Mexican-American youth in a metropolitan context. Occasional Report. October, No. 36. Los Angeles: University of California at Los Angeles.

- Shor, I. (1986). Culture wars: school and society in the conservative restoration, 1969-1984. Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Simmons, O. (1961). The mutual images and expectations of Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans. Social Science Quarterly, 90, (2), 109-121.
- Spady, W.G. (1970). Dropouts from higher education: an interdisciplinary review and synthesis. Interchange, 1, (1), 109-121.
- Spady, W.G. (1971). Dropout from higher education: toward an empirical model. Interchange, 2, (3), 38-62
- Spindler, G., & Spindler, L. (Eds.). (1987). Interpretive ethnography of education at home and abroad. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Spradley, W.G., & McCurdy, D.W. (1988). The cultural experience: ethnography in a complex society. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, Inc.
- Spring, J. (1976). The sorting machine: national educational policy since 1945. New York: McKay.
- Steinberg, S. (1989). The ethnic myth: race, ethnicity, and class in America. Boston, Beacon Press.
- Steiner, S. (1969). La raza: the Mexican-Americans. New York: Harper and Row.
- Stoecker, J., Pascarella, E.T., and Wolfle, D. (1988). Persistence in higher education: a 9-year test of a theoretical model. Journal of College Student Development, 29, (3), 196-209.
- Stonequist, E. (1964). The marginal man: a study in personality and culture conflict. In E. Burgess, and D.J. Bogue (Eds.). Contributions to urban sociology. (pp. 327-345). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sue, D.W. (1981). Counseling the culturally different: theory and practice. New York: Wiley.
- Sue, D.W. (1993). Confronting ourselves: the White and ethnic-minority researcher. The Counseling Psychologist, 21, (2), 244-249.
- Sue, D.W., Arrendondo, P., & McDavis, R.J. (1992). Multicultural counseling competencies and standards. Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 20, 64-88.

- Sue, D.W., & Sue, S. (1990). Counseling the culturally different: theory and practice (2d Ed.). New York: Wiley.
- Sung, B.L. (1967). Mountain of gold: the story of the Chinese in America. New York: MacMillan.
- Terenzini, P.T. (1982). Designing attrition studies. In E.T. Pascarella, (Ed.). New Directions for institutional research: studying student attrition, 9, (4), 55-72.
- Terenzini, P.T., Lorang, W.G. & Pascarella, E.T. (1981). Predicting freshmen persistence and voluntary dropout decisions: a replication. Research in Higher Education, 15, (2), 109-127.
- Terenzini, P.T., & Pascarella, E.T. (1978). The relation of freshmen students' pre-college characteristics and freshmen year experience to voluntary attrition. Research in Higher Education, 9, (4), 347-366.
- Terenzini, P.T., Pascarella, E.T., Theophilides, C., & Lorang, W. (1983). A path analytic validation of Tinto's theory of college student attrition. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association. Montreal. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 231276).
- Tierney, W.G. (1988). Organizational culture in higher education. Journal of Higher Education. 59, (1), 2-21.
- Tierney, W.G. (1991). Border crossings: critical theory and the study of higher education. In W.G. Tierney (Ed.). Culture and ideology in higher education (pp. 3-15). New York: Praeger.
- Tinto, V. (1975). Dropout from higher education: a theoretical synthesis of recent research. Review of Educational Research, 45, (1), 89-125.
- Tinto, V. (1982). Defining dropout: a matter of perspective. In E.T. Pascarella (Ed). New Directions for Institutional Research: Studying Student Attrition. Vol. 36, pp. 3-15. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Tinto, V. (1987). Leaving college: rethinking the causes and cures of student attrition. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Tinto, V. (1988). Stages of student departure: reflections on the longitudinal character of student leaving. Journal of Higher Education, 59, (4), 438-455.

- Tinto, V., & Cullen, J. (1973). Dropout in higher education: a review and theoretical synthesis of recent research. Paper. New York. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service. No. ED 078802).
- Trudgill, P. (1983). Sociolinguistics: an introduction to language and society. New York: Viking Penguin
- Trueba, H.T. (1988a). Rethinking dropouts: culture and literacy for minority student empowerment. In H.T. Trueba, G. Spindler, and L. Spindler (Eds.). What do anthropologists have to say about dropouts? the first centennial conference on children at risk (pp. 27-41). New York: The Falmer Press.
- Trueba, H. (1988b). Culturally based explanations of minority students' academic achievement. Anthropology & Education Quarterly, 19, (3), 270-287.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1993). Current population reports. P23-183. Hispanic Americans Today. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. (1990). Commerce News. 1990 Census of Population and Housing CPH-L91. CB91-216.
- U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census. (1991). School enrollment-social and economic characteristics of students. Current Population Reports and unpublished tabulations for October, 1991. In D. Carter, and R. Wilson (Eds) (1992). Minorities in higher education: eleventh annual status report (p. 41). Washington, D.C. American Council on Education.
- U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (1993). Trends in higher education by racial/ethnic category: Fall 1980 through Fall 1991. In D. Carter, & R. Wilson. (1992). Minorities in higher education: eleventh annual status report. p. 48). Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education.
- Valadez, J. (1993). Cultural capital and its impacts on the aspirations of nontraditional community college students. Community College Review. 21, (3), 30-43.
- Valdez, D. (1983). The social and historical significance of zoot suit. Presentation to the university community. Washington State University. Pullman, Washington.
- Valverde, L.A. (1986). Low income students. In M.A. Olivas (Ed.). Latino College Students (pp. 111-146). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Van Gannep, A. (1960). The rites of passage. (Les rites de passage) In V. Tinto (1987). Leaving college: rethinking the causes and cures of student attrition (pp. 91-99). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Van Mannen, J. (1979). Qualitative Methodology. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Van Mannen, J. (1988). Tales of the field. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Vasquez, M.J. (1978/1979). Chicana and Anglo university women: factors related to their performance, persistence, and attrition. Dissertation Abstracts International, A39, (7), January, 1979, 4085. The University of Texas.
- Vela, J.E. (1977). A comparison of Chicanos and Anglo perceptions of the university environment. Journal of College Student Personnel, 18, (6), 462-466.
- Velez-Ibanez, C.G. (1988). Bonds of mutual trust. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press. In L.C. Moll & J.B. Greenberg. (1990). Creating zones of possibilities: combining social contexts. (p. 326). In L.C. Moll (Ed.). Vygotsky and education: instructional implications and applications of sociohistorical psychology. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Vigil, J.D. (1982). Chicano high schoolers: educational performance and acculturation. The Educational Forum, XLVII, 59-73.
- Villaroel, L.E.M.d. (1986). A study of self-concept among Mexican-American/Chicano students attending community college and four-year institutions in higher education in Oregon. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Oregon State University.
- Vygotsky, L.S.(1978). Mind in society: the development of higher psychological processes. In H. Trueba (1988b), pp. 280-282. Culturally based explanations of minority students' achievement. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 19, (3), 270-287.
- Waters, M. (1994). Modern sociological theory. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Weber, M. (1978). Economy and society. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Weis, L. (1985). Between two worlds: Black students in a community college. Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Wilkins, A.L. (1983). The culture audit: a tool for understanding organizations. Organizational Dynamics, 12, (2), 24-38. In K.S. Cameron, & D.R. Ettington. The conceptual foundations of organizational culture. In Higher education handbook of theory and research. Vol. IV. p. 361. New York: Agathon Press.
- Willis, P. (1977). Learning to labor: how working class kids get working class jobs. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Wolcott, H.F. (1987). On ethnographic intent. In G. Spindler, & L. Spindler. (Eds.). Interpretive ethnography at home and abroad. (pp. 37-57). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. pp. 37-57.
- Wolcott, H.F. (1990). Writing up qualitative research. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Wolcott, H.F. (1994). Transforming qualitative data. Newbury Park: Sage
- Ybarra, L. (1982). When wives work: the impact on the Chicano family. Journal of Marriage and Family, February, 169-178.
- Yin, R.K. (1984). Case study research: design and methods. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Young, G. (1992). Chicana college students on the Texas-Mexico border: tradition and transformation. Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 14, (3), 341-352.
- Zangwill, I. (1909). The melting pot. In S. Steinberg. The ethnic myth: race, ethnicity, and class in America (p. 44). Boston: Beacon Press.
- Zinn, H. (1980). A people's history of the United States. New York: Harper Collins Publishers.