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¿Listo para el Colegio?

Examining College Readiness Among Newcomer Latino Immigrants

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in Education

by

Mary Theresa Martinez-Wenzl

2014

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

¿Listo para el Colegio?

Examining College Readiness Among Newcomer Latino Immigrants

by

Mary Theresa Martinez-Wenzl

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, 2014

Professor Patricia C. Gándara, Chair

Latino newcomers at the secondary and postsecondary levels have received little attention from researchers. This problem extends to notions of college readiness, which assume English fluency and continuous U.S. education. The present study addressed these research gaps through a longitudinal case study of Latino adolescents who arrived in high school. The research questions were:

1. What were the experiences of Latino newcomer immigrant students as they transitioned into U.S. high schools?

2. How did Latino newcomer immigrant students experience postsecondary transitions?

3. How well do existing constructions of college readiness align with the needs of Latino newcomer immigrant students?

Participants attended Southern California high schools in urban and border regions that were part of a pilot demonstration project providing bilingual math and science courses. Primary data sources included postsecondary surveys (n=56), in-depth student interviews (n=21), and district documents. Secondary data included site visit records, student and teacher interviews, student records, and high school student surveys.

A systematic failure to consistently translate and transfer credits for prior schooling resulted in much course repetition when students entered U.S. high schools. Access to mainstream and college preparatory courses varied depending on district-level policies regarding the provision of bilingual college preparatory courses and English learners tracking. Districts requiring a-g course completion to graduate only allowed one year of ELD/ESL coursework to count toward the four-years English graduation requirement, making it difficult for newcomers to graduate.

Two-thirds of students surveyed graduated high school, 83% of whom went on to college. Most (80%) attended community colleges, and were unprepared to take placement exams, and/or challenge test results. Eighty percent of students took remedial courses, and 28% took college ESL. As in high school, many were repeating courses they had taken in high school, or even middle school.

Moving beyond student-centered definitions college readiness to take into account the school and district-level structural conditions that determine access to college readiness for newcomers is essential. Learning skills and techniques, such as help seeking, were of critical importance, but students received little systematic instruction in these areas. College knowledge needs to account for issues specific to community colleges.

The dissertation of Mary Theresa Martinez-Wenzl is approved.

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University of California, Los Angeles

2014

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Year Fellowship this past year allowed me to reduce my workload and complete my data collection, analysis, and writing on time.

Thank you to the students and teachers who contributed their time and experiences to this project. None of this would have been possible without your time and support.

Finally, many thanks to my biggest cheerleaders: my husband Ron, my mother Vivian, and my brother Eamonn. Making you proud is the best part of this whole process. I love you very much.

VITA

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PUBLICATIONS

Hopkins, M.E., **Martinez-Wenzl, M.**, Aldana, U., & Gándara, P. (2013). "Cultivating capital: Latino newcomer young men in a U.S. urban high school." Anthropology and Education Quarterly, Volume 44 Number 3.

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November 6, sec. A.

SELECTED PRESENTATIONS

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Association, Philadelphia, PA.

Martinez-Wenzl, M. and Gándara, P. (2013). "Rigor en español: Engaging immigrant

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Research Association, San Francisco, CA.

Martinez-Wenzl, M. & Marquez, R. 2011). "Fractured Institutions of Hope: Community

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Study

Background to the Study

Eduardo came to the U.S. five years ago, with his parents and four younger brothers and sisters. After a bit of moving around, they settled in a small agricultural town just across the border from where they had lived in Mexico. Eduardo's initial transition to high school in the U.S. was difficult—at one point, he thought he would not be able to graduate because of the required high school exit exam—but he managed to maintain a B average, played sports, and made many friends. After graduation, he joined his parents working in the fields and saved up money to attend the local community college. Today, Eduardo is in his third year at the community college, continuing to work long hours in the fields on the weekends, and struggling to complete college ESL and remedial course sequences.

The odds are stacked against students like Eduardo, as very few students in situations like his find their way to transfer-level courses and degree completion. Thousands of newcomer students, who completed much of their schooling in Mexico and found themselves in U.S. high schools, face a variety of challenges as they navigate their initial transition, first into American high schools and then, onto higher education. But what do we really know about the experiences of students like Eduardo? How can we ensure that talented students like him are able to realize the American dream? Particularly for those who enter college and require remediation, what will it take to ensure that they persist long enough to earn a degree or transfer?

We know that adolescents who immigrate to the United States encounter a constellation of challenges. They must learn English and complete the courses necessary to graduate in the span of a few short years, but because they are still acquiring English, they are often relegated to elective, remedial, or even non-credit bearing courses instead of academically appropriate courses, regardless of their prior preparation (Callahan, 2005). These challenges are particularly acute for Latino immigrant students, who are overrepresented in under-resourced schools with

inadequately trained teachers, and in racially, economically, and linguistically segregated schools and neighborhoods (Gándara, 2010). Bilingual teachers are in short supply and bilingual education is perpetually under attack, which further diminishes newcomers' access to rigorous content in a language they can understand (Gándara & Rumberger, 2009). Although most children of immigrants in the U.S. are native born citizens, there are 1 million undocumented immigrant children in the U.S., and an additional 4.5 million children with undocumented parents (Passel & Cohn, 2009), and this fact can foreclose many opportunities to prepare for postsecondary education because of perceived or real barriers. The lack of stability that undocumented status confers on a family also makes future planning difficult. Immigrant parents generally have little to no experience with the U.S. schooling system. Many students contend with extended family separations, daily stress related to their tenuous status, and live with relatives or even on their own, while in high school (Suárez-Orozco, Bang, & Kim, 2011). In addition, many struggle with issues related to poverty and pressures to work competing with school. All of this makes it especially challenging for Latino newcomers in U.S. high schools to graduate, let alone graduate prepared to pursue postsecondary education.

Having the preparation for and access to postsecondary education is critical for the intergenerational mobility that embodies the American dream that immigrants aspire to and the U.S. prides itself on. But, for Latino immigrant students, there is much to suggest that their needs are neglected and their opportunities are circumscribed. Immigrant students in U.S. high schools are more likely to drop out; an estimated 43% of Mexican immigrant students leave high school before graduating (Oropesa & Landale, 2009), and one in four of the nation's dropouts is an immigrant (Fry, 2005). Those who do graduate and go onto college are most likely to enter

community colleges (Teranishi, Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2011), where their chances of transferring and gaining a college degree are minuscule. When they enter community colleges, they are less likely to have fulfilled the requirements necessary to enroll in credit-bearing college courses (Callahan & Gándara, 2004; Callahan, 2005). Thus, students who make it on to college often find themselves at community colleges where their under-preparation results in costly, time-consuming, and often ineffective remediation (Melguizo, Hagedorn, and Cypers, 2008).

In Southern California, which is the setting for this study, Latino newcomers find that both the K-12 and higher education systems are cash-strapped and ill-equipped to meet their needs. In Southern California, 114 high schools are classified as dropout factories, overwhelmingly concentrated in Los Angeles.[1] The California Master Plan for Higher Education makes community colleges the *only* public entry point to postsecondary education for two-thirds of California students. The likelihood of transferring or earning any kind of credential from a community college is low (Bailey & Morest, 2006); at some community colleges, only 14% of Latinos graduate or transfer within six years (Martinez-Wenzl & Marquez, 2012).[2]

In the midst of these challenges, there is intense pressure from policymakers to increase college access and postsecondary attainment, largely because of labor market needs and projected shortages of college-educated workers. To this end, there is much emphasis on producing more students who are college-ready, but there has been very

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[1] The term "dropout factory" was coined by researchers at Johns Hopkins and refers to high schools that lose more than 40% of their students between 9th and 12th grade. See Alliance for Excellent Education. 2013. *High Schools in the United States: How does your local high school measure up?* http://www.all4ed.org/about_the_crisis/schools/state_and_local_info/promotingpower
[2] Martinez-Wenzl and Marquez reported data from the California Community Colleges Transfer Velocity Cohort, which calculated six-year transfer rates among students who showed a "behavioral intent to transfer," demonstrated by completed 12 credit units and attempting transfer-level math or English.

little attention to non-academic aspects of college readiness, as the focus has been on measures of academic preparedness that are easily assessed. Furthermore, there has been little intersection between discussions about the need to increase levels of educational achievement and attainment among low-income, minority, immigrant, and English learners and how new college readiness standards apply to these student populations, who primarily attend community colleges. At the same time, community colleges have largely been omitted from policy discussions regarding college readiness. Moreover, the K-12 system, community colleges, public four-year institutions, and private colleges still largely operate as silos, despite the rhetoric in policy circles about the P-16 pipeline. This separation is reflected in most education research, which tends to decouple the high school and college experiences. In the current study, a sharp focus on Latino newcomers' high school experiences and transition to community college begins to bridge these gaps.

Statement of the Problem

Latino newcomers in secondary schools are among the most underserved and overlooked students in the United States (Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000; Callahan & Gándara, 2004). To the extent that research and policy acknowledge the needs of immigrant and English learners, much of this attention is directed at the primary grades (Rodriguez & Cruz, 2009). As a result, most high schools know little about how to meet the needs of immigrant students, and with many other competing challenges and limited resources, some of the most vulnerable students are neglected.

Similarly, newcomers who manage to graduate high school and persist on to college have received scant attention from researchers. Much of the higher education research on immigrant students focuses on students who are undocumented. Many of these students immigrated at a much younger age, and thus do not have the same

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kinds of transnational educational experiences or language issues as those who came to the U.S. at the midway point of their education as adolescents. In their recent edited volume on language minority students in college (a group that includes many newcomers), Kanno and Harklau (2012) note that very little is known about these students' preparation for college, or their experiences with college choice, college enrollment, and persistence.

This general of lack of attention to Latino newcomers in high school and college settings has extended to the field of college readiness, which has adopted notions of what it means to be "college and career ready" with a different kind of student in mind. Underlying notions of college readiness are assumptions that students have had continuous education in the U.S., they are native English speakers, and they have met a core of academic requirements based on a U.S. curriculum. This fails to account for how immigrant students, and particularly newcomers, may require different emphases and strategies to prepare for college.

Nature of the Study

The present study begins to fill these gaps in research through a longitudinal case study of Latino immigrants who arrived as newcomers in high school and graduated (or were expected to graduate) in 2011 or 2012. A combination of primary and secondary data provides a robust and longitudinal perspective on their college readiness across high school and through their transition into college settings. The study provides insights into how current conceptualizations of college readiness apply (or do not) for this student population as they make the transition into college. Drawing from multiple years of high school and postsecondary data and student perspectives, this study highlights the kinds of academic and social supports newcomer immigrant students need to be college ready, or even to be able to survive in

a college environment. The motivation is to help schools better understand the transnational aspects of the immigrant student experience, and how to capitalize upon the linguistic and cultural resources of immigrant students and their families. In first documenting the students' high school experiences, it contributes to the literature on newcomers in secondary schools. Further, by following up with these same students in the early years after high school, with particular attention to those who have attended community colleges, it provides a valuable contribution to the emergent field of immigrants and language minority students in college. This study also contributes to our understanding of what it means to be "college ready", which is the ultimate goal of standards-driven educational policy.

Research Questions and Methods

This dissertation builds on understandings of college readiness, particularly for immigrant students in the community college pipeline, by addressing the following questions:

1. What were the experiences of Latino newcomer immigrant students as they transitioned into U.S. high schools?

2. How did Latino newcomer immigrant students experience postsecondary transitions?

3. How well do existing constructions of college readiness align with the needs of Latino newcomer immigrant students?

This study utilized a revelatory case study (Yin, 2009) to explore the development of college readiness among Latino newcomers who participated in a high school intervention that provided access to bilingual college preparatory math and science courses (Project SOL). In order to understand postsecondary preparation and transitions among Latino newcomers, 56 young adults from the 2011 and 2012

graduating classes were surveyed, and 21 participated in in-depth interviews. The experiences of these students in their first years after high school provide insight into the multiple transitions they had experienced, as recent immigrants to the U.S., and in their transitions to high school and college.

In keeping with Yin's (2009) recommendation that case studies involve the widest array of data possible, this study also drew from an extensive corpus of both primary data collected for this study and secondary data collected during the four years of Project SOL's implementation. These data included site visit records, high school student interviews, teacher interviews, and high school student surveys. Taken together, these data sources illuminate both the postsecondary preparation and transitions of Latino newcomer immigrant students and the extent to which existing constructions of college readiness align with their needs.

Guiding Frameworks

A multi-dimensional model of college readiness that includes the cognitive skills, content knowledge, and non-cognitive, or "soft" skills necessary for college readiness initially framed the study. Multi-dimensional definitions of college readiness articulate the cognitive and non-cognitive knowledge and skills needed to enroll and succeed in credit-bearing college courses (Conley, 2008; McAlister & Mevs, 2012; Karp & Bork, 2012). The definition of college readiness that initially conceptually oriented this study outlines four key dimensions of college readiness (Conley, 2012): 1) Key cognitive strategies, which are the ways of thinking necessary for college-level work; 2) Key content knowledge, which refers to the foundational content from core subjects such as math, social science, language arts, and science; 3) Key learning skills and techniques, consisting of learning techniques and student ownership of learning, and ; and 4) Key transition knowledge and skills, or college knowledge, such as

understanding college systems and culture, college application procedures, and financial aid awareness.

While Conley's model provides a robust conceptualization of college readiness that incorporates both cognitive and non-cognitive factors, it is very much a student-centered model that has little to say about the setting and system level issues that determine whether or not students have access to developing college readiness skills and knowledge in the first place. Nor does it attend to the pre-conditions for college readiness, which must be met by students who have not experienced the U.S. schooling system for much of their education. In addition, to date it has been applied primarily to native-born students attending four-year colleges and universities. The community college experience differs markedly from that of a four-year, residential college experience, as students are much more likely to attend part-time, balance school with work and familial responsibilities, contend with remediation, live off campus, and must navigate the transfer process if they are to earn a four-year degree. These differences are even more significant for newcomer immigrant students, who bring non-U.S. schooling experiences, generally lack familiarity with U.S. higher education systems (and K-12 systems, for that matter), and are largely still developing academic English when they transition to college.

Extending the Conley model of college readiness, this study also invokes multi-level conceptualizations of college readiness that take into account the structural factors that shape college readiness (Borsato, Nagaoka, & Foley, 2013; Kless, Soland, & Santiago, 2013). This work, which is known as the College Readiness Indicator System[3]

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[3] The College Readiness Indicator Systems (CRIS) initiative is developing a college readiness indicator system to assess college readiness across the individual (student), setting (school), and system (district) levels. Researchers from the Annenberg Institute for School Reform at Brown University, the John W. Gardner Center for Youth and their

(CRIS) framework, similarly employs a multi-dimensional construct of college readiness, but also recognizes that student-level outcomes are necessary, but not sufficient, for understanding how to promote college readiness. In this framework, college readiness is defined through individual (student), setting (school), and system (district) level indicators.

Latino newcomer immigrant students are embedded in societal structures, which shape their college preparation, access, and transitions. With this in mind, this study is also guided by a broadly defined social ecological theoretical framework (American Psychological Association, Presidential Task Force on Immigration, 2012; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006; Serdarevic & Chronister, 2005). This framework suggests that reciprocal interactions between individuals and their environments shape human experiences. At the same time, each individual's experiences vary depending on his or her personal characteristics and their interaction with the environment. For example, newcomers who are classified as English learners, may not have the same kind of access to college preparatory courses as those who are considered fluent in English, even while they may have the same or even superior academic preparation.

The social-ecological model recognizes the different levels of experience in a way that parallels the CRIS's model's multiple levels of college readiness, but it importantly includes contexts beyond the school and district levels. At the heart of the model is the individual, with his or her unique attributes, who is embedded in microsystems such as schools, family, and peers. Individuals and microsystems operate within the boundaries of the exosystem (public policies) and the macrosystem, which refers to the cultural, economic, and historical contexts in which students are

embedded. In the present study, examining the school, district, and macro-level factors is critical to understanding how to prepare newcomer immigrant students for college. This is because understanding newcomer immigrant students' experiences requires taking into account the structural factors that shape access to opportunity for immigrant students and their families in the U.S. For example, newcomers who complete all the requirements necessary to be "college ready" still may not be able to access postsecondary opportunities if they cannot obtain financial aid, or need to contribute to their families economically.

Assumptions, Limitations, and Scope

As a case study, the generalizability of the findings from this study is more suggestive than definitive. In addition, the postsecondary transition sample is primarily restricted to community college students. This is representative of the matriculation patterns of most Latino newcomer students. However, there are presumably important differences between the students who attend community colleges, those who go to four-year institutions, and those who do not enroll in college at all. This study is not be able to make these distinctions, as only a handful of students who attended four-year institutions, for-profit technical schools, and Mexican higher education institutions participated. In addition, the data collected from students who did not enroll in college after high school, including those who did not graduate from high school, were minimal. Some of these students participated in the postsecondary student survey, but only one was interviewed. Thus, the conclusions that can be drawn about the barriers to college enrollment for this group of students are rather limited.

Significance and Implications

This study contributes to our understanding of how high schools can better support Latino newcomers, both with the initial transition to U.S. high schools, and through their postsecondary transitions. Immigrant children and children of immigrants now are one-fourth of the population in the U.S., and are projected to constitute a third of the population by 2050 (Passel, 2011; Gándara & Rumberger, 2009). How these young people fare in the U.S. education system has enormous implications for the social and economic health of the nation (Gándara & Contreras, 2009).

There is a growing emphasis on increasing levels of college readiness and boosting college completion, but little of this attention and research is directed toward improving the preparation, increasing enrollment, or improving the performance of immigrant students in community colleges (Tienda & Haskins, 2011). Given that immigrant students constitute a large and growing segment of the student population that has not made educational gains on par with their peers, more research is needed to understand the processes through which Latino immigrant high school students are prepared to navigate the transition from high school to college, and especially what these processes are like for community college students. This is important both for bringing about educational, economic and social equity, ensuring that the knowledge and skills of the U.S. population align with the needs of labor market, and having a vibrant democracy (Mehan, Hubbard, and Villanueva, 1994).

The current study also builds on the work of scholars who challenge single "mega models" of student success that fail to account for many of the factors that shape the success of underserved students. This study sheds light on the specific experiences and needs of newcomer Latino immigrant students as they experienced

high school and college transitions. The ultimate goal of the standards that are driving much of present education policy is college readiness. While there is much rhetoric regarding the need to increase levels of college readiness and educational attainment in order to keep pace with the rest of the world and with domestic labor market needs, little exists in the way of policy or programs targeting the needs of newcomer immigrant students in high schools. Instead, a one-size-fits-all approach to college readiness constructed around narrow academic measures prevails. In this study, through the use of multi-dimensional models of college readiness, examined at multiple levels through the lens of Latino newcomer immigrant students' experiences, we are able to extend notions of college readiness so that they better meet the needs of these students.

Organization of the Dissertation

The remainder of the dissertation is in six chapters. Chapter 2 examines college readiness definitions and measurement, and then hones in on the individual and structural factors that are unique to Latino newcomers, and particularly those attending community colleges. Chapter 3 describes the study's methodological approach, data sources, and analytic strategy. The following three chapters, 4, 5, and 6, present the findings from the study. Chapter 4 concentrates on the students' high school experiences, which addresses the first research question. Chapter 5 addresses the second research question through an examination of the students' postsecondary transitions. Chapter 6 analyzes college readiness across multiple dimensions as it relates to Latino newcomer immigrant students, addressing the third research question. The final chapter, Chapter 7, summarizes the key findings and discusses their implications for research, policy, and practice.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Two underlying assumptions guide this study of college readiness and newcomer Latino immigrant students. First, college readiness is conceptualized as a multi-dimensional construct, which includes not only one's level of academic preparation, but also academic skills and techniques, and college knowledge. Second, that the development of college readiness is embedded in social structural contexts, which have the potential to either level the playing field or reinforce inequality. With these assumptions in mind, this review begins with an examination the college readiness definitions and measures that guided the study. Then, I provide an overview of the changing demographics and educational inequities among Latino immigrant students that motivated the present study. Finally, I synthesize the individual and structural-level issues specific to college preparation and transitions for Latino newcomer immigrant students, across high school and college contexts.

College Readiness Frameworks

In the broadest sense, college readiness is defined as students having the knowledge and skills needed to enroll and succeed in credit-bearing college courses (ACT, 2012; Annenberg Institute for School Reform, Brown University, John W. Garner Center for Youth and their Communities, Stanford University, & University of Chicago Consortium on Chicago School Research, 2014; Conley, 2008; McAlister & Mevs, 2012). The devil is in the details, however, and notions of what constitutes the necessary "knowledge and skills" vary widely. As noted in Chapter 1, the prevailing focus has been on student-level indicators of college readiness. Among these student-level factors, indicators of academic preparedness are the norm. The following sections detail and critique the prevailing measures of college readiness, then situate the

present study within more recent conceptualizations of college readiness that are multi-dimensional and multi-leveled.

Prevailing Measures of College Readiness

The most prevalent indicators of academic preparedness have included: 1) performance on standardized tests, 2) high school course taking, and 3) and course performance (Kless et al., 2013; Roderick, Nagaoka, & Coca, 2009). There is evidence that the prevailing measures of college readiness are associated with student attainment and educational achievement. For example, standardized test participation and scores have been shown to predict both postsecondary enrollment and attainment. Taking and performing well on college entrance exams like the SAT or ACT has been associated with greater likelihood of college enrollment and graduation (Avery & Kane, 2004; Conley, 2007; Roderick, 2006). In addition, positive correlations have been found between ACT/SAT scores and college GPA, at least in the freshman year (Burton & Ramist, 2001; Noble & Sawyer, 2004; Roderick, Nagaoka, Coca & Moeller, 2008).

Standardized tests are not necessarily aligned with college standards, particularly the state tests used for accountability purposes (Brown & Conley, 2007), but they have nonetheless been considered as measures of college readiness. For example, some have called for using the 12th grade National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) as a readiness measure (Kirst, 2003; Carnevale & Desrochers, 2003), which has recently come to fruition. In August 2013, members of the National Assessment Governing Board, which supervises the NAEP, agreed upon language to define "college prepared" cut scores in reading and math.[4] Similarly, the ACT has

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[4] Members set these benchmarks at 163 or higher (out of 300) in mathematics and 302 out of 500 on the 12th grade, defining them as "plausible estimate[s] of the percentage of students who possess the knowledge, skills, and abilities [in those subjects] to make them academically prepared for college" (Sparks, 2013).

developed benchmarks of college readiness that indicate the minimum score needed to have a 50% likelihood of getting a B or C in introductory college classes (Roderick et al., 2009). One of the more recent approaches to measuring students' levels of preparation for college-level coursework has been the administration of an assessment during the junior year of high school that can provide them about their likelihood of requiring remediation in college. In Howell, Kurlaender, and Grodsky's (2010) evaluation of the effect of one such intervention, California's Early Assessment Program (EAP), students who participated in the program were less likely to require remediation in English and math when they later attended a California State University.

The courses students take in high school, and how well they perform in these courses, are also used to gauge their preparation for college. Much of the research in this vein focuses on AP courses and exams. Students who enter college having completed AP courses were more likely to enroll in college and have higher first year GPAs (Dougherty, Mellor, & Jian, 2006), and less likely to need remediation (Leonard, 2010).

High school GPA is perhaps the strongest predictor of postsecondary enrollment, achievement, and persistence (Allensworth & Easton, 2005; Geiser & Santelices, 2007; Noble & Sawyer, 2004). In comparison to other indicators of college readiness, high school GPA, even when self-reported, is at least as predictive of college grades as college entrance examination scores (Roderick et al., 2009). In addition, GPA has been found to be a better predictor of college success than college placement tests such as the COMPASS and ACCUPLACER (Scott-Clayton, 2012).[5]

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[5] Given the predictive value of high school GPA, it is particularly concerning that the gap between Latino and White students has been increasing since 1990, up from a 0.13 gap in 1990 to a 0.23 gap in 2005 (Roderick et al., 2009).

There are two key problems with the prevailing student-level academic preparedness indicators of college readiness described above. First, as Kless et al. (2013) note, such indicators deal with college readiness somewhat superficially, as they neglect to account for the underlying mechanisms that make them predictive. For example, students may take and succeed in rigorous courses in high school because of their own motivation and tenacity, because they have exceptional teachers, or because the school provides them with access to these courses. For newcomer immigrant students who are still learning English, standardized tests may not be valid or reliable measures of student knowledge. Second, because of this narrow focus on relatively easily measured academic outcomes, much less attention is directed to the structural supports and interventions that yield these outcomes. Furthermore, two emerging fields of research related to college readiness are academic tenacity and college knowledge, which Kless et al. (2014) note may actually be the mechanisms underlying much of the variation on other measures. Thus, some argue for college readiness definitions that go beyond measures of academic preparation, and incorporate the non-cognitive skills and structural factors that promote (or do not promote) college readiness defined by academic measures.

A Multi-Dimensional and Multi-Level Approach

This study examines college readiness among Latino newcomer immigrant students along multiple dimensions: 1) academic preparation, 2) academic skills and behaviors, and 3) college knowledge. It also examines how college readiness develops (or does not) at the individual, setting (school), and system levels. The study invokes the work of Conley and the College Readiness Indicator System (CRIS) framework.

Conley's (2007; 2008; 2012) well-established framework for college readiness articulates college readiness across four dimensions. In this study, Conley's

dimensions one and two are used as indicators of academic preparedness, dimension three refers to academic skills and behaviors, and dimension three provides indicators of college knowledge. Conley's dimensions are as follows:[6]

1) Key cognitive strategies, which are the ways of thinking necessary for college-level work;

2) Key content knowledge, which refers to the foundational content from core subjects, such as math, social science, language arts, and science;

3) Key learning skills and techniques, consisting of learning techniques and ownership of learning; and

4) Key transition knowledge and skills, or college knowledge, such as understanding college systems and culture, college application procedures, and financial aid awareness.

Similar to Conley's work, research that has emerged related to the CRIS framework (Borsato et al., 2013; Kless et al., 2013; McAlister & Mevs, 2013) expands beyond measures of academic preparation to take into account additional aspects of college readiness. This framework articulates three dimensions of college readiness: academic preparedness, academic tenacity, and college knowledge. Academic preparedness refers to both the content knowledge and cognitive strategies necessary for college (dimensions one and two in the Conley model). Academic tenacity refers to a group on non-cognitive constructs such as students' resilience, self-regulation, and beliefs about one's own intelligence, and parallels the ownership of learning component of dimension three in the Conley model. College knowledge is similarly defined in the CRIS and Conley models as the contextual skills and knowledge needed to access and navigate college.

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[6] A full description of this model and the indicators for each dimension is provided in Chapter 3, Table 3.1.

Where the CRIS model departs significantly from Conley and others is in its emphasis on the multiple levels in which college readiness develops: at the individual (student), setting (school), and system (district) levels. The individual level encompasses indicators of students' progress toward college readiness (i.e. courses taken, study skills, motivation, college knowledge). The setting and system levels address the role of structural contexts in developing college readiness. For example, at the setting level, indicators of college readiness include the resources and opportunities available to students and teachers. The system level accounts for policy and funding infrastructure that impact the availability of resources and data to support college readiness. This study thus focuses on the structures and processes, particularly at the setting level, that affect newcomers' preparation for and transitions to postsecondary education. The aim is to identify the extent to which the extant models of college readiness align with the needs of newcomers, and to extend upon these models taking for this student population. Table 2.1 provides a sample of CRIS indicators across the dimensions and levels of the framework.

Most of the literature on college readiness focuses on readiness for four-year, residential institutions, including the multi-dimensional CRIS and Conley models. With this limitation in mind, this study also draws from Karp and Bork's (2012) work on the student role in community college settings. Overall, Karp and Bork's (2012) conceptualization overlaps the Conley and CRIS models. Like the CRIS and Conley models of college readiness, they emphasize academic behaviors and college knowledge. But, they differ in two key areas of emphasis: 1) balancing multiple roles and time demands, and 2) the importance of help seeking.

18

Table 2.1

Sample Menu of CRIS Indicators and Supports

| | Indicators by Level | | |
	Individual	Setting	System
Academic Preparedness	• GPA and credits/courses • Benchmark exams	• AP course availability • Academic supports • Consistent grading standards	• Student/teacher assignment policies • Number of schools with AP courses • Availability/evaluation of academic supports
Academic Tenacity	• No/low disciplinary infractions • Attendance • Self-discipline • Mastery goal orientation	• Students' perceptions (instructional scaffolding, academic press, support for autonomy • Professional development on practices that promote academic tenacity	• Communicated expectations about academic tenacity • Professional development on practices that promote academic tenacity
College Knowledge	• Completion of college and financial aid applications • Campus visits • Meetings with college advisor	• College-going culture in school • Access to counseling resources • Resources for teachers' college knowledge	• Resources to support college-going culture/knowledge • Communicated expectations about college knowledge supports

Source: Annenberg Institute for School Reform et al. (2014). *Beyond college eligibility: A new framework for promoting college readiness.* College Readiness Indicator Systems Resource Series. Seattle, WA: Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation.

Karp and Bork focus on balancing multiple roles and time demands, which reflects one of the key ways in which the community college experience differs from that of a four-year, residential college experience. Community college students are much more likely than students at four-year institutions to be working and or caring for family members. Student responsibilities may be secondary, and students may view college instrumentally as a means to a better job and not a collegiate lifestyle

19

experience. This is particularly for Latino immigrant students who may have even greater familial and financial responsibilities than their peers.

Second, Karp and Bork identify help seeking as a key component of the community college student role. This entails identifying a need for help, finding resources to this end, and taking the initiative to seek out the help and advocate for oneself. The Conley model does include help seeking and self-advocacy as components of dimensions three and four, but does not emphasize them to the same extent as Karp and Bork. Given this study's focus on Latino newcomers' who largely attended community colleges, there is an additional emphasis on how competing roles, non-school pressures and help seeking impact students' experiences navigating transitions to college.

Limitations of Definitions and Measures of College Readiness

The prevailing ways of thinking about and measuring college readiness, even those that go beyond simple markers of academic preparation and a focus on the individual, nonetheless have limitations when we consider Latino newcomer immigrant students. This is because all of these models presume that students have been continuously educated in the U.S., are fluent English speakers, reside in stable homes with parents, understand the U.S. education system, and feel powerful enough to make decisions about their curriculum. The models also assume matriculation into a four-year university. These assumptions neglect many of the realities of newcomer immigrant students' lives that greatly impact their ability to prepare for college while in high school. Furthermore, the assumption of matriculation to a four-year institution neglects the reality that most of these students attend community colleges (if they go to college at all). As Porter and Polikoff (2012, p. 401) note, "college readiness should not be seen as one universal standard. If there is to be a national indicator of college

readiness, there will need to be more than one cut point on the indicator, one for each of several different types of postsecondary institutions."

Existing college readiness models also say little about the role of parents, which is especially important for immigrant and first-generation students. Many of the measures of college readiness also suffer from the same threats to validity for English learners as other tests used for accountability and language proficiency purposes, because of their construct irrelevant language complexity (Abedi & Linquanti, 2012). Moreover, there seems to be an implicit assumption of cultural neutrality, but some aspects of college readiness may be at odds with immigrants' cultures. For example, critical thinking is assumed to be culturally neutral, but in some cultures the notion of creating a distanced self violates a powerful ethic emphasizing the collective and one's relationship with others (Harklau, 1998). A value for educational attainment as an economic good without consideration of competing family responsibilities and commitments is yet another example of a "value free" assumption about the worth of college degree attainment.

With the aforementioned limitations in mind, this study intentionally explores on a broad set of college readiness dimensions, building on Conley's thorough conceptualization of the student-level dimensions of college readiness to incorporate additional aspects specific to community college students. Importantly, it considers the structures and processes that newcomer immigrant students navigate and the social and cultural context in which this occurs. The following sections elaborate on the structural factors that newcomer immigrant students encounter in high schools and college that impact their preparation for and transitions to college.

Background on Immigrants in U.S. Schools

This section sets the context for those that follow. It provides an overview of the changing demographics of U.S. schools, and in particular the growing Latino population. The educational achievement and attainment research on bearing most directly on the population for this study—Latino newcomer immigrants—is summarized. The impact of immigrant students' prior schooling experiences is highlighted, which is a key focus of the present study.

The Changing Demographics of U.S. Schools

A generation ago, U.S. schools were 80% white, but today U.S. schools are increasingly multiracial, and non-white Latino students make up over half of the student population in U.S. schools (Orfield & Lee, 2005). This can be attributed to the major wave of immigration the U.S. experienced between 1989 and 2008, during which more than 1 million immigrants entered the country each year (Suárez-Orozco, Louie, & Suro, 2011).

Immigrant children and children of immigrants are one-fourth of the population in the U.S., and are projected to constitute a third of the population by 2050 (Passel, 2011; Gándara & Rumberger, 2009). This population is predominantly U.S.-born, but there are almost 3 million foreign-born children under 18 in the U.S., which is 3.8 percent of all children in the country.[7] Foreign-born and newcomer youth in the U.S. tend to be older; the proportion of foreign-born immigrant youth between 12 and 17 years of age is four times that of the population under six (5.9 percent versus 1.5 percent) (Passel, 2011; Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000), and these young people are more likely to be recent arrivals with less than five years of U.S. residency (Ruiz-de-Velasco &

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[7] An additional 14.5 million children of immigrants made up almost 20% of the overall population of persons under 18 (Passel, 2011).

Fix, 2000). Thirty-two percent of foreign-born English learners in grades 6-12 are recent arrivals, which suggests that close to half a million young people in those grades have been in the U.S. three years or less (Migration Policy Institute, 2013).[8] This study's focus on newcomers in high schools appropriately targets the segment of the educational pipeline most likely to serve these students.

California

California, the setting for this study, has more immigrants than any other state. The immigrant population is estimated at over 10 million, which is almost one-quarter of the entire U.S. foreign-born population (Migration Policy Institute, 2012).[9] The state enrolls more than one-third of the nation's English learners (Aud, Hussar, Johnson, Kena, Roth, Manning, Wang, & Zhang, 2012), and 84% of these students speak Spanish (California Department of Education, 2014). The present study provides a window into the experiences of the more than 4.8 million immigrant youth who reside in California, across urban and border regions (Passel, 2011).[10] Having briefly reviewed the growth in the immigrant population, I next consider their educational progress.

Immigrant Educational Achievement and Attainment

Many studies have found that, overall, immigrant youth and children of immigrants out-perform U.S.-born students, earning higher grades (Fuligni, 1997; Kao & Tienda, 1995; Harker, 2001), having better attendance (Conger, Schwartz, & Stiefel,

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[8] This estimate is calculated combining two data sources: 1) Passel's (2011) report of 2009 Current Population Survey data, which indicated that there were 1,495,119 first-generation immigrant youth 12-17 years, and 2) Migration Policy Institute (2013) reports of 2011 American Community Survey data on foreign-born English learners in grades 6-12, 32% of whom were identified as having migrated within the past three years.

[9] California also has the highest percentage of foreign-born residents at 27.1%, which is quite high in comparison to the overall proportion of foreign-born residents in the U.S., which is 12.9% (American Community Survey, 2012).

[10] This figure is an estimate of the total population of immigrant youth that included foreign-born youth and U.S.-born children of immigrants. Sixteen percent of these young people are estimated to be foreign-born, or 773,432.

2007), and doing better on achievement tests (Crosnoe & Turley, 2011). However, there is much variation among immigrant students, and when data are disaggregated, it becomes clear that the immigrant advantage does not extend equally across all groups. Immigrant youth of Latin American origin earn lower grades in comparison to East Asian and Filipino immigrant peers (Fuligni & Witkow, 2004). Among immigrant undergraduates, 52% of Hispanics have taken a remedial course, as compared to 40% of Asian immigrants and 35% of undergraduates overall (Stalkis & Horn, 2012).

On the whole, the average years of schooling completed for immigrants in the U.S. is rather low at 9.5 years for men and 9.8 years for women, and lower still for Mexicans (8.5 years) (Duncan, Hotz & Trejo, 2006). Mexican-origin students compose the largest group of immigrants and English learners in U.S. schools, and almost all of the students in the current study were of Mexican origin. Mexicans are the least likely of all Latinos to complete high school (50.6% compared to 74% among other Latinos) (MacDonald, 2004) across generations, much of which appears to be explained by higher levels of poverty (Lutz, 2007). Ruiz-de-Velasco and Fix (2000) also identify Mexicans as particularly at risk of dropping out, noting that dropout rates are about double the national averages in the first, second, and third generations. One of the most important recent works on Mexican educational progress across generations has been the work of Telles and Ortiz (2009), which documented educational attainment gains peaking with the second generation, and declining with the third and fourth generations.

On the other hand, there is also some research highlighting the ways in which Mexican immigrant students outperform their peers. Mexican kindergarteners from immigrant families tend to rank lower than their peers in academic skills, but higher on classroom adjustment (Crosnoe & Turley, 2011). A study of 189 Mexican-origin

adolescents compared Mexican immigrants in the U.S. to Mexican American children of immigrants, non-Hispanic whites, and Mexicans from an emigrant sending community in Mexico (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995). Achievement motivation was found to be greatest among the students born in Mexico, and particularly the Mexican immigrant students.

The immigrant advantage does not seem to apply equally to newcomer immigrants in secondary schools. Those who arrive in the U.S. as young adults are less likely to complete high school than those who arrive in early childhood (White & Kaufman, 1997; Oropesa & Landale, 2009). Recent arrivals who had difficulties in school before migrating are at particularly high risk, as more than 70% of these young people do not complete high school. In contrast, foreign-born teens who completed most of their schooling in the U.S. have a dropout rate of 5 percent (Fry, 2005). Among Mexicans, recent arrivals were four times more likely to drop out of high school than those who arrived in early childhood (32.6% versus 8.1 percent) (Fry, 2005).

Examining high school completion among Latino immigrant students in the U.S. is complicated by the fact that these young people are less likely to enroll in school beyond 8th grade (Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000), and may immigrate to the U.S as adolescents and never enroll in any U.S. school at all. Thus, there is a need to distinguish between dropout rates in the overall population and those in samples drawn from school populations. Making this distinction, excluding foreign-born youth who never enrolled in school in the U.S., Oropesa and Landale (2009) found that 43% of foreign-born Mexicans ages 16 to 19 had left high school before graduating, which was three times the rate of U.S.-born Mexican students.[11]

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[11] Fry (2005) asserts that foreign-born youth compose a disproportionate share of the nation's drop outs, and notes that 8 percent of teens are foreign-born, while one in four high school dropouts is foreign-born. Unlike Oropesa and Landale, Fry's

Latino youth who are still in the process of acquiring English are also much more likely to drop out of high school, with the majority of English learners dropping out (Gándara & Rumberger, 2009; Rumberger & Larson, 1998). Jammal and Duoung (2008) calculate the dropout rate among Latino English learners to be 59%. More recently, Callahan's (2013) brief on the English learner dropout dilemma, noted these students are about twice as likely to drop out compared to native-born and fluent English speaking language minority students. While English learners as a group are majority U.S.-born children of immigrants who are long-term English learners (58%), they do include a significant proportion of foreign-born youth (42%) and recent-arrivals (32%) (Migration Policy Institute, 2013).

Recent longitudinal research on adolescent immigrants has demonstrated the wide range of educational trajectories; while some students were high achieving and others improved over time, achievement among others was quite low or declined over time (Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Todorova, 2008; Suárez-Orozco, Gaytán, Bang, Hee Jin, O'Connor, & Rhodes, 2010). Familial resources, social supports outside the home, school contexts, and student disposition (motivation, optimism, willingness and ability to work long hours), and recruiting the support of others were all critical to the success of the high achievers.

The Importance of Prior Schooling

Immigrant students' prior schooling experiences have been identified as an important predictor of student achievement (Callahan, 2005; Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, Cortina, 2009; Short & Boyson, 2012), but have received relatively little attention in the research. Similarly, schools rarely collect data on immigrant students' prior schooling

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calculations (using the same 2000 Census data) include foreign-born youth who never enrolled in U.S. schools.

experiences (Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000). Furthermore, teachers and schools tend to know little about not only the experiences of individual students, but also little in general about the educational systems in immigrants' countries of origin, such as Mexico.

This dearth of understanding and information regarding immigrant students' prior schooling is especially problematic because immigrants are an extremely diverse group of students with varying needs. There is wide variation in the quantity and quality of prior schooling that newcomer adolescents have experienced before entering U.S. schools (Short & Boyson, 2012; Short & Fitzsimmons, 2007). Immigrant students include: 1) literate, on-level newcomers who have first language literacy and grade level content knowledge, 2) literate, partially schooled newcomers who have native language literacy skills with partial schooling, and 3) newcomers with interrupted or weak formal education who lack first language literacy (Short & Boyson, 2012). The implication of this variation is that there is no one-size-fits-all approach to programs for adolescent English learners that is appropriate (Short & Fitzsimmons, 2007). Providing professional development to help teachers to understand the experiences of Mexican students could begin to bridge some of these gaps in understanding (Cortina, 2009). This study helps to fill this gap, as it documents student perspectives on their pre-migration schooling experiences, including how these compared to their experiences in U.S. high schools.

High School Contexts for Immigrant Students

There is relatively little research on immigrants in U.S. high schools, and less still on Latino newcomers. Not a lot is known about immigrant youth and their incorporation into U.S. society (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). Even less is known about students at the secondary level, and it has been suggested that this group of students

is "overlooked and underserved" (Ruiz de Velasco & Fix, 2000). The education of secondary English learners does not seem to be on anyone's agenda (Callahan & Gándara, 2004).[12] This study makes an important contribution to this gap in research, as it offers insight into newcomers' experiences in high school through their college transitions.

In the next portion of this chapter, I review the literature on Latino newcomer immigrants in U.S. high schools. As the population of adolescent newcomer immigrants overlaps to a large extent with the English learner and undocumented high school student populations, I have included some key research on those students as well. The key structural issues for newcomer students in high school are divided between those that at the school (setting) level, and those at the broader system level.

Structural Issues

Latino newcomer immigrants encounter a wide array of school structures and policies that impact their development of college readiness. These include tracking, segregation and marginalization, the inflexibility of school structures, and teachers who are underprepared to teach them. Standardized tests required for school accountability color much of their schooling experiences. Newcomer programs, counseling, and college access programs have the potential to compensate for some of these issues. The sections that follow address a broad array of structural issues at the high school level, which is critical to situate the high school experiences of the Latino newcomer students in this study.

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[12] This may be changing, as civil rights enforcement is requiring LAUSD to revamp its ELL program, and as part of this effort must "ensure that EL students and their parents access the District's college and career ready curriculum and have the information they need to prepare for success in postsecondary education and careers" (U.S. Department of Education, 2011).

ELs, Tracking, and Access to College Preparatory Curricula

Statewide, not very many English Learners in California high schools complete the requirements for admission to the University of California and Cal State systems, known as the "a-g" subject requirements.[13] Estimates of a-g completion among English learners have varied widely, from 2 to 20%, none of which disaggregated data for Latino students. For example, Callahan's (2005) study of English learners in Northern California found that 98% of the students in the study had not completed the coursework needed for admission to a four-year college. In a study of 54 California high schools, only 8 percent of English learners and 20% of non-English learners graduated high school having taken the courses necessary to be eligible to attend a UC or CSU (Finkelstein, Huang, & Fong, 2009). More recent analysis of the class of 2011 from San Diego found that 20% of the graduates who were English learners in 12th grade had completed a-g requirements with a C or better (Betts, Zau, & Bachofer, 2013).

Because newcomer immigrants must learn English, they find themselves classified as English learners. Students learning English are often placed in ESL courses that have little to no content instruction (Callahan & Gándara, 2004; Valdés, 2001). In some cases, this may be quite extreme, as in Arizona where students are required to spend four hours a day in ESL classes. As a result of the diminished access to content courses, many English learners find themselves in classes that do not count toward graduation requirements (Callahan & Gándara, 2004).

This is especially problematic because there is evidence that track placement is more important than English for student achievement. Analysis of the effects of track placement on academic achievement among 335 English learners in a rural high school

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[13] The a-g requirements are: a) two years history/social science, b) four years of college preparatory English, c) three years of math, d) two years of laboratory science, e) two years of language other than English, f) one year of visual and performing arts, and g) one year of college preparatory electives.

in Northern California found track placement was a better predictor of GPA, credits, and math outcomes than English proficiency. In this study, English proficiency was only significant in predicting language-based achievement measures. Controlling for a host of factors, including English proficiency, race/ethnicity, parent education, and prior achievement, Callahan, Wilkinson, and Muller (2010) again found that placement in ESL coursework in high school limited access to college preparatory math and science courses among [some] language minority youth. These negative effects were more pronounced for long-term English learners than recent arrivals.

In short, there is much evidence that newcomer immigrants, who overwhelmingly begin high school classified as English learners, have very limited access to college preparatory courses. But much of the research on English learners has focused not on access to courses, and instead on the issue of reclassification, with an implicit assumption that simply moving students through these ESL sequences more rapidly will automatically result in more positive student outcomes. There is actually not much in the way of evidence to suggest that this is true (Robinson, 2011). Moreover, there is not sufficient attention to less linear approaches that provide English learners with access to rigorous college preparatory courses, while they are completing ESL/ELD requirements. The present study begins to fill this gap, as it highlights the experiences of newcomers who had the opportunity to access college preparatory courses taught bilingually, beginning in the 9th grade, in tandem with their ELD requirements.

Segregation and Marginalization

Latino, immigrant, and English learners are concentrated in urban schools,[14] and segregation at the school level has been increasing since the 1980s (Orfield & Lee, 2005; Orfield, Kuscera, & Siegel-Hawley, 2012). The schools in these urban areas tend to be overcrowded with high student-teacher ratios (Callahan, 2013), with additional layers of segregation within the school separating students from one another. Students learning English are often linguistically segregated from their peers, as they may be required to pass a sequence of English language development courses prior to enrolling in mainstream content courses. Even those students in mainstream courses may find themselves segregated, as many scholars have documented the tracking of low-income, Latino, and immigrant students into educational programs that are not college preparatory (Harklau, 1994; Oakes, 1995; Callahan, 2005).

The effects of this tracking and segregation have been documented in various ethnographic studies. For example, Valdés' (2001) study of four middle school students acquiring English illustrated the many ways in which the educational system fostered linguistic isolation. Teachers were unprepared to teach language, students were held back to serve as translators or because of behavioral issues, and assessments were inadequate. Valdés argued that learning English is not so much about how one is taught, and more about the broader context in which they are living and learning, including structural factors.

Similarly, making extensive use of students' voices, Olsen's (1997) study of newcomers in high school portrayed a process of Americanization that had three

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[14] Increasingly, however, immigrant and EL students attend schools in areas that previously had few immigrant and/or EL students. At schools in these rural and suburban settings, EL students make up a small portion of the student body, and while they may come into greater contact with native English speakers, there may be far fewer targeted supports for language learners and less knowledge of how to serve these students (Hamann & Harklau, 2010).

principal components: 1) academic marginalization and separation (segregation), 2) pressure to learn English and drop one's native language, and 3) pressure to find and accept one's place in the racial hierarchy. Becoming American, or "taking off your turban" requires that students renounce their own national, ethnic, or religious group. Maps of the school space showed the many divisions and segregation that existed within an extremely diverse setting.

When students find themselves in segregated schools, then are further segregated within the school, this prevents developing a sense of belonging. A greater sense of school belonging had been linked to higher-levels of self-efficacy, which is a key component of college readiness (Kia-Keating & Ellis, 2007). Because schools have a central position in the lives of all adolescents, for immigrant youth adjusting to the school community and developing a sense of belonging is a critical to their overall adjustment.

Inflexible School Structures

The traditional organization of middle and high schools has been identified as one of the central challenges for immigrants in secondary schools (Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000). Comprehensive high schools have a departmental structure that creates silos between the language and content area instructors, and there are few incentives for subject area teachers to take responsibility for English learner student outcomes. Immigrant students learning English require flexible schedules that allow for more time spent on tasks, but the typical U.S. high school lacks the flexibility necessary to meet the needs of newcomer immigrant students. Moreover, high school English learners could significantly benefit from greater flexibility in time constraints to allow for both longer school days and more time to graduation (Gándara, 2000; Gold & Maxwell-Jolly, 2006).

Teachers

Immigrant students who are English learners may find that their teachers have diminished expectations of them, which may be linked to their placement in low-level courses. Low expectations may be conflated with "caring," described as "Ay bendito" (Antrop-González and De Jesús, 2006) or "Pobrecito" (Berzíns and López, 2001; Manzo, 2003) syndrome. Part of the problem is that most of the teachers of English learners and immigrants have not had any training to work with them, and there are few fully credentialed bilingual teachers (Gándara, Maxwell-Jolly, & Driscoll, 2005). There is also a shortage of EL-certified teachers, as well as a shortage of certified teachers in general in the schools and districts immigrant students are most likely to attend (Gándara, Rumberger, Maxwell-Jolly, and Callahan, 2003; Gándara et al., 2006). Restrictive language policies that limit bilingual instruction have further diminished the supply of bilingual teachers.

Having bilingual and well-qualified teachers is important because there is much evidence to suggest that they are more capable of fostering success in their students and communicating with parents. In a cross-state comparison of the pedagogical practices of bilingual and monolingual teachers, Hopkins (2012) found that being bilingual was significantly associated with teacher practices that built on students' primary language, as well as enhanced communication with parents of English learners. Dabach (2009) examined how teachers adapt to immigrant youth in different in sheltered and mainstream classes, finding wide variation in the extent to which teachers were successful in drawing on students' linguistic resources. Teachers with less experience were more likely to be placed in sheltered courses, while teachers in text-heavy subjects tended to reject English learner placements. Students who were

33

long-term English learners felt stigmatized and associated being in sheltered classes with a lack of cognitive ability.

Some researchers have focused on the integration of second language reading across the math, science, and social studies disciplines as a strategy for meeting the needs of struggling adolescent readers, (Calderón, 2001; 2007). This approach requires that content area teachers provide explicit vocabulary instruction, as well as direct and explicit comprehensive strategy instruction. Text-based cooperative learning and intensive writing have been recommended for application and use of new vocabulary, in addition to the use of technology and formative assessment (Short & Fitzsimmons, 2007).

Programs for Newcomer Immigrants

There are some examples of programs and schools that have explicitly tried to address the needs of newcomer immigrant students. One such example is newcomer programs, which are specialized academic environments that serve newly arrived, immigrant English language learners for a limited period of time (Short & Boyson, 2012). These programs are to be distinguished from ESL programs and focus on developing basic English, academic literacy, and adapting to the U.S. school system.

Newcomer programs are prevalent, existing in 29 states,[15] but to date, they have not been rigorously evaluated, and generally have a mixed reputation (Gándara & Rumberger, 2009). A recent three-year national research study of programs for newcomers at the secondary level that surveyed 63 programs and completed case studies of 10 exemplary programs identified several common features across the programs: daily ESL instruction, instruction in at least one content area, and flexibility.

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[15] In Arizona, California, and Massachusetts, states that have enacted English-only laws limiting the amount of time that English learners can be in language support programs, many newcomer programs have closed (Short & Boyson, 2012).

Programs offered a range of courses, extended learning time, planning for the transition progress, and services to families (Short & Boyson, 2012).

Some efforts have been made to identify the features of exemplary programs for immigrant and/or English learners at the secondary level. One of the earliest studies (Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990) explored how six schools with large Latino populations delivered learning environments that fostered academic success. The key features identified in this study were: 1) valuing the language and culture of the students, 2) high expectations from the teachers, 3) prioritization of the students' education on the part of the administrators, 4) professional development for staff around working with Latino students, and 5) offering the students a variety of courses.

One of the larger studies of immigrant students in secondary schools was the Program in Immigrant Education (PRIME) (Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000). This study used a mixed methods approach to study 10 high schools and middle schools as they implemented new curricula, professional development, data collection procedures, block scheduling, and extended day programming for ELs. The primary challenges for these students were identified as literacy, accelerating subject learning, a lack of adequate assessments, teacher shortages, and contentious politics. Institutional challenges included the limited capacity of staff, the silo departmental structure of secondary schools, the omission of English learners from accountability systems, and a lack of understanding regarding how to simultaneously develop language and content skills. Ruiz-de-Velasco and Fix (2000) concluded that whole school reform strategies held the most promise, noting that much of what is beneficial for immigrant and English learners benefits all students. While this study provided rich descriptions of the various components of the intervention, the design did not allow for measuring the impact of the program on student outcomes.

More recent work by Faltis and Arias (2007) echoed many of the earlier recommendations for serving Latino immigrant and English learners, also calling for high expectations, pro-immigrant leadership, and well-trained and qualified teachers. Faltis and Arias (2007) also highlighted the importance of providing specialized support to newcomers, the value of teachers who share the language and culture of the students, and counselors who are culturally and linguistically responsive.

In their review of exemplary programs that successfully move English learners through high school and into college, Callahan and Gándara (2004) attributed these programs' existence and successes to individuals or groups of individuals recognizing the need and systematically altering the school structure. In addition, they found that all of the exemplary programs shared several features: exposure to a rigorous academic curriculum, extracurricular integration, extra time, modified instructional strategies, and school-wide reform.

One of the few recent studies focusing on how high schools can support college-going for low-income immigrant youth is Jaffe-Walter and Lee's (2011) ethnographic study of New York's International High Schools. The International High School model, which has been replicated on the West Coast, emphasizes learning English through content and encourages engagement with the students' native languages and cultures. The authors argued that, through a structure of instructional teams, students were provided both with access to multiple adults who act as institutional agents, and a rigorous and culturally responsive curriculum. Importantly, teachers at the school sites often took on duties typical of counselors, such as helping students to define their career goals and interests, choosing colleges, and completing college and financial aid applications. However, in spite of the strong academic and social supports described, undocumented students remained pessimistic about college opportunities.

To summarize, these studies tell us that immigrant students in secondary schools are best served when they have well-qualified teachers who maintain high expectations and value their language and culture. Administrators need to make immigrant students a priority and ensure access to rigorous courses. Whole school reform seems to be the best strategy for achieving these kinds of systematic changes. Very few of these studies have considered a binational intervention or used longitudinal data, as the current study does. Having summarized the school contexts and broad recommendations for educating newcomers in high school, I now turn to college access for this population.

Counseling and Developing College Knowledge

Much of the research on college access for low-income, first-generation students focuses on how important it is for schools to provide college-related information, support, and guidance. Students need to understand matriculation polices and instructional options, financial aid options, the testing maze, and college student life (Gándara & Rumberger, 2009; Garcia & Tierney, 2011; Teranishi et al., 2011). In addition, students and parents who do not speak English need personal and academic counseling to ensure that they understand which courses are needed to graduate high school and fulfill college admissions requirements (Gándara & Rumberger, 2009).

Not having access to college knowledge in a timely fashion can have very real consequences for college choice. For example, if undocumented students are unaware of how to become eligible for in-state resident tuition laws (i.e. AB540), or find out too late, they may pay higher tuition or attend a less expensive school as a result (Garcia & Tierney, 2011; Olivérez, 2006). Moreover, for Latino students, the lack of information about what is needed to prepare for college has been identified as the single greatest

impediment to entering college, which suggests students need specific and targeted assistance to prepare and apply to college (Gándara, 2002).

Counselors have a critical role in newcomers' access to information about college and courses that will move them toward postsecondary education. They are the gatekeepers for students' course assignments (but operate within the boundaries of school and district policies), and are responsible for guiding students through the requirements for particular courses, graduation requirements, and the college application process. They may also need to interpret school records from immigrant students' home countries to make placement decisions. But the adults who work with undocumented and immigrant students are typically not equipped to deal with the multiple issues that students encounter (Olivérez, 2006). As a result, undocumented and immigrant students may end up piecing together information in a haphazard fashion from multiple sources (Enriquez, 2011; Olivérez, 2006).

Research on immigrant students has further affirmed the importance of counselors as purveyors of college knowledge. In a study of 40 undocumented immigrants' experiences in high school and college, relationships with high school counselors were critical (García & Tierney, 2011). High school counselors explained options to their students, set expectations, and determined schedules. They also helped students in tangible ways, providing access to financial resources through employment opportunities, establishing scholarship funds, and helping students to pay for things such as college application fees.

College Access Programs

Many programs exist that aim to prepare low-income and underrepresented students for college. In 2011, college preparatory programs targeting low-income students such as Upward Bound and GEAR UP received more than $650 million in

federal funding (Kirabo Jackson, 2012). However, while hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent on these programs, not only from the federal government but also from private nonprofits, K-16 partnerships, community-based organizations (Gándara & Bial, 2001), they have not been rigorously evaluated (Gándara & Moreno, 2002). The What Works Clearinghouse only lists nine studies focused on college and career preparation meeting their criteria, all but one of which were published since 2013 (What Works Clearinghouse, 2014)

These college access programs do serve some immigrant and English learners along with other students underrepresented in higher education, but few studies of programs designed to foster college access among high school students focus explicitly on immigrant students and/or English learners (Short & Boyson, 2012). This is likely in large part because newcomer immigrant students are among the least likely to participate in academic enrichment programs, and instead are much more likely to be in programs directed at keeping them out of trouble (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). Many of the programs described above are what Rumberger (2011) describes as targeted reforms at the programmatic level, focused on a local context and/or the needs of a particular group of students. These types of programs can provide short-term, local solutions, but may be dependent on one individual or a small group of individuals, making them vulnerable when personnel transition (Callahan, 2013).

Testing Requirements

The accountability movement has made standardized testing a central focus of U.S. students' schooling experiences. In California high schools, students are required to take the California Standards Tests (CSTs) in math and science in grades 9 through 11, and in social science in grades 10 and 11, which are used for accountability purposes. All sophomores take the California High School Exit Exam (CAHSEE) their

sophomore year, in English, which includes English/language arts and math questions. In addition, the California English Language Development Test (CELDT), is administered to English Learners, and used along with the CST ELA scores to determine when students are eligible for reclassification as fluent English proficient.

Newcomers are particularly impacted by all these testing requirements. The high school exit exams are a significant stumbling block for students who are still in the early stages of acquiring English. Many newcomers fail the exam on their first attempt, and subsequently spend much time preparing for and retaking the exam.[16] Recently-arrived, high-performing English learners who otherwise outperform their peers have been unable to pass these exams (Callahan & Shifrer, 2013).

Numerous problems have been noted related to the use of standardized tests to measure English learners' academic achievement (the CSTs being one such example). Tests developed for and field tested with native speakers of English are a noisy measure of achievement for English learners. Such tests may not produce reliable and valid outcomes for English learners because of English learners' levels of English proficiency, the linguistic complexity of the test items, or other sources of bias (Abedi, 2004; Abedi & Gándara, 2006; Abedi & Linquanti, 2012; Gándara, 2002; Linquanti & Hakuta, 2012; Solórzano, 2008). In addition to differences in language proficiency, cultural, family, and personal characteristics may also impact students' comprehension of instruction and assessments (Abedi & Gándara, 2006). Furthermore, studies of testing accommodations have found that they failed to help English learners with their language barriers or produce valid assessment results (Abedi, Lord, Hofstetter, & Baker, 2000; Abedi, 2006; Abedi & Gándara, 2006).

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[16] Statewide, across all grades, in December 2012, 14% of English learners who attempted the CAHSEE passed the ELA portion, and 29% passed the math portion (California Department of Education, 2012).

Testing places intense pressure on schools to demonstrate subgroups are making annual gains. However, once English learners are reclassified, they are excluded from the English learner subgroup in accountability systems (referred to as the "revolving door" effect), which makes it impossible to accurately track the cumulative progress of English learners over time (Hopkins, Thompson, Linquanti, Hakuta, & August, 2013; Linquanti & Hakuta, 2012; Wolf, Kao, Griffin, Herman, Chang, & Gansworth, 2008). Reclassification is problematic as well; tests of English proficiency for English learners vary widely across states and districts, as do classification and reclassification policies, and rarely predict academic success in English classrooms (Abedi & Gándara, 2006; Katz, Low, Stack, & Tsang, 2004; Linquanti & Hakuta, 2012; Solórzano, 2008).

The current accountability system is narrowly focused on outputs and is premised on an assumption that learning can be standardized and measured accurately and thoroughly (Callahan, 2013). As a result, little attention is given to the inequities in inputs, such as resources, curricula, and teaching. Schools are incentivized to persuade the lowest-performing students to enroll elsewhere. This has been documented in Texas, where EL Paso English learners "disappeared" prior to the administration of the Texas TAKS assessment (Fernandez, 2012). Moreover, high school exit exams have had the effect of lowering graduation rates, an effect which was most pronounced in high minority regions (Reardon & Kurlaender, 2009).

The Role of Family

"Embeddedness in family, in a web of primary ties of affection, trust, and obligation . . . is at once a rich resource and a potential vulnerability."

(Rumbaut, 1997, p.8).

Families are an important factor in Latino newcomers' decisions about and success in college. Latino and immigrant students may be motivated to persevere, and attain success because they understand the sacrifices their families had made in coming to the U.S. (Gándara, 1995; Olivérez, 2006). At the same time, language can be a barrier to acquiring college knowledge, as Tornatzky, Cutler, & Lee (2002) found in their survey of over 1,000 Latino parents. Parental education and involvement are positively associated with college access (Nuñez, Cuccaro-Alamin, & Carroll, 1998), but Latino immigrant parents are less likely to have the "college knowledge" to impart to their children than parents who attended college in the U.S. (Roderick et al., 2008).

There are, however, familial protective factors that may compensate for lower levels of education and familiarity with the U.S. educational system. The theory of immigrant optimism suggests that immigrant families may protect immigrant students from the full negative influence of navigating unfamiliar education systems and racism/discrimination, while also instilling a strong drive to succeed (Kao & Tienda, 1995). Accordingly, aspirations tend to be high among immigrant parents for their children (Glick and White, 2004; Rosenbaum & Rochford, 2008; Zhou & Bankston, 1994).

The decision to attend college is closely linked not only to family expectations, but also to obligations. For example, in Gildersleeve's (2010) ethnographic study of the experiences of four undocumented Mexican migrant male students, family, labor, and schooling all influenced their development of college literacy. Ultimately, students' choices about what college to attend were directly linked to their family's economic needs. This core obligation to the family impacts college persistence; the Student/Institution engagement model posits that working off-campus, family responsibilities, financial concerns, attending part-time, and commuting to campus can

all pull students away from college, lessening their likelihood of persistence (Nora, 2003). Researchers recommend that college students work no more than 10 to 15 hours a week while in school, ideally on campus (Perna, 2010), but many immigrant students may need to work additional hours and/or may not be able to secure employment at their college.

In college, families continue to exert an important influence on immigrant student persistence. For example, early and ongoing supportive messages among parents while their children were in college have been found to help undocumented students to attain their degrees (Contreras, 2009). Attachments to family and one's community are key for the successful transition to college, and encouragement from parents is positively related to students' persistence decisions (Nora & Cabrera, 1996). Living at home, as many Latino college students do, is associated with a higher sense of belonging, which suggests familial support could be a key factor for remaining in college (Hurtado & Ponjuan, 2005).

Immigrants in College

In spite of all the barriers that exist, there are many immigrants who persist through high school and into college, and a strong and growing presence of immigrants in higher education, the majority of whom attend community colleges (Teranishi et al., 2011). Their open access, lower cost, and in California, prevalence, all make community colleges attractive and practical options for immigrant students. In addition, community colleges provide a wide range of education options, offering postsecondary education, English language instruction, and work preparation (Teranishi et al., 2011).

Compared to U.S.-born students, immigrant students are 20% more likely to attend a community college (Gray, Rolph, & Melamid, 1996), and almost a quarter of

the 6.5 million degree seeking community college students are estimated to have come from an immigrant background (National Center for Education Statistics, 2006). Latino immigrants are also more likely than native-born Latino, white or African American students to enroll in community college, even when controlling for socioeconomic background, academic preparation, and degree intention (Hagy & Staniec, 2002; Kurlaender, 2006).

The sections that follow highlight some of what we have learned thus far regarding immigrants' experiences in higher education, particularly the experiences of Latino immigrants in community colleges, as these students are the focus of the present study.

Financial Challenges

Several studies have identified financial matters as a barrier to college access for undocumented and immigrant students (Contreras, 2009; Garcia & Tierney, 2011; Gildersleeve, 2010; Olivérez, 2006; Teranishi et al., 2011). Immigrant students who are undocumented do not have access to federal financial aid, work study programs, or many other alternative funding sources (Garcia & Tierney, 2011). As a result, if they are to attend college, they must cobble together the funds for tuition, fees, and books by working, loans, or private scholarships. Some of the ways that schools can assist students in this area include providing more direct assistance with financial aid, offering financial aid for ESL, and raising funds for scholarships (Teranishi et al., 2011).

Academic Preparation

As described earlier in this chapter, immigrant students have often attended under-resourced high schools that provided inadequate preparation for college. The high schools that immigrant students attend may have focused more on graduation

rates, testing, and truancy than college-going. Students classified as English learners may have had little access to academic courses until they were reclassified. As a result, immigrant students who enroll in postsecondary institutions may still encounter challenges with the writing and other demands of their coursework (Rodriguez & Cruz, 2009).

Immigrant college students often find themselves in developmental or remedial courses, where their teachers know little about working with immigrant and language minority students (Bunch & Panayotova, 2008). One study found that 85% of immigrants required remediation as first-time freshman (Conway, 2010), compared to 55% of native-born students. Latinos disproportionately enroll in developmental English and ESL courses (Sengupta & Jepsen, 2006). These high levels are particularly concerning because so few students in remedial courses are able to complete a degree or certificate. Persistence rates from developmental courses into credit-bearing courses are low; fewer than one in four students in remedial courses complete a degree or certificate within eight years (Bailey, Jeong, & Cho, 2010; Teranishi et al 2011).

Language Issues

Students who are still acquiring English while in high school are likely to continue to develop their language skills in college, and English acquisition is often a gate keeping process for access to college (Gray et al., 1996; Rodriguez & Cruz, 2009). English language acquisition courses are available through ESL programs in community colleges, but these typically do not offer credit, and if they do it is not transferable to four-year institutions. Moreover, such courses may be more oriented to preparing students for entry-level employment and not college academics (Blumenthal, 2002). Students may be barred from taking academic courses until they have completed the

requisite ESL courses. About half of ESL course takers leave community colleges after their first year (Bunch & Panayotova, 2008).

As in the K-12 setting, there is a tendency in community colleges to focus somewhat narrowly on the language needs of immigrant students. Critiquing deficit perspectives that treat multilingualism as a condition to be diagnosed and treated, researchers have advocated a shift from deficit to resource or additive perspectives guiding the education of language minorities and undocumented students in college (Kibler, Bunch, and Endris, 2011; Rodriguez & Cruz, 2009). Many have emphasized the need to integrate literacy and language learning with academic development, and called for tests and curricular options focused on academic, not remedial, pathways. Teranishi et al. (2011) and the Community College Consortium for Immigrant Education (Casner-Lottos, 2011) advocate for ESL bridge programs that integrate English language skills with content knowledge so that students can earn credit as they are mastering English. Such a redesign of ESL programs could potentially accelerate transition to the next phase of students' educational goals, whether it is a degree, certificate, transfer, or vocational training.

Testing and Placement Processes

Community colleges are open access institutions, but access to specific courses, and particularly the credit-bearing courses that will count toward a degree and/or transfer requirements is restricted. At many colleges, students must first determine whether to take an ESL placement exam or an English placement test. This is a high stakes decision, and there is wide variation in the quantity and quality of guidance that students receive to inform this decision (Bunch & Panayotova, 2008; Salas, Portes, D'Amico, & Rios-Aguilar, 2011). Moreover, language minority students and others from non-dominant backgrounds rarely challenge the results of placement processes as

46

white middle class students do (Bunch, Endris, Panayotova, Romero & Llosa, 2011; Bunch & Endris, 2012). In an analysis of the websites for 25 California community colleges, seven of the colleges provided no information about the challenge process, while six included information only about challenging the placement recommendation, and not the prerequisite itself (Bunch & Endris, 2012)

In California, there are many regulations in place regarding matriculation processes, but a culture of local institutional autonomy and perpetual budget crises have rendered these regulations inconsistently enforced (Bunch et al., 2011). The 112 community colleges in the state all have different placement tests and cutoff scores (Kurlaender & Larsen, 2013). The state mandates the use of multiple measures to recommend student placements and ascertain whether students have satisfied course prerequisites , but a vast majority of schools only use a single test score (Bunch et al., 2011, Bunch & Endris, 2012). These multiple measures (i.e. standardized placement tests, writing samples, performance-based assessments, self-evaluations, surveys, questionnaires, etc.) are intended to create a "holistic profile of student strengths and weaknesses" (CCCAA, 2005, p. 3, cited by Bunch & Endris, 2012). In practice, "multiple measures" may not mean much more than a placement test and a meeting with a counselor. Or, colleges may embed a few additional questions into their placement tests, which may be considered a separate measure used to guide placement recommendations. Community colleges do not use the extensive testing data collected from the K-12 system (i.e. CELDT, CST, and CAHSEE testing) to inform placement decisions.

The assessments that are used to recommend course placement are not themselves consistent. They are often developed internally, resulting in much variation from one college to the next (Llosa & Bunch, 2011). For example, the test commonly

used for ESL placement is low cost, but not designed for use in academic programs (Bunch et al., 2011). Circumstantial bilinguals (Valdés, 1992) are adept at using English in multiple contexts, but that the grammar tests used for placement fail to capture these language skills (Kibler et al., 2011).

Perhaps one of the greatest tensions in California's testing in placement system lies in the fact that, while technically neither testing not heeding placement recommendations is required, course prerequisites render them essentially mandatory in practice (Bunch & Endris, 2012).

Belonging

Academic and social integration are some of the most important predictors of college persistence (Tinto, 1975; 1987). Social and academic integration are closely linked to the alienation, marginalization, cultural stereotyping, and discrimination first-generation students may encounter when they go to college (Rendón, 2006). Students' perceptions of prejudice have also been found to exert a negative effect on minority students' adjustment to college (Nora & Cabrera, 1996).

In a national study of Latino students, 68% indicated their institutions knew very little about Hispanic culture (Hurtado, 1994). This lack of awareness about students' culture can make it difficult for minority students to develop relationships with institutional agents, which has implications for their sense of belonging and student learning. As early as middle and high school, encouragement from teachers can impact minority students' likelihood of working hard (Ferguson, 2002). In college, the quality of minority students' relationships with faculty is a strong predictor of student learning (Lundberg & Schreiner, 2004). Latino students in particular benefit in important ways from direct, sustained, and genuinely supportive academic and interpersonal validation, which requires teachers and counselors to employ an active,

systemic, and intentional approach to their work with students (Rendón, Jalomo, & Nora, 2000).

Immigrants may take a more instrumental view of schools, viewing it primarily as a means for economic advancement rather than a time of exploration and self-discovery (Harklau, 1998). This more pragmatic orientation, as well and work and family obligations may result in students spending little time on campus outside of their classes, which may further limit their sense of academic and social integration in the campus. For example, in a study of 20 undocumented Latino college students, students had a tendency to obtain information online, which limited opportunities for making personal connections (Contreras, 2009). In addition, discussing course content with students outside class has been strongly associated with students' sense of belonging (Hurtado & Carter, 1997), but students who are rarely on campus are less likely to have these kinds of experiences.

Legal Status

The U.S. immigration system has been broken for quite some time. At present, there are over 3 million people waiting to join relatives who are legally in the U.S., and the wait time for processing through the immigration system is between four and 20 years (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2011). Efforts to implement immigration reform, even those with bipartisan support, have repeatedly failed, as have attempts to pass the federal DREAM Act, which would allow undocumented youth in U.S. schools to adjust their legal status. The Obama Administration has deported record numbers of immigrants (Bernstein, 2011), the birthright citizenship guaranteed under the Fourteenth Amendment is under attack, and states such as Arizona, Alabama, and Georgia have taken it upon themselves to enforce immigration law.

Up to 1.7 million undocumented immigrants stand to potentially benefit from President Obama's "Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals," but the eligibility requirements for deferred action preclude many newcomers from adjusting their status. This is because the program requires young people to have continuously resided in the U.S. since June 15, 2007. In addition, students who have not enrolled in school or left school without earning a diploma or GED, or been convicted of crimes are not eligible. Consequently, all the students who arrived after June 16, 2007, many of whom are newcomers in U.S. schools, will remain at risk for deportation.

The Pew Hispanic Center estimates that 2.4 million undocumented immigrants meet the 15-30 year old age requirements, but arrived in the U.S. after age 15 or have been in the U.S. less than five years and are thus ineligible from deportation relief. In addition, an estimated 280,000 undocumented immigrants will not be eligible because they are under age 15 and have not been in the U.S. for at least five years. Future waves of immigrant young people who arrive will not age into eligibility (Passel & Lopez, 2012). The present study offers a window into the experiences of some of these students.

Immigrant students in high schools who are undocumented, or unauthorized, contend first–hand with the contradictions in the U.S. context of reception for immigrants. At the high school level, undocumented students may become hopeless and drop out of high school as they realize the educational limitations related to their status (Garcia & Tierney, 2011). As they transition to adulthood, their status shifts from one as a K-12 student legally entitled to education, and a de facto legal status to being an illegal adult (Gonzales, 2011). Students who manage to surmount the challenges of successfully completing high school find that going to college there may be many barriers.

As already discussed, one of the principal barriers is the cost of college. In the absence of comprehensive immigration reform, states have begun to enact laws to acknowledge and attempt to provide some postsecondary access to undocumented students, or to limit such opportunities. Ten states have enacted in-state resident tuition laws (Flores, 2010). In certain states, undocumented students have been barred from enrolling all together. In most states, they are eligible to apply and enroll, but are restricted from paying in-state tuition rates, regardless of how long they have been residents.

The legal status of students may result in living in fear of being discovered (Contreras, 2009), which may limit their ability to attach to groups that would enhance their social capital (Garcia & Tierney, 2011). Thus, many of the resources available on college campuses for first-generation and low-income students may be inaccessible. However, Contreras (2009, p. 610) asserts undocumented students have an overwhelming desire to succeed, and "represent a resilient, determined, and inspirational group of high achievers who persevere and serve as a model of success." There is evidence that high levels of personal and environmental resources, such as supportive parents and friends, can further buffer undocumented students from the risks associated with legal and social marginalization (Pérez, Espinoza, Ramos, Coronado, & Cortes, 2010).

Methodological Issues in the Study of Immigrants

One of the difficulties in this effort to review, synthesize, and position the current study in the literature is that there are so many literatures that overlap in with the population of focus. Newcomer immigrants may fall into categories such as Latino, English learners, language minority students, low-income students, and undocumented students. Newcomer immigrants are at once a group with a distinct set of needs and a

group with great internal diversity, which further complicates attempts to make generalizations about their needs.

In the literature, some of the studies that have attempted to focus on immigrants have relied on data that do not include solely immigrants. For example, Dabach's (2009) study of how teachers receive and adapt to immigrant youth utilized data from sheltered English learner classes that likely included a mix of U.S.-born long-term ELs, and foreign-born newcomers and long-term ELs. In addition to the confounding of immigrants with English learners, U.S.-born children of immigrants have been classified as immigrant children in several studies. For example, the 2011 Future of the Children report on immigrant children defined immigrant students as both those born outside of the U.S. and those born in the U.S. with one or more immigrant parent. This is problematic on multiple levels. First of all, U.S. citizenship greatly impacts the opportunity structure for students. Secondly, the research on immigrant outcomes by generation indicates there are systematic differences by generation. Even within the category of foreign-born, U.S.-educated immigrants there are important subgroups whose differences are obscured when aggregated.

National and institutional data rarely distinguish between immigrants who arrived at an early age and those who entered later, and while there may be some similarities in their challenges and needs, many of their needs are distinct (Teranishi et al, 2011). The experiences of the 1.5 generation, or young people who immigrated as young children and have been educated and raised in the U.S., differ in important ways from the newcomer adolescents who are the focus of this study.

Much of the literature on immigrant students focuses on a narrow set of outcomes—English acquisition, school completion, grades, attendance, and such, as these are relatively straightforward to measure. The quantitative studies tend to focus

on a rather limited set of outcome measures, and often aggregate groups to the extent that the generalizations are not very meaningful (aggregating immigrants of different origins, class, time in residency, etc.). Class is particularly important because the current wave of immigration has a bimodal class distribution (Jaffe-Walter & Lee, 2011).

Many qualitative studies employ a social capital framework, often focusing on how individual students navigate their schooling experiences, but few address the transnational aspect of the immigrant experience. Furthermore, most studies seem to assume a linear process of immigration, when in fact immigration experiences are much more dynamic. Studies that are more qualitative focus on the processes of immigration, but few in education are able to link prior schooling experiences with U.S. schooling experiences, even though this has been identified as important.

Knowing how likely Latino newcomers are to go to college is surprisingly difficult to ascertain, as there is much research on immigrants, ELs, Latinos, and undocumented students, but little of this is disaggregated by time in residency and origin. Klein, Bugarin, Beltranena, and McArthur's (2004) analysis of Current Population Survey data found 14% of 18 to 24-year olds who "spoke English with difficulty" were enrolled in higher education. Other national studies have focused solely on advancement to four-year institutions (Kanno & Cromley, 2011), or the overall proportion of college students who are language minorities (Nuñez & Sparks, 2012). Among undocumented high school graduates 18-24 years of age, 49% are in college or have attended college, but among those who arrived at age 14 or older, only 42% have attended or are in college (Passel & Cohn, 2009). Elsewhere, it has been suggested that only 5-10% of undocumented high school graduates enroll in college, which is well below the national average of 66% (Gildersleeve, 2010).

These wide discrepancies speak to the limitations of the research to date. There is a growing body of literature related to the experiences of immigrants in college and community colleges (see Kanno and Harkalu's 2012 edited volume, for example), but research on this population's access to college and degree outcomes remains scant in comparison to the research on K-12 students. Kanno and Harklau (2012) assert that language minority students has "fallen through the cracks of a disciplinary division of labor (p. 4). For example, in the higher education literature, the emphasis tends to be on underrepresented students as defined by racial and ethnic categories, income, first-generation, and undocumented status, and not country or origin or language background. In some of the college access literature, Latinos are prevalent, particularly given the growing Latino population and associated Latino education crisis (Gándara & Contreras, 2009), but again this literature includes immigrant and language minority students, but does not focus specifically on these variables.

The critiques I offer are largely reflective of the data limitations that researchers contend with, which is particularly acute for those studying the postsecondary experiences of immigrants (Conway, 2009; Gray, Rolph, & Melamid, 1996; Teranishi et al., 2011). This is indicative of the ways in which older immigrant and language minority students tend to not be on anyone's agenda. For example, Gray et al. (1996) found in their study of institutional responses to immigrant students that none of the colleges or universities targeted immigrants as a population or collected data on students' immigrant status. As a result, postsecondary institutions may know little about the pre-college contexts for undocumented and immigrant students. Researchers have called for the collection of more and better data on language minority students in community colleges (Bunch & Panayotova, 2008). For example, in California, there are no data available on the linguistic backgrounds of students in the community college

system. Overall, research on Latinos in community colleges is still in its infancy, and no comprehensive conceptual model exists for this group of students (Crisp & Nora, 2010). With its emphasis on Latino newcomers in high school and transitions to college, this study offers a much-needed contribution to an area of research that has long received too little attention.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter details the settings and participants, as well as the methodological and analytical approaches that guided the study. It begins with the rationale for the methodological and conceptual approach. Next, the site and participant selection are explained, followed by the instruments used for data collection. The following sections detail the study procedures and analytic strategies. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the study's limitations.

Rationale for Method

This study utilized a revelatory case study (Yin, 2009) to explore the development of college readiness among Latino newcomers who participated in a high school intervention that provided access to bilingual college preparatory math and science courses (Project SOL). The phenomenon of interest was the preparation for and transitions to college among newcomer Latino immigrants across four U.S. high schools, permitting exploration of the development of college readiness among this population. The specific case studied was the students who participated in Project SOL and were from the graduating classes of 2011 and 2012.

Project SOL was a multi-faceted intervention that aimed to bolster the language and content achievement of Spanish dominant high school students, and to increase the capacity of teachers to help these students stay in school, graduate, and prepare for college through:

- Partnering with Mexico to provide access to Spanish language math and science course content online;
- Offering rigorous, bilingual, college preparatory math and science courses that were aligned with a-g required courses;
- Assisting teachers in learning to integrate the curriculum into their teaching;
- Providing access to parent training courses; and
- Building college awareness and knowledge among students

Early intervention programs have been identified as important for forming college aspirations for poor students (Levine & Niddifier, 1996, as cited by Harper, 2007). The students who participated in Project SOL represent a case that is especially unique, making it a revelatory case study (Yin, 2009) because, while there are many college access and preparation interventions, this program specifically targeted Spanish-dominant immigrant students, detracking these students and providing access to bilingual math and science courses that emphasized the cultivation of academic language in both Spanish and English. As such, this was an important case to study because it represented perhaps the only opportunity to explore the development of college readiness in such a context. It is actually quite rare for urban schools to focus on more than high school graduation or dropout prevention for this population, making it extremely difficult to understand what preparing newcomer Latino students for college requires.

Researcher Perspective

I was a member of the Project SOL research team for four years, which afforded me both access to and familiarity with the data. In my first two years on the project, I filled the role of project coordinator, which was helpful in developing a broad perspective on the project across the four sites. I had the opportunity to visit all of the school sites, assisted with data collection, and worked closely with the field research assistants. I helped to plan and attended the professional development and learning community sessions for teachers and counselors, as well as several of the college field trips for the students. In my latter two years with the project I was responsible for managing much of the project data collection, and coordinating the administration of surveys, conducting of interviews, and collection of student data. Working with the project principal investigator, I produced interim progress reports for our three

funding agencies. Prior to my work with Project SOL, I conducted educational policy research on college readiness, including work on a study to operationalize the conceptual model of college readiness guiding the present study. Taken together, these experiences, as well as my facility with Spanish and background as a former community college student, provided a strong grounding for carrying out this study.

Conceptual Model of College Readiness Guiding the Study

As described in Chapter 2, multi-dimensional and multi-level conceptualizations of college readiness guided this study. Specifically, the elements of college readiness in Table 3.1 drove the development of the postsecondary survey items and interview questions, as well as the preliminary coding strategy. This ensured that data were collected to address the research question three, which concerns how well notions of college readiness align with the needs of newcomers. While the model presented here is one that is student-centered, throughout the study the emphasis was on exploring the structural setting- and system-level factors that facilitated and hindered the development of college readiness among Latino newcomer immigrant students. The strategy was to use the established models of college readiness as a starting point, and to identify gaps and omissions through exploration of newcomers' high school experiences and college transitions.

Table 3.1

Conceptual Model of College Readiness Guiding the Study

Category	Aspects
Key Cognitive Strategies	• Problem formulation • Research • Interpretation • Communication • Precision and accuracy
Key Content Knowledge	• English/language arts • Mathematics • Science • Social sciences • Technology

Key Learning Skills and Techniques	• Ownership of Learning
	  o Goal setting
	  o Persistence
	  o Self-awareness
	  o Motivation
	  o Help seeking
	  o Progress monitoring
	  o Self-efficacy
	• Learning techniques
	  o Time management
	  o Test taking skills
	  o Memorization/recall
	  o Strategic reading
	  o Collaborative learning
	  o Technology proficiency

Key Transition and Skills	• Postsecondary awareness • Postsecondary costs • Matriculation • Career awareness • Role and identity • Self-advocacy

Sampling

The core data for this study were drawn from postsecondary surveys and interviews of newcomer Latino students who were on track to graduate in 2011 and 2012 when they began high school, and who had participated in Project SOL. These data were supplemented with data collected during the implementation of Project SOL between 2008 and 2012. The sections that follow detail the initial criteria for selection

of the Project SOL school sites and the strategy for examining the postsecondary school transitions of students from the school sites.

High School Site Selection

Project SOL was initiated in the Fall of 2008. At that time, four school sites were selected as implementation sites. The criteria for selecting the school sites were:

1. Willingness to dedicate four professional development days to the project each year;

2. Ability to identify at least two bilingual math and science teachers to teach the SOL courses;

3. Commitment to enroll a cohort of students each year;

4. Presence of a receptive and collaborative administrator; and

5. Adequate computers, software, and Internet access

Three of the school sites were with the Project for all four years, and the fourth joined in the 2009-10 school year, and participated for three years.[17] All of the schools were predominantly Latino (85 to 94%) and majority low-income (69 to 85%).

Table 3.2

Student Enrollment and Demographics at the High School Sites

School	Locale	Total Students	Hispanic	Black	White	Asian/PI/ Filipino	LEP	Low- Income	2011 API
Desierto Regal	Town: Fringe	1,622	1,381 (85.1%)	22 (1.4%)	192 (11.8%)	22 (1.4%)	590 (36.4%)	1,113 (68.6%)	755
Punta del Mar	Suburb: Large	2,698	2,325 (86.2%)	103 (3.8%)	130 (4.8%)	103 (3.8%)	1,549 (57.4%)	2,082 (77.2%)	756
Johnson	City: Large	1,862	1,689 (90.7%)	24 (1.3%)	15 (0.8%)	114 (6.1%)	374 (20.1%)	1,581 (84.9%)	663
Smith	City: Large	2,666	2,516 (94.4%)	63 (2.4%)	59 (2.2%)	15 (0.6%)	447 (16.8%)	2,044 (76.7%)	671

Source: CDE enrollment data for 2011-12. American Indian or Alaska Native and Two or More Races not included here. Locale data obtained from NCES.

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[17] One site was dropped from the study after the first year because of its inability to adhere to the criteria for participation.

The two urban schools in the study, Smith and Johnson, were under Program Improvement (PI) status for the duration of Project SOL due to their failure to make Adequate Yearly Progress. Desierto Regal and Punta del Mar, both located in border regions, were under PI status in 2010-11 and 2011-12. This is reflective of a larger phenomenon in which schools with large English learner populations enter Program Improvement status for failing to make AYP.

The high school graduation and dropout rates across the four schools varied. Punta del Mar had the highest graduation rates overall and for English learners, at 90.6% and 84.8% respectively. Johnson, the most urban school in the study, had the lowest graduation rates and the highest dropout rates. Only one in three freshmen remained by the beginning of the senior year, and more than a third of the English learners dropped out before graduating. Smith and Desierto Regal High fell somewhere in the middle, with Desierto Regal High retaining and graduating the greatest proportion of students. Statewide, the cohort graduation rate was 77% for all students, and 62% among English learners. It should be noted that the state excludes students who transferred out or emigrated to another country in calculating these graduation rates, as evidenced by the discrepancies between the graduation rates and the three-year promoting power rate.

Table 3.3

Graduation and Dropout Rates, 2010-11

	Graduation Rate (Class of 2010-11)	Dropout Rate	English Learner Graduation Rate	English Learner Dropout Rate	3-Year Promoting Power Rate
Desierto Regal	91%	8.7%	78.4%	20.3%	71%
Punta del Mar	90.6	6.5	84.8	10.3	87
Johnson	71.3	19.2	47.5	37.2	34
Smith	78	14.2	58.8	29	59

Note: Sources are California Department of Education Cohort Outcome Data for class of 2010-11, Alliance for Excellent Education

Students who graduated and went on to college at California public institutions for the most part attended the local community colleges. At Desierto Regal High, 89% of the graduates matriculating into public institutions attended a community college, with the vast majority going to the nearby Desierto Regal College (DRC). Punta del Mar graduates, who had many more postsecondary options within a 20-mile radius, were also concentrated at community colleges (69%), but were more dispersed across a range of institutions. Historically, greater numbers of Punta del Mar students have gone to the nearest community college, but in recent years more students have been going to two community colleges in a nearby city. In Los Angeles, where Smith and Johnson were located, slightly smaller proportions of graduates enrolled in community colleges (62-63%). As with the other schools, the largest pathways were to the nearby community colleges.

Table 3.4

Postsecondary Pathways of Graduates at the High School Sites, 2009

| School | Graduates | Postsecondary Enrollment (%) | | | Community College Pathways | 4-year College Pathways |
		Overall	Hispanic	English Learner		
Desierto Regal	278	73.7%	75%	70.3%	Large (1)	None
Punta del Mar	574	64.5%	64.5%	56.5%	Large (1) Medium (2)	Medium (2)
Johnson	367	64.3%	62.5%	36%	Large (1) Medium (2)	Medium (2)
Smith	556	56.3%	56.5%	33.9%	Large (1) Medium (3)	Medium (1)

Notes: Enrollment data are from 2008-09 CDE high school graduates' college enrollment, which was the most recent year available. Pathways data are from the California Postsecondary Education Commission for the same year. Large pathways are institutions that have received 50 or more students on average between 1996 and 2010. Medium pathways received 10-49 students on average over this same period.

Participants

The primary participants in this study included a subset of newcomer immigrant students at the sites described above who participated in the Project SOL pilot demonstration project. I purposively sampled from a group of 178 students who were part of Project SOL, on track to graduate in 2011 or 2012, completed their primary schooling outside of the U.S., and were newcomers in high school.[18] I excluded SOL participants who were U.S.-born and U.S.-educated, but included those who were born in the U.S. if they met the schooling requirement mentioned above.

Students meeting the study criteria were invited to complete a survey on their post-high school experiences and college transitions (described in the section that

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[18] Bernard and Ryan (2010) note that purposive sampling is appropriate for hard-to-find populations.

follows), and a group of 21 students from the survey respondents was selected for in-depth interviews regarding their high school and postsecondary experiences.

For the postsecondary interview sample, I purposively selected students who had enrolled in college after high school. Participants included 15 students from the two border region school sites (Desierto Regal and Punta del Mar) and six from the two Los Angeles area school sites (Johnson and Smith). This geographic mix resulted in students attending community colleges in and out of state, four-year public universities in California and Mexico, and for-profit institutions. In addition, one student who had chosen not to go to college was interviewed, as this student was one of a handful of the graduates to have fulfilled the a-g credit requirements for admission to a university. Taken together, this mix provided a well-rounded perspective on student postsecondary experiences across a range of contexts, as shown in Table 3.5.

Table 3.5

Postsecondary Interview Participants

Student	Birthplace	U.S. Entry	High School	High School GPA	College Enrollment	College Developmental Courses
Alfonso	Mexico	9th	Johnson	2.0	For profit	None
Alicia	Mexico	9th	Johnson	3.0	Community college	English, Math
Alma	Mexico	6th	Desierto Regal	2.28	Community college	English, Math
Blanca	Mexico	5th	Desierto Regal	2.42	Community college	English, Math
Clementina	Mexico	9th	Desierto Regal	2.48	Community college	ESL English, Math
Diego	Mexico	6th	Desierto Regal	2.18	Community college	Math
Eduardo	Mexico	10th	Desierto Regal	3.02	Community college	ESL English, Math
Ernesto	Mexico	9th	Punta del Mar	2.42	Community college	Math
Flor	El Salvador	9th	Johnson	2.70	4-year	Math
Gael	Mexico	9th	Johnson	3.08	None	N/A
Hugo	Mexico	10th	Johnson	2.38	Community college	English, Math
Inez	Mexico	6th	Desierto Regal	3.20	Community college	English, Math
Isabel	Mexico	9th	Desierto Regal	2.5	Community college	ESL English, Math
Jimena	Mexico	10th	Desierto Regal	3.78	Community college	ESL English, Math
Lorena	Mexico	8th	Punta del Mar	2.76	Mexican University	None
Magdalena	Mexico	6th	Desierto Regal	2.48	CC/ For profit	ESL English, Math
Martín	Mexico	9th	Desierto Regal	3.35	Community college	English
Monica	Mexico	7th	Smith	unknown	CC/ For profit	English, Math
Rafael	Mexico	10th	Desierto Regal	3.85	Community college	English, Math
Selena	Mexico	9th	Punta del Mar	3.53	4-year	English, Math
Teresa	Mexico	8th	Punta del Mar	2.26	Community college	ESL English, Math

Age and Origin

Survey respondents ranged from 18 to 24 years old, with a mean age of 19.8, with slightly more females (29, 51.8%) than males (27, 48.2%). All identified as Latino, and the majority were Mexican (n=51, 91.1%). There were five (8.9%) Salvadoran participants. Eighty percent of survey respondents were born outside of the U.S., as shown in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6

Birthplaces of Postsecondary Survey Respondents

	Respondents
Mexico	70.4%
	(38)
El Salvador	9.3
	(5)
U.S./California	20.4
	(11)
Total	100.0
	(54)

Fifty-one percent (27) of the survey respondents were born along the border. Most of the students born along the border were born in Mexico (77.8%), and the remaining 22.2% were born in California.

The postsecondary survey respondents were distributed across the four high school sites, but the proportion from Desierto Regal High School was almost double that of the proportions from the other three sites. Among the students interviewed, alumni of Desierto Regal High School were heavily represented as well; 52.4% of the interview sample was from this site, as shown in Table 3.7. Students at Desierto Regal tended to stay in the area and attend the same local community college (the only one in the area), and were more accessible than the students in the more urban areas, who tended to be more mobile and disbursed.

Table 3.7

U.S High Schools Attended by Study Participants

High school	Survey	Interview
Desierto Regal	41.1%	52.4%
	(23)	(11)
Punta del Mar	21.4	19.0
	(12)	(4)
Johnson	19.6	23.8
	(11)	(5)
Smith	17.9	4.8
	(10)	(1)
Total	100.0	100.0
	(56)	(21)

Table 3.8 provides a summary of the demographics of the students surveyed and interviewed (which do overlap, as the students interviewed were also surveyed). The principal difference between the broader group of students surveyed and those selected for interviews related to their postsecondary enrollment, as the interviews over-sampled students who had attended college. In addition, the levels of parent education and participation in high school extra-curricular activities were higher among the students interviewed. This is not surprising, as higher levels of parent education and involvement in high school extra-curricular activities are both positively associated with postsecondary enrollment. Students who were surveyed, but not interviewed, were more likely to be parents themselves.

Instruments

This study utilized a combination of primary and secondary data to provide a robust and longitudinal perspective on college preparation and transitions among Latino newcomers across high school and college settings. These multiple data sources established converging lines of evidence and triangulation of the data to strengthen the robustness of the findings, in keeping with the recommendations for case study research (Yin, 2008).

Table 3.8

Selected Characteristics of the Postsecondary Student and Interview Samples

	Survey (n=56)	Interview (n=21)
Nativity and time in U.S.		
Foreign born	79.6%	76.2%
California born	20.4	23.8
Border region birthplace	50.9	70.0
Average age upon migration	13.2 years	13.8 years
Average time in U.S	6.4 years	6.3 years
Immigration status*		
U.S. resident/citizen	54.2%	63.2%
Visa (student or work)	10.4	10.5
Other	33.3	26.3
Socioeconomic status		
Father is high school graduate	25.0%	36.9%
Mother is high school graduate	21.5	26.3
Parent(s) in professional field	10.2	20.0
Mother is homemaker	58.3	55.0
Family income <$35,000	96.6	100.0
Language		
Speaks English very well	11.1%	9.5%
Writes English very well	15.1	9.5
High School		
GPA	2.8	2.9
Extra-curricular activities	46.3%	70.0%
College		
Attends or attended college	55.4	95.2
GPA	2.8	2.8
Weekly hours on homework	8.3 hours	9.5 hours
Postsecondary Employment		
Employed	49.1%	47.6
Average hours worked/week	36.5 hours	30.4 hours
Family Structure		
Family household size	4.6	4.5
Lives with two parents	63.6%	66.7%
Has a child	12.5	4.8

* 14.3% (n=8) of the students surveyed declined to indicate their immigration status.

Postsecondary Transition Survey

A student survey explored both the postsecondary experiences of newcomer

Latino immigrant students and, for those who had attended college, the students'

experiences with this transition. The survey items were structured to measure various

aspects of college readiness, as described Chapter 2 and depicted in Table 3.1. For each aspect of college readiness, students were asked to rate the importance of the construct, and to identify areas where they thought they needed to improve. This measured the relative importance of each aspect of college readiness from the perspective of newcomer Latino immigrant students who were in college. The literature on newcomers in high school and college, as well as that related to undocumented students, further informed the development of the survey. For example, additional sections of the survey focused on help seeking, immigration factors, and competing roles and demands for students, since these are important factors for immigrant students in college.

In addition to developing survey items informed by the literature, preliminary interviews were conducted with community college faculty and counselors to further identify key areas of inquiry related to college readiness and immigrant students. Data from these interviews informed the development of the postsecondary transition survey items, in particular those related to immigrant students in community college. Specifically, these faculty perspectives shaped the questions related to placement testing and remediation.

Finally, I reviewed several other survey instruments in the process of developing the postsecondary student survey. These included the 2013 CIRP Freshman Experience Survey, a modified version of the CampusReady survey instrument (Lombardi, Conley, Seburn, & Downs, 2013), and instruments from dissertations on undocumented college students (Cortes, 2008; Del Razo, 2012). The CampusReady survey instrument initially provided measures of the key cognitive strategies that were later eliminated after piloting. The instruments from the recent dissertations yielded three items on

perceptions of discrimination and the opportunity structure for immigrants. The CIRP survey was used as a model for structuring the demographic questions.

During the process of revising the student survey to reduce it to a reasonable administration time (less than 30 minutes), several items were omitted. Some of these items, particularly those that were open-ended, were incorporated into the student interview protocol. For example, the initial version of the survey included items related to the key cognitive strategies, but in piloting it was determined these concepts were too abstract to assess via the survey. As a result, these items were eliminated from the survey and reserved for the interview protocol.

The final version of the survey included 135 items. The items encompassed background variables, including demographic information, college enrollment status and degree program, household composition, and employment status. Several items solicited details on transitions to college, including the placement testing process, remediation, and counseling experiences. Participants reported their facility with English and Spanish and history of ESL, and self-reported their level of preparation across content areas and academic skills and behaviors. Several items focused on help-seeking, which had emerged as a key area in the review of the literature, as well as various aspects of college knowledge. The most potentially sensitive items were reserved for the final section, which included questions regarding place of birth, documentation status, and family background.

Prior to administering the survey, it was piloted with a group of bilingual, Latino community college students who were participants in the Puente program. These students provided minimal feedback on the survey, but their participation made it possible to gauge the administration time. The survey was also piloted with several bilingual graduate students who provided substantive comments on the clarity and

flow of the survey items. Given its comprehensive structure, the survey data applied to all three of the study research questions. A bilingual copy of the survey is provided in the appendix.

Postsecondary Transition Interviews

The postsecondary interviews were a rich source of data for research question one (students' transitions to U.S. high schools), question two (postsecondary transitions), and question three (alignment of college readiness definitions with students' needs). Interview data explained the processes underlying the themes that emerged in the survey data, and also allowed for the identification of additional themes not evident in the survey data.

As with the survey, the existing models of college readiness and literature identifying specific factors salient to newcomer Latino immigrant students drove the development of the protocol. For example, to assess students' levels of academic preparation for college, students were asked to describe their awareness of and access to college preparatory courses, as well as if this was affected by ESL requirements. Because the literature points to the importance of providing college information to first generation and immigrant students whose parents are typically less familiar with U.S. higher education systems, students detailed their relationships with their high school counselors.

The key cognitive strategies, which had proved difficult to assess via the survey instrument, were also challenging to include in the interview protocol. This is because the kinds of higher-order thinking skills articulated in the model are taught and learned are embedded in coursework. One does not learn "research" or "problem

solving" in isolation of a content area.[19] In recognition of the nested reality of the constructs, students were asked to detail particular assignments or projects that they had encountered in college that had been especially interesting or challenging, and then probed on the extent to which these required them to employ higher order thinking skills.

To understand students' levels of academic preparation as they transitioned to college, students described placement testing processes, developmental coursework, and specific areas of academic challenge. Examples of challenging assignments were elicited to obtain concrete examples of the extent to which students were encountering coursework that was cognitively demanding. The protocol solicited whether students had sought help or support in college, and the extent to which they felt a sense of belonging on campus, because these emerged as key areas of importance in the literature. Students identified study habits and academic behaviors they considered to be important for success in college, to examine if the student perceptions of areas of importance aligned with those in college readiness models. The interviews thus systemically explored college readiness in terms of academic preparation, academic behaviors, and college knowledge—how these areas developed (or did not) in high school, and how prepared (or unprepared) students perceived themselves to be once they were in college.

The postsecondary transition interviews also examined, in a broader sense, the multiple educational transitions that students experienced: their pre-migration schooling experiences, their initial experiences in U.S. high schools, and their postsecondary transitions. Two grand tour questions solicited rich descriptions of

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[19] The assessment system that Conley and colleagues have designed to assess the key cognitive strategies is a task-based formative assessment that teachers embed in their instruction and implement over several weeks. See Conley, Lombardi, Seburn, & McGaughy, 2009.

students' initial experiences with the U.S. K-12 system and entry into higher education. Students were also asked to share their prior schooling experiences, and to compare these with their U.S. schooling experiences. Students shared their greatest sources of stress, including those related to work, family, and finances, and offered advice at multiple points both to students like themselves and schools seeking to better prepare newcomers to graduate and go to college.

Secondary Data Sources

Between 2008 and 2012, extensive documentation of the Project SOL implementation was collected. These data included high school observations (n=270), high school student interviews (n=28), teacher, counselor, and administrator interviews (n=19), and high school student surveys (n=206). Student transcripts and test scores for the students in the postsecondary interview sample were reviewed as well. These data provided robust background information on the students surveyed and interviewed, as well as longitudinal documentation of students' transitions to and experiences in high school.

In addition, district and institutional policies regarding testing, course access for English learners, and credit policies were researched to seek explanations for variations in students' experiences that emerged from the survey and interview data. These data were obtained from district and college websites, and through telephone inquiries with testing and district offices and documented the district policies underlying the variations in student experiences across districts.

<div align="center">Procedures</div>

Initially, I planned to restrict my sampling to students who were known to have graduated from one of the four Project SOL high school sites in 2011 or 2012 (n=68).

However, given the high mobility among the students, I opted to broaden the sampling frame to include all of the students who had participated in Project SOL and been on track to graduate in 2011 or 2012 (n=169). This allowed me to sample from the students who had graduated from one of the original high school sites, but also those who moved, transferred to another high school, and/or dropped out. This strategy proved advantageous over the one initially planned, as some of the students who had withdrawn ended up later enrolling in college, and became part of the postsecondary interview sample.

Multiple recruitment strategies were employed to obtain the sample. To incentivize participation, students who completed the survey received a $10 gift card to Amazon and were entered into a drawing for an iPod Touch. In total, I attempted to recruit 169 students (although not all could be contacted), and 56 students completed the postsecondary survey, 21 of whom also participated in an interview.

Most of these students (82%) had been contacted initially via Facebook. The Project SOL Facebook page, which I had been maintaining since 2011, was a critical tool for recruitment. Prior to beginning subject recruitment, I conducted an exhaustive search on Facebook for the students known to have participated in SOL and in the classes of 2011 and 2012. Through this search, I was able to locate 119 (70.8%) of the students. Each of these individuals was sent a bilingual personalized Facebook message inviting them to participate, which included links to Spanish, English, and bilingual versions of the survey.

The Facebook chat messaging feature was used to follow up with students, and to make more personal requests for their participation in real time when they were online. This also provided a way for students to ask questions, such as "what is the survey about?" and "how do I take it?" Several students who did not respond to the

initial invitation to participate in the survey completed it after being contacted via chat.

Most of the students (n=50, 79.4%) who could not be located on Facebook were sent an invitation via postal service to their last known address. For students who were known to have moved out of the area (n=8) or who had no address on file (n=5), no letter was sent. In addition, a separate mailing was completed to reach the 119 students who had been initially contacted via Facebook. About 10% of the invitation letters were returned because of an incorrect or obsolete address. In addition to the Facebook recruitment and mailings, students were contacted by phone to request their participation. In total, recruiting this modest sample of 56 survey respondents required a great deal of daily time and effort over the course of seven weeks.

Twenty-one students were selected from the survey respondents to participate in interviews. This was primarily a convenience sample of students who were currently or previously enrolled in college. As previously noted, one additional student who had not enrolled in college was interviewed as well.

The majority of the interviews (12 out of 21) were conducted at the colleges that students attended, typically in the cafeteria or a quiet common area outside. Five interviews were held at coffee shops, two were conducted via Skype, and two were conducted in students' homes. Students selected their preferred location and time for the interview, and received a cash reimbursement of $25 for their time. One respondent declined the reimbursement. When interviews were conducted in a coffee shop, I offered and paid for food and drinks for the participants. Interviews averaged one hour in length and were digitally audio recorded. All of the interviews were conducted in Spanish and were professionally transcribed by a native Spanish speaker. All of the transcriptions were stored and coded using NVivo software.

Analysis

Multiple strategies were used to ensure a rigorous analysis of the data. These included interview summaries, analytic memos, profile matrices, and multiple rounds of coding. In addition, the survey data provided quantitative evidence to further validate the findings from the interviews.

Interview Summaries

An important preliminary portion of the data analysis began with the detailed summaries of each interview. I wrote these immediately following each of the postsecondary student interviews and included not only a summary of the students' responses to the questions in the protocol, but also thoughts on emerging themes, italicized, to be distinguished from the factual summaries in the interviews. These summaries also included impressions of the participant and notes on the setting, and in that way, ensured that I would be able to clearly associate each summary with the appropriate individuals.

Analytic Memos

Three analytic memos were written throughout the coding process to document analytic decisions, develop hypotheses, and organize insights related to specific aspects of analysis or cases. The first of these memos was a log of coding decisions, which was periodically revisited, as some coding categories were later revised and/or combined with one another. All of these decisions were documented to ensure consistency in the implementation of coding decisions throughout the dataset.

A second memo was created in tandem with the coding of the student interviews to track themes and anecdotes pertaining to student transitions to the U.S., to high school, and to college. This document was useful in identifying key variables related to each transition point, as well as tracking examples to later revisit in-depth.

Many of the themes documented in this memo later emerged as key sections of the results chapters.

A third analytic memo was maintained throughout the coding process to document themes related to aspects of college readiness in the conceptual model guiding the study: key cognitive strategies, key content knowledge, key learning skills and techniques, and key transition skills (college knowledge).

Coding Schema

Descriptive and holistic codes were used in the first cycle of coding (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Saldaña, 2009). These descriptive codes included the elements of college readiness established in the literature (described in Table 3.1). Holistic codes were used to "chunk" the data into broad areas of importance that emerged from the initial postsecondary interview summaries (Saldaña, 2009).

The NVivo codebook included 32 descriptive codes in parent nodes, several of which also had child nodes. Where data were coded under child nodes, they were also coded at the level of the parent node to permit analysis across broader categories. The coding strategy allowed for both inductive and deductive analysis. The codes pertaining to the elements of college readiness permitted a deductive analysis of the prevalence of the various elements of college readiness in experiences of Latino newcomer students preparing for and transitioning to college. The holistic codes facilitated an inductive assessment of immigrant students' preparation for and transitions to college.

In addition, each of the qualitative data sources was assigned attribute codes for the participant category (i.e. high school student, college student, high school teacher, etc.), institution, gender, and data type (interview or observation). These attribute

codes allowed for later running queries limited for any combination of these categories.

Profile Matrices

For the postsecondary student interviews, profile matrices were constructed in Excel to facilitate comparisons across cases, summarizing students' experiences across more than 40 high school and college-level variables. The matrices were also utilized to organize data on students' high school course-taking experiences, credits for coursework completed outside of the U.S., and test scores, which were later critical to identifying some of the differences in students' experiences by school and district. The matrices facilitated quantification of themes that emerged from the qualitative data, to verify the prevalence of themes and patterns as they emerged. They also served to reduce and verify the data (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Bernard & Ryan, 2010).

Second Cycle Coding

Once all of the qualitative data sources had been coded in NVivo, a second wave of coding was conducted. Queries were run to extract all portions of data related to the broad themes that had emerged as most prevalent during the first cycle of coding, in analytic memos, and in the summaries of the interviews:

- Prior schooling
- Transitions
- High school access to college preparatory courses
- Work experiences
- Career awareness
- Counseling experiences
- Developmental education
- Family and Parents
- Immigration issues
- Key cognitive strategies
- Academic skills and behaviors
- Placement testing
- Postsecondary awareness
- Postsecondary costs
- College rigor and expectations

- College challenges
- College choice process
- College ELA
- College ESL
- College transitions

These queried data were then printed and coded by hand for more specific themes, which were assigned pattern codes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). At the same time, the queried data served to refine and consolidate the categories and summaries on the profile matrices, which served as a further check for validity.

All of the emerging themes and bits of data from the analytic memos, interview summaries, and second round of queries were organized topically into a master document, which subsequently became the basis for the outlines of the results chapters.

Survey Data Analysis

All of the student survey data, from the high school student surveys and the postsecondary student surveys, were imported and analyzed in Stata.

Project SOL Surveys

Analysis of the high school survey data was limited to the few items that pertained directly to the research questions for this study. There were eight waves of survey data collected over a four-year span, with some overlap in participants from year to year and much missing data due to student mobility. I opted to limit my analysis to the Fall 2011 (n=136) and Spring 2012 (n=206) administrations of the survey, which were the most recent, had the greatest number of participants, and included some variables that had not been in the earlier versions of the survey. The items analyzed included those related to the college choice process, experiences with the club component of Project SOL, and counseling experiences.

Postsecondary Surveys

An initial comprehensive analysis of the 289 variables in the postsecondary student survey was conducted. Given the small number of participants, the majority of this analysis was limited to descriptive statistics and cross tabulations. After meeting with the UCLA Statistical Consulting Lab, I also conducted chi square tests to measure the significance of relationships identified through the cross-tabulations.

The student survey data provided a useful complement to the interview findings, particularly in comparing outcomes across regions, genders, and those who attended college with those who did not. Survey data were analyzed iteratively, as the themes emerged from the interview data motivated further, more nuanced analysis of the survey data.

Limitations

This study made use of archival data that were collected between 2008 and 2012. While I was familiar with these data as a member of the research team, the data were not immediately analyzed, as is recommended for case study research. Furthermore, the secondary data were collected as part of a pilot demonstration project, and as a result much of the data did not bear directly on the research questions for the present study. The authenticity of secondary data collected for a different purpose is a limitation (Bernard & Ryan, 2010). Nonetheless, these data provided important records of the different kinds of high school contexts for immigrant students, and the day-to-day challenges of trying to foster college readiness in under-resourced schools, both in urban and border regions.

The generalizability of the findings from this study is limited. To begin with, the study utilized data from a select group of students: students who participated in the Project SOL intervention. In order to be eligible for participation, these students were supposed to be within "striking distance" of being at grade level, which may have

eliminated newcomer peers who had inferior academic preparation. Moreover, as participants in this intervention, students not only had access to bilingual college preparatory courses that would not have been available otherwise, and were identified by their teachers, counselors, and administrators as students who were "college bound." Thus, this may have had a signaling effect that shaped their experiences in important ways, even beyond the specific components of the intervention.

In collecting additional data from the students on their post-high school experiences, the initial aim was to obtain survey and interview samples that equally represented students by gender and high school. Recruitment proved a challenge, in part because of the high levels of mobility among the students, and the final sample included greater proportions of students from the border regions, and among the college students interviewed, young women.

The perspectives of the students who did not manage to complete high school and/or go on to college are not equally represented here. This is in part because this study was concerned with process of students' college transitions, but there may have been valuable additional insights into the ways in which students were pushed out or prevented from continuing their education with greater participation from these students. Moreover, undocumented students were a minority, and rich picture of their experiences does not emerge from the present findings.

Since there was not comparison group, the inferences that can be made from the survey data on the importance of various aspects of college readiness are limited. We gain a sense of whether or not students in this study found various aspects to be valid, but do not know, quantitatively, which elements are more or less important for this group of students.

Taken together, the story that is presented here provides valuable insights, but these data and voices speak to the experiences of a relatively privileged and successful group of Latino newcomers who had the benefit in participating in a special program that provided additional resources. The students who completed the postsecondary survey were more likely to have graduated from high school than the larger group of students who participated in Project SOL, and those who were interviewed had, with the exception of one student, persisted through high school and onto college.

Chapter 4: Newcomers' High School Experiences

In many respects, preparing Latino newcomers for postsecondary education is similar to preparing any other student. All students must accrue certain credits and content knowledge in order to be academically prepared (or at least eligible) for high school graduation and college. There are systems that all students need to learn to navigate, such as the college and financial aid application processes. Like other low-income and/or first-generation college students, many newcomers rely on their schools to guide them through these processes. But there are also ways in which preparing immigrant students for the next phase of their education is critically different at the high school level. These students' non-U.S. schooling experiences, often limited understanding of the U.S. educational systems (K-12 and higher), and status as emergent bilinguals who nonetheless must pass high school exit exams and varying amounts of mainstream English coursework all point to the need for educators and counselors who are able to address these unique issues appropriately.

When they enter high school most newcomers are labeled as English Learners, which more often than not, carries serious consequences for the courses they are allowed to take, and the perceptions that teachers and counselors have of them. It is too often assumed that these students are unlikely to go to college, or even to complete high school, and they are not channeled into courses or experiences that will prepare them for next steps as a result. They are also likely to be tracked into remedial, non-credit-bearing, and ELD classes where their peers are other immigrant (or slower learning) students who lack cultural and social capital. These students may support each other in important ways, but informally communicated knowledge about postsecondary opportunities does not routinely occur among these more marginalized

students.   As noted in Chapter 2, newcomers, particularly those of Mexican origin, are much less likely to graduate; an estimated 43% leave school before graduating (Oropesa & Landale, 2009). At most, 42% of recent arrivals are estimated to go to college (Passel & Cohn, 2009).

This chapter examines the experiences of Latino newcomer immigrant students as they transitioned into U.S. high schools. It explores the extent to which these students were able to develop college readiness, and the kinds of high school contexts that supported college preparation and access. College readiness, for the purposes of the present study, encompasses the knowledge, skills, and behaviors necessary to enroll and succeed in college. In this study, I am defining "college" broadly, to refer to any kind of postsecondary education, whether it is a university, community college, or vocational program of study.

I begin by exploring one of the key differences between these students and their non-immigrant peers: schooling experiences outside of the U.S. I then examine these students' initial transitions to the U.S., including the extent to which their content knowledge and skills were recognized and validated when they came to the U.S. Since one of the principal ways in which college readiness is defined concerns the accrual of content knowledge, both in terms of understanding and credits, I next compare the factors that enabled and hindered access to college preparatory courses for these students. Next, I detail how college knowledge developed among the students and their parents, focusing on the adults, peers, and structures that provided this information to students and parents. The chapter concludes with a summary of the findings.

Prior Schooling Experiences

The amount and quality of prior schooling among immigrants in U.S. high schools is closely linked to their academic success (Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000;

Weffer, 1992). The students in this study had completed much of their K-12 schooling outside of the U.S.; the majority of the survey participants in this study attended elementary school and middle school completely outside of the U.S. On average, the highest grade completed outside of the U.S. was the 8th grade, and the mean arrival age was 13. Table 4.1 summarizes the countries in which the students surveyed went to school for elementary, middle, and high school. It is important to note that this sample is not representative of all newcomer students, as it focuses specifically on newcomers who were recent arrivals in high school.

Table 4.1

School Attendance by Level and Country (n=56)

	Mexico	El Salvador	U.S. and Mexico	U.S.	Total
Elementary	87.5%	10.7%	1.8%	0%	100.0%
	(49)	(6)	(1)	(0)	(56)
Middle	50.0	7.1	26.8	16.1	100.0
	(28)	(4)	(15)	(9)	(56)
High	0	0	7.1	92.9	100.0
	(0)	(0)	(4)	(52)	(56)

These non-U.S. schooling experiences meant that, as they entered high school, students drew from a dual frame of reference (Suárez-Orozco, 1987; Ogbu, 1993). They brought transnational knowledge, but at the same time, had more adjusting to do than others who had already acculturated to the U.S. system. The following section describes, from the perspective of students, some of the key aspects of their prior schooling experiences in Mexico,[20] and how these differed from what they encountered in the U.S. educational system. Understanding the commonalities and variations across

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[20] The focus here is on Mexican schooling experiences because 20 out of 21 of the students interviewed had Mexican schooling experiences, and there was insufficient data on Salvadoran schooling experiences. The Mexican Department of Education, however, contends that other Latin American nations, especially Central American, have very similar schooling systems (Gándara, 2014 personal communication).

prior schooling experiences is essential to preparing newcomers for success in high school and beyond.

Key Educational System Differences

Mexico has a highly stratified school system in which many of the students who are more privileged attend private schools.[21] Almost all of the students interviewed attended public schools, which is consistent with national averages in Mexico.[22] Ever since Mexico's defeat in the Mexican-American war, a core obligation of Mexican public schools has been to foster national unity by teaching students to love and respect Mexico (Zúñiga & Hamann, 2006). There is a range of upper secondary schooling (high school) options in Mexico, public and private, some of which require admissions exams. Mexican high school students follow either an academic university preparatory track or a professional technical education track. Graduates of a university preparatory program receive a *bachillerato* or *preparatorio* credential, while those who complete a technical program are titled with a *título de técnico professional* (Clark & Monroy, 2013).

The secundaria (equivalent to middle school, grades 7-9) became compulsory in 1992, but high school (grades 10-12) only became compulsory in the 2012-13 academic year. However, the country lacks the capacity to enforce this, and most Mexicans still do not complete high school. While Mexico's overall attainment rates have been increasing steadily over the past decade, the enrollment rates among 15-19 years olds remain the lowest among OECD countries at 56% (OECD, 2013). In comparison to other Latin American countries, Mexicans ages 15-19 rank third in average years of total schooling, slightly trailing Cuba and Bolivia with an average of 10.08 years (World Bank, 2014).

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[21] In 2012-13, 92% of Mexican students enrolled in secondary schools attended a public institution (Secretaria de Educación Pública, 2013).

Structural differences.

In remembering their schooling experiences before coming to the U.S., students typically noted differences related to the school structure and schedule. In Mexican middle schools, student cohorts stay intact, much as they do in elementary school in the U.S. Teachers for different subjects rotate into the classroom throughout the day. The school day itself is shorter as well; students described coming home from school at noon or one. Attendance was described as "optional," which contrasted sharply with the expectations students encountered in U.S. schools. A male college student now studying at a border community college summarized the differences as follows:

> Eduardo: En la secundaria tienes un horario de 7:30 a 1:00 de la tarde. Muchas veces salíamos a las 12:00. Solo un salón los tres años. En la primaria los 6 años con tus mismos compañeros, los otros 3 años de la secundaria con los mismos compañeros de clase. Allá no cambias de salón, entra el maestro, sale el maestro; los maestros son los que cambian. Aquí es todo al revés; eres tu el que cambias, cada clase tienes compañeros diferentes, como un mundo mucho más grande que en el que allá vives.

> Eduardo: In middle school you have a schedule from 7:30 to 1:00 pm. Many times we left at 12:00. Only one classroom in three years. In elementary school, for six years with your own classmates, the other three years of middle school with the same classmates. There you don't change classrooms, the teacher comes in, the teacher leaves; the teachers are the ones that change. Here everything is the other way around; you're the one that changes, every class you have different classmates, it's a much larger world than what you live there.

The transition to high school is a difficult time for students in the United States. It is associated with achievement loss (Alspaugh, 1998) and declines in attendance (Barone, Aguirre-Deandreis, & Trickett, 1991) and psychological functioning (Benner & Graham, 2009). For newcomers in U.S. high schools, this loss of a cohort model in tandem with adapting to a new culture, language, and school made things particularly challenging. Most of their peers had three years in middle school to adapt to changing classrooms, teachers, and classmates for

each period of the day. Newcomers in high schools found this structural difference, along with the size of comprehensive high schools, to be one of the most challenging aspects of their transition, at least initially.

Rigor and respect.

"Yo siento que la high school en México es más como el colegio y no otra cosa"

Several of the students interviewed described Mexican schools as more advanced than those in the U.S., citing both differences in the content and pedagogy. For example, in Mexico, chemistry is typically taken in the ninth grade, but few of the students in the study had the opportunity to take chemistry in the United States.[23] Clementina, a student from Mexicali, noted that her friends who had remained in Mexico knew more than she did in subjects such as chemistry and physics. She described seeing their posts on Facebook complaining about studying until midnight, and contrasted that with her experiences in the U.S., where "you do your work in class and go to bed early."

Since most of the students had migrated to the U.S. prior to entering high school, they had relatively less direct experience to speak from. Hugo who had attended high school in Mexico City described a very rigorous system that more closely paralleled his experiences in community college than in U.S. high school. He indicated that several of the classes he had taken in high school in Mexico were only offered in at the college level in the U.S., and described a high school admission process in Mexico that paralleled the U.S. college admissions process. At the end of 9th grade, when students complete the *secundaria* (equivalent to middle school), students receive a

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[23] Chemistry was one of the courses offered through the Project SOL intervention, but at two of the four school sites it was not offered because there were no bilingual teachers credentialed in chemistry available to teach it.

comprehensive transcript to apply to upper secondary education (Clark & Monroy, 2013).

The use of multiple choice exams, which students frequently encountered in the U.S., was much less prevalent in Mexican schools, and students noted that they had been required to study more when they were in Mexico, even in the lower grades.

> Jimena: Allá los exámenes siempre son escritos, te hacen una pregunta y tú tienes que contestarla. Acá casi siempre son preguntas de selección múltiple . . . En México por eso los hacen estudiar un poco más, porque se dice que en México está más avanzada la educación que en Estados Unidos . . . Por eso estudias más porque tienes que memorizarlas y estudiártelas.

> Jimena: There the exams are always written, they ask a question and you have to answer it. Here it's almost always multiple choice questions . . . In Mexico, because of that, they make you study a little more, that's why they say education in Mexico is more advanced than in the United States . . . So you study more because you have to memorize and study.

In addition to more rigorous assessments, students noted that there were very few options for students who failed courses in Mexico, and contrasted this with the U.S. system, which permitted students to retake classes if they failed them. According to Hugo, students who had failed a class had the option to retake the exam multiple times, through the "examen extraordinario" system, but if they were unsuccessful, they may eventually be expelled and forced to go to another school. A high achieving student explained how many of his peers came to take school less seriously in the U.S. because of the perceived leniency with those who failed:

> Rafael: En México si te reprueban. Ellos vieron como que no los reprobaban cada vez que sacaban una F o un grado bajo …te dan muchas oportunidades en ese aspecto es la gran diferencia de México a aquí.

> Rafael: In Mexico, they do flunk you. They [immigrant students] saw that they weren't flunking us every time they got an F or low grade . . . you get lots of opportunities and that is the big difference from Mexico to here.

In actuality, failing classes in the U.S. had many negative consequences for students. Being permitted to retake classes did not negate the negative impact on their GPAs. and cost them critical time. Moreover, repeating courses resulted in more time in the ESL/ELD sequence, potentially delaying access to classes needed to graduate and lengthening the time to graduation.

In addition to noting differences in the level of rigor and leniency in Mexican schools, students articulated a level of respect for the teachers that contrasted with the treatment of U.S. teachers. Mexican teachers, they said, are treated as authorities, and with respect and admiration. One male student from Mexico explained:

> Hugo: En México, es más como . . . un maestro lo ves como una autoridad, alguien que tienes que respetar y que lo que él diga es algo que no tiene que ser cuestionable y no estoy diciendo que lo tengas que hacer, pero es algo que tu respetas y admiras más que nada.

> Hugo: In Mexico, it's more like . . . a teacher you see him/her as an authority, someone you have to respect and what he says is something that is not questionable and I'm not saying you have to do it, but it is something that you respect and admire more than anything.

Respect for authority, including not raising voices to elders, is a core aspect of good character and being *bien educado* in Mexican families (Valdés, 1996). This value for good manners markedly contrasts with U.S. individualism. This sentiment of students from Mexico was echoed by one community college math instructor, who had taught newcomers at the high school level, whom she described as the most respectful of her students (and also her favorite students). At the same time, this tradition can lead to not asking questions, even to clarify understanding, which is something that U.S. teachers rely upon. Moreover, the culture of not asking questions results in many Mexican students viewing a "good student" as one who is quiet and does not actively participate, something that is viewed quite the opposite in the U.S., where raising one's hand and offering an opinion is one way to get a better grade.

Variations in Student Experiences

While students perceived that they had taken more advanced courses and encountered more challenging coursework prior to migrating, their levels of preparation as described by their high school teachers varied considerably.[24] Project SOL teachers, in their efforts to teach rigorous math and science courses, encountered some students with low basic math skills and Spanish literacy, as well as some students with very strong preparation, all of whom were sometimes in the same classroom. This resulted in teachers sometimes having to re-teach basic skills in courses such as algebra, taking away for the time to teach algebra itself. One of the Project SOL math teachers explained:

> There are some students that come from other countries that have no foundation in math whatsoever, you know. It's like, literally teaching a first grader, I want to say, or second grader, you know? Because you're literally teaching them how to add and subtract, you know, and you're expected to teach them algebra.

However, while there were some students lacking basic skills, there were also examples of students with strong academic preparation who in fact helped the bilingual teachers to understand the Spanish curriculum that was being used in the intervention. The kinds of students teachers encountered also varied from one year to the next. A science teacher at a Los Angeles high school noted that for the first two years of his participation in Project SOL, he had "really, really advanced students" who were very comfortable with the curriculum, but that these students had left and the current wave of immigrant students was primarily from rural areas where "the level of education there is not that competitive as the main city."

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[24] Given that the Project SOL intervention was intended for students who were within "striking distance" of being at grade-level, the wide variation of experiences among the students is likely even less than what might be found in a random sample.

Changes in the characteristics of the newcomer student population occurred when the school's overall population of English learners decreased. Since 2006, the net migration flow from Mexico had dropped precipitously, with return migration to Mexico likely exceeding the outflow (Passel, Cohn, & González-Barrera, 2012). This speaks to the importance of recognizing the dynamic nature of migration and the limitations of any generalizations that might be made about immigrant students, even those who share many of the same background characteristics, such as country of origin, time in residency, and age. While U.S. teachers may often encounter students with a range of abilities and backgrounds in their classrooms, the variation that emerges from international educational experiences requires an additional level of understanding that is not only pedagogical, but also cultural and historical.

In short, for the students in the present study, their pre-migration educational experiences had enduring effects both on their levels of preparation and their notions of what schooling could and should be. The experiences among newcomers, even those with similar levels of time in residency and largely from the same county of origin varied considerably. What they shared in common was that these formative experiences were critically important, but largely not recognized or understood once they came to the U.S. This is detailed further in the following section.

Transitions to the U.S. Educational System

Schools serve as the primary site of integration for newcomer students, but students tended to receive little orientation when they arrived. Given the tremendous variations in their experiences, it is all the more critical to carefully assess their prior education, but the extent to which U.S. schools were equipped to assess and place students minimizing repetition and/or extraneous electives varied considerably.

Transfer Documents and Course Placement

One of the challenges that newcomers encounter when they come to the U.S. is receiving credit for courses they have taken elsewhere, so that they can be placed appropriately. One mechanism for smoothing this transition for students coming from Mexico is a Transfer Document, which provides a record of a student's schooling history that includes information about the student's grade level, subject matter, and grades, and are intended to facilitate smoother transitions for students going between U.S. and Mexican schools. When done correctly and linked to course placement, transcript analysis has been found to prevent the common practice of placing ninth graders in classes they had already taken (Gutiérrez, 2009).

However, fewer than half (n=23, 41%) of the students surveyed affirmed that they had a Transfer Document. Others said they did not (33.9%) or did not know (25%). While these numbers may seem low, they are actually relatively robust in comparison to the limited data elsewhere on awareness and use of the Transfer Document. Gándara's (2008) evaluation of Mexican-sponsored educational programs in the U.S. found that U.S. schools were largely unaware of the documents, and Mexico's Institute for Mexicans Abroad (*Instituto de los Mexicanos en el Exterior*), which bears much of the responsibility for processing transfer documents had reported that only a quarter of Mexican students returning to Mexico from the United States each year had such a document.

Given the limited usage of the Transfer Document, it is not surprising that only about a third of students (35.7%) reported receiving credit for classes they had taken outside of the U.S. The few students in the in-depth sample (n=5) who had records on their transcripts of credit for courses completed in Mexico were from the border region high schools. Three had arrived for 10th grade, and had received 60 to 75 transfer

credits toward the 220 needed to graduate (27.3 to 34% of the overall requirement). These students were all at Desierto Regal, a school that routinely processed immigrant students from Mexico and was well versed in analyzing course credits. The other two students had received credits for two to three semesters of Spanish and attended the other border region school (Punta del Mar).

Six of the 21 students interviewed (28.6%) indicated that they had repeated courses in high school (and even college) that they took in middle school, such as algebra. This course repetition in math, and the placement into multiple sections of ESL and sometimes what seemed like extraneous electives, made some students feel like they were not learning anything at all for their first year or two of high school. Students affirmed they were not receiving credit for coursework they had completed in Mexico; one female student stated:

> Alma: Porque hacen que tomes álgebra1 otra vez y en realidad allá, desde que estás como en 5to o 6to te dan álgebra 1 ya. Como álgebra 1 yo pienso que deberían como de hacerla valida aquí también y ya pasar directamente a geometría.

> Alma: Because they make you take Algebra 1 again and actually there, from the time you are in 5th or 6th [grade] they give you Algebra 1. Algebra 1 I think they should make it valid here, too, and pass you directly to geometry.

All of the schools did have systems in place to receive students from other countries, including analyzing transcripts for articulation with the schools' requirements (when such documents were available). However, receiving credit toward high school graduation for coursework already completed did not necessarily prevent students from having to repeat coursework. At one of the border high schools, two of the strongest students in their school (Jimena and Rafael, ranking 28 and 21 of 382 in their class, respectively), both had to take algebra again as sophomores, even though they had already taken it in Mexico while in middle school. Project SOL implementation

94

records noted a policy at one of the schools of placing students in algebra to prepare them to take the CAHSEE their sophomore year. So, while they received one year of math credit via their Mexican coursework, applicable toward the math credits needed to graduate, these credits did not afford them immediate access to the next class in the sequence, which would have been geometry, and it is unclear why.

It is difficult to ascertain the extent to which students' perceptions of the content of algebra in Mexico and algebra in U.S. high schools were accurate. This is because of the failure to align the U.S. and Mexican educational systems. Given that education is highly centralized in Mexico and much more decentralized in the U.S., this has historically presented a tremendous challenge. But, in addition to the logistical difficulties resulting from the lack of symmetry in the educational systems, there has been an enduring lack of political will to dedicate the resources necessary for creating, and maintaining aligned curricula, with the exception of the regional-level partnerships that some U.S. states have entered into directly with Mexico (Martinez-Wenzl, 2013).

Taking Unnecessary Classes

In spite of the limited timeframe students had to complete their high school graduation credit requirements and master English, some students described taking classes they did not need. Flor, now in college and an aspiring engineer, complained of the woodworking classes she had to take. Monica, who ended up repeating her senior year because she was lacking the credits she needed to graduate, had taken a music class twice, stated, "estaban dando muchas clases electivas y no tanto de las que ocupas" (they were giving a lot of electives and not so much the ones that you need).

Students were also at times placed in extended sequence math and science classes, such as extended algebra and introduction to biology, which doubled the

length of time to complete the course. Hugo contrasted the course placement practices in the U.S. with those in Mexico:

> Hugo: En México...tomas las clases que necesitas graduarte. No te dan cosas que no necesitas, o sea, lo que tomas es lo que vas a necesitar para graduarte. Y aquí hay materias que las tomas y no las vas a usar.

> Hugo: In Mexico, you take the classes you need to graduate. They don't give you classes you don't need, that is, what you take is what you will need to graduate. And here you take subjects that you aren't going to use.

In Mexican high school, electives are not a core part of the curriculum as they are in the U.S. Students noted that, had they stayed in Mexico, they would have begun a course of study aligned with their career while in high school. With this frame of reference, newcomers initially assumed that the course of study they were provided in U.S. high schools was aligned with graduation requirements, not knowing initially about the tracking practices or optional courses and how these impacted academic outcomes. For Flor, one of her greatest regrets from high school was not seeking out more help from her high school counselors early on, to clarify which classes she needed to graduate.

Accessing the College Track

As participants in Project SOL, students in the study had access to bilingual math and science courses that were previously less available to English learners at their high schools. Nonetheless, among the students who participated in Project SOL and graduated in 2011 and 2012, only four of the 51 graduates, or 8 percent, were confirmed as to have fulfilled all of their a-g requirements. Students in particular had difficulty fulfilling the a-g English and elective requirements. Students who attended high schools in the border regions had much greater access to bilingual courses that fulfilled a-g subject requirements. Moreover, there were examples of how some

96

students were proactive in advocating for themselves, both individually and collectively.

As described in the preceding section, not receiving credit for coursework and knowledge resulted in repeating content, which delayed, and at times prevented, students' access to college preparatory courses. This section examines students' experiences in ELD/ESL sequences, the extent to which districts counted (and did not count) this coursework toward the English credits required to graduate, and the policies causing variation across districts.

ESL Course taking and Time in ESL

Being classified as English Learners and ESL/ELD course sequences defined much of students' high school experiences. Among the students interviewed, there was wide variation in the length of time students remained in ESL/ELD sequences. On average, students in the interview sample were in ESL/ELD courses for 3.3 years, which is very little time considering oral proficiency in English generally takes about three to five years, and developing academic English can require seven years or more (Hakuta, Butler, & Witt, 2000). Most of the students who came to the U.S. for 9th or 10th grade remained in ELD/ESL sequences until the 12th grade, sometimes midway through the year, at which time they contended with completing the remaining English credits required for high school graduation. The extent to which being identified as an English Learner was linked to access to college preparatory courses and mainstream English varied depending on district policy, as did the manner in which districts counted (or did not count) ESL/ELD classes toward English high school graduation requirements, all of which had important implications for students' ability to graduate and persist to postsecondary education.

Students who moved out of ELD quickly.

The students in the in-depth sample who progressed most rapidly through ESL/ELD had the benefit of things such as: 1) strong parental advocacy, 2) proactive counselors who helped them identify ways to move more quickly through the sequence, 3) transfer credits from Mexico for English, and/or 4) made strategic choices.

For example, Selena was from a privileged family (her father was a judge in Mexico) and had attended private school prior to migrating to the U.S., where a large portion of her school day was dedicated to English instruction. When she arrived in the U.S. for 9th grade, she initially was placed in an intermediate ELD class, but found the class too easy, and within weeks, in part due to her mother's advocacy, moved into an advanced ELD class. By her sophomore year, she was in mainstream English classes, and by her senior year she was in the honors English class.

In addition to Selena, there were four other students in the depth-sample who completed their ELD requirements in just two years, all of whom attended the same border high school in an agricultural region.[25] Three of these students had come to the U.S. in the 10th grade and were also among the few in the sample to receive credit for coursework they had completed in Mexico. One of these students had bypassed the most basic ELD courses in her initial placement, as Selena had, but the others began and completed the entire sequence in just two years, which they accomplished by making sacrifices and strategic choices. Rafael, who was also one of the top-performing students in his graduating class (ranked 21 of 382, with a 3.85 GPA), explained that he had foregone participation in sports so that he could focus completely on his schoolwork (though this was a decision he later regretted).

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[25] Though these students were all successful in moving expediently through the ELD/ESL sequence in high school, they remained Spanish dominant in the first few years after high school, and all preferred to be interviewed in Spanish.

Martín opted to take additional classes over the summer, so as to progress more rapidly through the sequence. In his case, he described how his counselor was key in helping him to access these summer opportunities. He was fortunate to be able to access summer courses, as their availability had become severely compromised because of budget cuts, and many other students did not have this opportunity. Even though he moved out the ELD sequence quickly, he was not able to complete all of the English a-g requirements. It was not until his senior year that he realized he was not on track with his English credits to attend a university, and so when he was recruited for a baseball scholarship to play at an out of state college, he had to decline that offer, and instead accepted a scholarship to a community college.

> Entrevistadora: ¿sentiste que recibiste suficiente información acerca del colegio?
> Martín: si, si yo recibí, en lo último de lo último sí, pero al principio tal vez me la daban pero yo no entendía de que…el colegio y yo nada más iba a estudiar esos 4 años y a aprender lo que más pudiera y hasta el último que ya sabía más inglés era que ya entendía bien, ya fue cuando reaccioné en verdad de que yo podría haber ido a una universidad de 4 años, porqué no tomé… porque falté una clase de inglés.

> Interviewer: Did you feel you received enough information about college?
> Martín: Yes, I got it, at the very end I did, maybe at the beginning they gave me [information], but I didn't understand that . . . college and I was just going to study those four years and learn as much as I could and it wasn't until the end when I knew more English that I understood well, that was when I reacted in truth that I could [not] go to a four-year university because I was missing one English class.

Martín's example shows how even the most successful, proactive students had difficulty accessing the college track, which in his case resulted in having to turn down an opportunity available to very few students.

The rapid movement of Martín and his peers through the ESL/ELD sequences was possible for these students in large part because of a district policy that outlined ways in which English Learners could transfer to

mainstream English prior to being reclassified as fluent English proficient. The district's master plan for English learners outlined five criteria for transfer to mainstream English, notably excluding the CST ELA scores. These criteria are juxtaposed with the criteria for reclassification set by the State of California in Table 4.2. The district followed the state reclassification criteria guidelines (as is required of all California districts), but had established a set of intermediate criteria that made it possible for some students, such as the ones with strong academic preparation described above, to begin accessing mainstream a-g English courses before they might have been able to otherwise. Since they had not been reclassified, they remained eligible for ELD services.

Table 4.2.

Comparison of Criteria for Transfer to Mainstream English and Reclassification

	Desierto Regal Criteria for Transfer to Mainstream English	State Reclassification Criteria
CST	None	Basic or higher on ELA portion
CELDT		
Overall score	Intermediate	Early advanced
Speaking	Intermediate	Intermediate
Listening	Not required	Intermediate
Reading	Not required	Intermediate
Writing	Not required	Intermediate
Teacher evaluation	Required	Required
Parent consultation	Required	Encouraged

Note: These criteria were obtained from the Desierto Regal District English Language Learner Master Plan and the California Department of Education

Thus, the district policy, as outlined in the master plan for English Learners, decoupled students' EL status with their access to mainstream English courses, which is especially notable given that fewer than 40% of students classified as English learners are reclassified within 10 years, and for many this label

prevents access to mainstream courses due to school and district policies

(Parrish, Merickel, Pérez, Linquanti, Socias, Spain, Speroni, Esra, Brock, &

Delancy, 2006).

Most students moved out of ESL/ELD after three or more years.

The students described above were not representative of the experiences of

most students in the in-depth sample, as three quarters of the in-depth sample spent

between three and six years completing ESL/ELD requirements. Among the students

who had arrived in the 9th grade (n=10), most were in ESL/ELD for three to four years of

high school, including the two others who had also initially bypassed the most basic

levels (Jimena and Lorena).

Overall, it was the seven students who had arrived in middle school who tended

to spend more time in ESL/ELD courses, four to six years for those in the in-depth

sample. One student, Teresa, who had completed her 8th grade in the U.S., said that

when she came to high school she had to retake the ESL/ELD she had done in the 8th

grade, in spite of having done well in the class the first time. Teresa did not know why

she had to repeat this course. For three of the students, their length of time in ESL/ELD

related to their grades—they had failed one or more ESL/ELD classes and had to repeat

them as a result.

District Variations in Counting ESL/ELD Toward Graduation Requirements

Once students completed the required ESL/ELD courses, the amount of English

they needed to take to graduate from high school varied widely depending on district

policy. While the standards for UC/CSU eligibility are consistent throughout the state,

districts have autonomy to define which courses count toward the English required for

graduation, which has implications for how much access English learners have to the

college track. At the state level, California mandates three years of English for high

school graduation (California Education Code, 2014), and four years of approved English courses with at least a "C" grade for UC/CSU admission (a-g requirement). The California Regents Board of Admissions and Relations with Schools (BOARS) policy allows for one year of ELD English to count toward satisfying the English language arts requirement for entrance into a California public university (Robinson, 2011). According to the University of California, the advanced-level English courses that satisfy the English subject requirement must " include college-preparatory composition and literature comparable to other college-preparatory English courses" (University of California, 2014).

Table 4.3 illustrates the wide variation in district policies for selected districts across the state with high numbers and proportions of English Learners. All require four years of English, surpassing the three-year minimum set at the state level. In districts such as LAUSD, only one year of ESL/ELD classes may count toward fulfilling the four years of required English, which parallels the a-g requirement. In contrast, districts like Desierto Regal and San Diego permit students to apply up to three years of ESL/ELD courses toward their English credit requirement (though only one of these years satisfies the a-g English requirement per state policy). Long Beach and Santa Ana have the most generous policies, allowing all four years of the English requirement to be satisfied through ELD coursework. In Santa Ana, the high school ELD program is literature based language arts programs that implement specific strategies and instructional routines to scaffold instruction for English learners that count on a one for one basis for high school ELA credit. The Long Beach ELD program is aligned with the California ELD standards, which are distinct from the state's ELA standards. According to the California Department of Education, the ELD standards do not repeat content in ELA standards or represent content at lower levels of achievement or rigor.

Rather, they are "designed to support English learners to both access intellectually rich content and develop advanced levels of English in order to fully participate in a range of academic subjects" (California Department of Education, 2014).

Table 4.3

High School English Credit Requirements and ESL/ELD Credit Policies

District	Required Mainstream English Courses	Years of ESL/ELD Fulfilling English Graduation Requirement	2011-12 English Learner Cohort Graduation Rate	Details
Desierto Regal	English 1 required (Freshman English)	3	81.8%	Only transitional English 2 satisfies UCOP a-g requirements. Also count one year of English taken in Mexico in some cases (in place of ELD 1 and 2).
Fresno	English 1 (may be SDAIE)	3	66.5	Three years of ELD credits and English 1 SDAIE (equivalent to Freshman English) fulfill graduation requirements.
Long Beach	None	4	59.1	All ELD courses are awarded English credit to fulfill graduation requirements.
Los Angeles	3 years, including 12th grade composition and English	1	46.7	Starting in class of 2017, students will have to earn C or better to graduate
San Diego	One year	3	59.5	District shifting to all a-g requirements for class of 2016, trying to make sure ESL can continue to fulfill English requirements, parents may have to sign waiver
Santa Ana	None	4	73.9	Beginning in 2014-15, the one year of ELD will also count for a-g credit.
Punta del Mar	English 12	1	71.8	Once students reach EDL 5/6 (there are 8 levels total), they can start taking English 9. Everyone is supposed to be on a-g as part of district initiative

Note: Data obtained from district websites and phone/email inquiries to district officials.

This tremendous variation in how districts applied ESL/ELD credits toward high school graduation credit requirements greatly impacted the experiences of newcomers. Those in the districts requiring three years of mainstream, grade-level English in addition to the ESL/ELD sequence found that once they had completed the ELD requirements, they had much catching up to do, which meant that their senior year, English classes dominated their schedule. This was the case for Alfonso, who attended an Los Angeles high school:

> Alfonso: Fueron muchas clases ESL, como el básico, ESL 1, ESL 2, ESL 3, el 4 y así, hasta el 10, 11 y 12.
> Entrevistadora: Las clases de inglés fuera de ESL ¿y cómo lo hiciste? ¿Tomaste 10, 11 y 12 todo en el último año?
> Alfonso: Si, todo . . . Sí, el último año estaba tomando puras clases de inglés porque eran las que faltaban, entonces casi todos mis periodos eran prácticamente de inglés.

> Alfonso: There were many ESL classes, like the basic, ESL 1, ESL 2, ESL 3 and 4, and so on, up to 10, 11, and 12.
> Interviewer: The English classes outside of ESL, how did you do it? Did you take 10, 11, and 12 all the last year?
> Alfonso: Yes, everything . . . The last year I was taking purely English classes because those were the ones I was missing, so almost all of my periods were English practically.

Being in so many English classes one's senior year meant taking classes with many younger students, from teachers who may not have realized that the recently reclassified seniors in their class were there because they had only recently become eligible to take the class. Hugo said that taking a sophomore English as a senior was embarrassing for him, and he felt that teachers looked down on him because they assumed he was retaking the class because he had failed it.

Gael shared that some students were so overwhelmed by the English courses they needed to graduate that it compelled them to drop out of school: "A lot of time

it's like it doesn't matter to them, like, 'Why do I need to graduate?' Many will say, 'I still need a lot of English classes, why make the effort if I still have to stay for another two years to finish my English classes?'" Because high school was not compulsory in Mexico until recently, students who completed 9th grade in the U.S. had already achieved the minimum standard in Mexico set for their peers. Moreover, they may not have felt the same obligation to persist through high school given that the majority of the Mexican population of tertiary age (58%) was not enrolled in high school; for them high school attendance was not the norm (UNESCO, 2012)

Fulfilling the English graduation requirements required students to make difficult choices, such as whether to graduate on time or take math. For example, at one of the Los Angeles schools, one student decided her senior year to drop her Algebra II class halfway through the year (required for admission to a university) to concentrate on finishing her English credits, in order to graduate on time. Her teacher felt it would have been to her benefit to stay an extra year and complete more math, as she was a highly capable student. Thus, policies that allowed students to accrue English credits for graduation more quickly had significant repercussions for the rest of the students' academic program, their ability to prepare for college, as well as their motivation to continue in high school.

Increasing Graduation Requirements and New Common Core Aligned ELD Standards

The variations in the extent to which districts apply ESL/ELD coursework toward the English graduation requirements reflect a growing trend in California districts to align graduation requirements with college admissions requirements. In recent years, several California districts (Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, Oakland, Sweetwater, and East Side Union) have adopted new graduation policies requiring all

students to complete the a-g college preparatory coursework (Betts et al., 2013). These policies are set to go into effect for the graduating class of 2016, and are ambitious policy responses to the ACLU, which made a-g requirements the default academic program a civil rights issue.

While these new policies are intended to raise overall levels of college readiness and increased rigor of the high school curriculum, evidence from San Jose, which implemented an a-g graduation requirement in 2002, suggests that the positive effects have been small, and there may have been unintended negative effects. The proportion of students graduating with a-g requirements and C or better grades was only 40.3% in 2011 (up from 36.8% in 2001) (Betts et al., 2013), meanwhile many [mostly minority] students sidestep graduation requirements by transferring to alternative schools where they do not apply (Blume & Butrymowicz, 2013). No change in graduation rates has been found since the implementation of this policy (Education Trust-West, 2010), and quantitative analyses of the effects of the policy have been limited due to inaccuracies in self-reported data (Freedman, Friedman, Poter, & Schuessler, 2011). According to the California Department of Education, in 2011-12 44.3% of San Jose graduates had fulfilled the a-g requirements, compared to 38.4% statewide, but given the documented issues with data reporting inaccuracies, this figure should be taken with caution.

Bilingual Courses Aligned with A-G: Project SOL and Border Course Offerings

The extent to which students had had access to bilingual courses varied. All of the students in the sample took at least one bilingual math or science course through their participation in Project SOL. Table 4.4 specifies the courses offered through Project SOL and the overall participation rates.

Table 4.4

Project SOL Courses Offerings and Participation Rates

	Desierto Regal	Punta del Mar	Johnson	Smith	Total Enrollments
Algebra	√	√	√	√	72.5% (132)
Geometry	√		√	√	44.0 (80)
Algebra II	√		√	√	14.3 (26)
Biology	√		√	√	66.5 (121)
Environmental Science	√				26.3 (40)
Chemistry			√	√	13.7 (25)
Physics				√	2.7 (5)
Total courses	5	1	5	6	424

Note: These participation rates are solely for the students from the 2011 and 2012 graduation year cohorts.

Project SOL afforded students access to bilingual math and science courses, but was limited in the courses it could offer by the teachers available to teach them, which was particularly an issue for the more advanced courses such as chemistry and physics. These courses were only available in the latter years of the project's implementation, by which point many of the students in the 2011 and 2012 cohorts had already graduated, moved, transferred to another school, or withdrawn.

Students at the high schools along the border also had access to bilingual courses in addition to those offered through Project SOL, such as bilingual history, which were approved as a-g. The University of California specifies that sheltered and

SDAIE (Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English) courses can satisfy a-g

subject requirements.[26] However, because of California's English-only mandate due to

Proposition 227, bilingual offerings, have been greatly reduced throughout much of the

state, and there is a lack of teachers prepared to teach such classes.[27]

Table 4.5

Bilingual Courses Approved for a-g Credit at the Border Region High Schools

	Desierto Regal	Punta del Mar
Social science	World Cultures U.S. History	World History and Culture World Geography U.S. Government U.S. History 2
Math	Algebra 1 Plane Geometry	Algebra Extended Alg. Extended Alg. 2 Formal Geometry *Intermediate Alg.
Lab Science	Biology	Biology *Chemistry

*Note: All of these courses were listed on the UCOP list of courses fulfilling a-g , 2013-14, but none of the Project SOL student transcripts had any record of a bilingual chemistry or intermediate algebra course.

The courses offered that were listed as bilingual were described by students as

taught primarily in Spanish. For some students, such as Teresa, this meant that for her

first two years of high school almost all of the classes she took were in Spanish, and

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[26] According to the California Department of Education, SDAIE is "an approach to teach academic courses to English learner (EL) students (formerly LEP students) in English. It is designed for nonnative speakers of English and focuses on increasing the comprehensibility of the academic courses typically provided to FEP and English-only students in the district. Students reported in this category receive a program of ELD and, at a minimum, two academic subjects required for grade promotion or graduation taught through (SDAIE)." http://www.cde.ca.gov/ds/sd/cb/glossary.asp#s

[27] It is notable, however, that the limitation on bilingual classes is targeted to students 10 and under, and that being over 10 years of age is the basis for a waiver from this prohibition – a fact that few secondary principals appear to realize, or act on. Nonetheless, the anti-bilingual law has had a chilling effect on the production of bilingual teachers.

when she transitioned to mainstream English courses as an upperclassman, it was a challenge.

Feeling Apart and Internalizing Diminished Expectations

In addition to limited access to college preparatory courses, being categorized as English Learners resulted in within school segregation (Oakes, 1995) for students. They found themselves taking classes with many of the same students throughout the day, both in their ESL classes and non-ESL classes. Being separated from their English-dominant peers, whom they frequently described as the "regular" students, made them feel inferior. Flor articulated her beliefs about how many students came to internalize the low expectations they encountered:

> Flor: El sistema siento que…honestamente siento que la escuela no está bien… los estudiantes… Están juzgando antes de…como lo puedo explicar…siento que muchos estudiantes que…creo que todos son capaces, de graduarse, de aprender, pero creo que el sistema nos da, como se dice… a contribuido de una manera en que le hace pensar a los estudiantes que no son capaz de hacer eso

> Flor: The system . . . I honestly feel that the school is not good. . . .The students . . . they are pre-judging them . . . how can I explain? I feel that everyone is capable of graduating, of learning, but I believe that the system gives us, how do you say, has contributed in a way to students thinking that they aren't capable of doing that.

Flor, who is now excelling in her studies as an engineering major at a state university campus, had internalized the low expectations she encountered to the point that she thought she might not be able to graduate high school. She was not the only one to note how students came to internalize the low expectations they experienced because they were classified as English learners. One of the consequences of being placed in classes that did not move them toward fulfilling graduation requirements, or that repeated content they had already learned, was that students felt infantilized and like they were not progressing, or even like they were moving backward.

Some of the students interviewed who appeared to be among the grittiest and most resilient had at some point considered dropping out of high school, or thought that they may not be able to graduate. Even Eduardo, who ranked in the upper third of his class, thought in his first year that he might not be able to surmount the challenge of learning English in time to graduate in three years. Similarly, Diego failed many of his classes his freshman year, and after that worried that he might not be able to graduate.

One student, Alicia, did drop in and out of school at various points. In Mexico, prior to migrating, she had left school to work at a McDonald's, which was the impetus for her parents to send her to school in the U.S. Later, on a visit to Mexico, she misplaced her visa and was unable to return for six months, which interrupted her schooling. Two other students in the in-depth sample, in part because of poor grades and in part because of their age, ended up transferring to adult high schools to complete their high school credit requirements. These two students managed to fulfill their high school credits and continue their studies after high school, but it is unknown how many of their peers in similar positions (of whom there were close to 30) were as successful.

While the students described above managed to persist through high school graduation and into college, the fears they had about not being able to graduate were not unfounded. Over the course of the project, the majority of students (62%) who were initially on track to graduate in 2011 or 2012 left before graduating high school. Table 4.6 summarizes the graduation outcomes for the classes of 2011 and 2012.

Table 4.6

Enrollment and Graduation Outcomes, Classes of 2011 and 2012

Last Known Status	% (n)
Graduated	37.1% (68)
Withdrawn/Unknown	26.2 (48)
Transferred	24.6 (45)
Moved	12.0 (22)
Total	100.0 (183)

Combining data from all available sources revealed that the greatest proportion of students (37%, n=68) from classes of 2011 and 2012 had graduated high school. A quarter of the students (n=45) were known to have transferred to an adult school, the majority of whom went to an adult or continuation school. Slightly more than a quarter (26%, n=48) had withdrawn, and their whereabouts were unknown. Finally, 12% (n=22) of students were known to have moved, almost all of which (19 out of 22) were said to have returned to Mexico. Overall, 68% of the students from the classes of 2011 and 2012 who graduated were known to have enrolled in college after high school. The following section explores how students developed the knowledge necessary to transition to college.

Developing College Knowledge

College knowledge is a critical component of college readiness that encompasses the knowledge base, skills, and behaviors necessary to successfully access and navigate college (Conley, 2008; Kless et al., 2013). This includes things like knowing which courses to take in high school to be college eligible, understanding financial aid options and procedures, awareness of career paths and requirements,

knowing how to select and apply to college, and how to advocate for oneself (Conley,

2012). This type of information is often transmitted informally between peers, and lack

of access to mainstream peers can impede this information transfer (Gándara, 1995).

When students were surveyed at the end of 2012, the majority (almost 60%)

indicated that help choosing an appropriate college and identifying the classes

necessary to help them complete university requirements would help them to enroll at

a university. Since the majority of the students in the study would be the first in their

families not only to go to college, but to go to school at all in the United States, their

families had little first-hand experience with the "rules of the game." Previous research

has noted that working-class and low-income immigrant students have limited access

to the social and cultural capital needed to support increases in educational

achievement and attainment (McDonough, 1997; Stanton-Salazar, 2001). Because

newcomers are unaware of many aspects of how the U.S. educational system operates,

providing a comprehensive program of college readiness requires systemic

communication about not only navigating postsecondary opportunities, but also

navigating the high school, and particularly the steps that must be taken at the high

school level to become college-eligible. This can be accomplished through high schools

with a strong college-going culture, college centers, college counselors, supportive

adults and peers, and parent education programs. The following sections detail the

ways in which supportive adults and peers provided newcomers with the information

they needed to develop college readiness.

Supportive Adults

Supportive relationships, and in particular encouragement from teachers, school

personnel, and other adults, constitute a key protective factor in the development of

resilience among immigrant students (Benard, 1991). Relationships formed in the

school setting appear to be closely linked to the successful adaptation and school engagement of immigrant students, which is linked to academic achievement (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). Such relationships serve multiple protective functions by fostering a sense of belonging, providing emotional support, tangible assistance and information, cognitive guidance, and positive feedback, often in tandem with validation of their cultural and linguistic assets. All of this improves the likelihood that they will both be academically successful and remain connected to their culture without assimilating (Gibson, 1988). Moreover, supportive adults can serve as role models able to share their college experiences, and in some cases, immigrant experiences. As one counselor described her experience working with Spanish-dominant students, she said, "I like the fact that I can relate to my students being that I was also an ESL student. I also like that I can speak to my students in our language and never be lost in translation."

High school counseling experiences.

Students relied heavily on their counselors for information about college. On the postsecondary survey, respondents identified their counselors as the most prevalent sources of information about college, followed by teachers and friends. Table 4.7 summarizes the sources of college information among students.

Table 4.7

Sources of College Information Among Students Who Went to College

Source	% (n)
Counselor	53.6 (15)
Teacher	50.0 (14)
Friend	46.4 (13)
Website	32.1 (9)
Other adult	10.3 (3)
Parent	7.1 (2)

What is perhaps most notable about students survey responses is that these figures are actually quite low—almost half of the respondents did *not* identify counselors as a source of information about college. Even within the group of students targeted for intervention, like those selected for Project SOL, there was considerable variation in students' experiences with their high school counselors. Among those in the in-depth sample, most of the students (14 out of 21) met with a counselor only occasionally, typically once or twice a year. However, a handful of these students (four), described how, over time, they started seeing their counselor more frequently. For Alicia, the impetus for meeting with her counselor more frequently (about twice a month), was the realization at the end of 10th grade that she was missing several classes she needed to graduate. At Johnson, Alfonso initially had a counselor whom he did not see much, but later had a different counselor who reached out and was in regular contact with him about his classes; he said he met with her about five times a month.

Six students in the in-depth sample described meeting with their counselors very frequently, typically weekly. For the majority of the students in this group (4), the frequency of the meetings with the counselors seemed to be student-initiated. Alma said she had a very close relationship with the Project SOL counselor (who was not her assigned counselor). Gael became an ardent self-advocate, in part because of the training his aunt gained from participating twice in the parent empowerment course offered through Project SOL. He said he would go to his counselor's office every week on Friday.

> Gael: Yo siempre estaba allí, ella seguro se decía como… '¡Oh, Gael otra vez!' Porque siempre estaba ahí pidiendo, porque necesitaba mi clase de inglés o de matemáticas, necesito esta clase para graduarme, necesito esto, necesito saber si estoy bien, necesito saber cuántos créditos me hacen falta.

> Gael: I was always there, surely she said like . . . "Oh, Gael again!" Because I was always there asking, because I needed my English class or math, I need this class to graduate, I need this, I need to know if I'm OK, I need to know how many credits I'm missing.

At Johnson, Hugo met with the Project SOL counselor extensively; he stated that he met with his counselor three to four times a week, and sometimes daily. He noted that the counselors he encountered (with the exception of the Project SOL counselor) knew little about how to advise ESL students, and were lacking training for working with English learner students.

> Hugo: Cuando yo entré, mi consejera no sabía nada de lo que era un ESL, y entonces ella no sabía si esta clase te iba a beneficiar o te iba a perjudicar, entonces te trataba como cualquier estudiante.

> Hugo: When I entered, my counselor didn't know anything about what an ESL [student] was, and so she didn't know this class would benefit you or would harm you, so she treated you like any other student.

Hugo identified a key point: counselors receive no special training for counseling ESL and/or immigrant students. Unlike teachers, who in California are now

required to become Crosscultural, Language, and Academic Development (CLAD) certified, there are no parallel training requirements for counselors, and college counseling is a specialty area that few counselors know. Notably, Hugo not only gathered information for himself, but made this information available to other students through his leadership in the Project SOL/Newcomer Club, to be described further shortly.

Less positive experiences.

Teresa said she wished the high school counselors had explained to her the differences between the different kinds of higher education institutions in the U.S. She only met with her counselor a handful of times, and felt like the students who were considered community college bound got a lot less attention than those who were going to four-year universities. She contrasted her experiences with those of her younger sister, who had been placed on the college track:

> Teresa: En general, todos los consejeros dan como que más específicos a los que ellos ya toman como que van a agarrar la universidad y es como que les ponen más atención a ellos y los aconsejas más.

> Teresa: In general, all the counselors give like more specifics to those that are going to get to the university and it's like they pay more attention to them and advise them more.

While Teresa had had very little contact with her counselor in high school, her younger sister's counselor was advocating on her behalf, ensuring that she took the most optimal schedule, and calling her to remind her of exam deadlines.

Monica, who was at a high school in Los Angeles, said she would have benefited from more orientation when she first began high school, and specifically clear explanations, in Spanish, about the classes necessary for graduation and college. She felt that she did not have enough access to counseling, and said whenever she tried to meet with her counselor, she always busy and unavailable. Monica described how she

116

had missed a week of school near the end of her senior year due to morning sickness when she became pregnant, and when she returned was told that she had been removed from the system and would have to repeat her senior year.[28] After she had her baby and returned to repeat her senior year, she met with her counselor very frequently.

Alicia, a student at a Los Angeles high school, indicated her counselor was not at all helpful and was gone much of the time on maternity leave. Initially she did not know what classes she needed to graduate, and by the end of 10th grade she realized she was missing some of the classes she needed, so she went to summer school (which many students were unable to access because of district budget cuts). Like many students, Alicia received much of the information she needed from her ESL/ELD teachers.

ESL/ELD and SOL teachers.

Alicia's experience was not unique; most students did not meet with their counselors more than a few times a year, at most, but they saw their ESL/ELD teachers daily, sometimes for several hours each day, as well as other EL students, and had access to math and science classes taught by bilingual teachers. Taken together, these individuals often provided newcomers with extensive guidance and support, and in that way fulfilled a counseling role.

Hugo said that because the ESL/ELD students were isolated from the other students, they relied on their ESL/ELD teachers for information. In his case, one of the ESL/ELD teachers at his school was also the Project SOL counselor, and had gone to great lengths to develop her capacity to provide college advising to newcomers

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[28] The LAUSD attendance policy removes students from the system after two weeks subsequent to taking various steps outlined in the attendance policy manual (Los Angeles Unified School District, 2013).

through her role in the project. At one of the border high schools, Ms. Ellis was frequently cited as an extraordinary ESL/ELD teacher who held her students to high standards and provided them with much guidance in addition to language instruction. But there were also examples ESL/ELD teachers who had very deficit views of their Latino English learners. For example, one such teacher complained that many of her students were speaking too much Spanish and expecting her to translate too much, and questioned the value of Project SOL given that her Asian English learners were able to succeed without such support, and expressed that she felt such programs were a waste of tax money.[29] Thus, the teachers newcomers encountered in ESL/ELD classrooms were a very mixed bag.

Because Project SOL had intentionally selected teachers who were bilingual and willing to implement a rigorous program of study in classrooms with newcomers, these teachers were much more consistent in holding students to high expectations and providing them with helpful guidance. For example, Flor spoke of how her Project SOL Algebra II teacher, Ms. Diaz, has served in an advisory capacity, embedding a lot of counseling into her class (which was a small class):

> Estudiante: Ella fue muy buena consejera, siempre nos estaba aconsejando. Siempre ella vio que teníamos muchas habilidades y de lo que éramos capaces, y nos dio, la oportunidad de seguir. . . . Básicamente yo nunca iba a mi consejera, iba a Miss Diaz porque ella nos informaba, "estas clases las necesitas, estas clases no las necesitas."

> Student: She was very good counselor, she was always advising us. She always saw we had many skills and that we were capable, and gave us the opportunity to continue . . . Basically I never went to my counselor, I went to Ms. Diaz because she informed us, "You need these classes, these classes you don't need."

This treatment of the students as capable contrasted with much of the treatment they received from their other teachers. Moreover, because this particular

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[29] Project SOL received no taxpayer funding; it was completely funded by philanthropy.

teacher had an administrative role, as the coordinator of the school's magnet program, she had much knowledge related to preparing for college that she was able to impart to her students.

Project SOL teachers demonstrated authentic caring, or *cariño*, for their students, making great efforts to provide their students with rigorous academic instruction, while also leveraging the students' linguistic capital and relating to their lived experiences (Hopkins, et al., 2013). Mr. Aguilar was mentioned by several students in interviews as being someone very influential in high school for them. Because he came to the U.S. later in life, he was able to speak to their experiences. They felt cared for and like they mattered in his class. He also provided them with tutoring and prepared them to take the state high school exit exam. Mr. Aguilar explained his motivation as thus:

> For me, the most important factor is the students. This doesn't mean that the rest isn't important, but I work with them, and they all show great respect for me. I have earned their friendship and I am very fond of them. I watch over them. I identify with them. I feel especially fond of them, because, at a certain time of my life, I went through what they are going through now, and I always try to give them the best of me... to help them with their education.

Rafael explained that having Mr. Aguilar was especially helpful because he understood what the students were going through as immigrants. Aguilar supervised the school's Bilingual Club, which did fundraising for grad night, caps and gowns for students who could not have afforded them otherwise. Students felt as ease in his classroom, describing how he was funny and gave his students confidence.

Students said Aguilar and Ms. Solis, who was the other Project SOL teacher at their school, created an environment of *confianza* for the students. For some of the teachers, who were once immigrants and/or English learners themselves, these firsthand experiences served as powerful motivators. One science teacher explained,

"My goal is to make them realize the importance of having an educational background in this county, as well and an identity. We Project SOL teachers help them get the confidence to succeed, help them open their eyes to the doors they can open themselves."

In Fall 2011, student surveys of participants in Project SOL indicated that students were more likely to seek out advice or information about graduating high school and/or going to college from other students in the SOL program or from their SOL teachers, as illustrated in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8

How often do you go to the following people for advice or information about graduating high school, and/or going to college?

	SOL	Non-SOL	Other Student/Family
Students (n=106)	4.25	3.70	3.97
	(1.89)	(1.99)	(1.95)
Teachers (n=102)	3.13	2.61	2.84
	(1.94)	(1.80)	(1.90)

Note: Scale of 1 to 6; 1=never, 2=less than once per month, 3=a few times per month, 4=once a week, 5=a few times per week, 6=daily

Students were significantly more likely to reach out to other SOL students than any other group of students ($p<.01$), and to turn to SOL teachers than other teachers ($p<.001$).

Supporting One Another: Peers Helping Each Other

Adolescents' relationships with their peers that provide access to information and resources constitutes an important type of social and cultural capital: peer social capital (Gibson, Gándara, & Koyama, 2004). For students in this study, peers helped each other primarily in three ways: 1) guiding/helping with the initial transition to the school; 2) providing access to critical information via the SOL/Newcomers Club; and 3)

tutoring one another. These peers, because they were a part of Project SOL, had access to bilingual teachers and counselors with a specific charge to help to prepare them for college, making them likely more knowledgeable than they would have been otherwise.

When students described their initial transition to high school, they typically spoke of how uncertain and alone they felt. Given that the orientations they received tended to be minimal, and the differing size and structure of U.S. high schools compared to what they were familiar with. Sometimes it was other students who guided them along the way.

SOL/Newcomers Club and extra-curricular activities.

Numerous studies have documented the importance of participating in extracurricular activities for fostering academic and social integration that in turn supports high school persistence and graduation (Gibson et al., 2004; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009). Moreover, through extracurricular activities students can develop skills that are considered critical aspects of college readiness, such as time management, the desire to do well, and a sense of self-efficacy (Gándara, 2013).

A club was incorporated as part of the Project SOL intervention in recognition of the fact that newcomers needed both a place to build relationships with one another and critical information regarding coursework, testing requirements, applying to and financing college. This information was tailored to the needs of the students, including critical information on things like AB540 (a California law that allows undocumented students to access most forms of state provided financial aid for college), and credit recovery.

On surveys of students (N=126) on their experiences in the club from Fall 2011, the majority of students (60%) reported that the Club had provided them with information about the classes they needed to graduate, and half indicated that they

had received important information related to college. The following year, an even

greater proportion of students described club benefits related to preparing for college,

as shown in Table 4.9

Table 4.9

Student-Identified Benefits to Club SOL, Spring 2012 (n=206)

Benefit	% (n)
Information	
Classes needed for graduation	66.8% (137)
Colleges and universities	54.2 (111)
College admissions tests	39.5 (81)
Social	41.5
Fun field trips.	(85)
Make friends	39.0 (80)
Other	
Homework help	25.4 (52)
Learn from school experiences of other immigrant students.	23.9 (49)

Beyond the SOL Club, involvement in extra-curricular activities varied regionally.

Along the border, many were active in identity-based groups for Latino and/or

immigrant students: Project SOL, the Migrant program, a mentoring program for

Latinas, and a bilingual club, which one of the Project SOL math teachers oversaw.

Sports proved to be an important avenue for several of the students to develop

friendships with English-speaking friends, particularly among those who played a

variety of sports. Soccer, the most popular team sport in Latin America, was a natural

choice for many students. However, those who played other sports, such as volleyball,

basketball, baseball, and track, came into contact with a more diverse group of

students. Consequently, they interacted with English-speaking peers sooner than they

might have otherwise due to their status as English learners. Martín, who was

attending college out of state on an athletics scholarship, had been on the school's

baseball team, which had mostly white and English-speaking players, and had learned

much of his English from his friends on the team:

> Martín: Yo me iba con los amigos a jugar, los amigos blancos que tenía y entre broma y broma aprendía. Lo que me decían yo preguntaba '¿qué es eso y que era eso?' . . .
> Entrevistadora: ¿Tuviste muchos amigos blancos en Desierto Regal ?
> Estudiante: Muchos, muchos por el deporte, por el béisbol más que nada, yo era el único mexicano. El único mexicano hablando español porque había varios mexicanos que hablaban otros idiomas . . . si había mexicanos pero nacidos en Estados Unidos, yo era el único que venía de México.

> Martín: I would go play with friends, white friends I had, and while they were teasing me I was learning Whatever they said to me I would ask, 'what is that and what was that? . . .
> Interviewer: Did you have a lot of white friends at Desierto Regal ?
> Martín: Many, many from sports, from baseball more than anything, I was the only Mexican. The only Mexican speaking Spanish, because there were several Mexicans who spoke other languages . . . there were Mexicans, but they were born in the United States and I was the only one who came from Mexico.

Both of the two young women who were attending state university campuses

(and were the only ones in the sample to do so) had been heavily involved in

extracurricular activities in high school. Flor played basketball and was on the track

team, while Selena participated in the school's dance program, MEChA, Peace Club, and

was a cheerleader. Among the young men, Gael, who was one of the few students to

complete his a-g requirements, was captain of the soccer team and ran cross country.

Eduardo played varsity football and soccer, and was also active in the school's

bilingual club.

Overall, among postsecondary survey participants, fewer than half (46%)

reported participating in extracurricular activities. Those who had gone to college were

substantially more likely to have participated in high school extracurricular activities

than those who had not (55 vs. 36%), although the difference was not statistically significant. Nonetheless, data from student interviews suggest that these extra-curricular experiences, and particularly those that facilitated greater interaction with diverse groups of students, including English-speakers, were important for fostering social integration and providing opportunities to practice English in an informal setting. This provided them with the opportunity to develop friendships with native English speakers, which has been associated with better academic performance (Suárez-Orozco et al., 2009).

The Role of Parents in Supporting College Readiness

Students were less likely to go to their parents for information about college than anyone else; only 7 percent of the postsecondary survey respondents who were in college indicated they relied on their parents for information about college. However, while students may not have been relying principally on their parents, overall most reported they had received "some" (49%) or "a lot" (13.7%) of information about college from their parents. This is in large part because many parents were not only unfamiliar with the U.S. education system, but also unfamiliar with upper secondary education overall. Only 15.1% of parents were bilingual, with the majority speaking solely Spanish.

Most parents had not graduated from high school, as shown in Table 4.10, and very few had attained any postsecondary education.

Table 4.10

Parental Backgrounds and Education (n=56)

	Mothers	Fathers
Birthplace		
Mexico	88.5%	84.3%
El Salvador	7.7	9.8
U.S.	3.9	5.9
Highest Level of Education		
Elementary	31.4	35.4
Middle	25.5	16.7
Some high school	21.6	22.9
High school graduate	7.8	14.6
Postsecondary	13.0	10.4

It is difficult to focus on preparing for a long-term pursuit like college when you are trying to survive, and economic hardship was a reality for many of the students and their families. A large proportion of the survey respondents (42.9%) did not know their household income. Among those who reported a household income, all but one indicated an annual income below $35,000, and several (31%) reported their household income as less than $10,000. The majority of students surveyed (58.3%) had mothers who were homemakers, and most of their fathers were employed in agriculture, construction, and other manual labor positions.

While parents may not have provided very much information about college to their children, more than three-quarters of students (77.4%) affirmed on the survey that it was "very important" to their parents that they go to college. Among the students who were currently in college, this figure was even higher; 89.7% indicated it was "very important" that they go to college. Most students (78.4%) also agreed that their parents had made many sacrifices for their children to live and study in the United States. Students also noted many of the ways in which their parents continued

to support them as young adults, providing moral support (72.6%), a place to live (67.3%), high expectations (57.7%), support and encouragement (51.9%), and financial assistance (50%).

As part of the Project SOL intervention, the parents of all participating students were invited to attend parent empowerment courses that were designed to foster greater understanding of the U.S. school system, and to build parental capacity to act as educational advocates for their children. Topics covered in the sessions included:

- Creating a positive and lasting educational environment at home
- U.S. school structure and grading system
- College admission requirements
- College financial aid
- Communication with adolescents

Over the course of Project SOL's implementation, a third of the students' parents participated in one of the parent training programs. Some of parents found the courses so worthwhile that they repeated the course in subsequent years. A counselor at one of the Los Angeles sites described how the program had helped to lessen some of the reluctance among parents to approach the school:

> PIQE worked very well because I thought that parents got extremely involved and they, the parents that I saw coming in to check on their students' grades, were all PIQE parents. I thought that PIQE took away their fear of school and really encouraged them to get involved in their kid's education.

In addition to helping parents to understand the importance of monitoring student progress, it helped them to understand the differences between four-year universities and community colleges, including the diminished likelihood of attaining a degree for those who began at a community college.

In spite of the successes of the parent trainings, a common criticism, among teachers and students alike, was that parents were not sufficiently involved. Rather than attributing this to structural issues, within the school and beyond, the tendency was to lay the blame on parents, often citing the pressure on students to work. This need to contribute financially was a barrier to college for some of the students, particularly the male students. This was the case for Marco, who had moved to Los Angeles from El Salvador when he was 16. He had been living with his uncle, who was charging him for living expenses, and was also in debt for migration-related expenses. So, he left school as soon as he turned 18, midway through his sophomore year, and began working in construction with a family member. Another young man, Raul, who also dropped out of high school his senior year to work in construction, when interviewed his sophomore year had explained:

> Raul: What happens is that when, in families, when a young man arrives, say for example someone from Mexico or from other countries in South America or something like that, when you arrive at eighteen the majority of your family members say, "Hey, you are already eighteen. Get to work. Leave school. What did you come for?" And that is why it is difficult to succeed because sometimes family does not support you . . . That is why they never, honestly, the majority of men they never succeed because, well, family wants you to work, work and work.

Economic realities and the collective needs of the family for many students thus overshadowed preparing for college. For Mexican immigrant students, family is much more important than for many of their non-Latino, non-immigrant peers. Newcomers may bring a strong sense of *familismo,* which includes "the desire to maintain strong family ties, the expectation that he family will be the primary source of instrumental support, the feeling of loyalty to the family, and the commitment to the family over individual needs" (Halgunseth, Ispa, & Rudy, 2006).

To summarize, for the most part, parents provided little to students in the way of information about college, but did provide other valuable forms of support. They made many sacrifices for their children to be able to live and study in the U.S., offered moral support, and tangible assistance, such as a place to live. Those parents who were able to attend the parent training program gained a much clearer understanding of how to support and advocate for their children, but the majority of parents did not gain this capacity and pressures to contribute to the family in the short-term at times pulled students out of high school before graduating.

Summary

This chapter sought to examine how well notions of college readiness align with the needs of newcomer Latino immigrant students. Data indicate there are issues specific to newcomers/English learners and college readiness that have received scant attention in policy discussions of college readiness.

For newcomer immigrant students, preparing to pursue postsecondary education begins not with the program of study in high school, but with the decision to enroll in high school in the first place, and to stay in high school in the face of competing pressures and at times overwhelming doubt about being able to sufficiently master English and accrue the necessary credits for graduation. And, we saw in this chapter that the ways in which these ELD credits count, and the extent to which students are able to access content instruction in a language that they can understand varies widely from one district to the next. All of this is made even more difficult at the outset, when schools often fail in their assessment of students' prior schooling, placing them in courses they may have already taken and/or classes that do not move them toward college. These policy differences had significant impacts on students and determined in some many cases whether or not students would persist to graduate,

128

and if they did graduate, whether they would be prepared or encouraged to continue to postsecondary education.

The kinds of high schools that students in the present study attended, and those that typically serve large numbers of Latino and immigrant students generally do not have sufficient resources to offer the kind of counseling, small classes, and support structures that both provide immigrant students with critical information about how to navigate the system and prepare themselves for college, while also fostering a sense of belonging and academically engaging the students. Through the Project SOL intervention, there were some important examples of how targeting newcomers can be done, and the kinds of supports that students create for themselves when provided with the authority and resources to do so (i.e. peer tutoring, the club). But, a key lesson learned over the course of the project was that piecemeal interventions are not sufficient. Pockets of success, in classrooms, clubs, and counseling offices, are necessary, but not sufficient for meeting the college readiness needs of newcomers.

Chapter 5: Postsecondary Experiences

This chapter examines the experiences of newcomer Latino immigrant students as they navigated postsecondary transitions, focusing on those who had graduated and enrolled in college. The story is largely a community college story, both because of the California Master Plan for Higher Education, which positions community colleges as the primary access point to the state's public higher education system, and most students did not meet the minimum requirements to attend a four-year university. As they entered the community college system, students once again found themselves navigating unfamiliar terrain, but this time with fewer supports. Bilingual classes were no longer offered, and students contended with adapting to a new set of largely unspoken institutional norms. Though many had been told that after two years at a community college they would be able to transfer to a four-year university, once students went through placement testing and began a course of remedial studies, most realized that two years was a lower-bound estimate that did not apply to them. Moreover, as students navigated these postsecondary transitions, they simultaneously balanced social and economic realities for young immigrant adults in the United States.

An overview of the postsecondary paths of the classes of 2011 and 2012 begins this chapter, including the high school graduation and college enrollment processes. The following section examines the initial testing and placement experiences in college. Next, the academic experiences are detailed, specifically the degree of rigor, and students' academic outcomes and sources of support. The final section explores the challenges outside of classroom that shaped students' academic lives.

The Postsecondary Pathways of the Students

Among the postsecondary survey respondents collected from the graduation cohorts of 2011 and 2012, 65.5% (n=36) had graduated high school. Close to 80% of female survey respondents had graduated high school, while only half of the male respondents had (p<0.05). The majority of the high school graduates (83.3%, n=30) had subsequently enrolled in college. Female students enrolled at a significantly higher rate (n=20, 68.0%) than the male students (n=10, 37.0%) (p < 0.05). Students who indicated they had received credit for classes taken outside the U.S. enrolled at more than twice the rate of those who did not (55.2% vs. 20.7%), and this difference was statistically significant (p<0.01).

Among the students in college, more than 80% were enrolled in community colleges, with all but one attending a community college close to home. Commutes for 70% of the students were an hour or less roundtrip. However, there were a few students (3) who were spending more than two hours a day on their commute, including one whose daily commute was close to five hours. Only one student was attending college out of state. Two students (both female) were attending public four-year colleges in California, two students were attending college in Mexico, and two were attending technical (for-profit) schools.

Twenty-five of the survey respondents were not enrolled in college. Almost two-thirds of these young people were male (n=16), and two-thirds had not graduated from high school. The majority of the students who were not in college reported being employed (58%). Males were much more likely to be working than females; only one of the seven young women who was not in college reported having a job, compared to 81% of the young men. Those who had jobs reported working 40.5 hours each week, and 40% of these students worked more than 40 hours each week, as many as 78 in

one case. All but two, or 92.3%, said they were still planning to enroll in college at some point in the future.

There were 10 students surveyed who indicated they were neither in school nor working, eight of whom were female (87.5%). Half of these young women were mothers. Neither of the two young men who were not working or in school had married or had children.

College choice processes

The choice to attend college is theorized to be the culmination of a three-stage process that begins in seventh grade. The first stage is the predisposition stage, in which postsecondary educational aspirations develop (Nora & Cabrera, 1992). During this stage, parental encouragement is the strongest factor, which includes both maintaining high educational aspirations and parental involvement in school matters. In the second stage, information about college options is accumulated, typically beginning in the 10th grade and concluding during the senior year of high school. Access to this kind of information is linked to socioeconomic status (McDonough, 1997), with lower-income students relying primarily on their high school counselors.

As noted in Chapter 4, when students initially transitioned to U.S. high schools, they encountered many differences in the school structure, instruction, and expectations that took time to adapt to. When it came time to consider college options, and even after they had chosen their postsecondary pathways, they continued to draw from a different frame of reference than many of their peers.

Students' college knowledge was uneven, which further impacted the range of colleges they considered. Several of the community college faculty interviews noted that immigrant students had limited awareness of how the U.S. higher education system was structured. Knowledge of the time to degree, the differences between

community colleges, four-year institutions, and the kinds of degrees offered at different institutions was uneven. Data from the postsecondary survey bore out these observations. Table 5.1 provides students' self-assessments of their knowledge of the advantages and disadvantages of attending various types of institutions among the students were had enrolled in college after high school (n=31)

Table 5.1.

I think I know the advantages and disadvantages of going to a . . .

Institution Type	% (n=31)
Community college	83.3% (25)
Four-Year University	36.7 (11)
Public university vs. private university	26.7 (8)
For-profit college/university	6.7 (2)

Overall, students were much more likely to indicate they knew the advantages and disadvantages of attending a community college than any other institutional type. Most of the students who knew the pros and cons of attending a community college (57.7%) did not possess similar knowledge of four-year institutions, but the difference was not significant (p < 0.1).

The final stage of the college choice process is the decision to enroll, which is tightly linked to costs and financial aid for low-income students (Cabrera & La Nasa, 2000). For the students in this study, college choice processes were tightly linked to perceived costs:

> Jimena: pues porque no tenía como las clases requeridas para moverme directo a la universidad y tenía que completar aquí. Aparte porque es lo más cerca y porque una universidad, si no tienes beca o algo así, pues te sale muy cara. ¿Y como la voy a pagar?

Jimena: Well, because I didn't have the required classes to move directly to the university and I had to complete them here. Apart from that, it is the costs and a university, if you don't have a scholarship or something like that, is very expensive. And how would I pay for it?

Concerns about cost, as well as location were the principal factors influencing their college choice among the students in this study, which resulted in overwhelmingly deciding to attend a nearby community college.

Table 5.2.

On a scale from 1-5, how much did each of the following impact where you went to college?

Factor	Mean Score 1-5 scale, 1 not at all, 5 a lot (SD)
Cost	3.5 (0.28)
Location	3.0 (0.29)
Counselor recommendation	3.0 (0.27)
Work schedule	2.8 (0.33)
Parental preference	2.5 (0.27)
Friend recommendation	2.4 (0.28)

Survey results indicated that cost had the greatest impact on students' college selections. In interviews, students further emphasized that cost and location had been key considerations, particularly among the community college students.

With respect to cost, students emphasized that they attended the local community college because they considered a university to be too expensive. "Una universidad es muy cara y es como . . . no tengo (a university is very expensive and it's like . . . I don't have it) explained Rafael, who was an exceptional student in high school, and had not given much consideration to attending a four-year university.

Many students specified that they selected the nearby community college because it was close to their families. "Está más cerca de mi casa," said several students (it's closer to my home). Very few students left the city where they had gone to high school, and 90% of those in college were still living at home with their parents. One exception was Martín, who was attending a Texas community college on a baseball scholarship. A recruiter initially offered him a scholarship to attend a Division I university (also in Texas), but was he ineligible because he had not taken a college admissions exam, and also because he had not taken enough English (as described in Chapter 4). He explained that he had been scared to take the SAT or ACT because the exams required a Social Security number, and he did not have one. As a result, he instead accepted a scholarship to a community college and planned to transfer to the one that had initially recruited him.

Martín's experience illustrates just how important involvement in extra-currricular activities, in his case sports, can be. Chapter 4 noted how involvement in extra-curricular activities afforded students opportunities to practice English. But the connections Martín made on the baseball team also helped him to access difference college options. Even before securing the scholarship, he had been making plans to get out of town for college. He had begun making arrangements to go to a community college outside of Los Angeles (Rio Hondo), where he would be able to live with a relative and play for the baseball team. His high school baseball coach had a previously played with the coach of the Rio Hondo team, and had helped him to connect with the team there. He wanted to leave the Desierto Regal because he felt that being so close to Mexicali would be too much of a distraction from his studies. Many students returned to Mexicali on the weekends to party, and he knew it would be hard to resist going out with his friends if he stayed close to home.

Accessing four-year universities.

Four-year universities were out of reach for many of the students not only because of their perceived cost, but also because they had not completed the course prerequisites. One exception to this was Gael, who attended a large high school in Los Angeles and, in addition to excelling academically with a GPA and fulfilling all of his a-g requirements, was a dedicated athlete and selected for Boys State.[30] He decided not to apply to college his senior year, and explained how he made his decision for the welfare of his family:

> Gael: Mi decisión fue más por mi familia, no tanto por mí. Yo quería seguir adelante, pero también pensaba en ellos y en que ellos necesitaban mi ayuda. Entonces ya, terminé mi high school y necesitaba ayudarlos, ya después, tal vez mas tarde regresaré al estudio. Ya después que les ayude a ellos, feliz completamente, que ellos tengan una casa segura donde puedan vivir y tengan un negocio para que ellos se puedan mantener solos, entonces yo vuelvo a la escuela.

> Gael: My decision was more for my family, not so much for me. I wanted to keep going, but I was thinking about them and they needed my help. So, I finished my high school and I needed to help them, and then maybe later go back to school. Later, once I help them, completely happy, when they have a safe home where they can live and a business so they can support themselves on their own, then I'll go back to school

Gael had come to the U.S. on his own when he was 14, and lived with his aunt, who had been in Los Angeles for several years and owned a small business in the neighborhood. His parents remained in Mexico, and when his father became ill his senior year, he put aside his hopes for college and began working a series of low paying, under the table, jobs. In an interview with one of Gael's classmates, the student explained why some undocumented students did not pursue postsecondary education:

> Flor: Creo que fue el mismo pensamiento de...por no tener papeles o algo así, como que no buscan más, su mentalidad es tan neutral como...no quieren pensar más arriba, no sé cómo decirlo. Como que no tienen expectativa, solo graduarse y empezar a trabajar.

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[30] Boys State is a prestigious, highly competitive summer leadership program run by the American Legion. High schools nominate one or two students for participation.

Flor: I think it was the same idea of . . . not having papers or something like that, it's like they don't seek more, their mentality is more neutral like . . . they don't want to think higher, I don't know how to say it. It's like they don't have expectations, just to graduate and start working.

Gael serves as an example of the difficult of the transition to adulthood for undocumented youth. So long as they are in the K-12 system, there is a degree of inclusion and protected status that abruptly ends once they exit the system (Gonzales, 2011). As an adult lacking legal authorization to reside in the U.S., Gael's identity shifted from that of a student leader and athlete optimistic about the future to learning to be an undocumented adult.

Unlike Gael, Flor did not have to contend with undocumented status. Her grandmother had sponsored her family (a process that had taken 10 years), so she was eligible for financial aid. Her senior year, she applied to several in-state four-year colleges with architecture programs. An EOP[31] representative from a local state university had reached out to her in high school her senior year, and this university ended up being the only one she was accepted to. In addition, her mother's participation in a PIQE parent empowerment course offered through Project SOL had been a key factor. After completing the course, her mother strongly encouraged her to attend a four-year college, as she knew there was a greater risk of her not finishing if she began her studies at a community college.

Selena, the only other student in the in-depth sample attending a four-year university, cited a high school trip to a local state university her sophomore year as having been a key turning point. Ever since visiting the campus, she had her heart set on attending. Like Flor, she had also considered some other universities, including some that were out of state, but when it came time to apply, she opted for the local

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[31] EOP is the Educational Opportunity Program, which is designed to improve access and retention of historically low-income and educationally disadvantaged students.

option, largely for the same reasons many of her peers chose community colleges: it was close to home and affordable. Moreover, her high school counselor had advised her against attending a community college. That Selena was pushed to try for a four-year college is notable, as many other students were automatically routed to community colleges. However, in an interview with the head counselor from Selena's high school, the counselor distinguished Selena from other newcomers, noting her strong academic preparation prior to migrating, which could explain why she was treated differently than many of her peers. For example, Teresa, who attended the same high school as Selena, indicated in her interview that in high school that she had not understood the difference between a community college and a university, including the different requirements for each, and felt the information she received from high school was inadequate.

Regretting their decisions and leaving the community college.

Seventeen of the 21 students interviewed had attended community colleges after high school. However, there were some who expressed regrets, including some who withdrew after the first or second semester. For example, Diego, who stated he had started taking classes at the local community college in part just to get out of the house, decided after one semester that he did not like the community college because it was too much like high school, and dropped out to work. Initially, he had joined a norteño band touring the U.S. and Mexico playing the accordion, then later returned to Desierto Regal and secured employment installing solar energy infrastructure. He thought he might eventually enroll in one of the nearby Mexican universities, but had little interest in returning to the local community college.

Like Diego, Monica was also frustrated by her experiences at the local community college. She went directly to the community college after graduating high

138

school, but after a year was very frustrated by how difficult it was to get into the classes she needed, so she began researching other options. She and her family visited various for-profit technical schools and other local community colleges. She found the community colleges to be disorganized, and it was very difficult to access counselors. In contrast, when she visited a nearby for-profit school she had seen on television, she liked the way they treated her and family immediately:

> Monica: Pues ahí me gustó la forma en que trataban, como tal las personas. Te pasan esa buena vibra de querer estudiar, te motivan, todos los días te dicen algo como para motivarte, lo que tienes que hacer y eso.

> Monica: Well, there I liked the way they treated you, the people as such. They pass on a good vibe of wanting to study, they motivate you, everyday they say something to motivate you, what you have to do, and all that.

Monica and her husband were paying quite a large sum of tuition for her 10-month dental assistant program. Nonetheless, she felt that she had made the right decision, as she felt her time at the community college had been a waste of time, and she was now in a program that she hoped would provide her with a career in a much shorter period of time.

Like Monica, Alfonso also went to a for-profit technical school after seeing it advertised on T.V. When he first visited the school, they offered him a free trial to see how he liked it, and shortly after he decided it was a good option. He had considered attending one of the nearby community colleges, but was deterred by the length of time the other programs would require. In his estimation, at a community college it would take two to three years to complete a career, while at the for-profit he selected, he was able to finish a program in only 10 months. On the day he was interviewed, he came directly from a job interview wearing a suit. He had just completed his dental assistant program the day before, and was now seeking an internship.

Because these two students in for-profit technical schools were either in the middle of their programs or newly minted graduates, there were insufficient data to draw conclusions about their overall outcomes. At the time of their interviews, the students were satisfied with their programs, and particularly, appreciated that they were able to begin a course of study related to their career immediately, without taking any remedial or general education courses. They expected to readily find employment once they graduated and to be well-positioned to pursue further education and professional opportunities. However, recently released data from the Education Department indicates that such short-term programs from for-profit schools are most likely to fail to produce gainful employment. Moreover, where earnings data were available, 72% of graduates of for-profit programs earn less than high school dropouts (Quinton, 2014). In California, the annual earnings for students who had attained a dental assistant certificate from a proprietary institution averaged $14,577 (U.S. Department of Education, 2012).

Returning to Mexico for college.

Almost half (46.9%) of the students indicated on their survey that they had considered going to college in Mexico or another country, but only two of the students who completed the postsecondary survey were attending college in Mexico, one of whom participated in an interview via Skype. Lorena explained in her interview that she had come to the U.S. for high school with every intention of returning to Mexico for college upon graduation. By the time she had returned to her hometown the summer after graduating high school, she had missed the deadline for taking the college's admissions exam, but because her family had personal connections to the university, she was allowed to take the exam late and enroll in classes in the fall.

Returning to Mexico for college was an option that students by and large had received little information about while in high school. At one of the border region high schools, many of the students had taken a Spanish version of the SAT that was accepted at one of the Mexican universities in the region. But beyond this, there was little systemic communication to the students about Mexican postsecondary options. Nonetheless, close to half (46.9%) of survey respondents indicated they had considered attending college in Mexico or another country, which was consistent across regions.

College Knowledge Gaps and Expectations

Students found the U.S. higher education system contrasted sharply with the higher education systems in Mexico and other countries, which partially explained this lack of understanding of degree programs, time to degree, and variations across institutional types. Once in college, students also demonstrated uneven understandings of what types of institutions awarded different types of degrees. While the majority of students were aware of the kinds of institutions that awarded bachelor and associate degrees, there were also some who had misconceptions, such as believing a bachelor degree could be earned at a community college, as shown in Table 5.3. Overall, 74% of survey respondents had selected an incorrect institutional type for one or more degrees and/or stated they did not know which type of school would yield a particular degree.

Table 5.3.

What kind of school would you need for the following degrees?

Degree	Community College	4-Year College/University	Don't Know	Other	Total
Bachelors	7.4%	66.7%	14.8%	11.1%	100.0%
	(2)	(18)	(4)	(3)	(27)
Associates	57.1%	17.9	17.9	7.4	100.0
	(16)	(5)	(5)	(2)	(28)
Vocational	46.4	21.4	28.6	3.6	100.0
certificate	(13)	(6)	(8)	(1)	(28)

This lack of understanding of degree programs was further evident when students reported their own programs of study, with community college students being particularly misinformed. Among the 26 community college students, two reported they were in bachelor's degree programs, and eight (30.7%) did not know why type of degree they were working toward. The extent to which students found themselves in non-credit bearing developmental courses may have also made it difficult to identify with being in a degree program, described further later in this chapter.

Degree and Career Goals

In spite of the confusion that students may have had about the higher education system and degree programs, their reported aspirations were high. Three-quarters of students planned to earn at least a four-year degree, more than half of whom planned to obtain an advanced degree. The average amount of time students estimated it would take to earn their chosen degree ranged from 3.5 to 8 years, as depicted in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4.

Degree Goals and Estimated Time to Completion

Degree Goal	% of Students Planning to Earn	Average Estimated Time to Completion
Vocational certificate	6.7 (2)	4.5
Associate (A.A./A.S.)	13.3% (4)	3.7
Bachelor (B.A./B.S.)	33.3 (10)	5
Masters (M.A., M.S., etc.)	23.3 (7)	6.4
Doctorate (Ph.D. or Ed.D)	6.7 (2)	8
M.D., D.O., D.D.D., or D.V.M.	10.0 (3)	5
Other (Unspecified)	6.7 (2)	3.5
Total/Average	100.0 (30)	5.22

Note: The survey provided law and divinity degree options, which no one selected. Among the community college students, 36% (n=9) expressed plans to transfer. 33% said they might transfer, or did not know. The remaining 37% were not planning to transfer.

For the most part, student estimates of the length of time to degree were more or less reasonable, with a notable exception being the three students who aspired to become physicians or dentists. Among this group of students, two were attending for-profit dental assistant programs, where in interviews they seemed to have been given an unrealistic timeline from their schools. For example, Monica was completing a 10-month dental assistant program, and seemed to think she would later be able to enroll directly in a school of dentistry to become a pediatric dentist, not realizing that most dental programs require applicants to have completed a four-year degree.

Developing career awareness is considered a key aspect of college knowledge, and particularly salient for newcomers who may still be developing their understanding of how to best navigate the U.S. school system. On the postsecondary

survey, three quarters of students affirmed they had a career goal, and more than a third of students overall felt that they needed to improve their knowledge of how to prepare for their desired career. To some extent, low-income students generally have less knowledge of the requirements for different career paths, and high schools and colleges may incorrectly assume that students know things like becoming a pediatrician requires going to medical school, after having earned a B.S. and performing well on the MCATs. Immigrant students are especially likely to not have this information initially, and may not find it out until it is too late to prepare.

Limited employment options along the border.

Students in the Desierto Regal who planned to stay in the area, as almost all of them did, had few occupational options. One student said that there were really only three options: nursing, agricultural work, and law enforcement positions with the Border Patrol or U.S. Customs. The most popular of these options was work with the Border Patrol or U.S. Customs. Four out of the 10 students interviewed from the Desierto Regal stated this as their career goal. Students saw these jobs as providing opportunities for advancement, and knew that federal jobs provided good pay and pensions. Border Patrol recruiters had told them that they could retire within 20 years. Two of the students specifically mentioned that they liked the uniform.

<div align="center">Placement Testing</div>

College and university placement tests are critical because they determine whether or not and the extent to which students will need developmental courses, which has important implications for the overall cost of their education, time to completion, and likelihood of attaining a degree and/or transferring. This section begins with an overview of the placement testing processes, focusing primarily on

<div align="center">144</div>

community colleges in California, then examines the experiences of the students as reported on their surveys and in interviews.

Variations in Testing Processes Across the Campuses

The tests used to place students in community colleges and universities vary from one campus to the next (Bunch et al., 2011), and considerable variation was found across the colleges students attended, both in the timing of the exam and the exams themselves. Table 5.5 summarizes the testing processes across the community colleges students were attending, noting when the tests were administered, the tests used, whether or not a separate ESL exam was given, and the retake policy.

Table 5.5

Placement Test Procedures across Community Colleges

Institution	Timing	Test(s) Used	Separate ESL Exam	Retake Policy
Desierto Regal College	Spring of senior year of HS	ACCUPLACER	No	Appeal to Matriculation Director
Los Angeles Community College #1	Prior to registration	ACCUPLACER No writing component	Yes—ACCUPLACER ESL test	Students must wait a minimum of eight weeks to retake the placement exam and may only retake once in a one-year period.
Punta del Mar College	Prior to registration	MDTP for Math and CTEP for English and Reading	Yes—Self-directed placement	Students may attempt each of the placement tests twice in any one semester, three times maximum.
Los Angeles Community College #2	Prior to registration	ACCUPLACER Writing exam	Yes—ESL Reading Test (CELSA) and ESL Writing sample	Cannot repeat the test within a 6-month period. May request challenge form to dispute placement. Chemistry readiness assessment cannot be retaken.

Note: Data obtained from community college faculty interviews and assessment office websites

ACCUPLACER, a College Board exam, was used at three of the four community colleges students attended. The timing of the test administration ranged from spring of the high school senior year to the summer prior to fall registration. There was wide variation in the process for retaking placement tests and/or appealing the results. California state regulations require colleges to have a process in place for students to challenge course prerequisites, of which placement exams are often a key component

(Bunch & Endris, 2012). However, in practice, making such challenges was sometimes discouraged. The DRC Assessment Center website stated:

> "in accordance with Matriculation regulations [Title V, Section 55521(a)(2)], the assessment test is only to be used for initial placement into courses. This means you can only take the test once. Any appeals must be made to the Matriculation Director who is located in the Assessment Center."

Only one of the colleges in Los Angeles included a writing assessment as part of the placement exam. Students were given 45 minutes to respond to a writing prompt, which was then read by two readers. However, professors in the higher-level English classes were said to nonetheless complain bitterly about the level of the students in their classes.[32] At another campus (DRC), the writing portion of the assessment had been eliminated in order to cut costs, and an English professor indicated the old method had been more effective than the current reliance on ACCUPLACER.

ESL or English Exam?

A potentially important decision point for students is whether to take the ESL or English exam, as some campuses offer separate exams for placement into English and ESL course sequences. At Desierto Regal College, attended by nearly half of the students in the in-depth sample, deciding whether or not to take the ESL test was a moot point, as the ESL exam was embedded within the exam taken by all local students in spring of their senior year of high school. The computer-adaptive exam branched from ESL to English tests depending on students' responses to the questions.

In contrast, at a Los Angeles community college students were given the choice of taking an ESL or English placement exam, and were given little guidance about which exam to take. The testing office, which was under-resourced, provided students with

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[32] A departmental norming process for grading the exams had been eliminated, which was replaced by SLOs.

little direction. Students who spoke English were automatically given the non-ESL placement test. Once students were on the ESL or English track, there was little movement between the two, and there was also little communication between the two departments. Students with questions about which exam to take were directed to the website. At a third community college, located along the border, there were separate placement exams for ESL and English, but the counselor described many students taking both of the exams, depending on their results from the first exam.

Guidance from the California Community College Chancellor's Office states that students cannot be required to take an ESL test, or to enroll in ESL courses (CCCAA, 2005, p. 14, as cited by Bunch & Endris, 2012). However, students who placed into ESL seemed to be under the impression that they were required to complete the ESL sequence before beginning the English sequence. Part of the reason for the variation in the extent to which students had the option of taking one or both exams, or for retaking an exam, was said to be the administrative costs of proctoring the exams.

Preparation for the Placement Tests

Across all sites and interviews, a common theme with respect to the placement exams was the need for students to be better prepared to take them.

Table 5.6

Placement Test Preparation and Knowledge Among Students in College

Preparation/Knowledge Indicator	% (24)[33]
Told to prepare in advance	70.8% (17)
Preparation	
Studied alone	58.3 (14)
None	29.1 (7)
Got help from school or tutor	12.5 (3)
Challenging Results	
Knew how to challenge results	37.5 (9)
Attempted to challenge results	16.7 (4)

The majority of students (70.8%) indicated that they had been told to prepare for the exam in advance, and all but one of the students who had been told to prepare in advance reported that they did in fact make an effort to prepare for the exam. The majority of those who prepared studied alone; only a handful of students had received help from the school or tutor to take the exam. In the interviews, students described how their math teacher, Mr. Aguilar, had incorporated preparation for the placement exam into his math class.

> Entrevistadora: ¿Te preparaste antes para tomar el examen o no?
> Alma: Para el de inglés…prepararme, prepararme no, pero para el de matemáticas sí. El de matemáticas teníamos álgebra 2 con Mr. Aguilar. y él nos decía esto va a venir en el examen de colocación, para que hagan una nota y en su casa lo repasen. Entonces de una manera u otra para el de matemáticas, yo creo que si nos preparamos un poco más.

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[33] Non-response on the placement test questions was rather high because several of the initial survey respondents indicated they had not taken a placement test, and the skip pattern bypassed these questions. The survey question was clarified once this pattern was recognized.

Interviewer: Did you prepare yourself in advance to take the exam, or not?

Alma: For the English…prepare myself, no, but for the math yes. For the math we had Algebra 2 with Mr. Aguilar. And he told us 'this will be on the placement test," to make a note and review it at home. So in one way or another for the math, I think that yes we prepared ourselves a little more.

However, in interviews, some students described how they were informed by a counselor and/or teacher of the importance of the placement test, but were not advised to study or prepare, as the test was intended to measure their current knowledge.

Inez: me dijeron que lo tenías que tratar de hacer bien, porque de ahí iban a mirar como quedabas. Si quedabas bajo, pues te iban a dar clases bajas, y entre más alto quedaras pues menos clases ibas a ocupar tomar.

Entrevistadora: ¿Te prepararon?

Inez: No, dijeron que era como lo que tú sabías.

Inez: They told me to you had to try to do well, because from there were going to look at how you did. If you did bad on it they would give you lower classes, and the better you did the fewer classes you would need to take.

Interviewer: ¿Did they prepare you?

Inez: No, they said it was like what you knew.

Thus, while some students were equipped with the knowledge that the test mattered quite a bit, this did not necessarily translate to studying. As one student put it, the counselor told them they needed to "tomar en serio y no poner lo que sea para terminarlo rápido" (take it seriously and don't put whatever to finish quickly).

While the majority of students indicated they knew they ought to prepare for the exam and prepared (albeit perhaps minimally) in some way, almost a third of the students seemed to be blindsided by the exam, either finding out unexpectedly that they had to take the exam when they arrived on campus to register, or not realizing the true impact of their results on the exam until it was time to register for classes.

> Hugo: hice mi primer examen, no sabía que lo tenía que hacer el primer día que tenía que ir, entonces fui y lo tomé, pésimo. Porque no iba preparado para tomar un examen, no iba bien.

> Hugo: I did my first exam, I didn't know that I had to take it the first day that I had to go, so I went and I took it, awful. Because I had not prepared for an exam, it did not go well.

Hugo was a very conscientious and proactive student who met frequently with his high school counselor and was recognized as a student leader on campus, yet was completely uninformed about the placement testing process. When he received his results, he was surprised to require a developmental math class, as he had taken and passed four years of math in high school, including pre-calculus. Had he known he would be taking the exam on his first day on campus, he undoubtedly would have studied, and perhaps been able to bypass developmental courses all together.

While the spring administration would seem to prevent lower scores related to summer learning loss, any such advantage may have been tempered by the spring fever and senioritis students were experiencing. Some of the students admitted in their interviews they had not fully comprehended the importance of the exam when they took it their senior year, and had not put forth their best effort as a result.

> Isabel: Lo tomamos en forma de juego, no lo tomamos en serio. Y ya que entramos vimos las consecuencias. Nosotros si sabíamos porque vamos en este nivel, por eso fue. Eran las consecuencias.

> Isabel: We took it as a game and did not take it seriously. And as we entered we saw the consequences. We knew why we were in this level, because of that. These were the consequences.

For this student, there were long-lasting consequences for having filled in her answers at random on the placement test. When she registered in the fall, she was placed into the very lowest levels of ESL and math, and would not be able to advance to credit courses for several semesters. But, in spite of having been placed in classes that were likely well below her actual abilities, she did not attempt to challenge these

151

placements or to retake the exam, stating that it had been her mistake, and that it was too late by the time she realized her error to take the test again. Not all students, however, were as accepting of their placement test results.

Challenging Exam Results

Challenging placement test results and advocating for the opportunity to retake the test is a critical skill, particularly for students who initially did not understand the importance of the test and received a score that did not reflect their actual abilities. Nonetheless, most students (62.5%) indicated they did not know how to challenge the results of a placement test. Among those who did know how to challenge their placement test results (n=9), four had attempted to challenge them.

Eduardo had not taken the placement test seriously when he took it his senior year, and when he received his results, he wanted to retake the exam. He described attempting to challenge the results on two separate occasions, and being denied each time. He said he felt stupid because of the ESL classes he had to take, and like he was wasting his time.

> Eduardo: si fue como que…de hecho no porque no sabía mucho, ya cuando llegue aquí, que me dijeron, tienes que tomar desde aquí para llegar acá, para poderte graduar, fue que dije ¡oh es demasiado, que no hice bien! Quise volverlo a intentar, volverlo a hacer y ya no me dejaron, ya no me dieron la oportunidad, porque consumía costos para el estado.
> Entrevistadora: ¿por qué dijeron?
> Eduardo: siempre me decían eso nos cuesta a nosotros aquí en el DRC y hay otros estudiantes que en verdad no lo han tomado y necesitan tomarlo, entonces hay una prioridad para tomarlo. Por el año ese, en los dos semestres siempre iba al principio, quiero volverlo a tomar y no me dejaron nunca.

> Eduardo: it was like . . . actually I didn't know much, and when I got here, I was told, you have to take from here to get here, to be able to graduate, I said, 'Oh it's too much, I did not do well!' I wanted to try again, to do it again, and they wouldn't let me have the chance, because it consumed state costs.
> Interviewer: Why did they say?
> Eduardo: They always told me it costs us here at DRC and there are other

students who have not taken it and really need to take it, so they have the priority to take it. For a year there, for two semesters I always went at the beginning, I wanted to take it again and they never let me.

Eduardo had been a straight-A student before coming to the U.S. his sophomore year of high school, and he adapted fairly easily to his new school. By the spring of his senior year, he had fulfilled all of his graduation requirements and thus worried little about the exam, even though he admitted he had been told to pay careful attention and to take his time. He was understandably very frustrated when he was required to return to the middle of the ESL sequence at the community college, which entailed three semesters of reviewing content he was already familiar with. "Sentía que no avanzaba, en un año me sentí que no avancé (I felt I was not progressing, in a year I felt I did not progress)."

When asked to clarify the petition and retake process, the Assessment Office Director at his college emphasized that students need to take personal responsibility, "if you blow it, that's a choice you're making," she said, explaining that they previously had a more lenient retake policy, and many of the students who retook the exam did no better, and in some cases did worse, the second time around. However, she also noted that the information Eduardo had received from the counselor was inaccurate; the cost of the exam had nothing to do with the retake policy. She stated that she had "plenty of tests," which cost about $10 per each, but that counselors may be "confused."

Placement Testing Outside the Community College System

Like their peers in community colleges, the two students attending four-year universities reported some difficulties with the testing process. Neither prepared at all for the exam, and in spite of having been strong students and advocates for

themselves, they found themselves in need of some remediation, albeit less than many other students.

The only students for whom placement testing was truly a non-issue were those attending for-profit technical schools and Mexican universities. Lorena explained the minimal impact of the exam she had taken at a Mexican university as follows:

> Lorena: Como me acomodaron, el examen era solamente un requisito que tenía que hacer, no importaba mucho.

> Lorena: Since they enrolled me, the examination was only a requirement I had to do, it did not matter much.

Lorena had been permitted to register past the enrollment deadline because of her family's connections to the university. She explained that she did not even think she passed the test, but she was nonetheless allowed to matriculate. Alfonso was attending a dental assistant program at a for-profit technical school. In both cases, the students indicated they had taken an admissions exam, but it seemed to be more of a formality than anything else, and had no bearing on the courses they could take. In these settings, there were no developmental course pathways (or general education requirements, for that matter); they went directly into programs of study that were closely aligned with their chosen careers.

To summarize, the placement testing process did not function optimally. In fact, in many cases the placement tests resulted in course recommendations that required students to repeat courses they had taken in high school. So, once again many students found themselves entering a new system that was not aligned with the one they came from, and was ill-prepared to accurately assess their prior schooling experiences (much as they had in high school). Most students accepted the process as it was, and the few who attempted to challenge the system found little support to this end.

154

Developmental Education

Most students in California who go to college attend community colleges, where few enroll directly into transfer-level classes. Fewer than 15% of students assess at transfer-level math in California community colleges, and only 28% assess in transfer-level English composition (California Community College Chancellor's Office, 2012). Table 5.7 summarizes student placement into developmental courses statewide.

Table 5.7.

Statewide Remediation Rates for Students Entering Fall 2010

Subject	Transfer-Level	1 Level Below Transfer	2 Levels Below Transfer	3 levels below Transfer	≥4 levels below transfer	Total
Math	14.6%	20.6%	24.2%	20.1%	20.6%	100.0%
English Writing	28.4	35.1	20.3	13.8	2.3	100.0
English Reading	37.8	28.1	19.6	11.1	3.6	100.0

Note: Data obtained from Basic Skills Accountability Report, California Community Colleges Chancellor's Office

The majority of students who find themselves in the transfer pipeline do not succeed in completing all of the courses necessary to transfer. Among students who began their studies in 2003-04 requiring one developmental course in math, only 31% had completed a transfer-level math course within eight years. The odds were better for those who needed only one class of developmental English; 56.7% completed transfer-level courses within eight years (California Community College Chancellor's Office, 2012). However, for students who needed more than three developmental courses (as many students do) there was diminished likelihood of becoming transfer-prepared; only 14.1% and 26.9% had completed transfer-level courses in math and

English, respectively.[34] The following section details rates of placement into developmental coursework and students' experiences in these sequences.

Placement into Developmental Sequences

Among the students surveyed, 80% of those who were in college had taken one or more developmental course, summarized in Table 5.8.

Table 5.8.

Student Placement into Developmental Courses (N=30)

	All Students	Females	Males
None	20.0%	20.0	20.0
	(6)	4	2
Any Developmental	80.0	80.0	80.0
Coursework	(24)	(16)	(8)
Both Math and English	63.3	81.3	60.0
	(19)	(13)	(6)
Math only	10.0	6.3	20.0
	(3)	(1)	(2)
English only	6.7	12.5	0
	(2)	(2)	(0)

Most of these students (63.3%) required remediation in both math and English. In English, students estimated they would need to take between one and seven semesters of courses prior to entering transfer-level courses, averaging three semesters overall (about a year and a half). The range for students in developmental math was from one to three classes, averaging 1.7 semesters. Thus, students in the present study found themselves needing, on average, more remediation in English than in math. While California community college students are more likely to require remediation in English than in math overall, the amount of English remediation students surveyed

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[34] The Basic Skill Accountability Report does not specify how many students actually transferred, as it aggregates transfer-prepared students with those who earned any kind of degree or certificate. Transfer Velocity report data for this same cohort of students indicate that 48% of students overall had transferred within eight years, and 38% of Latino students.

required was more than typical, as the greatest proportion of students needing English

remediation statewide require only one class. This amount of remediation in some

cases doubled students' time to transfer or earn a degree or certificate, as Alicia

explained:

> Alicia: Te dicen, te quedas con la idea de que el colegio comunitario es
> más barato, son dos años si te transfieres, pero no es así. Entonces
> quedas con esa idea, y cuando llegas al colegio te das cuenta que no estás
> tan preparado todavía y te mandan hasta bajo en cada cosa y otra vez es
> como si empezaras desde cero, y eso que ibas a hacer dos años vienen
> siendo cuatro años.

> Alicia: They tell you, you get the idea that community college is cheaper,
> that it's two years if you are transferring, but it's not like that. So you're
> left with that idea, and when you get to college you realize that you're not
> really prepared still, and they send you back to the bottom in everything,
> and it's like you're starting from scratch again, and what was going to be
> two years ends up being four years.

In developmental sequences, students found themselves repeating much of the

content they had encountered in high school. For students who repeated courses in

high school that they had taken prior to migrating, this meant they were retaking

courses (such as algebra) for the third time. Jimena explained, "Es como repasando

porque todo eso ya había visto. Es como que ya no pongo tanta atención porqué ya lo

sé, pero tengo que cumplir con las clases ("It's like review because I already saw it. It's

like I don't pay much attention now because I already know it, but I have to take the

classes").

Institutional Responses: Self-Directed Placement and Accelerated Options

Community colleges were well-aware of how few students were successfully

completing the developmental sequences and persisting on to credit-level classes, with

one English faculty member referring to developmental English classes as a "death

mill." One border college (DRC) had recently reduced the number of courses in the

developmental math sequence because so few students were successfully completing

the sequence. The school was also piloting an accelerated course modeled after the transfer-level English course, with additional supports. Students who successfully completed this pilot course could bypass the two preceding developmental English classes, and enroll directly in the one just below transfer-level.

Students had mixed reactions to the pilot course. One student, Jimena, described how after completing her ESL sequence at the college, she had enrolled in the pilot course, hoping to shorten her time in the non-credit remedial courses. She ended up earning a "D," after which she decided to return to start the remedial sequence from the beginning. While she had not succeeded in passing the course, she nonetheless felt the class was worthwhile, and was finding her current classes easy in comparison. If any student might have succeeded in the pilot accelerated course, Jimena would seem a likely candidate. She excelled in high school and was a diligent student. But, even for her the accelerated course failed to reduce her time in remedial courses.

Taking the Long Route: Choosing Remediation

Remedial course sequences incur additional financial and time costs for students, yet several of the students interviewed indicated a preference for completing the remedial sequences in their entirety, explaining that they felt this provided them with a valuable review and reinforced concepts they may not have fully understood (or paid attention to) in high school. For example, some of the students interviewed who had the option take the pilot course and reduce their time in the remedial courses sequence preferred to begin the sequence at the lower level. This was the case for Blanca:

> Blanca: me dijeron que no ocupaba tomarlas si no quería, que podía brincarme el nivel, pero yo decidí tomarlas.
> Entrevistadora: ah sí ¿por qué?

Blanca: porque siento que me ayudarían a refrescar la memoria de lo que ya había aprendido.
Entrevistadora: ¿y estando en esas clases cómo te sientes?
Blanca: bien, siento que ya aprendí cosas.

Blanca: I was told I didn't have to take them if I didn't want to, that I could skip a level, but I decided to take them.
Interviewer: Ah, yes, why?
Blanca: Because I feel they could help me refresh my memory of what I had already learned.
Interviewer: And now being in those classes how do you feel?
Blanca: Good, I feel I've learned things.

This pattern of students opting for remediation, even when alternatives were in place to potentially bypass portions of the sequence, is notable for two reasons. For one, it demonstrates a lack of awareness of the increased risk of not persisting to transfer-level courses. While it is well established in the literature that more remediation is associated with diminished likelihood of ever completing credit-bearing courses (and published for all to see on the Community College Chancellor's Office website for each institution), students seemed unaware of this reality. Furthermore, choosing remediation is reminiscent of a broader phenomenon of "under-matching" among Latinos in higher education, in which students are more likely to attend community colleges than four-year institutions, even when controlling for socioeconomic background, academic preparation, and degree intention (Kurlaender, 2006).

The prevalence and normalization of remediation was further reflected in students' comments during their interviews. For example, Inez, who had taken four years of math in high school and met the a-g requirements, found herself in remedial math, two levels beneath transfer-level math. Yet, she came across as not concerned: "pues en el de matemáticas quedé en la clase de matemáticas 80, creo que es como la normal, la mitad o algo así" (well in math I was in Math 80 class, I think it's like normal, halfway or something like that).

The Exceptions: Students Outside the Remedial Sequences

The students in college who were not taking any developmental English courses were few and far between. Ernesto, a male student from Punta del Mar, went directly into transfer-level English. In his interview, he said that for him speaking English was much more difficult than reading and comprehension. His senior year of high school, he had to take ELD 7/8, English 9, English 11, and English 12. Like Ernesto, Flor also bypassed remedial English when she began her studies at a state university. Unlike Ernesto, who was shy and reserved, Flor was extremely outgoing, and her frequent posts on Facebook were always in English. She had also participated in several sports, which exposed her to English-speaking peers.

Students outside of the California public higher education system--those at Mexican universities and for-profit technical schools--did not have to contend with remedial courses. They went directly into coursework for their programs of study, much of which was focused on developing the specific skills and knowledge they would need for their chosen careers.

Taken together, these brief examples of student experiences in developmental sequences suggest that, even when there are structures in place to minimize their time in non-credit bearing courses, students still find themselves spending a lot of time there.

ESL in College

Community colleges often offer different types of ESL programs, which are distinguished from the developmental English sequences. For example, at one of the border region community colleges, an "Everyday ESL" program was available for students seeking to attain sufficient English to communicate in English and interact in stores, restaurants, and offices in their community. A completely separate track, with

more than double the number of courses, was the academic English program, intended for students who needed a stronger foundation in academic language and skills for college courses. Developmental English sequences differ from academic ESL sequences in that there is greater emphasis on writing, specifically topics such as sentence structure, writing paragraphs, and writing and comprehending essays.

Developing proficiency in academic English takes several years, and at the time of the postsecondary interviews, while most students reported they were able to speak, read, write, and understand spoken English "well" or "very well," close to a third indicated they were lacking in one or more areas. Overall, eight (27.6%) of the students currently enrolled in college indicated they had taken ESL courses in college on the postsecondary survey, six of whom were also interviewed. Complete college ESL sequences can take between two and two and a half years, after which students often still need to complete developmental reading and writing courses prior to enrolling in college-level English. However, since all of the students in the sample had progressed through ESL/ELD in high school and learned sufficient English to pass at least one mainstream English class, very few had to complete the college ESL sequence in its entirety.

Most of the students taking ESL classes in college started out at an intermediate level (3 or 4 out of 5 in the sequence). Table 5.9 lists the students in the in-depth sample who were taking ESL courses in college, as well as their time in residency, years of K-12 ESL, and highest level of high school English.

161

Table 5.9

Students Taking ESL in College Among the Postsecondary Interview Sample

Student	Level Started in College	Years in U.S.	Years of K-12 ESL	Highest Level H.S. English
Isabel	Level 1 (of 5)	5	3	Freshman English
Teresa	Level 2 (of 4)	5	4	Senior English
Eduardo	Level 3 (of 5)	5	2	Freshman English
Magdalena	Level 3 (of 5)	10	6	Freshman English
Jimena	Level 4 (of 5)	5	2	Freshman English
Clementina	Level 4 (of 5)	5	4	Sophomore English

All of the students in college ESL classes were attending border region community colleges. In high school, none had taken more than freshman or sophomore English, with the exception of Teresa. Most of the ESL students in the in-depth sample were female, but on the survey there was no statistically significant difference in the likelihood of female and male students taking ESL in college.

Being sent back to ESL, in spite of testing out of it.

All but one of the students were directed to ESL based on their performance on the ACCUPLACER exam, which had been administered the spring of their senior year, and as described in the preceding section on testing, several students did not feel was a true reflection of their abilities. The one exception to this was Teresa, who attended a community college in the San Diego region where students self-selected either the ESL or English exam. In Teresa's case, she initially chose the English exam and was placed in developmental English based on her placement test scores. She said that she

personally felt fine in the classes initially, but was repeatedly told by her reading instructor that she needed to return to ESL:

> Teresa: Me sentía bien en las clases de inglés, pero en la de lectura la maestra siempre me decía, 'oh, tienes que tomar ESL' y me enseñaba todos los papeles de todos mis semestres, y me decía… 'tienes que tomar ESL, tienes que tomar ESL,' y así.

> Teresa: I felt good in the English classes, but in the reading class the teacher always told me, 'oh, you have to take ESL' and showed me all the papers from my semesters, and she said … 'you have to take ESL, you have to take ESL,' and so on.

In her interview, Teresa said that the discouragement from her instructor had been disheartening, and over time she put less effort into her work as a result. She ultimately heeded the advice of the English instructor, and her second year of college enrolled solely in ESL and physical education classes. She was finding the ESL classes too easy, and repeatedly noted how slowly the instructor spoke, and how basic the content was. She did her homework in class while the teacher was lecturing, and was bored overall, "no es como estoy viendo algo nuevo, es algo que ya vi," (it's not like I'm seeing anything new, it's something I already saw) she said.

Magdalena was one of the few long-term EL students in the in-depth sample. She had been in the U.S. since the 6th grade, and completed six years of ESL and one year of mainstream sophomore English. In high school, she had avoided taking certain classes and participating in sports other than soccer that made her uncomfortable, because of the language [English] or because of the white players. However, she easily passed the CAHSEE on her first try. When she came to college, she was focused primarily on learning English and completing the ESL sequence. She said that she understood English, but she still could not really speak it. Magdalena described how in high school it had been hard to practice because students (including other Latino students) would make fun of those who were learning English when they made mistakes. In college, she

163

described a less hostile learning environment, but she had still failed a grammar class and gone on academic probation as a result. After a year at the community college, she left to complete an accounting program at a private employment training center that reported a 65% placement rate into relevant jobs for its graduates. At the time of her interview, she had been seeking work for several months without success, and was considering returning to school for nursing.

Across the community colleges, attitudes toward ESL varied. Faculty at one of the community colleges in Los Angeles indicated that ESL courses were stigmatized, and typically only taken by international students. As a result, a counselor who worked closely with many immigrant students said that many students who might have benefitted from an advanced ESL class instead placed in developmental English. An English instructor on this same campus noted that each semester she has one or two students in developmental English who should actually be in ESL. In contrast, at community colleges along the border, ESL seemed to be less stigmatized. For example, Alma, a student at Desierto Regal College, explained how she had tested out of ESL, but attempted to return to ESL classes because she felt under-prepared, particularly in writing. However, in her case, when she had spoken with a counselor, they told her she was not allowed to take ESL based on her placement test score. An ESL teacher at Alba's community college noted that many students on the campus preferred ESL courses to developmental English courses, as they were lacking confidence in their ability to succeed in the English courses.

There were also regional differences in the amount of exposure that students had in their daily lives to English. Overall, two-thirds of participants indicated they were not practicing English very often. However, this varied significantly depending on the region; those in Los Angeles were more than twice as likely to indicate they

164

practiced English often than those who lived near the border (52.4% vs. 20.6%, $p < 0.001$). The few students who felt that they spoke English "very well," were also primarily in the Los Angeles area, but the difference between the two regions was not significant ($p < 0.1$). Among the students who were in college, those who were in the border regions were significantly less likely to rate themselves are speaking English "very well" ($p < 0.05$).

To summarize, students' college experiences in ESL were most prevalent at the border region community colleges. While some students preferred to start out in ESL because they were not confident in their ability to succeed in mainstream courses, others were placed in ESL who did not feel they belonged there, and did not feel like they were benefiting from the classes they felt required to take.

Academic Experiences

Academically, students' experiences varied considerably. To the extent that students encountered academic challenges, writing was the most prevalent issue. Students also contended with low expectations in their classes and a lack of rigor, particularly in developmental sequences. But in spite of the perceived lack of rigor, failing courses was commonplace, and at the same time contended with many challenges outside of school that compromised their studies.

College or High School 2.0?

Much of the literature on college readiness emphasizes the dramatic change in rigor and expectations for the students from high school to college, which many are unprepared for. This includes things such as a much greater volume of reading, greater weight given to exams, and fewer opportunities to boost one's grade with extra credit, to name but a few examples.

Half of the students interviewed, across a range of community colleges and one Mexican university, said that, overall, they had not found college to be much more challenging than high school, and many said it was essentially the same. This observation was especially prevalent among students in ESL and developmental courses, where much of the content was a repetition of what they had seen in high school. "No es nada que diga que esto es un colegio, a veces me siento que estoy en la high school, pues no veo la diferencia" ("There's nothing that says that this is college, sometimes I feel like I'm in high school"), said Clementina.

This repetition of content from high school and lack of rigor dampened the students' enthusiasm for their studies. Most of them described how they were nervous and excited when they first started college, but over time, as they were not challenged in their courses and encountered low expectations, they invested little effort. Some of the students specifically noted that if their classes were more challenging, they would be compelled to put in more effort. As it was, it was all too easy for students to put off their work. Jimena said that she wished that her community college was more challenging, explaining:

> Jimena: pues a lo mejor si fuera más difícil, como le pondría más empeño a las cosas, pero como…a mí se me hace como que es fácil pues digo ¡ay al ratito lo hago! O lo dejas todo para lo último porque está bien fácil.

> Jimena: Well, maybe if it were more difficult, you would put more effort into things, but like . . I find it like, easy, so I say, "I'll do it in a little while!" Or you leave everything for the last minute because it is very easy.

Only a handful of students who were interviewed reported encountering some significant changes in college compared to what they had experienced in high school, in terms of less hand-holding, but few students emphasized experiencing a significant change in the academic rigor once they got to college. Alma emphasized the need for students to work much more independently in college:

> Alma: Tienes que tener más responsabilidades y la escuela es muy
> diferente y ya como te decía, los maestros no andan atrás de ti, que
> tienes que entregar este trabajo. O sea, si tú quieres hablar con un
> consejero, tienes que ir a hacer una cita, cuando en la High School
> querías hablar con algún consejero nada más te ibas a la oficina y él
> estaba.

> Alma: You have more responsibilities and the school is very different and
> like I told you, the teachers don't follow you around, so that you turn in
> an assignment. Like, if you want to speak with a counselor, you have to
> make an appointment, when in high school if you wanted to talk to a
> counselor you would just go to the office and he was there.

Hugo noted that he spent much more time on homework than he had in high school (which was no time at all). Whereas in high school, he was able to complete his homework in class, or in just a few minutes at home, he was now having to complete extended assignments, such as essays, and reported spending one to two hours nightly on his math homework.

The most prevalent academic challenge students cited in college was writing. On the survey, almost two-fifths of students felt under-prepared in writing as they transitioned to college. This pattern was confirmed in the student interviews, when eight of the 20 college students interviewed cited writing as having been a key challenge for them. Students found in-class essay exams to be among the most challenging, given the time limitation and lack of support. Some students described challenges with writing related to language, such as grammatical errors or a lack of academic vocabulary in English. But some students, such as Selena, highlighted the lack of alignment between what they had learned in high school English courses and the expectations they encountered in college:

> Selena: Como, aquí te piden que pongas la introducción, como se siente el
> autor y el tono del autor, y otras cosas… yo no sabía nada de eso. A
> penas lo estoy aprendiendo. O sea, deberían de enseñar más sobre ese
> aspecto. Y muchas veces aquí también te dicen, '¡Oh tú lo viste en la high
> school, ah estás bien! ¡Ay no, no lo vi en la High School, me lo puedes
> explicar!

Selena: Like, here you are asked to put the introduction, how the author feelsand the author's tone, and other things ... I didn't not know anything about that. I'm barely learning. I mean, they should teach more about that aspect. And lots of times here they tell you, 'Oh you saw it in High School, ah you're OK! Uh no, I did not see it in high school, can explain it to me!?

Overall, it seemed that while students were challenged academically at times, there was not the increase in rigor that is typically associated with the transition to college. This was most prevalent among students at community colleges in developmental and ESL sequences, where they found themselves repeating content they had encountered in high school (and in some cases, middle school) settings. However, relatively easy course content did not always result in students' academic success.

Being Told "It's OK if You Fail"

Data on student academic outcomes were mixed. Overall, self-reported cumulative college GPAs were all in the C or better range, with the greatest proportion of students (43%) indicating they were in the B- to C+ range. However, while students seemed to be maintaining passing GPAs overall, the majority (57%, n=18) indicated they had failed one or more classes in college. Among the students who had failed a class, the majority (62.5% had failed an English class, ESL or remedial. On surveys, students attributed their courses performance to several reasons, as shown in Table 5.10.

Table 5.10.

Reasons for Failing College Classes as Reported by Students

Reason	Proportion of Students (Total N=18)
Did not try hard enough	42.9
	(6)
Bad teacher/did not like teacher	35.7
	(5)
English skills	28.6
	(4)
Class was too hard	28.5
	(4)
Too many absences	14.3
	(2)
Work obligations	7.1
	(1)

Note: Figures do not sum to 100 because students were permitted to choose more than one response.

The most prevalent reason students gave for failing a class was that they had not tried hard enough. Most of the students who said they had failed one or more classes were planning to retake the class (76.9%). Two-thirds of students (n=18, 66.7%) indicated they knew their college's policy regarding how many times they could retake a failed course, and this was consistent across those who had and had not failed a class.

Some of the students described being told by instructors and counselors not to worry too much if they failed a class, since they could retake it. Jimena, who failed a developmental English class, explained:

> Jimena: El maestro me dijo como, 'si no la pasas no te preocupes porque yo sé que fuiste muy buena estudiante, pero tienes que tomarlo otra vez, es como una práctica. No me sentí mal porque aprendí mucho.

> Jimena: The teacher told me 'if you do not pass do not worry because I know you were a good student, but you have to take it again, it's like a practice.' I did not feel bad because I learned a lot.

> Jimena ended up earning a D in the class, and even though she felt like she had

gained some important skills from the class, she received nothing in the way of credit

169

for her efforts. Like Jimena, Selena was also told not to worry much about failing the remedial English class she needed, and Selena ended up taking it three times before finally passing it, with assistance from a tutor. That Selena had to take her remedial English three times is especially notable given that she was one of the few students to complete all of her a-g requirements and enroll directly in a four-year university. Moreover, she had been in honors English her senior year of high school. All of this points to the disconnect between the high school and college pipelines.

While one can imagine that instructors are trying to be encouraging by telling students not to worry too much if they fail a class, such messages obscure the reality that failed courses take time and money, and that even though students may feel like they gained something from the course (and very likely did), they did not earn any credits toward a degree or get any closer in the remedial course sequence to being able to take credit courses. These failed courses also had implications for students' GPAs, which could potentially compromise eligibility for graduate school and/or scholarships in the future, but none of the participants expressed concerns about this. Moreover, there are limits to the number of times students can retake courses at some of the colleges. Thus, any message minimizing the consequences of failing a class should be tempered with reminders of these realities.

Seeking and Finding Support

Help seeking is a key component of college readiness, particularly for students who are contending with academic under-preparation and other challenges. In order to access support, students much be aware of the resources that exist, which many immigrant students are not because of their lack of familiarity with the higher education system. Student surveys indicated that student knowledge of where to obtain support was uneven, as shown in Table 5.11.

Table 5.11

Student Knowledge of Campus Resources (n=31)

	Proportion of Students Indicating Awareness % (n)
Math	70.0% (21)
Career counseling	60.0 (18)
Academic counseling	60.0 (18)
Writing	53.3 (16)
English	53.3 (16)
Financial issues	53.3 (16)
Personal counseling	33.3 (10)

Students' knowledge of resources on campus for help varied by area. More students knew where to go for help with math than anything else (70%). But a large proportion of students indicated they did not know where to go for help with career and academic counseling (40% for each), and almost half was unsure of where to find assistance with writing, English, or financial issues. Moreover, the majority (66.7%) was unaware of how to access personal counseling on campus.

In addition to having uneven awareness of how or where to access the supports that were available, students were very distributed in their level of comfort seeking out help. While 27.6% indicated they were "completely" comfortable seeking out help, nearly a two thirds were only "somewhat" (31%) or "a little" (31%) comfortable seeking help. One in 10 students indicated they were "not at all comfortable" seeking help. The principal barriers students cited were embarrassment (53.3%), language/not knowing if they would be understood (33.3%), not knowing where to go (30%), and preferring to do

171

things independently (26.7%). By and large, the students who were most comfortable and adept seeking out help were those who had also been in frequent contact with their counselors in high school. Those who were less likely to seek out help tended to rely on their friends for information, and/or to postpone seeing a counselor until they felt ready. For example, in the fall of her second year of college Teresa had yet to see a counselor, because she had been waiting until she had selected a major. Given the issues that she had with being redirected to ESL after placing in developmental English, it is a possible a counselor might have been able to help her better navigate this process.

Life Challenges Outside of the Classroom

There were many challenges related to academic behaviors, college knowledge, and life circumstances that impacted students' lives. These included: enrolling in classes, financial struggles, balancing work and family responsibilities, and immigration factors.

The Effects of Community College Budget Cuts

For several students, it was not their experiences in college courses that presented their greatest challenge, but simply being able to enroll in the classes in the first place. Budget cuts in the community college system had made it increasingly difficult for students to register for the classes they needed, which was especially difficult for new students with lower registration priority. Some students received priority because of their participation in special programs, but for others, they found that by the time they were eligible to register, many of the classes they needed were already full. Students had to then either try to enroll via the waiting list, "crash" the course and appeal to the instructor in person, or make do with taking whatever other class they could find that was still open. As a result, as in high school, students ended

up taking classes that did little to move them toward completing the specific credit requirements needed to transfer or complete an associate degree.

This difficulty accessing classes had negative consequences for students' time to degree. For example, Rafael, who needed very little remediation when he entered the community college, and was attending full-time, nonetheless expected it would take him a total of four years to transfer because of delays related to classes he needed for his major (law enforcement) being full.

> Rafael: He batallado en algunas materias . . . en algunas pues se llenó la clase y me tuve que esperar para y tuve que agarra otra materia que no va ni al caso con lo que yo estoy estudiando. Pues es como que me atrasa un poco, pero está bien pues a la vez aprendo algo nuevo. Porque luego uno lo que quiere es terminar y seguir.

> Rafael: I have struggled in some subjects . . . some because the class was full and I had to wait and I had to take another course that didn't matter for what I am studying. So, it's like it delayed me a bit, but it's OK because meanwhile I learn something new. But then what you want is to finish and go on.

Given the cost associated with taking classes, this additional time taking classes that delayed completion limited the financial resources students would have for college in the future. And, finances were one of the most pressing challenges for students.

Finances

In high school, students had concerns about their ability to finance college, and these concerns continued for students who were in college. The majority of student survey respondents (60%) were receiving some form of financial aid. Students also utilized their own earnings, family resources, grants, and scholarships to cover college expenses. None of the students surveyed indicated they were taking out loans for college (though it is almost certain some of their financial aid package included loan assistance).

173

Table 5.12

Resources Being Used to Pay for College

Source	% of students using (N=30)
Financial Aid	60.0% (18)
Own resources	30.0 (9)
Family resources	20.0 (6)
Grants and/or scholarships	20.0 (6)
Board of Governor's Fee Waiver	10.0 (3)
Personal Fundraiser	3.3 (1)

Note: Figures do not sum to 100 because students were allowed to choose more than one response.

College expenses varied considerably. California community colleges, though tuition has nearly doubled in the past decade, remain much less expensive than those in other states (Bohn, Reyes, & Johnson, 2013). In 2013-14, the national average for public two-year institutions was $3,264, while in California the cost was $1,424 (College Board, 2013). Meanwhile, Lorena, who was attending a public university in Mexico reported paying 1,700 pesos annually for college (about $130 USD), noting that, "es una escuela del gobierno entonces está bárbaro" ("it's a government school, so it's fantastic").

By far, the students who were paying the most for college were the two who were completing 10-month dental assistant programs at for-profit schools. Both of these students were paying $18,000 in tuition for their 10-month programs—more than 12 times the rate of community college tuition. One had received financial aid to cover the majority of the cost, and was paying the balance of $3,000 out of pocket. The other student, Monica, was not receiving any kind of assistance and was paying, in

174

cash, $1,800 monthly for her program. Most of her husband's income from landscaping went toward her tuition, and they were living at home with her parents, who provided childcare to their two-year old daughter during the day. Monica also worked close to full-time herself, going directly to her job at a clothing store each day after finishing her classes.

Students who received aid for the most part indicated that their aid was sufficient to cover their tuition and course-related expenses. However, even among the students who were receiving financial aid, there were still financial stresses. One of the principal worries among these students was their financial aid running out, since they were using much of it for developmental classes that they knew were prolonging the amount of time they would be in school.

> Entrevistadora: ¿Hay algo que te da estrés en tu vida?
> Inez: Nada más a veces como… que ya se me van a acabar los financiamientos, nada más son como 4 años, si voy a poder pagar la universidad . . .

> Interviewer: Is there anything that gives you stress in your life?
> Inez: Just that sometimes, like, that my funding will end, since it's for like four years, will I be able to pay for the university . . .

Some of the students interviewed described how they were saving a portion of their financial aid for future expenses. For example, Flor, who was attending a state university, had opted to live at home and was saving up her financial aid so that she could buy a car. Without a car, she was spending five hours a day on public transit to go to and from school.

In one of the border regions, where job prospects beyond agricultural work were limited and unemployment was high, financial aid was said to be a major component of the local economy. Students and faculty members said that some students did attend the college solely to be able to collect financial aid checks. However, none of the

students interviewed fit this stereotype, as they were all invested in their studies and often working long hours in addition to their responsibilities as students.

Students who did not qualify for federal financial aid had significantly more challenges. While some of these students were able to qualify for financial aid under AB540, which afforded them access to some state forms of assistance, they experienced much more financial stress than their peers who were receiving federal financial assistance. As AB540 students, they were eligible to pay in-state tuition, and could apply for selected state funded financial aid, institutional grants/scholarships, and fee waivers. However, they were not eligible for federal forms of assistance, such as subsidized student loans, work study, and Pell grants.

One such example was Clementina, who qualified for AB540 and attended a school along the border. She was born in the U.S., but qualified for AB540 because her mother resided in Mexico and could not provide tax information for the FAFSA. She was nonetheless having much difficulty paying for her books, and was paying much more out of pocket than her peers, and struggled to pay for her units.

Balancing Work and Family Responsibilities

Forty percent of the students going to college (n=12) were employed at the time of the survey. Males were twice as likely to work while in school than females (60 vs. 30%). These students reported working between 12.5 and 48 hours each week, averaging 30.9 hours weekly. Many of these students worked full-time or close to full-time, and very few had the kinds of part-time jobs typically associated with college students. For example, some students worked a full eight-hour shift before or after school every day, doing things like packing lettuce or stocking shelves at a department store. Only one student had a part-time position on campus, working for campus catering. Their jobs allowed them to contribute in important ways to their families, pay

for their educations, and gain work experience, but also posed challenges for them to succeed academically.

Working full-time while in school.

Four of the students interviewed were working full-time while going to school, and all but one of these students was also going to school full-time. They accomplished this in large part by sleeping very little. For example, Alfonso, who was completing a dental assistant program, described how he was holding down two separate jobs at a retail store. During the week, he would wake up at 4am to get ready for his first shift, stocking shelves until 10am. Then, he would take the bus home to change his clothes and head back out to school, where he had classes from 12:30 to 5, doing his homework and studying for exams while on the bus. After class, he headed back to work a second shift for another four hours. The next day, it started all over again, and on the weekends he worked full eight-hour days. He explained that he had the option to work fewer hours, as he was living at home with his parents and they were concerned about the little sleep he was getting, but he was determined to help them and also continue his studies so that he could eventually earn more and "be someone." In addition, he articulated how he not only needed the money he earned, but very much wanted to be independent, explaining he worked because:

> Alfonso: Porque necesitaba el dinero y demostrarles que ya no tenía que pedir dinero o…tengo que valerme de mi mismo. Al principio fue conseguir dinero y pagar lo que necesitaba para no tener que molestar a alguien.

> Alfonso: Because I needed the money, and had to show them that I didn't have to ask for money, and to pay for what I needed so that I wouldn't have to bother anyone.

Hugo had been working since long before he came to the U.S. When he was a little boy in Mexico, he started working at the age of seven, picking and selling corn. Later he sold candies and drinks at the park. When he came to the U.S. as a teenager,

177

he worked in his uncle's *lonchera,* a food truck where he was a cashier and cook. He often worked the evening shift, starting at 5pm and working until 3am. His high school teachers noted that his work hindered his schooling, as he would sometimes work these late shifts on school nights and come to school exhausted. But he had to work to help his mother and sister with household expenses. He explained how his mother was not in a position to help him with college expenses, and so he had to pay his own way:

> Hugo : En mi casa, mi mamá ganaba pero nada más daba para pagar la renta, entonces yo sabía que si iba a la escuela tenía que salir de mi bolsillo, entonces yo creo que esa es una de las mayores razones por las que fui al colegio comunitario aqui.
> Entrevistadora: ¿Y cómo lo estás pagando?
> Estudiante: Desde que llegué aquí, trabajo en un restaurante, entonces siempre he pagado por mis cosas o ayudo a veces en la casa a pagar los gastos o algo así. Ahorita estoy trabajando seis días a la semana, voy en la mañana, trabajo y voy en la noche a la escuela--entonces ha sido así siempre.

> Hugo: In my home, my mom earned, but just enough to pay the rent, so I knew that if I went to school I had pay out of my pocket, so I think that's one of the biggest reasons that I went to the local community college.
> Interviewer: And how are you paying?
> Student: Since I arrived, I work in a restaurant, so I've always paid for my things, or sometimes helped at home to pay the costs or something. Right now I'm working six days a week, going in the morning, I work, and I go to school at night at night school--it's always been like this.

In college, Hugo continued to work long hours. He had moved out of his mother's place, was living with his partner, going to school full-time, and also volunteering with undocumented student organizations, including the undocuqueer[35] movement. Though he was working all the time, he said he said he still did not have money. At the same time, he said he was feeling stressed because he needed to worry about himself first, and then his family. He had been working so much, he was seeing little of his sister and mother (who lived nearby), and that stressed him. Hugo emphasized how deeply rooted cultural values guided him:

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[35] The undocuqueer movement refers to a growing movement of activists working on behalf of both immigration reform and LGBTQ rights.

Huge: En la cultura mexicana se inculca mucho el núcleo familiar y tienes que ayudar a tu familia. Hay cierta edad a la que se llega y tienes que ser responsable por ti mismo, pero tienes que ayudar a tu familia de igual manera. No es como aquí, que sabes la situación de la casa y sus necesidades y tu familia no te tiene que decir "vete a trabajar," sino que sale de ti el hacerlo.

Hugo: Mexican culture really instills the nuclear family and that you have to help your family. There is a certain age at which you have to be responsible for yourself, but you have to help your family as well. It's not like here, you know the situation of the house and your needs and your family will not have to say, "go to work," but it comes out of you to do it.

According to Hugo, this need to work was all the more pressing for those who came to the U.S. at an older age, like himself. He contrasted this with the experiences of other immigrant students who had come when they were younger, who were said to not have the same kind of imperative to work to help the family.

Agricultural laborer and limited employment options in the Valley.

In the Desierto Regal, where many of the students lived, employment options were fairly limited. The unemployment rate had remained high since the Great Recession, at one point peaking as the highest in the nation. Some of the young people who preferred not to work in the fields reported much difficulty finding employment. Three of the young women interviewed said that their greatest source of stress was not being able to find any kind of work. They had been seeking employment for months, without any luck. Magdalena had even completed an 8-month accounting training program that included assistance with the job seeking process, but still had not found a position.

Those jobs that existed were largely at fast-food establishments, in the fields, with the Border Patrol, or at one of the hospitals. Many of the parents and family members of the students worked in the agricultural sector, and two of the students interviewed, Eduardo and Alma, were also working agricultural jobs. It was backbreaking work, all the more so because of the scorching heat; average

temperatures were over 99 degrees through the summer. Alma found she was not able to attend college full-time while working the fields, so she had cut back to half-time student status. She worked full-time at one of the large farms in the area, out in the fields, packing lettuce and corn, and sometimes helping her aunt, who was a majordomo, with paperwork. Like Alfonso, she was up at 4am every day to go to work. When packing lettuce, her shift was from 6am to 6pm, after which she would rush home to grab her things and head to campus for night classes, which ended at 9 or 9:40, leaving her very little time to do homework, bathe, eat, or relax. While she said that she was used to the schedule, it was stressful at times because sometimes she did not have a set shift end time, and thus would not know how much time she would have to do her homework.

Family Responsibilities

Overall, nine out of ten students surveyed indicated they had one or more responsibilities to their families. The most prevalent of these were helping with bills and housework, which was consistent among students enrolled in college and those who were not. Table 5.13 summarizes family responsibilities.

Table 5.13

Family Responsibilities by Gender Among College Students

	Female (n=19)	Male (n=10)	Total (n=29)
Housework	31.6%	40.0	34.5%
	(6)	(4)	(10)
Help pay bills	26.3	50.0	34.5
	(5)	(5)	(10)
Help with shopping	21.1	50.0	31.0
	(4)	(5)	(9)
Babysitting	36.8	0	24.1
	(7)	(0)	(7)
Getting brother or sister ready for school	21.1	20.0	20.7
	(4)	(2)	(6)
Work in family business	0	10.0	3.5
	(0)	(1)	(1)

Males were more likely to report shouldering responsibility for paying bills, but none of these differences were statistically significant. Paying bills was more prevalent among the young people who were not in college, 52.2% of whom said they were helping to pay bills. Among young men who were not in college, 68.8% (n=11) said they helped their families with paying bills, compared to 14.3% of girls (n=1) who were not in college.

Considering Immigration Factors

> *Coming to the United States still gives me nightmares. My mom and I passed into the U.S hiding in a small truck. My mom almost died because they put her all away at the bottom and approximately four people on top of her. She has heart problems and she can't breathe normally like everyone else. I think she has panic attacks now because of this experience. My first obstacle that I faced was that we didn't have money because we had to pay to the "coyote" and buy clothes and food. We came with nothing.*

The excerpt above is from an essay Monica wrote while in high school. It serves a reminder of the migration experiences that many students endured, particularly in the Los Angeles area, as they came to the U.S. in search of better opportunities.

As students transitioned to from high school to young adulthood, certain realities set in for them. For those who were undocumented, their aspirations to continue their education ran up against economic and legal realities. As they entered the workforce, they entered a segmented economy, where those lacking documentation had few options.

Students living with undocumented status endured a daily fear of being found out, which college faculty said had a negative effect on their self-esteem. Fear was a common theme, and faculty described many of their undocumented students as afraid to leave the area, afraid to ask questions, and afraid to ask for help. Even students who

were themselves documented carried this fear, as many had parents or other family members who could be deported.

The students who lived along the border had very different experiences than those who had come to Los Angeles. For one, most of the students in the border regions had also been born in the border region, and when they crossed the border did not leave behind their family and culture in the same way as those who had travelled far greater distances. Many of the students interviewed continued to maintain close ties with friends and families on the Mexican side of the border, visiting as often as every weekend, crossing back and forth freely. Many of these young people had what was colloquially referred to as a "local passport," which was said to allow them to cross within the local area, but not provide them with legal residency.[36] At the same time, in the border regions the presence of the border patrol was palpable. They were stationed along the highway and a near-constant presence in the community.

(In)Visibility on campuses.

The available resources for immigrant students, and particularly those who were undocumented, varied considerably across the regions. In the Desierto Regal, a long-time counselor could only recall counseling four or five AB540 students in his 20-year tenure at the campus. The more limited visibility of undocumented and AB540 students in the border area could be related to the heavy presence of the border patrol and a well-founded fear of apprehension of immigration officials. One teacher described in an interview how one of her students had missed class the week prior

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[36] According a representative from the U.S. Customs and Border Protection's station in this region, the "local passport" is likely a reference to a B1/B2 visa/Border Crossing Card, which is a local commuter visa used in the border area. Applicants must demonstrate economic stability and ties to Mexico that would compel them to return to obtain such a visa.

when immigration official raided his home, deporting his two aunts, while he narrowly escaped by running out the back door.

On the other hand, in Los Angeles one community college had been working extensively to develop a "safe zone" for undocumented and LGBT students. Ninety-three members of the college's faculty, counselors, clerical staff, and campus police had completed a day-long training establishing themselves as part of the campus safe zone, and the college president had signed a commitment to make the entire campus a safe zone. At the time of the interview, the safe zone coalition had been in place for a year and in that time provided seven day-long trainings, and was poised to become a model for other community colleges throughout the state.

Along the border, where as many as half of the students were estimated to have completed much of their schooling in Mexico, there was significantly less knowledge of the AB540 program, which extended in-state resident tuition to qualifying immigrant students, and the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, which provided an avenue for students to adjust their status. Table 5.14 summarizes student awareness of AB540 and DACA across regions.

Table 5.14.

Student Awareness of AB540 and DACA by Region

	Los Angeles Area (n=20)	Border Regions (n=30)	Total (n=50)
Aware of AB540**	40.0% (8)	6.7% (2)	20.0% (10)
Aware of DACA*	20.0 (4)	0 (0)	8.0 (4)

** $p < 0.01$
* $p < 0.05$

Overall, students' awareness of AB540 and DACA was very low. Only 20% of students had heard of AB540, and only 8 percent were familiar with DACA. However, this may

183

be low because of the terminology used on the survey. In an interview, one student who had in fact applied for DACA knew it as "la ley nueva" (the new law), and was not familiar with the term "DACA."

The proportion of students that indicated they had some kind of legal authorization to be in the U.S. in the border regions was higher than in the U.S.; three quarters of the students along the border were authorized, compared to 55% of those in Los Angeles, but these differences were not statistically significant. In interviews, several of the students from the border regions did specify that they had migrated once their fathers had secured residency. Since this study focused on a select group of students—those who had persisted through high school and onto college, it is possible that undocumented students are underrepresented.

Chapter 6: Considering College Readiness in Context

This chapter addresses question three, "how well do existing constructions of college readiness align with the needs of Latino newcomer immigrant students?" The chapter first synthesizes the multiple dimensions of college readiness as they related to the needs of the students in this study. In the second part of the chapter, I present the aspects of college readiness that seem to be missing from these models, and propose a new dimension, "personal and institutional resources," which establishes a frame for creating a foundation for college readiness among newcomer immigrant students.

Elements of College Readiness

This portion of the chapter begins with an appraisal of the extent to which the measures of academic preparedness, the key cognitive strategies and key content knowledge applied to students' experiences. Next, the key learning skills and techniques are considered. The final section examines college knowledge among Latino newcomer immigrant students.

Academic Preparedness: Key Cognitive Strategies and Key Content Knowledge

The completion of college preparatory coursework, and one's performance in these classes, is considered a core element in notions of college readiness. At the individual level, only a handful of students (4 out of 51) had satisfied the benchmark for college readiness: completion of the college preparatory courses (a-g requirements). Even among the students who had gone on to college, perceptions of their access to this curriculum demonstrated that access were very distributed, as shown in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1

Students' Perceived Access to College Preparatory Courses

Do you think you had adequate access to college preparatory (A-G) courses in high school?	% (n=31)
Yes	41.9% (13)
Somewhat	33.2 (10)
No	12.9 (4)
Don't know	12.9 (4)
Total	100.0 (31)

Student perceptions of their access to college preparatory courses were rather generous given how few of them had managed to complete the a-g curriculum, and it appeared that some of the respondents confounded college preparatory courses with high school graduation requirements. Nine (29%) of the students surveyed who were in college had taken an AP exam, which suggests that they were capable of college preparatory coursework while in high school.

The nine students who elaborated on their survey responses all identified structural factors at the school level that had either impeded or supported their access. Those who perceived they had adequate access invariably commented on components of the Project SOL intervention, such as the quality of the teachers ("todos los maestros estaban bien preparados," "all of the teachers were well prepared), or the support and information they received from Project SOL. Among the students who felt their access was less than adequate, students noted the impact English class requirements, the lack of orientation they had received, or the overall lack of classes that were available at their high school.

Key cognitive strategies, or higher order thinking skills, are thought to be at the heart of college readiness. These connote the ways of thinking required for college-level work, such as developing hypotheses and problem solving strategies, conducting research, and critically examining evidence, and synthesizing this work into a variety of formats. During interviews, students were asked to describe the assignments or projects they had completed in college that they had found particularly challenging, and probed on their experiences conducting research, marshalling evidence and analyzing conflicting points of view, making arguments, and presenting their work in front of the class.

This question, which elicited descriptions of the kinds of college-level work students had encountered, yielded very few examples of students being required to use the specific kinds of higher order thinking skills articulated in the Conley model. For example, Isabel's most challenging assignment had been creating a family tree, a project that is often required of elementary school students. When asked to elaborate as to what had been challenging about the assignment, Isabel explained that she had been nervous to present in front of the class. Several students (8 out of 20) mentioned that presenting in class, in English, made them nervous.

Lorena, who was studying international business at a Mexican university, described one of the most rigorous college assignments, which she said was also her greatest source of stress. She was working on a yearlong group project that required her to develop an innovative product, as well as an export plan. She had also cited a recent project analyzing the economic impact of a highway and port expansion in the region. Very few of her peers attending community colleges, or even state universities, described projects requiring this degree of analysis and sustained effort.

To summarize, the extent to which the prevailing measures of academic preparation aligned with the needs of Latino newcomer immigrant students seemed limited. Examining their level of college readiness in terms of academic preparation at the student-level, which has been the prevailing strategy, tells a very black and white story—it is clear most did not meet the benchmark for academic preparedness given their high school course taking patterns and the amount of remediation required among those who made it to college, but without analyzing the student-level of college readiness does not indicate *why* this was the case.[37] Thus, a structural analysis of the setting and system level factors influencing their academic preparation for college is essential. For the students in this study, structural issues, detailed in Chapter 4, prevented them from fully accessing a college preparatory curriculum. These structural issues were related to school and district credit policies and their status as English learners.

The extent to which newcomers have access to the academic preparation required to become "college ready" is in large part a function of structural issues at the school and district level. Students' access to college preparatory courses is tightly linked to district policies regarding English learners and reclassification. Where reclassification is required in order to access mainstream, college preparatory courses, students who might be academically capable of succeeding in these courses (perhaps with some additional supports) are excluded until they achieve the reclassification criteria benchmarks determined at the district level. Schools and districts can provide greater access by decoupling English learner status with access to college preparatory courses, so that there is greater flexibility to adapt to students' individual needs and abilities. Providing bilingual college preparatory courses can further increase students'

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[37] It is possible that some of the students may have been deemed college ready in Spanish, but the structure of the schools and colleges do not allow us to know this.

access to college preparatory courses while they are still acquiring full English proficiency. Encouraging students to take AP Spanish language and literature can help students to enter college with some extra course credit.

Key Learning Skills and Techniques

In the models of college readiness that guided this study, key learning skills and techniques include two broad categories: learning techniques and student ownership of learning. Strong support was found for both of these aspects of college readiness among the students.

Regardless of their academic preparation, academic techniques and specific study skills are considered increasingly important in college, when the expectations and volume of work increase. In the Conley model, the essential learning techniques for college are:

- Time management
- Test taking skills
- Note taking skills
- Memorization and recall
- Strategic reading
- Collaborative learning
- Technology proficiency

In the postsecondary student surveys, respondents affirmed the importance of the key academic skills outlined in the model. On a scale of 0 to 3 (0=not important, 3=very important), the average rating for all the techniques ranged from 2.0 to 2.8. Students rated group work as less important relative to the others, as shown in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2

Perceived Importance of Learning Techniques Among College Students (n=30)

	Mean Score (0= not important, 1=somewhat important, 2=important, 3=very important) (SD)	Needing to Improve
Test taking	2.8 (0.4)	41.4%
Attendance	2.8 (0.5)	24.1
Punctuality	2.8 (0.5)	13.8
Time management	2.3 (0.9)	31.0
Note taking	2.7 (0.6)	41.4
Technology	2.7 (0.5)	17.2
Memorization	2.5 (0.6)	58.6
Strategic reading	2.4 (0.6)	34.5
Group work	2.0 (0.8)	20.7

For seven of the nine skills, the majority of students rated them as very important. Relative to the others, students rated time management and group work as somewhat less important. Memorization was the only area in which the majority of students thought they needed to improve, which is also the learning technique most directly related to language (a continued impediment for some students).

In describing their own study habits, students reported studying from zero to 48 hours each week, averaging 8.3 hours. Among community college students, the average was 6.1 hours. For the two students at four-year institutions, the average weekly study time was 31.5 hours. For those at Mexican universities, it was nine hours. The average time spent studying among students working and those who were not working was similar.

Many of the students thought they should be spending more time studying. This was more prevalent among community college students and those attending technical schools. Table 6.3 provides a comparison of the average amount of time spent studying each week with students' juxtaposed with the time they thought they should be studying.

Table 6.3

Current and Desired Weekly Hours of Studying by Institutional Type

Institutional Type	Current Weekly Study Hours (SD)	Desired Weekly Study Hours (SD)	Difference
Community college (n=24)	6.4 (1.4)	10.0 (11.9)	+3.6 hours
Technical school (n=2)	5.5 (1.5)	9 (7.1)	+3.5 hours
Public 4-Year (n=2)	32.7 (9.6)	27.5 (17.7)	-5.2 hours
Mexican university (n=2)	9 (1)	9 (1.4)	0 hours
Total (n=30)	8.3 (1.9)	11.9 (12)	+3.6 hours

There was one student attending a state university who reported studying 48 hours a week and thought she should be studying 40 hours a week. She was overwhelmed with her coursework because she was taking more than a regular full-time load, as she wanted to stay on course to graduate in five years and was making up for time lost repeating a remedial English course.

Overall, while students affirmed the importance of the various aspects of academic learning techniques set forth in the college readiness model guiding this study, their self-reported study habits were less than one might expect at the college level.

Ownership of learning is the second aspect of key learning skills and techniques. The aspects of ownership of learning in the Conley model include:

191

- Goal setting

- Persistence

- Self-awareness

- Motivation

- Help seeking

- Progress monitoring; and

- Self-efficacy

As with the learning techniques and study skills described in the preceding section, students by and large affirmed the importance and relevance of these skills, as shown in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4

Perceived Importance of Ownership of Learning Indicators (n=30)

	Mean Score (0= not important, 1=somewhat important, 2=important, 3=very important) (SD)	Needing to Improve %
Motivation	2.8 (0.5)	44.8%
Self-efficacy	2.8 (0.8)	40.0
Self-awareness	2.7 (0.7)	28.6
Goal setting	2.6 (0.7)	50.0
Persistence	2.6 (0.6)	39.3
Manage stress	2.6 (0.8)	53.3
Self advocacy	2.6 (0.7)	30.0
Progress monitoring	2.6 (0.6)	23.3
Help Seeking	2.5 (0.9)	60.0

Students were most likely to indicate they needed to improve in the area of seeking help; 60 percent affirmed this. Setting goals and managing stress were also areas in which half or more of respondents thought they should improve.

During interviews, students were asked to identify the study habits or skills they thought were especially important in college. In response to this question, almost half of the respondents spoke to the importance of persistence, citing the importance of "trying hard" and "not giving up." For immigrant students, persisting sometimes meant more than simply persisting through academic challenges (which were quite a lot to surmount for many). Those who lacked legal status often struggled to stay afloat, with less access to financial aid, limited employment opportunities, and much more uncertainty about their long-term prospects in the U.S. Hugo had "dream" tattooed on the inside of his wrist—a reminder both of his commitment to the movement, but also of his hopes for the future.

Several students also emphasized the importance of various aspects of time management, such as spending sufficient time studying, coming to class on time, or using a calendar. It is unclear to what extent they really knew which study skills might be most beneficial or important, as in high school and college, there were few examples of students having been systematically provided with instruction in learning skills and techniques. One avenue for obtaining information about being an effective college student and various study skills and habits is through personal development classes (also known as student success courses), offered through counseling centers. Only four students (15%) had taken a personal development course while in college. Those who did seemed to benefit greatly. For example, one of Alma's assignments had been to locate all of the offices and centers on campus that provided various kinds of

support to students. Since completing that assignment, she had made a habit of going to the reading and writing support labs almost every day.

To summarize, students who were in college broadly affirmed the importance of key learning skills and techniques. However, while it was clear that students considered these kinds of skills and techniques to be important in college, they felt they needed to improve in several areas (particularly help seeking), but the high schools and colleges they attended did not provide systematic instruction or support to this end. Thus, as with academic preparation, structural analysis of the setting and system level issues, as suggested in the CRIS model, is essential. Moreover, since we do not have a way of comparing these students' experiences with those of their non-immigrant peers, it is unclear to what extent they had different interpretations of these skills and techniques.

These "non-cognitive" aspects of college readiness appear to be especially salient for students who must balance competing demands to work, family responsibilities, academic under-preparation, while transitioning to adulthood as an immigrant. There is a growing body of work (Conley, 2013; Duckworth & Seligman, 2005; Heckman & Rubinstein, 2001; Tough, 2012) emphasizing how skills like persistence, self-control, curiosity, conscientiousness, grit, and self-confidence matter even more than cognitive skills for achieving success. These kinds of skills are critical to students who have to be extremely resilient, as they encounter many, many obstacles as they enter and navigate inflexible institutions.

College Knowledge

College knowledge is required to successfully navigate postsecondary transitions. This information is generally less accessible to Latino newcomer immigrant students who are less familiar with the U.S. education system overall, and are also less

likely to have family members who have had any experience at all with U.S. college or university. At the high school level, college knowledge includes knowing which courses to take to be college eligible, understanding financial aid, major and requirements, and college norms. In the Conley model, the core elements of this dimension are:

- Postsecondary awareness

- Postsecondary costs

- Matriculation

- Role and identity

- Self-advocacy

Postsecondary awareness.

In the Conley model, college aspirations and knowledge of college norms and culture comprise postsecondary awareness. Aspirations were high across all of the students surveyed; even those who had not gone to college, almost all still planned to attend at some point in the future. However, among those in college attending community colleges, transfer aspirations were not as high as one might expect; 36% were planning to transfer, 32% did not know if they would, and 32% were not planning to transfer.

The majority of students surveyed affirmed that being aware of college options was "important" (73.7%) or "very important" (3.5%). However, even among those in college, 17.3% did *not* think awareness of college options was important. The students who did not perceive college options as important all attended community colleges and likely perceived these to be their only options.

A few items on the survey aimed to measure students' experiences with two common college norms: the expectation to visit professors during office hours and to

ask questions in class. Almost half of the respondents (46.7%) thought they needed to improve in the area of going to office hours, and 40% felt they should improve in the area of asking questions in class.

Thus, overall there was seemed to be solid support for the importance of postsecondary awareness as a component of college readiness for Latino newcomer immigrant students. But, a limitation is that this component of the Conley model is rather broadly defined, and the published conceptual model does not explicitly focus on the importance of understanding different kinds of college higher education institutions and options, which was an important aspect of postsecondary awareness for the students in this study.

Postsecondary costs.

In making their college choices, college costs mattered to most, but not all, of the students. On average, students rated it a 3.5 on a Likert scale (0=not at all, 5=a lot). Nonetheless, students did have concerns about financing college, though most (60%) were receiving some form of financial aid. Since most of the students in the study were attending community colleges, tuition costs were relatively low ($1,424 per year). Nonetheless, as noted in Chapter 5, finances were a source of stress for many students, particularly because the majority found themselves in developmental sequences that were not providing them with credit toward a degree, and they knew their financial aid would eventually run out. One in five students surveyed felt they needed to improve in their knowledge of financial aid. Overall, there was support for the importance of understanding postsecondary costs as a component of college knowledge. Given student concerns about financial aid running out, providing more assistance with long-term financial aid planning could be useful. This may also help

students who might otherwise "under-match" into additional developmental courses consider the long-term financial consequences of this choice.

Matriculation.

The matriculation aspect of college knowledge includes knowledge of how to become eligible for college, the admissions process, and entering degree programs. On a scale of 1 to 4, students rated "filling out college applications" and "understanding college admissions requirements" at 2.6, which was between "somewhat important" and "important."

Table 6.5

Student Perceptions of College Admissions Processes (n=30)

How important do you think the following is to go to college?	Not important	Somewhat important	Important	Very important
Filling out college applications	6.7% (2)	33.3% (10)	56.7% (17)	3.3% (1)
Understanding college admissions requirements	10.0 (3)	23.3 (7)	63.3 (19)	3.3 (1)

Knowing the requirements for specific majors was an area that 20.7% of students thought they needed to improve, but most felt that their knowledge was adequate in this area.

Overall, since so few students were able to complete a college preparatory course of study in high school, and because only half had taken a college admissions exams, it was the placement testing process component of college admissions that was the most salient for them. The prevailing models of college readiness say little about placement testing processes, but this is the area that had the greatest impact on their trajectories as they navigated postsecondary transitions.

High schools should provide students with information about relevant resources for preparing for placement tests. For example, the College Board, which oversees the ACCUPLACER exam, provides an array of low-cost online learning tools to help test takers prepare for the exam, none of which were referenced at any point by any of the students or faculty.[38] Providing students with study guides is also a way that community colleges could help to ensure more optimal placement testing outcomes.

Community colleges need to ensure that the processes for challenging results and retaking exams are transparent and accurately communicated to students. Counselors, who may be the students' first point of contact upon receiving their results, need to be able to provide accurate and up-to-date information. Moreover, this information about testing policies and procedures should be communicated in a timely fashion to local high schools, so that they can provide the information to students.

While there are clear structural issues that have resulted in uneven understandings among students about the stakes of the placement tests, it is also imperative that students be highly proactive in the placement testing process. This entails seeking out information about the tests independently, from the community college testing offices, the College Board (if it is a College Board exam), and whatever other sources of information they may be able to access. In short, students need to find out how to prepare, and also dedicate time to studying for the exam to ensure that their placement is an accurate representation of their skills and knowledge.

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[38] There is an iPhone ACCUPLACER app that provides sample questions for the arithmetic, elementary algebra, college-level math, reading comprehension and sentence skills, priced at $1.99. There is also a web-based study app with similar content available for $2.99. Finally, a downloadable PDF document with sample questions is made available at no charge.

Role and identity.

For newcomers, role models and supportive adults, both in high school and through college, have a critical function. They can provide interpersonal connections, advice, motivation, and information (Bensimon, 2007). They may also provide students with a sense of validation, which can make them feel capable and worthy of being college students (Rendón, 1994). In the Conley model, this aspect of college knowledge is associated with having a role model. Among the students in college, the majority (56.7%) indicated on the survey they had a role model. Two-thirds of students identified one or more parent as a role model. Students also referenced specific teachers as role models, such as Mr. Aguilar, their Project SOL math teacher. A few also identified friends or siblings as their role models. Given the extent to which students relied on teachers, counselors, and peers for information about college (described in Chapter 4), role models do seem to be especially significant for Latino newcomer immigrant students, as well as a support system that fosters a sense of belonging. Since the interview protocol did not ask students about their role models, we know little about how they defined "role model," but the reliance on parents who had mostly low levels of education suggests there were other important qualities, beyond educational attainment, that students valued and desired to emulate.

Self-advocacy.

Self-advocacy, including how to acquire resources and advocate for oneself in an institutional setting, is also considered an aspect of college knowledge in the Conley model. However, it is unclear how this differs from help seeking, which is a key component of the ownership of learning dimension of the model. Among the students in college, 30% thought they needed to improve in the area of "knowing places on campus I can go for help." In any case, as reviewed in Chapter 5, seeking and finding

support was very important, but students tended to have uneven knowledge of where to go for help, and many were not comfortable accessing help.

To summarize, there was ample support for the various aspects of college knowledge as being important for Latino newcomer immigrant students as they prepared for and navigated transitions to college. But, a limitation is that throughout this section, students have been reporting their own experiences with and opinions regarding various aspects of college readiness, and it is possible that students do not know what they do not know. For example, in the community college faculty interviews that informed the development of the student data collection protocols, several English instructors emphasized the importance of reading for college readiness and newcomer immigrant students. But in the student data, reading seldom emerged as an area that students perceived as important. Similarly, instructors emphasized the importance of coming to class prepared, citing the importance of bringing books and other materials, while students tended to focus more on simply attending (as opposed to not attending at all).

As with the other dimensions, structural issues, particularly at the setting level, in high schools and colleges, largely determined students' access to college knowledge. Through Project SOL, some elements of a college-going culture were embedded in students' experiences, particularly in their Project SOL classes, interactions with the SOL counselor, and through SOL Club activities focused on building college knowledge. But, because Project SOL was not a school-wide intervention, there was not a comprehensive college-going culture at the high schools students attended.

Since the majority of California students begin their postsecondary education at community colleges, as well as significant numbers of students across the U.S., discussions and definitions of college readiness need to be expanded to include more

nuanced notions of what is required to succeed in these contexts. This includes things like careful preparation for placement tests (this actually applies to all college students), and knowing how placement test data will impact one's access to college courses, overall time to degree, associated costs, and likelihood of completion. Students are not sufficiently aware of the long-term costs of remediation, as evidenced by the students in this study who opted for more remediation than required. Much of this is already occurring in various places, in personal development classes, meetings with counselors, and through support programs. Such efforts need to grow beyond piecemeal efforts to be systemic to ensure that all students have adequate access to the information critical to their success.

The Missing Pieces: Personal and Institutional Resources

We might think about the process of the journey to and through college as a bit like a marathon. The readiness standards map out the course of the race, and while they may be difficult to reach, they are clearly marked, and on the surface it seems that everyone who follows the map should be able to make it to the finish line, provided they put in the necessary training. But not everyone knows how to read the map—some people are still learning. It is assumed that everyone knows where the race begins, and has the time and resources to train. But some people do not know where the course even starts, and as a result may find it difficult to even get on the path, let alone follow it through to completion. Or, they may have a sense of where the race begins, but lack a way to get there.

Extending this metaphor to newcomer immigrant students, they also have very little time to train—while their peers have been preparing for this race from their first day of school, they have minimal time to train. In the sections that follow, I examine these missing pieces—what are the foundational personal and institutional resources

Latino newcomer immigrant students need to become college ready? Here I am particularly concerned with the structures and processes that high schools and colleges must implement to this end.

Optimizing Transitions

Newcomer students in U.S. high schools experience a jarring transition that in some ways parallels the transition from high school to college. They find themselves in a setting that is foreign in more ways than one: structurally, linguistically, and culturally. Assumptions that they may make, such as assuming that the classes on their schedule are the ones they will need to graduate and go on to college, may be dangerous assumptions. The ways in which students are graded, form of assessment, how the school day is structured, rules regarding attendance and retaking exams, are all different.

Newcomers need to be able to navigate high school strategically, so that they can ensure that they maximize their time from the very first day and minimize their time taking unnecessary courses. This requires students to be proactive and strategic with their course taking, which is only possible if certain structures are in place.

Credit for prior schooling.

Optimizing the newcomer high school experience begins with their initial transition, and ensuring that they are appropriately credited for prior coursework. For example, high schools routinely award a-g math credits completed in middle school, but none of the students in this study received a-g credit for middle school coursework completed outside of the U.S. Given the very limited time that newcomers have to complete high school graduation requirements, it is important that Transfer Documents or comparable methods of analyzing transcripts are consistently used to

place students and make credit determinations. More work can also be done to ensure that newcomers receive world language credits for proficiency in their first language.

Orientation.

When students in this study began high school in the U.S., their initial orientation and subsequent counseling experiences varied widely. While some students indicated they received little more than a five-minute orientation or a copy of the school's student handbook, others felt they received sufficient information about what they needed to be successful in school.

Latino newcomers need a different kind of orientation to high school than other students, because they are not familiar with the U.S. educational system. Thus, these orientations need to intentionally explain things to students and their parents (in Spanish), such as:

- School structure (i.e. block scheduling, different classrooms throughout the day)
- High school graduation credit requirements
- College eligibility credit requirements
- ESL/ELD credit policies
- AP/IB course options
- Testing requirements (i.e. CAHSEE)
- Grading structure
- Extra-curricular activities
- Importance of communication with counselors
- Credit recovery options
- Overview of U.S. higher education system
- Planning to become eligible for AB540

- Expectations of teachers with respect to homework, class participation, clarification of assignments from the teacher, etc.

Unfortunately, students cannot assume that they will automatically be given a course of study in high school that will optimize their time, including extended course sequences or unnecessary electives. Thus, it is important that students learn to take the initiative to ask many questions early on and advocate effectively for themselves throughout high school. Developing these skills in high school will serve them well once they transition to college.

Goal setting.

Immigrant students and their parents tend to have high aspirations. Most students in this study said that their families came to the U.S. specifically for educational and work opportunities that would provide them with a better life. But, while aspirations may be high, students without a family tradition of going to college, or who are vulnerable to academic failure, tend to have only an abstract sense of why graduating high school and going to college is important and how it will help them to achieve their goals (Karp, 2011). The implication of this is that students need more help, early on, to clarify their educational and career goals, and to see how college will lead them to these ends. This commitment to one's goals is associated with college persistence (Bean & Metzner, 1985). Linking one's goals to the college experience is especially important for immigrant students who may perceive be frustrated with general education requirements, which are not as prevalent in countries such as Mexico.

Like the K-12 system, higher education in the U.S. is very decentralized, whereas in Mexico it is much more centralized and paternalistic. As a result, Mexican students in U.S. higher education systems do not always realize how decentralized the U.S.

system is, and the extent to which power lies with individual professors. Thus, they may not realize the importance of communicating with professors, or the value placed on questioning and challenging teachers, as they may consider it disrespectful to question what the teacher tells them.

An additional key difference is the general education requirements that are a hallmark of U.S. degree programs. In the U.S., undergraduate education has three main objectives: 1) to prepare students for careers, 2) to prepare students to participate as citizens in a self-governing democracy, and 3) to help students cultivate a wide range of interests and capacity for reflection and self-knowledge (Bok, 2013). Thus, general education is valued for preparing well-rounded thinkers and citizens.

This difference in general education requirements is indicative of what are perhaps differing aims of the higher education systems in Mexico and the U.S. Students noted that, in Mexico, most or all of one's coursework is closely linked to their career goal, and were often frustrated with the required general education credits that seemed disconnected from their career goals. Students may be used to less autonomy over their course selection or the expectation that early phases of one's college experience be spent exploring different disciplines prior to selecting a major.

The critiques of the relevancy of general education among students are also found in the policy arena, where the value of a broad liberal arts foundation for all students, is increasingly questioned, with many favoring a sharper focus on training and credentials for careers. However, while vocational training may appear to more efficiently prepare students for careers, there is evidence to suggest there are long-run labor market benefits for those who complete a broader program of study. Carnevale and Desrochers (2001) found that employers desired liberal arts goals over technical

skills, as they dovetail better with the shifting requirements of the knowledge-based economy.

Understanding the U.S. higher education system.

When it comes time for students to select and apply to college, newcomers need to be provided with additional kinds of college knowledge. It cannot be assumed that students understand the differences between two-year institutions, public and privates, for-profit technical schools, and non-U.S. higher education options. Many of the students in this study who were in college still exhibited confusion about the kinds of degrees awarded at different kinds of institutions, as well as the transfer process.

Without explicit guidance in high school, students are left to figure things out on their own. This can result in under-matching, wherein academically talented students do not apply to more selective colleges and universities that could provide them with financial assistance and a more secure path to a degree. It can also make students vulnerable to for-profit colleges that are extremely proactive in convincing students to attend, at a very high cost, yet have low rates of completion. Providing students with information about higher education options outside of the U.S. can make sure that students are aware of the full range of higher education options available.

In summary, the missing pieces of college readiness for Latino newcomer immigrant students, beyond those that were already articulated within the current dimensions earlier in this chapter, are as follows:

- Optimized initial transitions to U.S. schools
    - o Credit for prior schooling (including use of Transfer Documents)
    - o Orientation to U.S. educational system for students and parents
- Support to establish concrete educational goals
    - o Linked to career aspirations

- Systemic education about range of U.S. higher education options

All of these aspects of college readiness require schools to provide systemic information to Latino newcomer immigrants and their families that is tailored to their needs.

Since the majority of California students begin their postsecondary education at community colleges, as well as significant numbers of students across the U.S., discussions and definitions of college readiness need to be expanded to include more nuanced notions of what is required to succeed in these contexts. This includes things like careful preparation for placement tests (this actually applies to all college students), and knowing how placement test data will impact one's access to college courses, overall time to degree, associated costs, and likelihood of completion. Students are not sufficiently aware of the long-term costs of remediation, as evidenced by the students in this study who opted for more remediation than required. Much of this is already occurring in various places, in personal development classes, meetings with counselors, and through support programs. Such efforts need to grow beyond piecemeal efforts to be systemic to ensure that all students have adequate access to the information critical to their success.

Chapter 7: Discussion

This study examined the experiences of Latino newcomers in U.S. high schools, their postsecondary preparation, and transitions across urban and border contexts. The growing immigrant student population and the role of community colleges as a primary access point were central foci in this inquiry, which aimed to examine and extend notions of college readiness. This was a case study that utilized a combination of primary and secondary data to obtain a longitudinal perspective on college readiness across high school and college settings, guided by three questions:

1. What were the experiences of Latino newcomer immigrant students as they transitioned into U.S. high schools?

2. How did Latino newcomer immigrant students experience postsecondary transitions?

3. How well do existing constructions of college readiness align with the needs of Latino newcomer immigrant students?

This chapter begins with a summary of the key findings from the study and their implications for policy and practice. An examination how prevailing notions of college readiness intersect with the educational experiences and needs of newcomer students concludes the chapter.

Summary of Findings

This study examined the experiences of 56 Latino newcomers who attended four Southern California high schools and were initially on track to graduate in 2011 or 2012. By the fall of 2013, two-thirds (65.5%) of the students surveyed had graduated high school, and among this group of graduates, 80% had gone to college. Their journey to college had begun several years prior, when they migrated to the U.S. as

adolescents and contended with the challenges of learning English, fulfilling high school graduation requirements, and adapting to life in a new country within the span of just a few years. Unfortunately, while they had the benefit of participating in a project that provided numerous benefits, they also experienced many barriers to being able to graduate and be positioned to succeed in college.

By the time they made it to college, these young people had already beaten the odds in many ways, but in spite of making it this far, very few were considered "college ready" because they almost all required remediation. If they followed the patterns of prior cohorts of community college students needing similar amounts of remediation, only a fraction would make it to transfer-level courses (24% in math, 14% in English).[39] The following sections describe the critical factors in high school that impacted students' preparation to access and succeed in college, as well as the experiences of those who made this transition.

The lack of alignment between Mexican and U.S. educational systems resulted in rocky transitions.

This study affirmed the importance of prior schooling for immigrant students, which has been noted in several previous studies as a key predictor of student achievement (Callahan, 2005; Cortina, 2009; Ruiz-de-Velasco & Fix, 2000; Short & Boyson, 2012). Newcomers' prior schooling experiences as they transitioned to high schools in the U.S. shaped their expectations of what to expect and how to act in school, as well as their academic preparation. Yet, U.S. teachers and counselors continue to know little about the schooling systems in other countries, which results in

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[39] On average, two semesters of math remediation has been linked to a 24% chance of ever taking a transfer level class, for those in English three levels below transfer-level, odds are 14% will make it to transfer-level, which were the average amounts of remediation in math and English students in this study needed (Community College Chancellor's Office, 2012).

less-than-optimal transitions for newcomers on various fronts. Students perceived much repetition of content they had learned prior to migrating. It is difficult to evaluate exactly how valid these claims were, since so little work has been done to examine the alignment and curricular sequences across the Mexican and U.S. systems, and while the Mexican system is highly centralized, there is also—as in the U.S.—wide variation in the quality of instruction from school to school and across regions.

With the continuous and lengthy history of migration of students between Mexican and U.S. schools, it is unfortunate that the educational systems remain so disconnected. Policy efforts, such as the Transfer Document, have been inconsistently implemented. As a result, credit for prior schooling and placement practices often depend on a few individuals who may or may not have had adequate training to this end, or on relationships between U.S. and Mexican school staff established on an ad hoc basis. An examination of the assessment practices for newcomers and English learners is beyond the scope of the present study, but is clearly a critical issue as well.

Implications.

Newcomers in U.S. high schools have little time to spare. When they first arrive, a test that could be given to students to establish grade level knowledge in the primary language, which would serve an important purpose where students do not have transcripts, which is not uncommon. For those who do have transcripts, a clear and consistent translation process is needed to ensure that students receive credit for coursework they completed prior to migrating, and to ensure that they do not unnecessarily repeat coursework. One strategy for this would be to centralize the articulation of transcripts at the district level, to ensure consistent awarding of credits across schools, and to also minimize the burden on individual counselors who generally lack the time and training to evaluate international transcripts.

This would all be aided by aligning the U.S. and Mexican curricula, which is becoming more feasible with the implementation of the Common Core curriculum. Up until now, a key barrier to binational educational collaboration has been the lack of parallel curricula, with U.S. education being largely under the control of states. But, in order for this to occur, there will need to be a sustained investment on both sides of the border. The United States-Mexico Bilateral Forum on Higher Education, Innovation, and Research, whose formation Presidents Obama and Nieto announced in 2013, purports to "encourage broader access to quality postsecondary education for traditionally underserved demographic groups," (U.S. Department of State, 2013). However, it is unclear to what extent this has yielded any specific initiatives related to binational cooperation and policy coordination. Time will tell whether this latest effort results in substantive rather than symbolic collaboration.

The availability of bilingual classes and impacted newcomers' access to college preparatory courses.

Schools along the border provided English learners with greater access to bilingual college preparatory courses. While all schools in the study had provided access to bilingual math and science courses through their participation in Project SOL, the border schools provided bilingual social science courses that were a-g aligned as well. Students at the border region high schools had the option to take bilingual courses in world cultures, U.S. history, geography, and government that not only provided them with credits needed for graduation, but also satisfied a-g requirements. Per the University of California's policy, a-g requirements can be satisfied by Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English courses, which are designed for non-native speakers of English. However, in this study, only the schools in the border regions provided bilingual courses beyond those in math and science offered through Project

SOL. Thus, for newcomers learning English, their access to college preparatory courses as they were still acquiring English depended on the availability of bilingual courses in core subject areas.

Implications.

One of the outcomes of Proposition 227, California's English-only mandate, has been an overall reduction both in the availability of bilingual offerings. Being over 10 years of age is the basis for a parental exception waiver from the English-only mandate, but few secondary principals appear to realize or act upon this option. In addition, the anti-bilingual law has had a chilling effect on the production of bilingual teachers, which further diminishes the likelihood students will have access to bilingual courses.

Project SOL, which provided close to 500 students access to a-g-aligned math and science classes that were taught bilingually is an excellent example of how schools can leverage the skills of bilingual teachers, in tandem with bilingual online curricula, to ensure English learners are not relegated to ESL/ELD courses and electives. Such programs not only help students to maximize their very limited time and earn the credits they will need to graduate and be eligible for college, but also validate students' cultural and linguistic resources, and foster a sense of belonging, all of which increases the likelihood they will persist to graduate. However, providing such opportunities will require growing the pool of qualified bilingual teachers. Students such as those who were the focus of this study, if they persist through high school and college, have the knowledge and experience that could make them exceptional bilingual teachers. Their transnational educational experiences, language skills, and immigration experiences would allow them to relate to and serve as role models for immigrant students.

English learner classification sometimes, but not always, determined access to mainstream courses.

In part because of the failure to appropriately place students as a result of the initial transition issues and limited access to bilingual courses described above, but also because of their classification as English Learners, many students had difficult accessing college preparatory, and even graduation-required courses. This is because in many districts students who are classified as English Learners are excluded from enrolling in mainstream courses, and particularly mainstream English courses, until they meet the standards set for reclassification as fluent English proficient.

However, a key finding in this study is that English learner status is not always linked with access to mainstream courses. District policies that allow English learners to take mainstream classes vary considerably, which has important implications for their ability to access graduation requirements and college preparatory courses while they are still working to meet the English fluency standard. For example, at one of the study sites along the border, the district provided English learners with access to mainstream English courses, contingent on teacher and parent approval and achieving an intermediate level on two of the five English proficiency measures. Opening the door to these classes earlier reduced the likelihood that one dimension of students' academic capabilities—their level of English proficiency—would color the entirety of their high school experiences and ability to access college preparatory courses. Also, this kind of flexibility did not require that students be reclassified as proficient in English, which can remove important resources from students.

Implications.

Policymakers are currently obsessed with reclassification, and specifically reclassifying students sooner, because some analyses have found that reclassified

students outperform English learners (Flores, Painter & Pachon, 2009; Hill, Weston, & Hayes, 2014). There seems to be an implicit assumption that this correlation implies causation, but the effects of reclassification and length of time in ESL remain unclear to researchers (Linquanti, 2001; Robinson, 2011). Recent regression discontinuity analysis has found that reclassification does not necessarily result in enrolling in or completing more a-g coursework (Robinson, 2011), and research finding positive effects (such as Flores et al., 2009) has not been able to account for unobserved differences (Robinson, 2011).

A narrow focus on rushing to reclassify students as expediently as possible is symptomatic of a broader problem of essentializing the needs of English learners and immigrant students to their English language ability. This myopic focus on English greatly oversimplifies the needs of a very diverse population. At the same time, this detracts from careful examination of what actually happens in the classroom. Some students, such as those who had strong academic preparation and some knowledge of English prior to coming to the U.S., may benefit from entering mainstream courses sooner rather than later. Other students may need more time and the specific support provided in ESL/ELD settings, but may also be intellectually capable of college preparatory coursework in the meantime—provided it is offered in a language they can understand. And some students may need all of this at once—access to mainstream courses paired with support from an ESL/ELD program.

All of this suggests a need for a much less linear approach to policies related to course access for English learners. Too many districts are assuming that there must be a straight-line progression through the ESL/ELD sequence and passing a battery of English proficiency tests prior to fully accessing the curriculum, which prevents many capable students from maximizing their limited time and engaging in academically

214

rigorous coursework from their very first day of high school. This also suggests a need for additional support, such as a paired "shadow course" to provide scaffolding to students in mainstream courses. This is one potential way that additional funding for low-income students and English learners allocated to districts via the new California funding formula could be put to good use.

Districts varied widely in applying ESL/ELD credits toward high school English graduation requirements.

As English learners, newcomers were required to complete ESL/ELD sequences as part of their high school course of study. An important contribution of this study is highlighting the variation in the extent to which these courses moved students closer to high school graduation (a key pre-requisite for college readiness), depending on their school district's policy on high school graduation credit requirements. As a result of this variation, ESL/ELD courses counted for anywhere from one to three years of the English required to earn a high school diploma. In some districts, such as Long Beach and Santa Ana, students can apply up to four years of ESL/ELD courses to the high school English credit requirement. This means that a newcomer at one school may be able to apply all of his or her ESL/ELD credits toward the English credits needed to graduate, while in another district only one year of the ESL/ELD sequence would count, and he or she would need to take three more years of mainstream English to graduate, usually not possible until the senior year.

Implications.

Several districts in California have implemented or are in the process of implementing a default a-g curriculum. These higher graduation standards aim to increase the overall levels of college readiness, at least for the UC and CSU systems. These policies were conceived of as a way to address the disparities in a-g completion,

particularly in large urban districts. However, this study suggests that for newcomers who must complete an ESL/ELD sequence (only one year of which counts toward the a-g English requirement), being required to fulfill the a-g requirements actually causes huge hurdles for students who fundamentally need to graduate. At the same time, this requirement also lessens the likelihood that students will take career and technical education coursework, even though the California Education Code requires students who have completed 10th grade to choose between a college preparatory or career preparatory program (Betts et al., 2013).

Districts have attempted to make fulfilling the a-g graduation requirement more accessible in various ways. For example, while the University of California and California State University systems require a "C" grade or better to fulfill the a-g requirements, districts implementing default a-g allow a "D" to count toward the graduation requirement.[40] In this way, districts have recognized that students should not be denied a diploma if they fall a bit short of the standard for entering the state's public universities. In addition, two districts with a-g graduation requirements (San Jose and Oakland) provide an explicit "opt-out" process for students. In Los Angeles, students may request a waiver from the third year of math or world languages sequence only, beginning the spring of the tenth grade—but only other a-g classes may be substituted for the courses students have opted out of (Los Angeles Unified School District, 2011), which does little to help English learners who find themselves relegated to ESL/ELD and other courses that do not fulfill a-g requirements.

In California, great time and effort have been invested into developing new ELD standards, which the California State Board of Education adopted in 2012. These new standards are aligned with the Common Core ELA standards, and are very closely tied

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[40] Los Angeles Unified School District will be requiring students to pass all a-g courses with a "C" or better beginning with the class of 2017 (Betts et al. 2013).

to the new standards in other content areas. All of this begs the question: Shouldn't ELD classes and mainstream English classes aligned to the same English language arts standards count equally toward fulfilling high school English graduation requirements, as well as a-g subject requirements? If the content is in fact aligned, it seems that the credits should be as well. As it stands, in many districts students are being required to do double the work for half the credit. Though this study was not designed to make causal inferences about English credit requirements and likelihood of graduation, it bears mentioning that students who were required to complete three years of mainstream English on top of a full ESL/ELD sequence were less likely to graduate than those at schools where ESL/ELD was counted for English credit.

In short, while attempting to move all students toward readiness for a public four-year university is a laudable goal, it is a policy strategy that creates tremendous challenges for newcomers. This could be remedied with the modification of the a-g subject requirements to allow ESL/ELD courses to fulfill the English requirement. Moreover, greater effort needs to be invested to ensure that newcomers receive as much credit as they deserve for their proficiency in languages other than English. This can be accomplished more expediently via the initial transcript translation process, as well as through AP Spanish language and literature exams.

Newcomers lacked sufficient information to adeptly navigate U.S. higher education systems.

Largely being relegated to a separate track, whether it was one that excluded them from college preparatory courses because of their status as English learners, or one that afforded them access to bilingual courses, either scenario resulted in students spending much of their time with other students like themselves. This lessened their contact with native English speakers and former English learners, who were more

familiar with the ins and outs of going to college. The notable exceptions were students who participated in sports and other extra-curricular activities that integrated them with a broad range of students.

To some extent, the Project SOL intervention was able to ameliorate some of these issues of information isolation through the provision of parent empowerment courses and the development of a club focused on college preparatory activities. But, students and parents largely self-selected to participate in these activities, which left counselors bearing much responsibility for developing college knowledge among newcomers who were still becoming familiar with the U.S. educational system.

Relying on counselors is potentially problematic, as almost half of the survey respondents did *not* identify their counselors as a source of information about college. This is in part reflective of the limited availability of counselors; statewide, the ratio of students to counselors in California is 945 to one, while the national average is 477 to one (California Department of Education, 2013). In addition, the state's budget crisis resulted in over 26,000 layoffs of teachers, counselors, and librarians during the time in which the students in this study were in high school. Given their enormous case loads, counselors find they must triage students, and those going to community college are often seen as not needing college counseling.

Counselors were also not adequately prepared to advise immigrant students and parents. Adults who work with immigrant students receive no special training for dealing with the multiple issues that come up for these students (Olíverez, 2006). Moreover, bilingual and bicultural counselors who are able to communicate with newcomers and their parents are in short supply. Students in this study pieced together information through multiple means, including teachers, peers, and counselors, as has been found elsewhere (Enriquez, 2011; Olíverez, 2006).

218

Implications.

The lack of critical information, or college knowledge, can be addressed through various means. Preparation for college begins with a clear understanding of how to best navigate one's high school experience, which requires orientation to the U.S. school system early on, in a language and format students and parents understand. This could be accomplished more consistently and with little more than front-end costs via a video laying out key aspects of the U.S. K-12 and higher education systems, such as the grading structure, placement exams, graduation and college admission requirements, etc. Such a video could also be made available via school websites and social media websites that are heavily used by the target student demographic.

Parent empowerment programs are another valuable tool for developing parent capacity to advocate on behalf of their children. Within-school integration (and extracurricular activities) is crucial for ensuring that newcomers are integrated academically and socially into the school, which will in turn foster a sense of belonging, provide opportunities to practice English with native speakers, and afford access to key information about college. Finally, counselors have a critical role, and require better training and professional development so that they are able to capably advise immigrant students. Teachers, particularly those who are bilingual, and ESL teachers, can benefit from such training as well, since so many newcomers depend on them for critical information.

Inflexible placement testing structures restricted students' opportunities.

A pivotal moment for students was taking the placement tests that dictated their college course of study. This study affirms prior research on the key challenges for immigrant and language minority students in college, particularly regarding problems with testing and students not receiving sufficient guidance about the testing

process (Bunch & Panayotova, 2008; Salas et al., 2011), or how to challenge results or retake the exam (Bunch & Endris, 2012).

Several students were disappointed in their placement test results, but those who attempted to challenge their results and/or retake the placement exam were discouraged from doing so. It is unclear why students are being denied the opportunity to retake the exam because of costs to the state, which according the college assessment offices are actually negligible. In any case, these inflexible testing structures did little to help students bypass the remedial sequences, which at least 80% of students had to complete before being able to take credit-bearing, transfer-level courses. This perpetuated the repetition of coursework many had experienced when they first came to the U.S., which in turn led to diminished engagement and motivation, as well as significant time and monetary costs.

Implications.

Very few students fully understood the importance of the placement exams when they took them, and as a result, many did not prepare or put forth their best effort. Students graduating from U.S. high schools have been subjected to so many tests for accountability purposes that have little to do with their grades; it is possible that college placement tests, even when presented as "important," are perceived as yet another test of seemingly little consequence. Thus, it becomes all the more important for high schools to ensure that students are consistently informed not simply to "take your time and do your best," but also to take the time to prepare for the exam, particularly for students who may not have taken a math class their senior year. In addition to urging students to study and prepare so that they can score as highly as possible, high school teachers and counselors can inform students about the importance of advocating for themselves, and challenging their test results and/or

course placements as needed. Community colleges have a responsibility to ensure that the processes for challenging results and retaking exams are transparent and accurately communicated to students.

It is also imperative that students be highly proactive in the placement testing process. This entails seeking out information about the tests independently, from the community college testing offices, the College Board (if it is a College Board exam), and whatever other sources of information they may be able to access.

Remedial and ESL courses were pervasive in college.

Nationally, remediation is the norm for college students, particularly those in community colleges. Findings from this study suggest that students may have been taking more remediation and ESL courses than necessary. What might explain this over placement in remedial courses, which comes at a tremendous expense, in terms of time and money, for students and colleges? First, as described above, the placement tests resulted in students repeating coursework, and when they attempted to challenge these placements, there were many barriers.

Second, some students demonstrated a preference for the lower-level courses, and in some cases avoided accelerated options that would have allowed them to bypass portions of the remedial sequence. Students indicated that they did not mind the review, or said they were worried about their ability to succeed in more challenging courses. This finding is consistent with Kurlaender and Larsen's (2013) finding that Latino students are more likely than white and Asian students to enroll in basic skills courses, even which controlling for high school achievement. These findings also contribute to the growing evidence that students are over-placed in remedial courses (Scott-Clayton, Crosta, & Belfield, 2012).

Students in this study found their college experience, at least initially, was largely remedial courses where they were reviewing content from high school, and sometimes even middle school. Thus, they were seeing some topics for the second and third time, but now that they were in college it was especially demoralizing. While some indicated they did not mind the review, these students also seemed unaware of the long-term costs, both in terms of time and finances. Many students also expressed feeling like they were not progressing, or even like they were going backwards—a sentiment that many had felt when they first transitioned to U.S. high schools. This lack of rigor is concerning, because it is associated with a lack of engagement—and engagement is a strong predictor of college student persistence (Astin, 1993; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; Kuh, Cruce, Shoup, Kinzie & Gonyea, 2008).

Implications.

The U.S. has one of the highest rates of college entry in the word, but is tied for last in the rate of college completion (Steinberg, 2014). Much of this is directly related to remediation, which comes at a high price; it is estimated to cost $3 billion annually, money that is largely paying for instruction in content that was taught in high school, and for some newcomers, before they came to the U.S. At the same time, community colleges in California have experienced unprecedented budget cuts, which has reduced the availability of critical student services such as counseling, advising, assessment, and tutoring. Until this budget crisis is resolved, it is unlikely community colleges will be able to make substantive changes.

In the meantime, ensuring that students who are capable of more challenging courses are placed appropriately is essential. At the high school level, providing newcomers with more consistent access to rigorous courses, including bilingual courses, is an important strategy for ensuring that they are prepared across subjects,

and not solely in English. In ESL/ELD classes, both at the high school and college level, content integration can make these courses more relevant. Dual enrollment, credit by exam, paired courses, and online courses are additional strategies for students to accrue credits more expediently. In the developmental sequences, a key priority must be to not only provide students with both basic content instruction, but also systematic development of the academic skills, behaviors, and college knowledge necessary to persist in college. In addition,

Given the prevalence of developmental education, there has been increased attention to how to improve student outcomes, and recognition that many of the dominant ways of teaching in developmental courses fail to emphasize conceptual understanding, contextualize the content relates to the world outside the classroom, or ensure that students comprehend the material (Grubb, 2011). In short, the instructional experiences in most developmental courses tend to be teacher-centered, tedious, and far from what is considered good teaching. There are certainly exceptions—individuals and departments that have implemented more constructivist approaches and innovations such as the use of more spiraling, integrated curricula— but the students in this study had little access to such instruction.

Expanding Notions of College Readiness

One of the central questions guiding this inquiry concerned how existing definitions of college readiness align with the needs of newcomer Latino immigrant students. The data presented here suggest that the prevailing definitions and related efforts to move more students toward "college readiness," making readiness synonymous with eligibility enroll in a public four-year institution in California, appear to be overly simplistic, short-sighted, and neglect how to realistically best position newcomers for postsecondary education. At best, such policies may move students

223

more expediently toward acquiring English, likely at the expense of gaining a solid grounding in the other content areas that are critical to college success, such as math, science, and social sciences. At worst, such policies have the unintended effect of demoralizing students who are overwhelmed by the requirements, segregating them from their peers, and forcing them to fulfill the requirements to attend institutions that in all likelihood will not admit them.

Higher order thinking skills, known as key cognitive strategies, are at the heart of the college readiness model that guided much of the data collection strategy. The kinds of higher order thinking skills that characterize ideas about what students need to know and be able to do have little relation to the kinds of academic realities most community college students encounter. There was little evidence to suggest that students in community college settings, most of whom contended with remediation, were actually being cognitively challenged to solve problems and conduct research as set forth in the model. Thus, it appears that the standards of college readiness in this dimension are more aspirational than practical for students who are attending community colleges, at least initially.

What is the utility of setting college readiness standards that bear so little relation to students' realities? Such standards are useful in that they make the expectations more transparent for certain institutions, but there simply is not enough time for most newcomers to learn English, pass high school exit exams, and accrue the credits necessary for graduation, if they are to finish within four years. Granted, there were a few exceptions in this study. But, the few students who managed to fulfill their a-g requirements were high-performing students long before ever coming to the U.S. And, even some of these students thought at various points they would not be able to graduate high school, let alone go to college. And for one such student, the pressures

to work and contribute to his family, in tandem with the realities of being an undocumented adult, proved too great of barriers to surmount.

This discussion is not meant to imply that because of the various challenges newcomers encounter that they should be held to a lower standard, or that the standards should be watered down in some way. Rather, the purpose here is to question the existence of the any kind of one-size fits-all standard, when the realities of students and schools are so very complex. Greater attention must be directed to developing the structural conditions that facilitate (or hinder) the developing of college readiness, and how to address the realities Latino newcomers encounter as they navigate U.S. educational systems that are ill-prepared to serve them. No amount of standard setting and measurement will make up for the educational disparities caused by class inequality, racism, and xenophobia in the U.S.

Appendix A: Student Survey

Background
Antecedentes

1. Survey number:
   Número de encuesta:
2. Did you participate in Project SOL?
   ¿Participaste en el Proyecto SOL?
   - Yes/Si
   - No
   - Don't know/No lo sé
3. How old are you?
   ¿Qué edad tienes?
   - 18
   - 19
   - 20
   - 21
   - 22
   - 23
   - 24
   - 25
   - Other (list)/Otro (especifica):
4. What is your birth date?
   ¿Cuándo es tu cumpleaños?
   - Year/Año:
   - Month/Mes:
   - Day/Día:
5. Are you:
   ¿Eres:
   - Male/hombre
   - Female/mujer
   - Other/otro
6. How do you identify (check all that apply)
   ¿Cómo te identificas? (marca todas las que apliquen)
   - Latino/a or Hispanic
     Latino(a) o Hispano(a)
   - White
     Blanco (a)
   - Asian
     Asiático (a)
   - African American
     Afroamericano (a)
   - American Indian
     Indio Americano (a)
   - Mixed
     Mixto(a)
   - Other
     Otro(a)

7. If you identify as Latino/a or Hispanic, are you (check all that apply)
   Si te identificas como Latino(a) o Hispano(a), eres (marca todas las que apliquen)
   - Mexican
     Mexicano (a)
   - Guatemalan
     Guatemalteco (a)
   - Salvadoran
     Salvadoreño (a)
   - Other (specify)
     Otro (especifica)
8. Where did you attend elementary school? (check all that apply)
   ¿En dónde cursaste la escuela primaria? (marca todas las que apliquen)
   - U.S./E.U.A
   - Mexico/México
   - Other/Otro
   - If you marked "Other" (list)/Si marcaste "Otro" (especifica)
9. Where did you attend middle school? (check all that apply)
   ¿En dónde cursaste la escuela secundaria? (marca todas las que apliquen)
   - U.S./E.U.A
   - Mexico/México
   - Other/Otro
   - If you marked "Other" (list)/Si marcaste "Otro" (especifica)
10. Where did you attend high school? (check all that apply)
    ¿En dónde cursaste la preparatoria? (marca todas las que apliquen)
    - U.S./E.U.A
    - Mexico/México
    - Other/Otro
    If you marked "Other" (list)/Si marcaste "Otro" (especifica)
11. What was the highest grade you attended outside the U.S.?
    ¿Cuál fue el grado escolar más alto que cursaste fuera de E.U.A.?
    - None; did not attend school outside of the U.S./Ninguno, no asisté a la escuela fuera de los Estados Unidos
    - 1
    - 2
    - 3
    - 4
    - 5
    - 6
    - 7
    - 8
    - 9
    - 10
    - 11
    - 12
12. Did you have a Transfer Document
    ¿Tuviste un documento de Transferencia?
    - Yes/Si
    - No
    - Don't know/No lo sé
13. Did you receive credit for the courses you took outside of the U.S.?

Si fuiste a la escuela fuera de los E.U.A., ¿recibiste créditos por los cursos que tomaste fuera de E.U.A?
- No
- Somewhat/Algo
- Yes/Sí

14. Did you attend . . . ?
    ¿Asististe a . . .?
    - Desierto Regal High School
    - Punta del Mar High School
    - Johnson High School
    - Smith High School
    - Other (list)/Otro (especifica):
15. Did you graduate high school?
    ¿Te graduaste de la preparatoria?
    - Yes/Sí
    - No/No
16. Year of high school graduation:
    Año de tu graduación:
    - 2011
    - 2012
    - 2013
    - Other (list)/Otro (especifica):
17. What school did you graduate from?
    ¿De qué escuela te graduaste?
    - Desierto Regal High School
    - Punta del Mar High School
    - Johnson High School
    - Smith High School
    - Other (list)/Otro (especifica):
18. How many years did it take you to graduate high school?
    ¿Cuántos años te tomó graduarte de la preparatoria?
    - 4
    - 5
    - 6
    - Other (list)/Otro (especifica):
19. What was your approximate overall GPA in high school (out of a 4.0 scale)?
    ¿Cuál fue tu promedio general "GPA" aproximado en la preparatoria? (en una escala de 4.0)?
    - A (4.0
    - A-/B+ (3.5)
    - B (3.0)
    - B-/C+ (2.5)
    - C (2.0)
    - C-/D+ (1.5)
    - D (1.0)
    - F (0.0)
    - Don't know/No lo sé
20. Did you participate in any other kinds of programs or extracurricular programs?
    ¿Participaste en cualquier otro tipo de programa o programa extracurricular?

- Yes/Sí
- No/No

21. If yes, please list:

Si respondiste Si, por favor enlístalo(s):

College Enrollment/Matrícula en la Universidad/Colegio

22. Are you in college now?

¿Asistes a la Universidad actualmente?
- Yes/Sí
- No/No

23. If no,
   a. Did you attend previously? (YES/NO)

   ¿Asistías anteriormente? (SI/NO)
   b. Do you plan to attend? (YES/NO)

   ¿Planeas asistir? (SI/NO)

24. What is the name of the college(s) you attended)?:

¿Cuál es el nombre de la(s) Universidad a la que asististe?:

25. When did you start attending this college? (YEAR/MONTH)

¿Cuándo empezaste a asistir a esta Universidad? (AÑO/MES)

26. How many semesters of college have you completed?

¿Cuántos semestres de Universidad has terminado?

27. If yes,
   a. What is the name of the college(s) you attend?:

   ¿   Cuál es el nombre de la(s) Universidad a la que asistes?:
   b. When did you start attending this college? (YEAR/MONTH)

   ¿Cuándo empezaste a asistir a esta Universidad? (AÑO/MES)

28. Have you attended any other college/universities?

¿Has asistido a cualquier otra universidad o escuela de educación superior?
- Yes/Sí
- No/No

29. List the other college(s) you attended/Especifica las otras universidades que a la que asististe:

30. How many semesters of college have you completed?

¿Cuántos semestres de Universidad has terminado?

31. Are you enrolled in college full-time or part-time? (FULL-TIME/PART TIME)

¿Estás inscrito en la universidad en tiempo completo o medio tiempo? (TIEMPO COMPLETO / MEDIO TIEMPO)
- Full time/Tiempo completo
- Part-time/Medio tiempo

32. What kind of DIPLOMA does your CURRENT program lead to?

¿Qué tipo de DIPLOMA vas a obtener con el programa en el que estás ACTUALMENTE?
- None. I am not enrolled in a credited program

  Ninguno. Estoy en un programa de créditos
- Associate of Arts (AA/AS)

  Dilomado (AA/AS)
- Bachelor's Degree (BA/BS)

  Licenciatura (BA/BS)
- Certificate

Certificado
- Don't know
  No lo sé
- Other/Otro:

33. What is your current major (if any)? (LIST)
    ¿Cuál es tu carrera actual (si es el caso)? (ESPECIFICA)
34. Are you planning to transfer?
    ¿Estás planeando trasladarte?
35. If you are planning to transfer, what school(s) do you think you will go to?
    Si estás planeando trasladarte, ¿a qué escuela(s) planeas ir?
36. How many years, from beginning to end, do you expect it will take you to graduate and/or transfer from this college?
    ¿Cuántos años, de principio a fin, esperas que te tome graduarte y/o trasladarte de esta universidad?
    - Less than a year/Menos de un año
    - 1
    - 2
    - 3
    - 4
    - 5
    - 6
    - Don't know
      No lo sé
37. What is the highest academic degree that you intend to obtain?
    ¿Cuál es el nivel académico más alto que has intentado conseguir?
    - None
      Ninguno
    - Vocational certificate
      Certificado de Formación Profesional
    - Associate (A.A. or equivalent)
      Carrera Técnica (A.A. o equivalente)
    - Bachelor's degree (B.A., B.S., etc.)
      Licenciatura (B.A., B.S., etc.)
    - Master's degree (M.A., M.S., etc.)
      Maestría (M.A., M.S., etc.)
    - Ph.D or Ed.D
      Doctorado (Ph.D or Ed.D)
    - M.D., D.O., D.D.D. or D.V.M.
      Medicina, Osteopatía, Dentista, o Veterinaria
    - J.D. (Law)
      Leyes
    - B.D. or M.DIV (Divinity)
      Licenciatura o Maestría en Divinidad (B.D. o M.DIV)
    - Other
      Otro
38. How many years do you think it will take you to obtain the degree you selected above?
    ¿Cuántos años crees que te tome obtener el nivel que seleccionaste en la pregunta anterior?

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10 or more
  10 o más
- Don't know
  No lo sé

39. Do you live on campus
    ¿Vives en el campus?
    - Yes/Sí
    - No/No

40. Do you live in/Vives en:
    - College residence hall or dorm/Residencia universitaria o dormitorio
    - Fraternity or sorority house/Fraternidad o hermandad
    - Other campus housing/Otra vivienda estudiantil en el campus

41. How many miles is this college from your permanent home?
    ¿A qué distancia en millas se encuentra la universidad de tu residencia permanente?
    - 5 or less
      5 o menos
    - 6-10
    - 11-50
    - 51-100
    - 101-500
    - Over 500
      Más de 500
    - Don't know
      No lo sé

42. How do you get to school?
    ¿Cómo llegas a la escuela?
    - Drive/Manejando
    - Walk/Caminando
    - Bike/Bicicleta
    - Carpool/Vehículo compartido
    - Public transit/Transporte público
    - Other/Otro:

43. How long is your daily commute?
    ¿Cuánto tiempo te toma trasladarte diariamente?
    - < 30 min.
    - 30-59 min.
    - ~ 1 -- 1.5 hrs.
    - ~ 1.5 -- 2 hrs
    - ~ 2 -- 2.5 hrs
    - ~ 2.5 -- 3 hrs

- ~ 3.5 --4 hrs
- ~ 4 -- 4.5 hrs
- ~ 4.5 -- 5 hrs
- 5 hrs +

Household and Work/Casa y Trabajo

Please share a little about your home and work life.
Por favor, comparte un poco acerca de tu hogar y vida de trabajo.

44. How many people live with you right now?
    ¿Cuántas personas viven contigo actualmente?
45. Who do you live with right now? (Check all that apply)
    ¿Con quién vives actualmente? (Marca todas las que apliquen)
    - I live by myself
      Solo (a)
    - Mother
      Madre
    - Father
      Padre
    - Stepmother
      Madrastra
    - Stepfather
      Padrastro
    - Brothers/Sisters
      Hermanos/Hermanas
    - Extended family (grandparents/uncles/aunts/cousins)
      Familia (abuelos/tíos/tías/primos)
    - Roommates
      Compañeros de cuarto
    - Your child or children
      Hijo o hijos
46. How many children do you have?
    ¿Cuantos hijos tienes?
    - 0
    - 1
    - 2
    - 3+
    - Ages/Edades:
47. Do you currently work?
    ¿Trabajas actualmente?
    - Yes/Sí
    - No/No
48. If yes, how many hours on average per week?
    Si respondiste sí, ¿Cuántas horas trabajas en promedio por semana?
49. If yes, what kind of work do you do? (Check all that apply)
    Si respondiste sí, ¿Qué tipo de trabajo haces? (Marca todas las que apliquen)
    - Office
      Oficina
    - Retail

Ventas
- Food service
  Servicios de Alimentos
- Construction
  Construcción
- Work study/campus
  Trabajo estudiantil/campus
- Childcare
  Cuidado Infantil
- Other (list)
  Otro (especifica

Transition to College
Transición a la Universidad

In this section, we will ask about more details about your experiences in college, because we are interested in how schools might better prepare students for college.

En esta sección, vamos a preguntar por más detalles acerca de tus experiencias en la universidad, porque estamos interesados en cómo las escuelas pueden preparar mejor a los estudiantes para la universidad.

50. Overall, how has your transition to college been?
    En general, ¿Cómo ha sido tu transición a la Universidad?
    - Not applicable (have not been to college)/No aplica (no he asistido a la universidad)
    - Easy
      Fácil
    - Okay
      Más or menos buena
    - Somewhat difficult
      Con algunas dificultades
    - Very difficult
      Muy difícil
51. Did you take a college placement test?
    ¿Has hecho algún examen de colocación en el colegio?
    - Yes/Sí
    - No/No
52. How well do you think the test measured your knowledge skills?
    ¿Qué tan bien crees que midió tus conocimientos el examen?
    - Not at all/No en absoluto
    - Not very well/No muy bien
    - Pretty well/bien
    - Very well/Muy bien
53. Did anyone tell you to prepare for the placement test in advance?
    ¿Alguien te dijo que te prepararas para el examen de colocación antes de presentarlo?
    - Yes/Sí
    - No/No

54. Did you prepare to take the placement test in advance? (check all that apply)
    ¿Te preparaste para hacer el examen antes de presentarlo? (Marca todas las que apliquen)
    - No
      No
    - Studied independently
      Estudié independientemente
    - Received help from school/tutor
      Recibí ayuda de la escuela/tutor
55. Do you know how to challenge the results of a placement test?
    ¿Sabes cómo objetar los resultados de un examen de colocación?
    - Yes/Sí
    - No/No
56. Is this something you did?
    ¿Lo hiciste alguna vez?
    - Yes/Sí
    - No/No
57. Did you place into developmental/remedial courses?
    ¿Te inscribiste en cursos de preparación/regularización?
    - Yes/Sí
    - No/No
58. Did you test into developmental/remedial courses in MATH?
    ¿Probaste cursos de preparación/regularización de MATEMÁTICAS?
    - Yes/Sí
    - No/No
59. How many semesters will you need to take to enroll in transfer-level math?
    Si respondiste sí, ¿Cuántos semestres vas a necesitar para entrar a nivel de transferencia de matemáticas?
    - 1
    - 2
    - 3
    - 4
    - 5
    - 6+
    - Don't know/No lo sé
60. Did you test into developmental/remedial courses in ENGLISH?
    ¿Probaste cursos de preparación/regularización de INGLÉS?
    - Yes/Sí
    - No/No
61. If yes, how many semesters will you need to take to enroll in transfer-level English? (1, 2, 3, 4 or more, don't know)
    Si respondiste sí, ¿Cuántos semestres vas a necesitar para entrar a nivel de transferencia de inglés? (1, 2, 3, 4 o más, no lo sé)
    - 1
    - 2
    - 3
    - 4
    - 5
    - 6+

- Don't know/No lo sé
62. What is your approximate overall GPA in college (out of a 4.0 scale)?
    ¿Cuál es aproximadamente tu Promedio General de Universidad (en una escala de 4.0)?
    - A (4.0
    - A-/B+ (3.5)
    - B (3.0)
    - B-/C+ (2.5)
    - C (2.0)
    - C-/D+ (1.5)
    - D (1.0)
    - F (0.0)
    - Don't know/No lo sé
63. Have you failed any classes?
    ¿Has reprobado alguna materia?
    - Yes/Sí
    - No/No
64. If yes, please list the course names:
    Si tu respuesta fue sí, por favor enlístala(s) los nombres de las materias:
65. If yes, why do you think you failed the course (check all that apply)
    Si tu respuesta fue sí, ¿Por qué crees que reprobaste los curso(s)?
    - Too hard
      Demasiado difícil
    - Family obligations
      Obligaciones familiares
    - Work obligations
      Obligaciones de trabajo
    - Missed too many times
      Falté demasiado veces
    - Bad teacher/Did not like teacher
      Maestro mal/No me gustó el maestro
    - Did not try hard enough
      No eché ganas suficiente
    - English skills
      Habilidades de inglés
66. If yes, are you planning to retake the course(s) you failed?
    Si tu respuesta fue sí, ¿Planeas tomar nuevamente lo(s) curso(s) que reprobaste?
    - Yes/Sí
    - No/No
    - Maybe/Tal vez
67. Do you know how many times your college allows students to retake courses
    ¿Sabes cuántas veces tu Universidad permite a los estudiantes repetir materias?
    - Yes/Sí
    - No/No
68. Have you taken any online courses?
    ¿Has tomado algún curso en línea?
    - Yes/Sí
    - No/No
69. If yes, from where:

Si lo hiciste, de donde:
70. How many times have you met with a counselor?
    ¿Cuántas veces te has reunido con un consejero/a?Yes/Sí
    • 0
    • 1
    • 2
    • 3
    • 4
    • 5+
71. What kind of orientation to college did you have?
    ¿Que tipo de orientación al colegio tuviste?
    • One on one
      Personalmente
    • Group counseling session
      Sesión de asesoramiento en grupo
    • Online
      En línea
    • I did not have an orientation
      No tuve orientación
72. Did you take a personal development class?
    ¿Tomaste clases de desarrollo personal?
    • Yes/Sí
    • No, but plan to/No, pero planeo hacerlo
    • No/No

Language Issues
Asuntos con el Idioma

73. What language(s) do you speak
    ¿Qué idiomas hablas?
    • Spanish/Español
    • Enlgish/Inglés
    • Other/Otro:
    (ESPAÑOL/INGLES/OTRO)
74. How well do you do the following? Choose the option that best describes you
    (not at all, not very well, well, very well)
    ¿Qué tan bien haces lo siguiente? Elige la opción que te describa mejor (no en
    absoluto, no muy bien, bien, muy bien)
    • Understand spoken English
      Entender el inglés hablado
    • Speak English
      Hablar inglés
    • Read English
      Leer en inglés
    • Write English
      Escribir inglés
    • Understand spoken Spanish
      Entender el español hablado
    • Speak Spanish

Hablar español
- Read Spanish
  Leer en espańol
- Write Spanish
  Escribir espańol

75. How often do you practice English outside of classes? (never, seldom, sometimes, often)
    ¿Qué tan frecuentemente practicas inglés fuera de las clases? (nunca, rara vez, algunas veces, frecuentemente)
    - Never/Nunca
    - Seldom/Rara vez
    - Sometimes/De vez en cuando
    - Often/Frecuentamente

76. What was the highest level of ESL you completed in high school?
    ¿Cuál fue el nivel más alto de inglés como segunda lengua (ESL) que acreditaste en preparatoria?
    - ELD 1 (Beginning)
    - ELD 2 (Early Intermediate)
    - ELD 3 (Intermediate)
    - ELD 4 (Early Advanced)
    - ELD 5 (Advanced)
    - Don't know/No lo sé
    - Not applicable/No aplica

77. Did you take an ESL placement test in college?
    ¿Presentaste examen de colocación de Inglés como segunda lengua (ESL) en el colegio?
    - I have not been to college/No he asistido a la universidad
    - Yes/Si
    - No
    - Don't know/No lo sé
    Why or why not?:
    ¿Por qué o Por qué no?

78. Are you currently enrolled in ESL services in college?
    ¿Actualmente te encuentras inscrito en servicios de ESL en la Universidad?
    - Yes/Sí
    - No/No

Key Content Knowledge
Conocimiento de Contenidos Clave

The following questions ask about some of the academic subjects that are considered necessary to be prepared for college and your high school experiences.

Las siguientes preguntas son acerca de algunos temas académicos que son considerados necesarios para estar preparado para la Universidad y tus experiencias en la preparatoria.

79. Response options: Not at all prepared, A little, Mostly, Completely prepared, don't know

Opciones par alas respuestas: No preparado, un poco preparado, casi bien preparado, completamente preparado, no lo sé

   a. How prepared were you in READING as you transitioned to college?
      ¿Qué tan preparado estabas en LECTURA en la transición a la universidad?
   b. How prepared were you in WRITIING as you transitioned to college?
      ¿Qué tan preparado estabas en ESCRITURA en la transición a la universidad?
   c. How prepared were you in MATHEMATICS as you transitioned to college?
      ¿Qué tan preparado estabas en MATEMÁTICAS en la transición a la universidad?
   d. How prepared were you in SOCIAL SCIENCE as you transitioned to college?
      ¿Qué tan preparado estabas en CIENCIAS SOCIALES en la transición a la universidad?
   e. How prepared were you in SCIENCE as you transitioned to college?
      ¿Qué tan preparado estabas en CIENCIAS en la transición a la universidad?
   f. How prepared were you in TECHNOLOGY as you transitioned to college?
      ¿Qué tan preparado estabas en TECNOLOGÍA en la transición a la universidad?

80. Do you think you had adequate access to college preparatory (A-G) courses in high school? (YES/SOMEWHAT/NO/DON'T KNOW) Why or why not?
    ¿Consideras que tuviste acceso adecuado a los cursos preparatorios para la Universidad (A-G) en preparatoria? (SI/ MÁS O MENOS/NO/NO LO SÉ) ¿Por qué o Por qué no?

81. If no, which ones did you not have access to?
    Si respondiste no, ¿A cuáles no tuviste acceso?
    - History/social science
      Historia/ciencias sociales
    - English
      Inglés
    - Math
      Matemáticas
    - Lab science
      Laboratorio de Ciencias
    - World language/language other than English
      Idioma/Idioma distinto al inglés
    - Visual and performing arts
      Artes visuals y escénicas
    - College preparatory electives
      Optativas de preparación para la universidad

Academic Skills and Behaviors/Habilidades Académicas y Comportamientos
The following group of questions is about some of the non-academic skills you might need in college.

El siguiente grupo de preguntas trata sobre las habilidades no académicas que puedas necesitar en la universidad.

82. How important have these things been for you in college? (not important, somewhat important, important, very important, don't know)
¿Qué tan importantes han sido estas cosas en la universidad para ti? (no importantes, algo importantes, importantes, muy importantes, no lo sé)
- Time management
  Administración del tiempo
- Attendance
  Asistencia
- Coming to class on time
  Llegar a clase a tiempo
- Note taking (in class and from readings)
  Toma de notas (en clase y de las lecturas)
- Setting goals
  Establecimiento de metas
- Working hard
  Trabajar duro
- Advocating for myself
  Abogar por mi mismo
- Knowing where to go for help
  Saber a dónde ir para pedir ayuda
- Using the library
  Usar la biblioteca
- Using course websites
  Usar los sitios web de las materias
- Test taking skills
  Habilidades para presentar examenes
- Memorizing and recalling information
  Memorizar y recordar información
- Skimming readings for key points
  Filtrado de lecturas para obtener los puntos clave
- Working with friends/peers/groups
  Trabajar con amigos/compañeros/equipos
- Using technology
  Usar la tecnología
83. Are there any study skills you think you need to improve? (check all that apply)
¿Consideras que hay alguna habilidad de estudio que necesitas mejorar? (marca todas las que apliquen)
- Time management
  Administración del tiempo
- Attendance
  Asistencia
- Coming to class on time
  Llegar a clase a tiempo
- Note taking (in class and from readings)
  Toma de notas (en clase y de las lecturas)
- Setting goals
  Establecimiento de metas
- Working hard

Trabajar duro
- Advocating for myself
  Abogar por mi mismo
- Knowing where to go for help
  Saber a dónde ir para pedir ayuda
- Using the library
  Usar la biblioteca
- Using course websites
  Usar los sitios web de las materias
- Test taking skills
  Habilidades para presentar examenes
- Memorizing and recalling information
  Memorizar y recordar información
- Skimming readings for key points
  Filtrado de lecturas para obtener los puntos clave
- Working with friends/peers/groups
  Trabajar con amigos/compañeros/equipos
- Using technology
  Usar la tecnología

84. How much time do you spend on homework and studying each week, on average?
   ¿Cuánto tiempo pasas haciendo trabajos en casa y estudiando a la semana en promedio? HORAS/MINUTOS

85. How much time do you THINK you should spend on homework and studying each week? HOURS/MINUTES
   ¿Cuánto tiempo crees que debes pasar hacienda trabajos en casa y estudiando cada semana? HORAS/MINUTOS

86. How important have these things been for you in college? (skip if you have not been to college)(not important, somewhat important, important, very important, don't know)
   ¿Qué tan importantes han sido estas cosas en la universidad para ti? (salta si no has ido a la universidad) (no importantes, algo importantes, importantes, muy importantes, no lo sé)
   - Setting goals for myself/Establecer metas por mi mismo
   - Trying hard, even when things are tough/Intentar arduamente, incluso cuando las cosas son difíciles
   - Being aware of the progress I am making (or not making)/Ser consciente del proceso que estoy logrando (o no logrando)
   - Being motivated/Estar motivado
   - Seeking out help when I need it/Buscar ayuda cuando la necesito
   - Advocating for myself/Abogar por mi mismo
   - Tracking my progress/Dar seguimiento a mi progreso
   - Believing in myself/Creer en mi mismo
   - Confidence in my abilities as a student/Tener confianza en mis habilidades como estudiante
   - Managing my stress/Manejar mi estrés

87. Do you think you need to improve in any of these areas? (check all that apply)
   ¿Consideras que necesitas mejorar en cualquiera de estas áreas? (marca todas las que apliquen)
   - Setting goals for myself/Establecer metas por mi mismo

- Trying hard, even when things are tough/Intentar arduamente, incluso cuando las cosas son difíciles
- Being aware of the progress I am making (or not making)/Ser consciente del proceso que estoy logrando (o no logrando)
- Being motivated/Estar motivado
- Seeking out help when I need it/Buscar ayuda cuando la necesito
- Advocating for myself/Abogar por mi mismo
- Tracking my progress/Dar seguimiento a mi progreso
- Believing in myself/Creer en mi mismo
- Confidence in my abilities as a student/Tener confianza en mis habilidades como estudiante
- Managing my stress/Manejar mi estrés
- What is your biggest source of stress? TEXT

¿Qué es lo que más te estresa? TEXTO

88. Do you know where to go on campus if you need help with:
Sabes a dónde ir en el campus si necesitas ayuda con:
- Math
  Matemáticas
- Writing
  Escritura
- English
  Inglés
- Financial issues
  Asuntos financieros
- Career counseling
  Asesoramiento de carrera
- Academic counseling
  Asesoramiento académico
- Personal counseling
  Asesoría personal
- Other concerns
  Otros asuntos

89. Do you feel comfortable seeking out help when you need it? (not at all, a little, somewhat, completely)
¿Te sientes cómodo buscando ayuda cuando la necesitas? (no, un poco, algo, completamente)

90. What are some of the things that might prevent you from seeking out help?
¿Qué cosas son las que evitarían que buscaras ayuda?
- Embarrassment
  Verguenza
- Don't know where to go
  No saber a dónde ir
- Want to do things on my own
  Querer hacer las cosas por mi cuenta
- Language--not sure I'll be understood
  Idioma—No estar seguro de que me van a entender
- Other: list
  Otro: especifica
- None of the above
  Ninguno de los anteriores

College Knowledge and Skills
Conocimiento de la Universidad y Habilidades

91. Did you take any of the following (check all that apply):
    ¿Tomaste alguno de los siguientes? (marca todos los que apliquen):
    - ACT composite
    - SAT mathematics
    - SAT critical reading
    - SAT writing
    - AP Exams
    - Comments
    - Comentarios

92. Did you visit colleges/universities while in high school?
    ¿Visitaste universidades mientras estabas en la preparatoria?
    - Yes/Sí
    - No/No

93. If yes, where did you visit and how was it?
    Si tu respuesta fue si, ¿A dónde fuiste de visita y cómo fue?

94. Do you have a career goal? (YES/NO) If yes, specify
    ¿Tienes una meta de carrera? (SI/NO) Si la tienes, especifica

95. How are you paying for your tuition/fees? (check all that apply)
    ¿Cómo estás pagando la matrículas/cuotas? (marca todas las que apliquen)
    - Family resources (parents, relatives, source, etc.)
      Recursos Familiares (padres, familiares, origen, etc.)
    - My own resources (savings from work, work-study, other income)
      Mis propios recursos (ahorros de trabajo, trabajo y estudio, otro ingreso)
    - Grants and/or scholarships
      Subvenciones y / o becas
    - Board of Governors (BOG) Waiver
      Exención de la Junta Directiva (BOG)
    - Financial aid
      Ayuda financiera
    - Personal fundraiser
      Recaudación personal de fondos
    - Loans
      Préstamos
    - Other (list)
      Otro (lista)

College Choices
Opciones de Universidad

96. I think I know the advantages and disadvantages of going to a (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)
    Creo que conozco las ventajas y desventadas de ir a (MARCA TODAS LAS QUE APLIQUEN)
    - Community college/Colegio comunitario
    - 4-yr university/Universidad de 4 años (es decir CSU/UC/Stanford)
    - Public university vs. private university

Universidad pública vs. Universidad privada
- For-profit university (i.e. University of Phoenix, DeVry)
Universidad For-profit (es decir, University of Phoenix, DeVry)

97. What kind of school would you need for the following degrees (CC/4-YR/OTHER)
¿Qué tipo de escuela necesitarías para los siguientes títulos (CC/4 años/otro)
- Associates
Técnico
- Vocational certificate
Certificado de Formación Profesional
- Law degree
Licenciatura en Derecho
- Medical degree
Medicina
- Bachelors
Licenciaturas
- Masters
Maestrías

98. On a scale from 1-5, how much did each of the following impact where you went to college?
En una escala del 1 al 5 ¿Qué tanto impacto tuvieron cada uno de los siguientes aspectos en la determinación del lugar al que fuiste a la universidad?
- Cost
Costo
- Location
Ubicación
- Parental preference
Preferencia de los Padres
- Work schedule
Horario de Trabajo
- Recommendation of friend
Recomendación de un amigo
- Recommendation of counselor
Recomendación de un asesor
- Other source (list)
Otra fuente (enlista)

99. Where did you get your information about college (or who did you get it from)? (checklist)
¿En dónde obtuviste información acerca de la Universidad (o de quién la obtuviste)? (lista de selección)
- Counselor
Asesor
- Website (list)
Sitio Web (list)
- Teacher
Maestro
- Friend
Amigo
- Parent
Padre

- Other adult
  Otro adulto
- Other source (list)
  Otra fuente (enlista)

100. Do you have any role models? YES/NO
  ¿Tienes algún modelo a seguir? (SI/NO)

101. If yes, who are they?
  Si lo tienes, ¿Quién?

102. How important do you think it is to be able to do this in college?
  (not important, somewhat important, important, very important, don't know)
  ¿Qué tan importante crees que sea, ser capaz de hacer esto en la
  universidad? (No es importante, algo importante, importante, muy importante,
  no lo sé)
  - Awareness of college options
    Conocimiento de las opciones de la universidad
  - Visiting professors during office hours
    Visitar a los profesores durante horas laborales
  - Asking questions in class
    Hacer preguntas en clase
  - Knowledge of financial aid/scholarship options
    Conocimiento de las opciones de ayuda financiera o las opciones de beca
  - Filling out college applications
    Llenado de solicitudes de la universidad
  - Understanding college admission requirements
    Entendimiento de los requerimientos de admisión
  - Understanding requirements for specific majors/programs
    Entendimiento de los requerimientos para especialidades
    específicas/programas
  - Knowing how to prepare for the career I want
    Saber cómo prepararme para la carrera que quiero
  - Awareness of places I can go for support on campus
    Conocimiento de los lugares a los que puedo ir por ayuda en el campus
  - Knowing what it takes to transfer
    Saber lo que se necesita para transferirse

103. Thinking about when you first came to college, how would you rate
  yourself in each of the following areas (need to improve, OK, excellent)
  Pensando en la primera vez que viniste a la Universidad, ¿Cómo te calificarías en
  cada una de las siguientes áreas? (Necesito mejorar, Bien, Excelente)
  - Awareness of college options
    Conocimiento de las opciones de la universidad
  - Visiting professors during office hours
    Visitar a los profesores durante horas laborales
  - Asking questions in class
    Hacer preguntas en clase
  - Knowledge of financial aid/scholarship options
    Conocimiento de las opciones de ayuda financiera o las opciones de beca
  - Filling out college applications
    Llenado de solicitudes de la universidad
  - Understanding college admission requirements
    Entendimiento de los requerimientos de admisión

- Understanding requirements for specific majors/programs
  Entendimiento de los requerimientos para especialidades específicas/programas
- Knowing how to prepare for the career I want
  Saber cómo prepararme para la carrera que quiero
- Awareness of places I can go for support on campus
  Conocimiento de los lugares a los que puedo ir por ayuda en el campus
- Knowing what it takes to transfer
  Saber lo que se necesita para transferirse

Immigration Issues/Temas de Inmigración
Remember, all information collected is confidential and you may skip any question if you prefer.

Recuerda, toda la información recopilada es confidencial y puedes saltar cualquier pregunta si lo prefieres.

104.   What is the name of the town or area where you were born?
          ¿Cuál es el nombre de la población o área en donde naciste?

105.   How old were you when you came to the United States?
          ¿Qué edad tenías cuando llegaste a los Estado Unidos?

106.   How long have you lived in the U.S.?
          ¿Hace cuánto que vives en los EUA?

107.   Which of the following best describes your current status?
          ¿Cuál de las siguientes opciones describe mejor tu situación actual?

- U.S. citizen
  Ciudadano estadounidense
- U.S. resident
  Residente de U.S.A
- Student visa
  Visa de estudiante
- Work Visa
  Visa de trabajo
- Other
  Otro
- Prefer not to say
  Prefiero no decirlo

108.   I would like to return to live in my country of origin
          Me gustaría regresar a vivir a mi país de origen

- Yes/Sí
- No/No
- Maybe/Tal vez

109.   My family would like to return to live in my country of origin
          A mi familia le gustaría regresar a mi país de origen

- Yes/Sí
- No/No
- Maybe/Tal vez

110.   Did you consider going to college in Mexico or another country?
          ¿Consideraste asistir a la Universidad en México o en otro país?

- Yes/Sí

- No/No

Comments/Comentarios:

111.   Are you aware of AB540?
         ¿Conoces la ley AB540?
- Yes/Sí
- No/No

112.   If yes, do you know the eligibility requirements for AB540 Si respondiste que sí, ¿Conoces los requisitos necesarios para la AB540?
- No/No
- Somewhat/Algo
- Yes/Sí

113.   Are you aware of DACA?
         ¿Conoces el programa DACA?
- Yes/Sí
- No/No

114.   Did you apply for DACA?
         ¿Solicitaste el DACA?
- Yes/Sí
- No/No

115.   Do you know the eligibility requirements for DACA?
         ¿Conoces los requisitos necesarios para DACA?
- No/No
- Somewhat/Algo
- Yes/Sí

116.   How hard do you think Latino immigrant students work in comparison to U.S.-born students?
         ¿Qué tan duro crees que los estudiantes latinos inmigrantes trabajan en comparación con los estudiantes nacidos en USA?
- Not as hard/No tan duro
- About the same/Más o menos igual
- Harder/Más duro

117.   To what extent will prejudice and discrimination against others like you impose barriers to their future outcomes?
         ¿Hasta qué punto los prejuicios y la discriminación contra otros como tú, impone barreras para sus resultados en el futuro?
- Not at all/No en absoluto
- A little/Un poco
- Some/Algo
- Very much/Mucho

118.   In the United States, it is possible for people from all racial groups to get ahead
         En los Estados Unidos, es posible para las personas de todos los grupos raciales salir adelante.
- Disagree/No de acuerdo
- Somewhat disagree/Algo de desacuerdo
- Agree a little/Algo de acuerdo
- Agree/De acuerdo

Family & Parent Factors
Factores de Familia y Padres

The next set of questions is about ways that your family may have affected your education.
El siguiente conjunto de preguntas es acerca de la forma en que tu familia pudo haber afectado tu educación.

119.   What language(s) do your parents speak (Check all that apply)
       ¿Qué idiomas hablan tus padres? (marca todos los que apliquen)
- Spanish
  Español
- English
  Inglés
- Other (list)
  Otro (enlista)

120.   Where was your mother born?
       ¿Dónde nació tu madre?
- United States
  Estados Unidos
- Mexico
  México
- El Salvador
  El Salvador
- Guatemala
  Guatemala
- Other
  Otro

121.   Where was your father born?
       ¿Dónde nació tu padre?
- United States
  Estados Unidos
- Mexico
  México
- El Salvador
  El Salvador
- Guatemala
  Guatemala
- Other
  Otro

122.   How old is your mother?
       ¿Qué edad tiene tu madre?

123.   How old is your father
       ¿Qué edad tiene tu padre?

124.   Among your parents, which best describes their highest level of education (separate columns for mother and father)
       Hablando de tus padres, cual es la opción que mejor describe su nivel más alto de educación (columnas separadas para madre y padre)
- Elementary School

Primaria
- Middle School
  Secundaria
- Some high school
  Preparatoria sin terminar
- High School graduate
  Se graduó de la preparatoria
- Some College
  Universidad sin terminar
- 2-year college degree/certificate
  Título/certíficado de carrera técnica
- 4-year college degree
- Título universitario de 4 años
- Graduate degree
  Postgrado
- Other education (describe)
  Otra educación

125. What is your mother's occupation?
      ¿Cuál es la ocupación de tu madre?
126. What is your father's occupation?
      ¿Cuál es la ocupación de tu padre?
127. What is your family's annual household income?
   ¿Cuál es el ingreso anual de tu familia?
- Less than $10,000
- $10,000-14,999
- $15,000-24,999
- $25,000-34,999
- $35,000-49,999
- $50,000-74,999
- $75,000-99,999
- $100,000 or more
  · $100,000 o más
- don't know
  No lo sé

128. How important was/is it for your parents that you go to college
      ¿Qué tan importante es/era para tus padres que asistas/asistieras a la
   Universidad?
- Not important/No es importante
- Somewhat important/Algo importante
- Important/Importante
- Very important/Muy importante

129. How important is it for your parents that you work?
      ¿Qué tan importante es para tus padres que trabajes?
- Not important/No es importante
- Somewhat important/Algo importante
- Important/Importante
- Very important/Muy importante

130. My parents made many sacrifices for me to come to the United States
   (Strongly disagree/disagree/somewhat agree/Agree)

Mis padres hicieron muchos sacrificios para que pudiera venir a estudiar a los Estado Unidos (totalmente en desacuerdo/en desacuerdo/ medianamente de acuerdo/ de acuerdo)
- Strongly disagree/Totalmente en desacuerdo
- Disagree/En desacuerdo
- Somewhat agree/Medianamente de acuerdo
- Agree/De acuerdo

131. Did your parents provide you with information about college?
¿Tus padres te proporcionaron información acerca de la Universidad?
- Not at all/Nada
- Some/Algo
- A lot/Mucha

132. Did your school make information about college available to your parents?
¿Tu escuela les dio información a tus padres acerca de la Universidad?
- Yes/Sí
- Some/Algo
- No/No

133. Do you have any of the following family responsibilities? (check all that apply)
¿Tienes alguna de las siguientes responsabilidades familiars? (marca todas las que apliquen)
- Getting brother or sister ready for school
  Alistar a hermano o hermana para la escuela
- Babysitting/childcare
  Cuidar niños o bebes
- Housework/chores
  Tareas domésticas
- Work in family business
  Trabajar en el negocio familiar
- Help with shopping
  Ayudar con las compras
- Help pay bills
  Ayudar a pagar las cuentas
- Other/Otro:

134. Have you had to miss school because of family matters or responsibilities?
¿Has tenido que faltar a la escuela por situaciones o responsabilidades familiares?
- Never/Nunca
- Occasionally/Ocasionalmente
- Often/Frecuentamente
- All the time/Siempre

135. How much of an impact do your work and family responsibilities have on your life as a college student?
¿Qué tanto impacto tienen tus responsabilidades laborales o de famila en tu vida como estudiante universitario?
- Not at all/Nada

- A little/Un poco
- Somewhat/Algo
- A lot/Mucho

136. What kind of support do you receive from your parent(s) (check all that apply)
¿Qué tipo de apoyo recibes de tu(s) padre(s) (marca todas las que apliquen)
- Moral support
  Aporo moral
- Financial
  Financiero
- Place to live
  Lugar para vivir
- Support and encouragement
  Apoyo y estímulo
- High expectations
  Altas expectativas
- Help me find a job
  Me ayudan para encontrar trabajo
- Other (LIST)
  Otro (ENLISTA)

137. How would your parents feel about you moving to another city/state to go to college?
¿Cómo se sienten tus padres acerca de que te mudes a otra ciudad/estado para ir a la universidad?
- Supportive/Me apoyan
- Unsupportive/No me apoyan
- Don't know/No lo sé

Thank you so much for your participation!
¡Muchísimas gracias por su participación!

Appendix B: Student Interview Protocol

Protocolo de Entrevista del estudiante

¿Tienes alguna pregunta antes de comenzar?

Experiencias de secundaria/high school

1. ¿Cuánto tiempo tienes viviendo en este lugar/ciudad?
   a. Por que decidieron venir?
   b. En cual grado estuviste cuando llegaste?
2. Antes de llegar a los EE.UU. , donde fuiste a la escuela? Se te hizo muy diferente? Como?
3. ¿Cómo te sentiste en [nombre de la preparatoria]?
   a. ¿Te sentiste un sentido de pertenencia? Encajado/a?
   b. Como un estudiante de ESL, sentiste encajado/a?
4. Cuales profesores te destacan en tu mente de la escuela secundaria ? Bueno y malo? ¿Por qué?
5. ¿Como era tu relación con tu consejero en la escuela secundaria ?
   a. Cuantas veces se reunieron?
6. ¿Sabías qué clases necesitaste para graduarse? Para ser elegible para la universidad
   a. ¿Tuviste opciones de recuperación de créditos ?
   b. ¿Cómo fue el impacto de los requisito de ESL en los otros cursos que pudistetomar ?
7. ¿Cómo fue tu experiencia con el CAHSEE?
8. Si pudieras volver atrás y cambiar algo de tu experiencia en la preparatoria, ¿qué cambiarías?
   a. Cambiarías las clases que tomaste?
9. ¿Qué crees que las escuelas secundarias deben hacer para ayudar a los estudiantes que son nuevos en los EE.UU. con la transición inicial?
   a. que tu escuela pudiera/ debería haber hecho de otra manera ?
   b. para una mejor preparación para la universidad?
10. En tu opinion, recibiste una buena preparación para ir al colegio?
11. Si tuvieras que dar un consejo a los maestros y consejeros sobre la forma de preparar a los alumnos inmigrantes para tener éxito en la universidad de la escuela secundaria , ¿qué dirias?
12. ¿Qué crees que se puede hacer para detener a los estudiantes quienes abandonen la escuela antes de graduarse ?

Experiencias universitarias
13. ¿Estás en la escuela en este momento?
    a. Si dice sí
       i. ¿por cuánto tiempo ?
       ii. ¿Por qué decidiste venir aquí ?
    b. Si dice no,
       i. Cuando estuviste en la escuela? ¿Tiene planes de regresar ?

251

14. Piensa de nuevo al primer dia que viniste a la universidad, y dime que hiciste en el primer día .
    a. ¿A dónde fuiste , quienes se conocieron , ¿cómo te sentiste ?
    b. ¿Cómo era el mismo o diferente de lo que esperabas?
       un . ¿Hubo algo de que tenías miedo ?
15. ¿Cómo fue tu experiencia con las pruebas de colocacion?
16. Estás o estuviste en clases remediales?
    a. Inglés
    b. Matemáticas
    c. Lectura
    d. escritura
17. ¿Cómo han sido las expectativas diferentes en la universidad en comparación con en el tipo de escuela secundaria de la escritura , la cantidad de la lectura?
18. ¿Puedes dar un ejemplo de una de las tareas que tenías que tú y / o tus compañeros encontrado especialmente difícil ? Indague sobre :
    a. Hacer investigación
    b. Análisis de la evidencia, los puntos de vista conflictivos
    c. Cómo presentar/exponer un argumento
    d. Hablar en frente de la clase
19. ¿Cuál ha sido más difícil / más desafiante de la universidad hasta el momento?
    a. cursos
    b. idioma
    c. Técnicas de estudio
    d. Navegando por los sistemas institucionales
    e. Financieramente
    f. legalmente
    g. Escuela / trabajo equilibrio
    h. pruebas de colocación
    i. Los problemas familiares
20. Los asuntos de inmigración
    a. ¿Conoces la ley AB540? ¿Sabes si calificas?
    b. ¿Estás haciendo la solicitud para DACA?
21. Te has buscado ayudo en alguno momento? Por que si o no?
22. ¿Te sientes un sentido de pertenencia en la universidad? ¿Por qué o por qué no?
    a. ¿Hay lugares en el campus donde te sientes seguro?
    b. ¿Perteneces a algun grupo en el colegio? (es decir, para los estudiantes indocumentados , apoyo académico , programas puente) - cómo se enteraron ?
23. Pensando en algunos de los profesores que han tenido , que ha destacado y por qué?
24. ¿Qué tipo de habilidades de estudio o hábitos son muy importantes para los estudiantes inmigrantes que tienen ? Puede investigar sobre :
    a. gestión del tiempo
    b. La toma de notas
    c. Establecimiento de objetivos
    d. trabajando duro
    e. Abogar por uno mismo
    f. Saber dónde acudir para obtener ayuda
    g. Uso de la biblioteca
    h. Utilizando sitios web del curso

       i.   Habilidades para tomar exámenes
       j.   Memorización y recuperación de la información
       k.   Skimming lecturas de los puntos clave
       l.   Trabajar con amigos / compañeros / grupo

25. Alguien , en la escuela secundaria o la universidad, te ha enseñado técnicas de estudio ?

Factores fuera de la escuela

26. ¿Qué te estrésa mas?
    a.   ¿Trabajas ? ¿Cuánto?
    b.   ¿Contribuyes financieramente a su familia?
    c.   ¿Tiene hijos propios ?
    d.   ¿Cuáles son sus responsabilidades familiares ?

Resumen

27. Si tuvieras que dar un consejo a un estudiante como ti acerca de cómo prepararse para la universidad, ¿qué le dirías ?
28. Si tuvieras que dar un consejo a un estudiante inmigrante de secundaria sobre cómo tener éxito en el colegio de la comunidad, ¿qué le dices / ella?
29. ¿Hay algo que no hemos discutido relacionado con los estudiantes inmigrantes y sus transiciones y experiencias en la universidad de la comunidad que cree son importantes para saber?

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269

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271

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