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Publication Date

2016

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*Consejos: A Closer Look at Parental Advice
Heard by Latino Adolescents*

By

Michele White Jonas

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Susan Holloway, Chair

Professor Larry Nucci

Professor Susan Stone

Spring 2016

Abstract

Consejos: A Closer Look at Parental Advice Heard by Latino Adolescents

by

Michele White Jonas

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Susan D. Holloway, Chair

Giving advice, or *consejos*, has emerged from the qualitative literature as a culturally based parent involvement (PI) strategy used by Latino families. However, previous studies have only examined this practice in small samples of parents and children. One aim of this dissertation was to examine the *consejos* that were heard by adolescent children in a wider population than previously studied. Based on the assumption that parents might shift their advice-giving practices depending on the resources that are available to them as well as the characteristics of their child, another aim of the study was to examine whether the messages that adolescents heard varied depending on the constraints and allowances in their proximal environments (i.e., resources in the school, from parents, and capabilities within the student). Special attention was paid to the context of the relationship of parent and child as a key factor that might influence the type of messages parents relayed and how their children received them. Another goal was to investigate adolescents' perceptions of the *consejos* they heard, namely, whether they found them useful as they navigated high school and whether these perceptions changed when there were variations in the adolescents' resources. Participants included 240 Latino adolescents from two urban high schools in Northern California. A new instrument was developed based on previous qualitative studies to assess the types of *consejos* that students heard and how useful they found them. Overall, the adolescents reported hearing many of the *consejo* messages and found them fairly useful in helping them do their best at school. Closeness to a parent (or other adult in the family) was the main contextual factor associated with how many messages adolescents heard overall and in several content domains. Varying resources at the school, parent, and student levels were associated with how useful students perceived the different types of *consejos*. This study contributes new information about how widespread different kinds of *consejos* are in a much larger sample than previously studied. It also sheds light on the dynamic nature of cultural practices and the diversity among Latino families by showing that variations in structural and individual resources were associated with differences in how *consejos* were given and received.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my dissertation chair, Susan Holloway, for all of the consejos and support she has given me throughout graduate school. Over the years, she has instructed, explained, nudged, encouraged, suggested, edited, pushed, and listened. I am not exaggerating when I say that without her, I would never have made it this far.

My other committee members were also generous with their help and guidance. Special thanks go to Susan Stone for her constructive input, help with finding school sites, and overall encouragement. I would also like to thank Larry Nucci for kindly and gracefully stepping in to serve as a committee member towards the end of the process. He helped me refine the data collection process, solve problems, and widen the scope of literature that I was considering. Thank you also to Aki Murata, for your kind support during the proposal process.

I feel enormous gratitude for my family and friends, who have provided indescribable support to me for my entire graduate school journey. Thank you, David Boyk, my beloved partner, for your cooking and dishwashing, copy-editing and formatting prowess, gentle pushes, and endless cheerleading. Your love, patience, generosity, humor, and strength have nourished, sustained, and inspired me beyond my powers of expression. Also, thanks to Annie and David Jonas, my siblings, who are incredible human beings with amazing brains and kind hearts. Special thanks to Olivia Flint, an incredible colleague and friend, who helped me stay sane and on the path towards completion, and to the generous and brilliant Ayumi Nagase, who helped me navigate the statistical portion of this paper. During my time in grad school, I have been infinitely grateful for the warmth and camaraderie of Leo Bialis White, Marie Le, Lissa Tryer, Rose Cartwright, and Sira Park. Thank you to Yenie Ra, Shanna Hullaby, Cyrus and Rebecca Farivar, Jake Mix, Melissa Sebastian, Josh Leichtung, and Tracy Bialis White, for your treasured friendship and support. Thank you, Dr. Shawn Corne, for the tranquil island of your office, where your clear-sighted counsel and good-humored acceptance gave me respite from the anxiety that accompanied this project (and life in general).

Finally, thank you to the principals and teachers who permitted me to collect data at their school and in their classrooms. A big thanks also goes to the high school staff members who facilitated the data collection process. And of course, thank you to all of the adolescents who took the time to share their experiences and opinions with me.

I dedicate this dissertation to my parents, Janet and Tony Jonas. The boundless love and support that they have given me is impossible to put into words. I am indebted and grateful to them for sparking and fostering my curiosity and love of learning; for teaching me how to treat children with wonder, humor, and respect; for giving me opportunity after opportunity to learn and develop; for cultivating my sense of social justice; for tolerating the bumps and messiness that have come with parenting a kid like me; and for your unconditional generosity.

Consejos: A Closer Look at Parental Advice Heard by Latino Adolescents

Parental involvement in education has long been a part of national and local dialogues about improving academic outcomes, especially for students from low-income backgrounds and students of color. Written policies about parental participation are required in order for schools to receive federal funding, and educational codes delineate a number of activities that schools need to enact in order to facilitate parents' involvement. Policies like these draw from educational research that has linked parent involvement behaviors with higher standardized test scores and grades (Jeynes, 2005, 2007) as well as increased positive student attitude and behavior (Jeynes, 2007; El Nokali et. al, 2010). While Grolnick and Slowiazcek (1994) define PI as "the dedication of resources by the parent to the child within a given domain" (i.e., education; p. 238), the behaviors studied and encouraged usually include those that take place at school (volunteering in the classroom, communicating with the teacher, attending school events, fundraising) and at home (checking homework, providing a designated space for children to study, monitoring academic progress). In much of the extant literature, these generic parenting behaviors are presumed to be equally important across cultural and economic contexts of home and school.

While a number of studies have indicated significant associations between oft-cited home and school PI activities and academic outcomes for *all* students (Jeynes 2005, 2007), a newer movement within the PI field has looked at parental behavior through a cultural lens, capturing supportive behaviors used by members of particular groups that are missed by traditional measures of parent involvement. This progression in the literature is useful because it helps counter dominant narratives that suggest that parents who do fewer of the prescribed traditional behaviors are not supporting their children and because it calls attention to the fact that there are cultural differences in how people attempt to support the education of their children. One challenge with this work, however, is the tendency to stop at the identification of a culturally specific behavior and conclude that every member of the group performs it in the same way to the same effect. This perpetuates the idea of culture as static and monolithic and can lead to essentialism. Although demographic groupings using national, racial, SES, or language backgrounds can be useful heuristically (Holloway and Kunesh, 2014), their use as a determinant factor or independent variable often masks the within-group variability and the dynamism of culture and cultural practices. Rather, some researchers have called for "[research] designs that promote understanding of the diversity of experiences within cultural groups and the cultural and ecological factors that give rise to within-group variations in family processes" (Updegraff, McHale, Whiteman, Thayer, & Delgado, 2005, p. 512).

This dissertation follows in the research tradition of studying a culturally specific parent involvement behavior of low-income Mexican- and Central American-origin parents—the use of verbal support and advice, or what has been called *consejos* in much of the literature. In my study, I pay particular attention to variability in students' perceptions about the content of these *consejos*, the frequency with which they are given, and their effects on students' motivation to achieve in school. A small body of qualitative research has revealed that *consejos* are a key strategy used by Latino¹ parents to support their children in school. Although the direct English

¹ In this paper, I will use the term *Latino*, a contested pan-ethnic label that is used (often interchangeably with Hispanic) to describe people who have ancestry in Spanish-speaking areas of Central and South America. Although such a label contributes to an illusion of homogeneity within a population that exhibits considerable diversity within and between national-origin groups, Latinos tend to have commonalities that include the heritage of Spanish colonization and language, recent immigration experiences, and "within the United States they are subject to the similar stereotypes and discrimination, providing for some

translation of *consejos* is “advice,” Guadalupe Valdes, one of the earliest chroniclers of Latino parental involvement, defined *consejos* as “spontaneous homilies designed to influence behaviors and attitudes” (1996, p. 125). Concha Delgado-Gaitan, another seminal researcher in the area, went further, arguing that *consejos* convey more complex emotional and motivational support: “In Spanish, *consejos* implies a cultural dimension of communication sparked with emotional empathy and compassion, as well as familial expectation and inspiration” (1994, p. 300).

This study builds on the limited body of research that has indicated that giving advice is integral to many Latino parents’ practices while pushing the field forward to examine how common they are in the wider population. In several qualitative studies, parents reported they used verbal guidance to motivate their children to study hard (e.g., Arcia & Johnson, 1998; Auerbach, 2007; Cortez, Martinez, & Saenz, 2013; Lopez, 2001). Additionally, in studies of Mexican American college students and professionals, participants cited their parents’ words of support as instrumental to their persistence and success (e.g. Arellano & Padilla, 1996; Azmitia & Brown, 2000; Ceja, 2004; Gandara, 1995; Sanchez, Reyes, & Singh, 2006). However, though these studies have indicated that the use of *consejos* is important to many parents and children, they drew upon small sample sizes, were frequently retrospective in nature, or did not obtain the perspective of the adolescent to gauge the perceived importance of the advice proffered by parents. Thus, generalizable claims about advice-giving and receiving have remained elusive. The first aim of this study is to address this gap in the literature by finding out how widespread different types of advice-messages are understood by a larger, more representative sample of Latino adolescents.

A second problematic feature of earlier work on *consejos* is that while researchers have considered them to be cultural models or practices used by parents to socialize and support children, they have failed to conceptualize them as part of a transactional exchange between parent and adolescent that is also constructed within--and responsive to--the contemporary social and economic context in which the family is living. This dissertation will address this weakness, taking the study of the cultural practice past the static and homogenizing conclusion that “Latino parents give *consejos*,” and will consider the variation that occurs due to different constraints and allowances in the environments of each family. Thus my study will build on contemporary work from cultural and cognitive psychology, anthropology, and sociology to examine how perceptions and actions of family members are a function of personal subjectivities as well as changing circumstances. As Fong (2004) argues:

“The content and motivational force of any given cultural model is determined by a combination of cultural meanings and individual experiences, and subject to change in response to changing circumstances. Meanings, experiences, and circumstances are in turn shaped by social, political, and economic forces” (pp. 13-14).

By focusing on the variable messages that parents are said to deliver in a variety of settings, my dissertation will bring new understanding to the ways that Latino parents use cultural models to support their adolescents’ schooling. Specifically, I will examine how messages vary depending on three sets of contextual factors: 1) features of the school context (e.g. amount of funding, opportunities for personalized relationships with staff, overall academic

sense of common identity, if only for political reasons.” (Cauce & Domenech-Rodriguez; p 8). Because of this, a majority of people in the United States prefer to identify their racial and ethnic backgrounds with either the national origin of ancestry (e.g., Mexican, Salvadoran) or as Hispanic/Latino (López, 2015). The majority of the participants in this study were Mexican or Mexican American (68%), similarly to the percentage of Latinos in the US (64%; López & Patten, 2015), however, I also included respondents who identified with a Central American country (13.5%) as well as those who self-identified as Latino or Hispanic (without specifying their national heritage; 18.4%).

achievement); 2) parental resources (e.g., their English proficiency, their level of education, their knowledge of the US school system); and 3) student resources (e.g., previous achievement and current engagement).

A third weakness of much of the existing research is that it views parental advice as information that is assumed to have some truth-value and credibility on the part of the students. Yet, we know from studies of socialization in other domains that parental messages and actions will not have their intended effects if their adolescent offspring do not feel that they are well-meaning, fair, or credible. I address this weakness by examining the messages received in the context of varying levels of “relational capital,” or the closeness and communication within the parent-child relationship. When parents are more attuned to their children, they may provide different messages tailored specifically to the needs of their children and to what is accessible in the environment, thus making them more effective (or at least more accepted by the adolescent).

Furthermore, my dissertation takes into account the experience of the recipients of the parental advice. While many studies skip this step to look solely at whether behaviors lead to achievement outcomes, this project takes seriously the fact that children are active participants in the cultural practice of *consejos*, processing and responding to the messages that they hear from their parents. Parents say a multitude of things to their children, but it is important to examine which messages “stick” and how they become incorporated into the child’s own perspective and behavior. Although much of this process may not be explicitly understood by the child as it occurs, my study will begin to examine the internalization process by asking adolescents which messages they find most useful while they navigate their school experiences, and will consider whether their perceptions of usefulness vary depending on the resources that are available to them. This will shed light on within-group variability and the dynamic nature of receiving advice depending on the students’ environments, as well as how children perceive the involvement behaviors that parents are practicing.

Overall, the aims of this dissertation are to take the study of culturally specific parent involvement behaviors further than much of the extant literature has attempted. I examine the use of *consejos* in a wider population than previously studied. I also look at whether the messages that adolescents hear vary depending on the constraints and allowances in their proximal environments, paying attention to the available capital from their parents, school, self, and parent-child relationship, and shedding light on how parents may shift their practices depending on the characteristics they perceive in their children and surroundings. Finally, the study highlights the usefulness that adolescents perceive in the *consejos* as they negotiate their educational experiences, examining whether the advice they receive fits their circumstances and is affected by the closeness of their relationships with parents.

Review of the Literature and Theoretical Background

Parent Involvement

This project is firmly situated in the parent involvement (PI) literature. Grolnick and Slowiaczek (1994) define PI as “the dedication of resources by the parent to the child within a given domain” (i.e. education; p. 238). Joyce Epstein, a seminal researcher in the field created a framework of six ways that parents could be involved in their children’s education. These include basic parenting at home, communicating with the school, volunteering, helping augment school activities at home, decision-making at school (e.g. PTA), and collaborating with community (1987). These have been simplified and more commonly operationalized as behaviors performed at school (volunteering in the classroom, talking to the teacher, attending school events) and behaviors performed at home (checking homework, talking about courses and career plans, monitoring academic progress). Politicians and school staff alike have embraced these PI activities, as they are believed to support the school’s efforts as well as raise achievement levels. This is due to the positive associations yielded in a number of studies between parental involvement and academic achievement (Fan & Chen, 1999; Jeynes, 2005, 2007), motivation (Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994), and positive behavior (El Nokali et al., 2010).

There are several main theories about why parent involvement might be associated with higher educational achievement. In a review of the parent involvement literature, Pomerantz, Moorman, & Litwack (2008) presented two models for the mechanism of parent involvement’s correlation with student achievement: the skill development model and the motivational model. According to the skill development model, when parents are involved at school they may gain a greater understanding of school curriculum or a greater connection to the teacher that enables them to scaffold their children’s learning. At home, parents may engage in instructional activities like reading aloud, drilling math facts, or helping children correct their homework; participating in these activities may increase children’s facility in these areas through practice and encountering new material. Much of the research in early literacy pertains to how parents promote their children’s development of reading skills (e.g. Hood, Conlon, & Andrews, 2008; Senechal & Le Fevre, 2002). For example, when parents read aloud and engaged in dialogue about the story with their children, children experienced gains in expressive vocabulary and understanding of morphology and syntax – skills associated with early reading ability (Senechal, Pagan, Lever, & Ouellete, 2008).

Alternately, Grolnick and Slowiaczek (1994) argued that the mechanism linking PI and academic achievement was motivational in nature. They found that behavioral PI (parents attending school events, volunteering) predicted school performance, and that this path was mediated by the child’s inner motivational resources of self-efficacy and control over success and failure. They argued that increased feelings of competence could result from children watching and learning how their parents engaged actively with the school and feeling confident that they could do the same. Grolnick and Slowiaczek also found that self-efficacy mediated the relationship between cognitive PI activities (going to the library, doing intellectual activities) and children’s academic achievement. The researchers hypothesized that the more opportunities to gain and practice relevant classroom skills during cognitive activities with parents may have led to students’ attainment of greater mastery, thus leading them to feel more able to try tasks at school. As this proposed explanation suggests, it may be that the skill development and motivation models are intertwined: gaining increased skills

allows for mastery of new tasks, which enhances self-efficacy that in turn motivates attempts to gain even more skills (Pomerantz et al., 2008).

A third approach to explaining the mechanisms of PI is drawn from the work of Lareau and her colleagues, which positions PI as a form of cultural capital that creates greater academic opportunity and the means for higher achievement. Lareau borrows and extends Bourdieu's work regarding social reproduction via signals that symbolize membership in a certain group or class. Bourdieu calls the environment and modality in which one is raised and to which one is accustomed *habitus*; one's habitus includes acquired tastes and preferences, dispositions toward authority, and modes of communication (Lareau, 2003). When people move throughout different settings, or fields, different modalities are more valued than others, and thus those whose habitus matches that of the field are advantaged. The advantages conferred by this match is called cultural capital—the use, or activation, of this capital can result in benefits for those who have it. Types and amounts of cultural capital are often tied to class and SES.

Lareau (2003) argues that schools, regardless of the SES of the students who attend, often espouse the values and norms (and habitus) of middle-class child-rearing and educational beliefs and practices. Thus, parents who are middle class, or who emulate the same behaviors that middle class parents exhibit (i.e. traditional parent involvement activities) are privileged within the system (Lareau, 2003)—their children may get more positive attention from the teachers, access more challenging curriculum, or gain other academic resources. While the traditional PI activities may confer actual capital on children (e.g., the skills they acquire at home will help children learn more in the classroom) evidence of these activities (seen in carefully checked homework, and improvement in children's word knowledge, for example) often leads teachers to assume that children's parents care about their children's education, and are “good parents” for supporting their child's learning. Parents who do not evidently take part in these activities are viewed as uncaring and deficient. Teachers are more likely to treat the children with apparently supportive families positively, and may be more willing to expend resources on them.

It is likely that all three models contribute to the academic advantages that children experience from PI. More research is needed to understand the interplay of these models for different types of PI, especially because researchers have found a mixed picture as to which behaviors work and why. Several studies have found that once SES and previous achievement is taken into consideration, school PI is not linked with academic achievement (Domina, 2005; El Nokali et al). Certain PI activities at home, like parents' communication of high academic expectations, may be more likely to have a positive impact (Jeynes, 2005, 2007), but others, like helping with homework, may have a negative impact on achievement outcomes (Robinson & Harris, 2014).

Another important issue is how PI may change depending on the developmental stage of the child. Most of the research has focused on elementary school-aged children, however, studies have found that as children grow and move on to middle (and high school), the type of PI activities encouraged in earlier years, for example, frequent contact with teachers, helping with homework or volunteering in school, become less frequently reported (Eccles & Midgley, 1990; Green, Walker, Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 2007). Rather than cause for alarm, these activities may become less feasible and less appropriate as children become more autonomous and the logistics of school change (e.g., having multiple teachers and moving classrooms; Hill & Chao, 2009). As their children mature, parents may shift their tactics to support their education and engage in a different type of PI behaviors that are more developmentally appropriate for older

youth. Some researchers have called these practices, “academic socialization,” and might include communicating academic expectations, having discussions about the importance of education and learning strategies, identifying and developing aspirations, and making plans for the future what (Hill & Tyson, 2009). A meta-analysis of research on PI in middle school showed that academic socialization was significantly and positively correlated with higher academic achievement (and more so than traditional school-based PI; Hill & Tyson, 2009).

With many studies showing the link between academic achievement and PI behaviors, schools and researchers have been interested in why some parents tend to be very involved while others seem to participate less or not at all. Hoover-Dempsey and her colleagues (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Walker et al., 2005; Green et al., 2007; HD model) created a framework designed to explain parents’ decisions to take part in PI activities, paying special attention to psychological factors. Their most recent model includes three categories—perceived life context, motivational beliefs, and perceptions of invitations from others—that have been shown to have implications for PI in a racially diverse sample of elementary and middle school parents (Green et al., 2007). The construct of perceived life context includes parents’ perceptions of time, energy, skills, and knowledge (Green et al., 2007). The category of motivational beliefs comprises the constructs of self-efficacy, or parents’ beliefs about their abilities to positively impact their children’s academic outcomes through involvement, and role construction refers to the parents’ beliefs about whether they should or should not engage in PI behaviors. The last important construct pertains to parental perceptions of invitations from the school, the teacher, and the child. Perceptions of specific invitations from the teacher as well as from the child have been shown to be among the strongest predictors of parents’ decisions to take part in PI activities (Green et al., 2007). While the Hoover-Dempsey model (HD model) provides one of the most comprehensive frameworks for studying parents’ decisions about involvement, it pays limited attention to differences in social status and power. The authors state that differences in class and culture may affect each of the decision factors (Green et al., 2007), but the model does not emphasize these aspects.

In contrast, other researchers have noted that social position and racial or cultural membership exert a strong influence on parents’ decisions about whether to become involved in their children’s education. Citing Lareau’s work, Auerbach (2007) argues that “the unequal distribution of economic, human, cultural, and social capital—in addition to schools’ devaluing of the resources of lower SES families—constrain parents’ involvement options, inclinations, and relations with schools” (p. 251). For example, parents of color or low SES may approach schools warily, antagonistically, or not at all, because of historically fraught relationships between their communities and the school system or lower levels of cultural capital (Lareau 1989; 2003; Lareau & Horvat, 1999). White and middle-class parents, on the other hand, do not have to contend with the same systematic inequities experienced by other groups, adding to their already considerable privilege within the system (Lareau & Horvat, 1999). Because of the salience of racial, cultural, and class issues ingrained in parents’ decisions to become involved, many researchers have acknowledged the utility of Hoover-Dempsey and colleagues’ model, but have added components from Lareau’s social reproduction perspective (e.g. Auerbach, 2007; Abrams & Gibbs, 2002) and critical race theory (Barton, Drake, Perez, St. Louis, & George, 2004).

In addition to structural factors, PI researchers have also found that cultural factors may play a role in the reasons as well as the ways that parents become involved to support

their children's education. According to sociocultural theory, parents will use the knowledge and tools to which they have access in order to best prepare their children for academic success, and this knowledge and these tools will vary depending on their environments and available resources. This line of thinking is integral to understanding academically supportive strategies that are outside the bounds of traditionally studied PI. Before exploring some of the strategies that have been studied in Latino families, I will review sociocultural theory and how it informs the goals of this dissertation.

Sociocultural Perspective

The sociocultural perspective has brought anthropological and psychological principles together in order to study the socialization of children within the contexts of culture, wrestling with notions of universality of human beliefs, behavior, and development, and the distinctiveness of these things in different cultures (Harkness & Super, 2002). It has lineage extending back to anthropologists like Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict, who “focused their efforts on understanding how culture affected the individual person, especially how cultural patterns are expressed in childrearing, and how different cultural situations affect persons of different dispositions (Harkness & Super, 2002; p 255). Other important pioneers in the development of this approach included Beatrice and John Whiting, whose highly influential *Six Cultures Study of Socialization* (1975) was the first to examine and compare how culture was linked to individuals' behavioral and developmental outcomes across varying societies around the world. A guiding assumption was that the way people of a certain group interacted with and cared for their babies was shaped by the history of that group, and this caregiving further shaped the way that these children developed (Harkness and Super). One work that came out of this study was by Whiting & Edward (1992), which examined how the settings and activities of young children, as well as their biological and cognitive processes, intertwined to shape gender roles. Another of the Whittings' key contribution to the field was the importance placed on “insider” interpretations of their observations, rather than imposing their own (Harkness & Super), which influenced later researchers to seek “emic” behaviors and explanations (rather than judging whether a priori behaviors and meanings—often derived from studies of dominant cultural groups—exist in other cultural groups) when studying parental socialization in different groups of people. These earliest approaches were groundbreaking in their bridging of anthropological and developmental theories and methodology.

Subsequent researchers have contributed influential ideas that have impacted the course of studying children and parents through a cultural lens. Many have been influenced by cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT; Cole, 1996), drawing on the ideas of Russian cultural-historical psychologists like Luria and Vygotsky. CHAT provides a framework in which “the structure and development of human psychological processes emerge through culturally mediated, historically developing, practical activity” (Cole, p. 108). Cole and others are interested in how the past uses of tools (e.g., material tools like shovels or fire and intangible tools like language) informs the present, how different settings and context inform the use of these tools and artifacts, and how the activities of making and using tools in certain settings acts upon and changes the people doing them.

Other important contributions to studying parenting and culture have also included cultural models, which are “presupposed, taken-for-granted models of the world that are widely shared (although not necessarily to the exclusion of other, alternative models) by the members of a society and that play an enormous role in their understanding of the world and their behavior in

it (Quinn & Holland, 1987, p. 4). Harkness and Super considered parental ethno-theories, or cultural belief systems as applied to the rearing of children, examples of cultural models (Harkness & Super, 1992). They argued that parents' beliefs about the right way to raise children based on their cultural knowledge influence the actions and strategies they use with their children. Harkness and Super give the example of research by Chen and colleagues indicating different interpretations of shyness by Chinese families in China and Canada. In China, children's timidity in home is not cause for concern and is rewarded at school, whereas in Canada, parents and teachers view the trait as unfavorable (Harkness & Super, 2002).

A recent key contribution to the socio-cultural approach of exploring parenting has been researchers' highlighting the notion that culture is not just passed on or replicated through parents' rearing of the children and should not be conceived of as an independent variable (Gjerde, 2004) or the sole agent responsible for molding parent and child behaviors or beliefs. As Cole noted, the culturally informed activities also change the people who are doing them, and thus will change the way that culture is done. Several more recent researchers (Goldenberg & Gallimore, 2001; Weisner, 2002) have highlighted the dynamic and bidirectional nature of culture and human actions, in which both exert pressure and change on the other.

One of the more modern sociocultural or ecocultural perspectives, which this dissertation draws from most heavily, positions individuals as active agents who exist within environments (both local, including families, schools, workplaces, and distal, including larger institutions and global forces) that provide both allowances and constraints and which impact and inform the activities that they perform and the choices they make (Weisner, 2002). Those who live in and contend with similar environments may have "historically evolved and shared ways of perceiving, thinking, and storing possible responses to adaptive challenges and changing conditions" (Goldenberg & Gallimore, 2001, p. 47), or cultural models. Parents may then "use their shared knowledge of the world to engage in activities that help their children become competent members of society" (Holloway & Jonas, 2016, p. 4). However, individuals react to and modify cultural models, thus resulting in variability within groups with shared cultural models. Weisner talks about "cultural pathways" that can be imagined as "consisting of cultural activities that we 'step' into—engage in—and walk alongside throughout life" (Weisner, 2002, p. 276). This illustrates how culture does not dictate behaviors but rather provides potential avenues for individuals to follow or diverge from. With each performance of an activity, individuals are transforming and creating culture.

My project operates from these principles when considering Latino families and their use of *consejos*. The current study focused on a population bounded by a common racial/ethnic identifier, current socioeconomic status, and current residential location, however, I attempted to capture a sliver of the vast variability that exists within it. I assumed that parents and children address the cultural practice of giving and receiving advice in different ways, which may or may not depend on factors like parental access to resources, the quality of children's schools, the individual characteristics of the children (e.g., academic skills) and the closeness of the parent-child relationship. I also presumed that the kinds of messages that are internalized, or at least deemed useful, may not be the same across the adolescents, but may also vary with differing levels of accessible resources.

Sociocultural theory provides an important push to consider cultural practices as dynamic and responsive to changes in the environment, rather than seeing them as static and monolithic. While it is important to consider how parental behavior is informed by cultural models, it is also important to remember that parents' behavior also transforms these models, and leads to

variation even within groups who share similar origins. My study attempts to join the project that “answers the call for research on normative family dynamics and analysis of within-group diversity among minority populations” (Updegraff, McHale, Whiteman, Thayer, & Delgado, 2005). Several researchers have begun to interrogate and tease out meaning and nuance from researcher-identified cultural models like familismo (Calzada, Tamis-LeMonda, & Yoshikawa, 2012; Updegraff et al.), and have even revealed different approaches to cultural practices among members of the same family (Updegraff et al.). I hope that this project follows in a similar direction, looking at how cultural practices and the interpretations of such practices may diverge and converge when additional diversity of circumstances within a group are considered.

Latino Parent Involvement

Latino parents and traditional PI. Latino parents have been found to report mixed levels of traditional school- and home-based PI with their children. A study by the U.S. Department of Education found that a lower percentage of Latino parents reported attending school events, volunteering at school, serving on a school committee, and fundraising, but had the same level of attendance at parent/teacher conferences as other racial groups (SES was not controlled; Vaden-Kiernan, McManus, & Chapman, 2005). In the area of home-based activities, using data from the kindergarten cohort of the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study (ECLS-K), Crosnoe (2006) found that Mexican immigrant parents of preschoolers report significantly less reading, fewer books at home, and fewer traditional in-school PI activities than white, black and native-born Latino parents. Native-born Latino parents also reported significantly lower levels of these activities than white parents (with the exception of child’s frequency of reading; Crosnoe). However, Okagaki and Frensch (1998) did not find any significant differences, in a sample of 275 parents, among white, Latino and Asian American parents’ provision of enriching activities or homework help.

Although the picture of Latino parent involvement is hazy, there have been efforts to understand why this group may report fewer of the typical PI activities. Studies have documented logistical barriers for Latino parents that include limited access to childcare (Peña, 2000), limited access to transportation (Finders & Lewis, 1990; Peña), and inflexible work schedules (Delgado-Gaitan, 1991; Finders & Lewis, 1994; Griego-Jones, 2003; Peña; Ramirez, 2003;). Additionally, when SES factors were controlled, immigrant Latinos were 2.5 times more likely to report feeling unwelcome at school than native white parents (Turney & Kao, 2009). This finding is particularly critical given the Green et al., (2007) finding about the importance of invitations to the school in parents’ decisions to participate in PI. There is some evidence to suggest that Hoover-Dempsey model may be useful in addressing this question. An exploratory study found that their model predicted 31% of the variance in reported PI behaviors in a sample of 59 Latino parents (Mariñez-Lora & Quintana, 2009). A study by Chrispeels, Wang, & Rivero (2000) found that the Parent Institute for Quality Education (PIQE) increased Latino parents’ efficacy and expanded their perceptions of roles to play in their child’s education. However, there may be additional reasons to consider in why Latino parents participate or don’t participate in certain activities.

The theory of cultural models as used by Reese and Gallimore (2000) to study Latino immigrant parents provides another important perspective regarding Latino parents’ decision to become involved in school. Their study illustrates the relationship between the educational experiences in Latin America of immigrant parents and grandparents and current PI practices. Growing up in their native countries, most parents did not receive academic help from their

parents who were agricultural workers with limited formal schooling. When they immigrated to the United States they wanted to become more involved in their children's education, but did not have models for how to do so. When their children demonstrated emergent literacy—"writing" a scribbled letter, cutting letters out of a phone book, recognizing the letter A—the parents chided, laughed at, or ignored them because they did not believe, as most literacy researchers do, that these behaviors had anything to do with learning to read (Reese & Gallimore, 2000). Based on the way they had been taught in their native countries, parents believed that learning to read occurs at school through rote practice of putting together syllables (Reese & Gallimore, 2000). At the start of the study, of the 32 families observed, none of the parents had read to their children before the age of two because they believed they were too young to understand or appreciate the meaning of books. However, as parents gained more contact with US schools, they began reading to their very young children and increased other home literacy activities, demonstrating the adaptability of Latino parents' cultural models in response to new demands for learning to read in the US.

Emic PI. While much research has focused on the PI that Latino parents *don't* do, researchers have also attempted to highlight other *emic* methods that parents use to support their children's learning. Work in this area has been strongly influenced by work done by the sociocultural theorists interested in cultural models and ethnotheories, as described above. This work assumes that Latino parents will draw on culturally based strategies as well as leverage resources that they have access to in their immediate environment; these methods may contribute to children's academic achievement, but they often remain invisible to teachers and schools (Mehan, Villanueva, Hubbard, & Lintz, 1996).

Several cultural models specific to Latinos have received attention in the field. One of these is Latino parents' emphasis on teaching their children right from wrong, how to be respectful, and how to be a good person (Reese et al., 1995), or providing their children with an *educación*. This "home-based training in morals and respect" (Auerbach, 2007, p. 263), is considered to be the most important among the responsibilities among many parents (Reese et al., 1995) and is often considered intertwined with children's ability to develop academically (Goldenberg & Gallimore, 1995; Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Valdes, 1996). When considering that moral preparation emphasizes respect for elders and hard work, teachers would probably agree with this parent's statement. Parents often deliver lessons about education through consejos, urging respect for figures of authority—especially teachers—and following school rules (Delgado-Gaitain, 1994; Holloway, Park, Jonas, Bempechat & Li, 2014), as well as how to be good by avoiding bad behaviors like gossiping or bullying (Valdez, 1996) and taking drugs or getting pregnant (McWhirter et al, 2013).

Another cultural factor that has been identified is *familismo*, or the obligation to support and respect one's family, and has been linked to positive outcomes for Latino students, including increased academic motivation (Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999) as well as fewer classes missed and, in some cases, higher grades (Esparza & Sanchez, 2008). Other studies have highlighted aspects of relational values that parents try to cultivate, such as *confianza*, which means trust or confidence, but entails a "friend-like" quality (Cruz-Santiago & Garcia, 2011, p 102), so that children might confide in their parents about what occurs in their lives. This quality may be especially important in dangerous neighborhoods (and schools), because if children disclose their daily activities to their parents, parents have increased capacity to monitor, advise, and intervene if struggles with gangs or other dangerous situations arise (Cruz-Santiago & Garcia). Other documented emic strategies have included modeling

resourcefulness, resolve, and the importance of studying (Civil, Bratton, & Quintos, 2005; Carreon, Drake, & Barton, 2005); moving to different neighborhoods for better schools (Mehan, Villanueva, Hubbard, & Lintz, 1996), and enlisting help through social networks (Carreon et al.).

The focus of this study, the *consejos* that Latino parents give their children surrounding school matters, have also received attention in the literature. Delgado-Gaitan (1994) and Valdes (1996) were among the first to document this practice in ethnographic research and frame it as an educationally supportive PI activity. Reese, Balzano, Goldenberg and Gallimore (1995) also found that the most common guidance strategy reported by Mexican immigrant parents to help children succeed in school was talking to and counseling their children about how to behave. In a qualitative study about keeping children on the “good path” in life, giving *consejos* was mentioned as a strategy by parents three times more frequently than any other method (Azmitia & Brown, 2000). Mrs. Estrada, the mother in Delgado-Gaitan’s seminal case study, expressed her reliance on this method, saying, “I don’t know what to do except to give them *consejos* and to make them see that it is necessary that they study” (305).

Characteristics and Content of Consejos. *Consejos* may take numerous forms – they may be directive advice or *dichos* (sayings or proverbs), but they may also be embedded in stories and informal conversations (Gandara, 1995; Reese, 2012; Valdes, 1996; Villenas & Moreno, 2001). A common characteristic as reported by parents in several studies is that the messages must be relayed over and over in order for them to be internalized; parents used words like etched (or *grabado*) or instilled (*inculcar*) to describe their practices (Arellano & Padilla, 1996; Auerbach, 2007; Ramos, 2003, Reese et al., 1995; Valdes). They are often given (and repeated) in order to inspire and motivate their children to strive for success in school and beyond. Parents in several studies reported that they gave *consejos* to their children in order to keep them engaged and working hard in school (Auerbach, 2007; Delgado-Gaitan, 1994). This link between parental advice and academic persistence was explicitly stated by college students or professionals retrospectively (Arellano & Padilla, 1996; Sanchez, Reyes, & Singh, 2006), current college-bound adolescents (Ceja, 2004), and younger adolescent students (McWhirter, Valdez & Caban, 2013; Suizzo et al., 2012). This qualitative work suggests that if there is in fact an association between *consejos* and outcomes, the mechanism at work may be motivational. Indeed, a study by Suizzo and colleagues (2012) found statistical evidence for student persistence mediating a link between messages about the importance of education (which is a key type of *consejos*) and student grades. This follows in the line of parent involvement research that posits that parental actions pertaining to education impact achievement via child motivation (see Grolnick & Slowiazcek, 1994). Beyond the study by Suizzo et al., this relationship has yet to be tested in larger samples of Mexican-heritage children and merits further study.

One of the most commonly reported themes of these motivational *consejos* was cautionary tales, where parents talked to their children about their past and current struggles (e.g. difficult and low-paying manual labor jobs, leaving behind family and friends to immigrate), as a means to encourage children to take advantage of educational opportunities and obtain better lives for themselves. Such narratives were cited both by parents as a strategy to motivate their children (Auerbach, 2007; Cortez, Martinez, & Saenz, 2013; Ramos, 2003) and by college-bound or college students and professionals, who reflected that the stories had been instrumental to their academic persistence and success (Arellano & Padilla, 1996; Ceja, 2004; Gandara, 1995; Morando, 2013; Sanchez, Reyes, & Singh, 2006). Younger adolescents also reported their

parents telling them stories of hardship to motivate them to work hard or get higher grades in school (Holloway et al., 2014). In a recent qualitative study of 41 current Latina high school students, 51% of the participants reported that their parents used narratives of their own struggles and sacrifices to encourage them to pursue opportunities that they did not have (McWhirter et al., 2013).

In some cases, parents applied more motivational pressure, by explicitly linking sacrifices they had made to an obligation for the child to achieve in school (Arellano & Padilla; Ceja). Stanton-Salazar (2001) also framed parents' use of narratives of hardship as "exhortations" to do well in school, carrying the message that children "cannot disengage from school without rendering in vain..." the immigrant hardships of their parents (p. 94). One teenager pointedly remarked that her mother's narratives, "like make me feel if I don't, like, to go to school and get an education and have an opportunity they didn't have, then I'm not gonna be worth as much" (Elena, Stanton-Salazar, p. 96). As previously mentioned, researchers have found that feelings of filial duty, or familism, in Latino youth are positively correlated with higher academic motivation (Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999), and with higher levels of academic achievement when mothers have lower levels of education (Esparza & Sanchez, 2008). While children reported that they were motivated to procure better circumstances via education just by witnessing their parents' struggles (Ceja), the literature generally indicates that parents frequently used these verbal narratives to advise their children about the importance of education and that children considered it a salient aspect of the educational support they received from their parents.

Another common type of academically motivating *consejos* entails exhortations about the importance of education and generally inspirational messages. Parents told children that they had to study hard, get good grades or go to college (Ceja 2004; Cortez, Martinez & Saenz, 2013; Holloway et al, 2014). While these were important messages for children to hear, they did not provide specific strategies for studying, creating a path to college, or planning for a career (e.g., Morando, 2013). Simply by stressing the value of education and expressing their aspirations, parents inculcated motivation to succeed: "My driving force is to not let my parents down. My education is important to me, but not as important as it is to my parents. I mean, they want so much for me and are counting on me" (Arellano & Padilla, p. 493)." General encouragement and emotional support given by parents were also cited among the most useful parental support strategies by adolescent Latinas (McWhirter et al., 2013). Students also reported feeling motivated by parents who spelled out the link between doing well in school and a promising future (Ceja).

Context and Consejos. There are some indications within the extant literature that suggest that *consejos* might be particularly useful in different situations and contexts. For example, several studies suggest that the use of *consejos* as a main strategy may be most useful for children who are already generally successful or have the abilities to do well in school. In Auerbach's (2007) analysis of alternative involvement roles taken on by working class parents of color, she called one group the Moral Supporters, because their involvement primarily consisted of emotional and moral encouragement, "pointing the way toward a successful future and clearing the pathway when they could of impediments" (p. 261). This group was comprised of Latino immigrant parents who saw that their children were motivated and high achieving, and used inspirational *consejos* (and other strategies like clearing away kids' need to work or do chores so they could use the time to study) to bolster their children's already successful academic pathways. One Moral Supporter mentioned that he might have to change strategies with his younger son who was demonstrating some challenges in school. A child with more difficulties

may need strategic advice or a higher level of instrumental assistance. Another study of parents' strategies indicated that parents were more likely to use *consejos* as a supportive strategy when they were *not* concerned about their child straying from the "buen camino" (good path) of life (Azmitia & Brown, 2000). In this study, I consider students' level of previous achievement and level of current school engagement as a type of resource that may impact the types and quantities of advice that parents give as well as how children perceive their usefulness.

The current study also looks at how variations in structural elements might call for variations in frequency or lead to variations in perceived usefulness of different advice messages. For example, certain messages might be more useful when resources in the environment are scarce or harder to access. It has been argued that *consejos* might function as a vehicle for resistance to and within such inhospitable institutions (Cortez et al., 2013; Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Espinoza-Herold, 2007; Villenas & Moreno, 2001). This has not been studied explicitly, though the literature indicates that many find parental support in the form of *consejos* as useful during difficult times. Espinoza-Herold (2007) illustrated this with the story of Carla, a Mexican immigrant who dropped out of high school for two years but returned to continue her education. Carla had attended a poor high school where she was underprepared for higher education and her parents had very limited financial resources and educational capital. However, Carla reported that throughout her journey, she drew strength from the advice and *dichos* (or proverbs) that her mother supplied, and ultimately was able to graduate from college and attend graduate school. Espinoza-Herold argued that the *dichos* and other *consejos* "[...] serve as a reservoir of culturally based resilience strategies that family members use to resist marginalization and to support each other in approaching issues and tasks in their everyday lives." (Espinoza-Herold; p. 262). As Latino children are more likely to live in poverty (Krogstad, 2014) and attend lower quality schools (Crosnoe, 2005), where they have tended to be more likely to drop out (U.S. Department of Education, 2015), the parental support from *consejos* may be an especially protective resource for children. However, in more supportive environments, the same advice messages may become less crucial and less frequent. In fact, in these settings, different advice may become more relevant and prominent in parent-child discourse.

The Context of the Parent-child Relationship: Student Perceptions. One other important and often understudied facet of PI, is the fact that it is done within the context of a larger parent-child relationship (Holloway et al., 2014; Pomerantz et al., 2007). This study takes seriously the premise "that children are not docile bodies or passive recipients of cultural practices and values" (Gjerde, 2004, p.142), but are active participants in the *consejos*, and will incorporate and disregard certain messages that their parents say to them. Which messages they find useful is particularly important in beginning to understand how cultural socialization strategies are metabolized and transformed as adolescents perform their daily activities at school. The determinants of this process are complicated and multi-faceted, but one aspect that is likely to impact the perceptions of any parental actions is the quality of the relationship between the parent and child, and particularly the level of closeness or relatedness between them.

Perceived closeness can be defined in numerous ways, often encompassing the degree to which the child trusts, feels supported in difficult times, and feels that they are important to their caregiver. It refers not to any objective state of the parent-child relationship, but rather how the child views and experiences it. This construct is similar to others found in the literature, including relatedness, belongingness, responsiveness, attachment, and perceived social support. It has been linked to a number of positive outcomes, including academic motivation (Furrer & Skinner, 2003), fewer externalizing behavior problems (Bradley & Corwyn, 2007), positive peer

relationships (Clark & Ladd, 2000), and fewer depressive symptoms when experiencing peer stressors (Hazel, Oppenheimer, Technow, Young, & Hankin, 2014). A concept related to closeness has emerged in qualitative literature about Latino families: *confianza*, or trust, in English, which describes a combination of “trust, openness, and friendship” (Tamis, 2004; p. 69), is considered a component of ideal relationships and provides an avenue for honest communication (Tamis).

Qualities of the parent-child relationship have long been examined in relation to the transmission of values from parent to child, which may be particularly relevant for this study. Grusec, Goodnow, and Kuczynski (2000) discussed three different types of parental responsiveness that could impact the child’s internalization of parental values: (a) warmth, which might lead the child to identify with the parent’s actions and make them eager to please the parent; (b) attachment, which some researchers have argued could lead to greater trust in the parent’s guidance and the belief that they are looking out for their best interest (Bretherton, Golby, and Cho, 1997; cited in Grusec, Goodnow, & Kuczynski); (c) reciprocity, in which because the parent responds to the needs of the child, the child shows compliance as “each member of the dyad feels invested in and responsible for the welfare of the other” (p. 207). When there is a greater level of these components in a relationship, the child may be more inclined to follow their parents’ instructions and perhaps take their advice more seriously. Additionally, if children feel close to their parents, they may confide in them more and parents may be able to tailor their advice more closely to their children’s needs. This may also help children to feel that the advice they receive is more useful to them.

Though it has rarely been studied, there are some suggestions in the literature that perceived parent-child closeness and the acceptance of *consejos* may be related for Mexican-heritage youth. A qualitative study by Holloway and colleagues (Holloway et al., 2014), noted that Mexican-heritage 9th graders who spoke warmly about the time spent with their parents also seemed to receive advice more tailored to their individual interests and needs and to internalize the parental messages to a greater degree. In addition, in one of the few quantitative studies in this area, Suizzo and colleagues (2012) indicated that Mexican American middle schoolers’ perceived warmth in the parent-child relationship moderated the relationship between parental messages about the importance of education and students’ level of motivation (and grades). One of the key goals of this study is to provide further evidence to address how the quality of parent-child relationships might impact the types of advice that parents give and how their children receive it.

Although some evidence indicates that Latino parents report fewer traditional PI activities than parents from other racial/ethnic groups, it’s important to understand that why they choose to participate or not may have bases a combination of structural (e.g., time constraints due to working multiple jobs; lack of skills due to limited formal education), psychological (e.g., self-efficacy, role construction), and cultural considerations (e.g., cultural models of roles for parents and teachers or when and where formal learning takes place). Additionally, researchers have turned their focus to see what other strategies Latino parents might use that have not been captured by traditional measures of PI. These have included strong moral educations, the development of familism, and giving *consejos*, which is the focal activity of this study, among others. The primarily qualitative literature on the practice of giving *consejos* has indicated that it is often cited by parents and grown children as a key strategy to motivating children to persevere even in challenging circumstances. They often contain emotional support and encouragement, as well as recurring exhortations about the importance of doing well in school and avoiding the

hardships that parents have experienced. There are some indications in the literature that certain *consejos* may “work” better for some children than others or may be more or less effective given the level of support available at schools and within other institutions. Additionally, the quality of advice given and the extent that it is received and internalized likely depends on the quality of the relationship between the giver and recipient. This dissertation aims to further understanding of what messages a larger group of Latino youth hears and how contextual differences, with a focus on varying levels of resources and the parent-child relationship, may be associated with variations in the types of content in the *consejos* as well as variations in the reception of these messages.

Conclusions

In this section, I have provided a review of literature from the fields of parent involvement and sociocultural theory and research. I first outlined some of the parent involvement literature, including why researchers think it might be important, how PI might change with regard to children’s developmental stages, and why parents may or may not take part in the traditionally prescribed PI activities. This final issue has led researchers to investigate whether groups of parents use other strategies and behaviors that have not received focus in the previous literature, often approaching such examinations by looking at structural and cultural factors. I then discussed the sociocultural perspective, a theoretical framework that has informed more recent study of parenting and child development through a cultural lens. I traced some of the earlier theory in this area, in which it was assumed that the ways certain groups have done or thought about things in the past shapes the development of individuals who then take on similar ways of doing and thinking. As sociocultural thinking evolved, theorists have upheld that historical approaches inform current practices, but so do current environmental constraints and allowances, which leads to a number of pathways available to individuals. As they choose which strategy best serves their goals, they also create and transform cultural practices.

The sociocultural perspective was very important in formulating this study in that cultural models are dynamic and members of cultural groups interact with them in different ways, often in response to the resources in the environment and what seems most useful in attaining their goals. Additionally, the children who “receive” these activities will respond and interact with them, continuing the process of making and remaking cultural practices. This is particularly important as we study the PI behaviors of groups other than white, middle class families, both in understanding why they participate or don’t in traditional PI activities and when investigating other strategies that they use. [in order to avoid homogenizing groups.]

In the final portion of this section, I reviewed the literature about Latino families and PI with this in mind. I briefly covered some evidence that suggested that Latinos families may report lower traditional home and school PI and some reasons why that might be the case. I then reported on some of the emic strategies that researchers have reported about Latino parents, including emphasizing children’s moral and social education and putting a strong focus on family. I discussed the extant largely qualitative research on the content of *consejos* and how parents use them to motivate their children in school. Some evidence in the studies indicates that there are different types of *consejos* which might be given at different times and in different circumstances. I was interested in understanding this more deeply. Additionally, I wanted to focus on the context of the parent-child relationship both in terms of the types of advice that a parent might give and who the child might receive the advice. This is an understudied element of PI in general and certainly within the Latino population, but there are some signs that how close

a child feels to her parent may influence the impact of that parents' supportive strategies, particularly the consejos.

In sum, I have chosen to delve deeper into the cultural model of parental consejos, an area which has received some attention within the literature, but for the most part in qualitative studies using small samples. I approached the project with the expectation that parents would use varying approaches even within the realm of giving advice depending on their range of knowledge and responding to the resources they see available for their child at school and the within their child. I was very interested in how the children perceived the advice, another oft-ignored area in the PI field. Understanding children's perceptions may help us to better grasp why certain parent activities are more or less effective in supporting their education. Child views on the actions of parents are also likely impacted by the perceptions of the other resources in their environment and whether the parents' actions fit the environmental and developmental needs of the child. They are also likely strongly influenced by the type of feelings the child has about her relationships with her parents. This project attempts to unpack these issues with a larger sample that has been examined in the past as well as examine how variations in some of the environmental constraints and allowances (resources at the school, parent, and child level) are associated with variations in the content as well as the perceived usefulness of the consejos.

Research Questions

In this dissertation, I aimed to address the following research questions:

1. What are the themes and content of the consejos or advice-messages that Mexican-heritage adolescents report hearing from their parents?

This question aimed to ascertain the themes and content of consejos heard by adolescents from their parents. I elicited the frequency with which they reported hearing a wide range of advice-messages identified in the qualitative literature.

I was particularly interested to investigate the prevalence of advice that fell into two categories—*targeted* and *general* advice—that I have termed “umbrella domains.” *Targeted* advice includes advice that is specific to certain situations and provided concrete strategies, whereas *general* advice refers to messages that were less targeted to a particular problem or goal and did not contain steps to follow. The majority of consejos described in the literature were general, often vague, terms of support or about the import of education, rather than tailored to particular events or specific learning strategies that the child could apply (Auerbach, 2007; Ceja 2004; Bempechat, 1998; Suizzo et al 2012; Waterman, 2008). In contrast, data from a qualitative investigation of consejos (Holloway, Park, Jonas, Bempechat, & Li, 2014) suggested that concrete advice offering specific strategies for success (e.g., take an honors math class) may be particularly necessary and useful when adolescents attend schools that have few supportive adults available to guide them in the planning of their academic future.

I further divided the messages in each umbrella domain to create smaller composites, or content domains,” based on thematic content underlying the messages. Under the *targeted* umbrella were these domains: *targeted academic* and *targeted relationship*. Under the *general* umbrella were the domains of *socializing*, *inspirational*, *exhortations about the importance of hard work or education (henceforth, exhortations)*, *school behavior*, and *cautionary tales*. I obtained the frequency with which messages from the umbrella and content domains were reported.

2. Does the frequency of certain types of consejos vary depending on the level of resources available in the adolescents’ proximal environment (home and school) and within the adolescents themselves?

While this question was largely exploratory, the underlying assumption was that parents repeatedly assess their child’s needs and the resources available, and adjust their advice accordingly. The following sub-questions were used to address this question:

a. Does the content of consejos differ by the resource level of the student’s school? I

compared the frequencies of the content and umbrella domains when students attended higher- and lower- resourced schools. The higher resourced school was a private religious school that was presumably better funded due to the tuition charged, more conducive to personal connections between staff and students due to smaller class size, and had higher overall academic achievement. The lower-resourced school was a public school that had a much larger student body, presumably less individualized attention and lower overall academic achievement. As previously mentioned, *targeted* advice (especially in the *targeted academic* domain) may be particularly needed in schools that have less funding and fewer adults to assist with navigating academic matters, it could be expected to be more frequently heard at the school with lower resources. On the other hand, smaller and better- resourced schools may also be more able to inform parents about options at the school, who may then pass on the specific information to their children. It was expected

that *general* advice would be frequently heard by students at both schools, as these were the most frequently cited in the literature. However, certain *inspirational*, *socializing*, and *exhortations* messages may seem more important to give at the lower-resourced school in order to keep students motivated within an environment where students might become more easily disengaged due to lower individualized attention, a wider variety of student attitudes about school and learning, and an overall lower level of achievement. On the other hand, these could seem just as important in more rigorous academic environments where *inspirational* and *exhortations* messages could be helpful in mitigating stress and encouraging persistence when academics were difficult.

- b. Does the content of consejos differ by the resources of the parent?** I also examined whether there were differences in the advice when parents had greater or fewer educational resources (whether or not they completed high school) or indicators that they were not immigrants (whether they attended high school in the US, whether their mother seems very comfortable speaking English). It was hypothesized that parents who had greater resources (i.e., higher educational attainment, more experience with schools in the US and facility with English) would feel more able and inclined to give more *targeted academic* advice because they would know more about navigating the school system. It was also hypothesized that parents with fewer resources might share more messages pertaining to *cautionary tales* and *exhortations*, due to the increased difficulty of their situation and their desire for their children to have easier lives. Parents with less experience in US schools and less comfort with English (indicating probable immigrant status) would likely draw from their experience of schooling in their original countries and the roles that parents are expected to play there. This could result in increased general advice based in the cultural model of *educación* (reflected in the content domains of *socializing* and *school behavior*) rather than *targeted academic* advice. This was hypothesized on account of different roles expectations with regard to PI in different countries that have been reported in the qualitative literature (e.g., parents are responsible for moral education whereas teachers are more responsible for formal education at school; Reese et al. 1995, Reese & Gallimore, 2000).
- c. Does the content of consejos differ by the student's own personal resources?** To look at resources within the student, I looked to see if content varied with differing levels of self-reported previous academic achievement and current level of behavioral engagement in school (e.g. putting effort into completing work and paying attention in class). Perceived level of closeness or *confianza* to an adult in the family was also considered a student resource, and its relationship to frequency of advice in different domains was investigated. I hypothesized that students who reported having higher grades in middle school and higher current levels of behavioral engagement would report hearing more *inspirational* messages because these students would resemble students in previous findings (e.g., Auerbach, 2007; Delgado-Gaitan, 1994) who were given emotional support and encouragement by their parents but didn't need much instrumental advice because they were already doing well in school (Auerbach). However, parents might also increase their used of these types of messages in order to jumpstart the motivation of a child who has struggled. For the same reason, students who had lower previous grades and lower current engagement might hear more *exhortations* and *cautionary tales*. On the other hand, students with higher previous grades and current engagement might hear fewer *school behavior* messages because they seemed not to need it.

With regard to closeness, Holloway et al. (2014) observed that students who spoke of their parents warmly and reported talking to them frequently tended to share more about their everyday lives with them. This gave parents access to information about the triumphs and challenges faced by their children, allowing them to give more tailored advice for different situations. Thus, in the current study it was hypothesized that children who reported higher levels of closeness would also report hearing more *targeted academic and targeted relationship* advice.

- d. **Are certain resources more influential (have stronger linkage) in relation to different types of advice content heard by the adolescent?** Using the findings from the previous sub-questions, OLS regression models were designed to determine the relationship between the frequency of messages heard and the parent, student, and school resources while taking the all of the other resources into account. This was done for both content domains and umbrella domains.

3. What types of advice are seen as useful in the eyes of the adolescent respondents?

I first examined which individual pieces of advice were perceived as useful in terms of students doing their best at school. Perceived usefulness was also investigated for each of the content and umbrella domains. I then used the following sub-questions to further investigate the overarching question:

- a. **Does perceived usefulness of consejos vary by the resource level of the school?** It was hypothesized that the perceived usefulness of consejos might be different depending on the types of resources available at the school. The expectations were similar to those of the hypotheses regarding the frequencies of differing types of content and school resources (stated above in Research Question 2.a.). At the lower-resourced school, students might perceive *targeted academic* and *targeted relationship* advice from parents as more useful because they might not receive individualized guidance from teachers and school staff. However, at the smaller high school with more resources, the school might be able to inform parents more about their children's progress and options, so parental advice in these areas might also be seen as particularly helpful. Similarly, more *general* advice might be seen as less useful in the lower-resourced school because students needed greater support from home to compensate for the lack of it at school. On the other hand, advice in the *inspirational*, *socializing*, *exhortations*, and *cautionary tales* domains might be perceived as more useful at the lower-resourced school, in that students may need stronger motivational pushes from parents to stay engaged while attending a large school with less teacher attention and overall lower quality indicators. *Cautionary tales* and *exhortations* could also potentially resonate more at the lower-resourced school because students might recognize that their school was less optimal and want access to better learning environments.
- b. **Does perceived usefulness vary by parent resources?** I wanted to examine whether there were differences in the perceived usefulness of advice when parents had greater or fewer educational resources or indicators that they were not immigrants. It was hypothesized that students would find *targeted academic* and *targeted relationship* advice more useful when their parents had more educational experience overall and within the US. I assumed that students with such parents might find their *targeted* advice was more relevant because they had navigated similar spaces and knew more about how the US school system worked. Students with parents who completed high

school might also perceive parents' *targeted* advice as more useful because they saw that their parents had successfully graduated, rendering their advice more valuable in reaching the same goal.

- c. Does perceived usefulness vary by student resources?** To look at resources within the student, I looked to see if perceived usefulness varied with differing levels of self-reported previous academic achievement and current level of behavioral engagement in school. I hypothesized that students who were more engaged and had received higher grades in middle school would find *inspirational* advice more useful than students who were struggling or disengaged. Students who worked hard but had received lower grades, might find messages about being able to achieve their dreams somewhat hollow due to their experiences proving otherwise. I expected that students who had received lower grades would find *targeted academic* and *targeted relationship* advice more useful than general advice, because they might especially benefit from hearing concrete steps to take in order to do better in school. It was expected that much of the school-related advice (both *targeted* and *general*) would be perceived as less useful for students who reported lower levels of engagement because if they weren't as invested in doing well at school, they would not be interested in hearing about ways to improve. Overall, I expected that students who reported higher levels of closeness to their parent (or adult in the family) would also report higher usefulness of all of the advice, as the relationship that couches the advice-giving scenario has been reported to be important in how the advice is received (Stanton-Salazar 2001; Suizzo et al., 2012).
- d. How does perceived usefulness vary when taking all resources into account, and does closeness contribute a moderating effect?** Using the findings from the previous sub-questions, OLS regression models were designed to determine the relationship between the perceived usefulness of the advice and the parent, student, and school resources while taking the all of the other resources into account. This was done for both content domains and umbrella domains. Particular attention was also paid to how level of closeness or *confianza* impacted whether students viewed their parents' advice as useful or not. It was hypothesized because closeness was presumed to be so important, it could create a moderating effect—either providing a “buffering” mechanism for perceived usefulness when other school, parent, or student resources were low, or an intensifying effect when other resources were also high.

Methods

Participants

Two high schools agreed to participate in this study: one large public school and one small Catholic school. Both schools are located in densely populated urban centers.

The large public school, East Bay High (a pseudonym; EB High), has a total enrollment of over 1300 students, where 69.3% are Hispanic or Latino and 83.9% of the students are considered socioeconomically disadvantaged. To provide a picture of the school's level of achievement and quality, some statistics are presented. EB High has an Academic Performance Index (API) score of 627 (out of a possible 1000) and a graduation rate of about 70%. At this school, 34% of students receive proficient or advanced scores on the CAHSEE (compared to a statewide average of 58-9%). Further, 71% of Latino students are reported not proficient in both ELA and math on this state exam. The average number of students assigned to each academic counselor is 265. Due to these indicators, this school is considered to provide lower resources to its students in this study. 245 students from EB high agreed to participate and took the survey.

In contrast, the small, private Catholic School, Aquinas High (a pseudonym), has an enrollment of about 150 students total, where 70.5% are Hispanic or Latino.² Tuition above \$10,000 is required for attendance at this school, but roughly 80% of students receive tuition assistance. Test scores were not available because private schools do not need to take the same tests and do not have comparable scores available to the public. The ratio of students to teachers is reported at 10:1, and the average number of students assigned to each academic counselor is 34. The graduation rate at Aquinas during the past three years ranged from 91-100%, and 100% of those who graduate move on to a 2-4 year college program. Due to the size and these indicators, this school is considered to provide an environment with higher resources for its students. 89 students from Aquinas High School agreed to participate and took the survey.

Because this study focuses on advice heard by Latino students, I chose to include data from only the students who identified as Latino, Hispanic, or with a national origin from Mexico or a Central American country. The final sample includes 245 students ($N = 181$ from EB High $N = 64$ for Aquinas). Within the sample, 68.2% of the students identified as Mexican or Mexican-American ($n = 167$), 18.4% identified as Latino or Hispanic but did not specify a national heritage ($n = 45$), and 13.5% identified as Central American ($n = 33$, predominantly Salvadoran, as well as Guatemalan, and Ecuadoran). Participants were mainly in tenth grade (77%), with the remainder consisting of students in the eleventh and twelfth grades. The mean reported age was 16.6 ($SD = .9$). The sample was evenly divided between 49% males and 51% females. The majority of the students took the survey in English (92.2%) but 7.8% took it in Spanish (when they were in Spanish-only protected classrooms). Table 1 contains the demographic data for the participants.

Procedure

Principals of schools in urban areas with large Latino populations were approached and asked to participate. At the larger school, EB High, the principal enlisted World History Teachers (where students were mostly in the tenth grade) to participate. At the smaller school, Aquinas High, due to the smaller enrollment, the principal enlisted a number of teachers for tenth, eleventh, and twelfth graders to participate. The investigator visited each classroom and

² The percentage of students who would be categorized as socioeconomically disadvantaged was not available.

explained the study in person to the students. The IRB waived the requirement for receiving parent consent, however, all students were given an informational letter describing the study for parents in which parents were asked to tell their children to refrain from taking the survey if they did not want them to participate. This document was provided in English and Spanish. Before surveys were administered, students signed an assent form indicating that they agreed to participate and could stop at any time. Approximately 75-80% of students agreed to participate at each school. At EB High, the survey was given in 8 classes that were English only, two classes that were Spanish Only, and two classes that were given in English but considered sheltered for students who were English learners. At Aquinas High, all classes were taught in English. On the day of the survey, the investigator read directions aloud to the class in English (or Spanish in the Spanish-only classrooms) and encouraged students to ask questions if needed. Surveys were completed with pen and paper. After the survey was completed, those who taken the survey chose a small thank-you gift (UC Berkeley pen or pencil or card holder) and all students (regardless of survey completion) were offered a small bag of chips. The entire process lasted 20-25 minutes. The institutional review board at the investigator's institution approved the study.

Measures

Development of Survey. The survey contained a new instrument as well as previously validated scales to measure closeness with parent and levels of behavioral engagement.

Parental Advice Measure (PAM). A new instrument was designed to measure the range of specific parental advice messages heard by adolescents and the corresponding level of perceived usefulness for each message. The instrument consisted of two main parts: a checklist of 28 advice-messages and a Likert-type rating scale of usefulness for each message.

The items for the checklist were gleaned from an extensive literature review and three pilot interviews with Latino parents and their adolescent children. Please see Appendix A for final list of all items). As previously mentioned, based on observations made in the qualitative study by Holloway et al. (2014), a distinction was made between advice that appeared more *targeted*—advice messages that included concrete steps to take and strategies to follow tailored to a specific situation—and advice that seemed *general*—messages that may be applied to multiple situations, are less explicit in terms of what actions should follow, and are most frequently cited in the literature. These two umbrella domains served as an over-arching guide to examining the differences among the advice messages heard by students. Further analysis of the literature led to the emergence of additional themes, which were compiled in a list, as were actual messages that were described or quoted in multiple studies. The list of themes was condensed into seven final *content domains*, which were then sorted to fit under each of the umbrella domains. The list of individual messages was also sorted among these content domains. Finally, for the sake of parsimony and brevity, the survey was further edited so that each content domain contained four messages. I will now describe the final seven content domains, including the two that sit under the umbrella domain of *targeted* messages and the five that sit under the umbrella domain of *general* messages.

Targeted academic. Qualitative studies revealed that some parents gave their children advice about which courses to take or drop in school or encouraged them to take extra classes to further their interests and build skills (Holloway et al., 2014). These messages were incorporated into the survey, as were advice about “What I should do if I don’t understand something in class” and “That I should talk a counselor about which electives I should take or which classes I need to graduate.” Messages in this content domain were considered to be *targeted* because they

appeared to be more tailored to the particular child and her needs at the moment as well as contain concrete actions to follow.

Targeted relationship. Messages about how to handle certain challenging social interactions, both with peers and with teachers, were also present in the literature review (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Holloway et al, 2014). Advice about “What I should do if my teacher is not treating me right” or “What do to do if a kid starts messing with me” was considered distinct from the content domain of *socializing* (described above) and within the *targeted* umbrella domain because it pertained to specific types of encounters and comprised strategies for how to approach them.

Socializing. One area that was frequently invoked in the literature was general advice about the peers with whom children should be spending time or avoiding (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Espinoza-Herold, 2007; Holloway et al., 2014). Advice about prioritizing school over dating (McWhirter, Valdez, & Caban, 2013; Reese et al, 1995) and avoiding risky social behavior (i.e., sex, drugs; McWhirter et al.; Valdes, 1996) was considered to be relevant for this category as well. Messages about social associations and behavior overlap with the moral teachings of *educación*, but also likely reflects the social climate of the school, individual students’ proclivities towards certain peers, and an understanding the increased impact of peer-group on academic life. Several examples of messages under this domain included, “to put off dating because school is more important,” and “if you hang out with kids who make trouble, people will think you are going to make trouble too,” (an English translation of *dime con quien andas, y te dire quien eres*; in Espinoza-Herold and informal pilot interviews). This content domain was considered to be part of the *general* umbrella domain because the messages seemed applicable to a number of situations and fairly open to interpretation. They also did not contain specific steps to take.

School Behavior. This content domain is directly related to *educación*, or how a child should conduct herself morally and/or correctly. This type of advice about how to be *bien educado* is given and applied in numerous settings in a child’s life (Reese, 2012; Reese et al., 1995; Valdes, 1996; Villenas & Moreno, 2001), but some of the messages pertain directly to comportment at school. For example, parents encouraged their children to follow school rules (Holloway et al., 2014) and to be respectful to their teachers (Holloway et al.; Valdes, 1996). Thus, survey items included in this content domain included a general message, “that I have to behave well at school,” as well as “that I should pay more attention” (Delgado-Gaitan, 1994) and “that I should always be polite to my teacher.” This content domain was considered to fit under the *general* umbrella domain because the messages could be given in many different situations and were open to interpretation by the receiver of the advice, especially because they did not contain concrete steps or specific strategies to follow.

Inspirational. Another frequently reported type of consejos entailed verbal “cheerleading” and motivational maxims designed to encourage their children’s efforts in school (e.g., Auerbach 2007; Ceja, 2003; Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Espinoza-Herold, 2007; McWhirter et al., 2013). Items in this area included “to keep going and don’t give up” and “that if I work hard, I can achieve my dreams.” This content domain was also considered to fit under the *general* umbrella domain because the messages were so general. They could be given in almost any situation and they also did not contain concrete steps or specific strategies to follow.

Exhortations about the Importance of Education. Parents and children reported that parents used a strategy of repeating impassioned messages about how important it was to do well in school. Some adults remembered hearing messages from their parents that they had to go to

college even when they were young children (Arellano & Padilla, 1996; Auerbach, 2007; Ceja, 2004, Sanchez-Reyes, 2004). They also reported being “pushed” by their parents to do well (Ceja), who cited doing well in school as the only way to gain social mobility (Arellano & Padilla; Ceja). Parents tried to impress upon their children the importance of education by telling their children that studying hard and doing well in school was the child’s job (Auerbach, 2007). Sample items from this content domain included, “That I MUST go to college,” “That I have to get good grades” and “That education is the only way to get ahead.” These messages were categorized as *general* because they were more general in nature and did not contain specific steps to follow in order to get good grades or achieve in school.

Cautionary Tales. Messages of how hard life was or currently is for the parents was among the most commonly reported theme in the qualitative literature. Parents used narratives of hardship as motivational tools, linking their current work or socioeconomic challenges to the need for the children to avoid such outcomes by doing well in school (Arellano & Padilla, 1996; Auerbach, 2007; Cortez et al., 2013; Delgado-Gaitan, 1994; Lopez, 2001; Morando, 2013; Ramos, 2003). Others used stories about past mistakes and their consequences to help their children to sidestep similar hardships. These consejos, as well as explicit parental references to sacrifices they made, were reported by some adult children to instill feelings of obligation: they were motivated to work hard in school to repay their parents for all they had done for them (Arellano & Padilla; Ceja, 2004; McWhirter et al, 2013; Sanchez-Reyes et al., 2006). This content domain was considered to fall within the *general* umbrella domain because the same messages could be used to motivate children in a variety of situations and did not contain specific steps or strategies to avoid the pitfalls of the parents.

The items of the new instrument were examined by a panel of researchers familiar with Latino populations to assess face validity, and subsequently piloted with a small sample of adolescents to check for comprehensibility and to determine whether any additional items are needed.

In the first part of the measure, participants were given the list of consejos and instructed, “Please make a check mark if a parent (or adult in your family who you feel close to) has said this or something like this to you during this school year”. Each message had a line next to it where students could make a check to indicate whether they had heard it and was entered as a binary variable, in which a mark =1, and the absence of a mark = 0. Composite scores were computed by summing the number of messages heard in each content domain and umbrella domain. Proportions were computed by dividing the sum of messages heard in each umbrella domain by the total messages possible in each domain; this was done to take into account the disparate number of items in each umbrella domain.

Participants were then asked to circle the three messages they have heard most frequently in the last 2-3 months. Over 40% students did not answer this question, and thus it was not used in further analysis.

The second portion measured perceived usefulness of the advice-messages that were presented in the checklist. Participants were given the prompt, “Some things that parents say are more helpful than others. For each thing that a parent has said to you at least once during the current school year, how useful was it in helping you do your best at school?” and chose between “not at all helpful,” “a little helpful,” and “very helpful.” They also had the option of choosing “My parent did not say this.” Answers were coded (not at all helpful = 0, a little helpful=2, very helpful = 3) and “My parent did not say this” was counted as missing. To derive composites for

each content and umbrella domain, items from each domain were summed and divided by the number of items answered (excluding “My parent did not say this”).

Parent-child closeness. Eight items were selected from a 10-item scale measuring closeness to parents, developed by Buchanan, Maccoby, and Dornbusch (1991). Items probed for students’ perceptions of their communication with their closest parent or guardian, as well as the extent that they felt loved by this person, for example, “how openly do you talk with your mother/father?”; “how confident are you that your mother/father would help you if you had a problem?”; and “how often does your mother/father enjoy doing things with you?” (Answers ranged from 1 = not at all to 5 = very much). In their study, Buchanan et al. found high internal consistency with regard to fathers ($\alpha = .90$) and mothers ($\alpha = .89$). In the present study, the questions were modified to declarative statements; students were asked to indicate how true they were for them (1=not at all true, 4 = very true) in order to be consistent with the format of the engagement items (see below). Two questions from the original scale were omitted from the current survey: “How careful do you feel you have to be in what you say to your mother/father?” was not included because it seemed redundant with other questions about openness in talking to parents; and, “If you needed money, how comfortable would you be asking your mother/father for it?” was omitted because due to the target population coming from low-income households, answers to this question might be misleading (e.g., children who felt close to their parents but perceived them as having limited financial resources, might feel particularly uncomfortable asking for money). In addition, where items in the original scale asked about “mother/father [s],” in the current survey they were modified to be about an adult in the family to whom the participant felt closest. This change was made due to the recognition that many children are receive meaningful care from other adults in their families or communities, whether they live with their biological parents or with different guardians. Participants were asked to identify who this adult was (e.g., their mother, their uncle) and to think of this adult when responding to the questions about closeness.

The average of the eight items was taken to create a composite score of closeness, in which higher scores indicated greater levels of perceived closeness. In the current study, Cronbach’s alpha revealed a high internal consistency ($\alpha = .90$). An additional item was added from the Parent-Peer Attachment Inventory (Armsden and Greenberg, 1987): “My parent doesn’t understand what I’m going through.” This was added because of its particular relevance to a frequently cited dynamic between immigrant parents and their adolescent children. Such a feeling may be developmental but may also may be influenced by differing rates of acculturation, as the adolescent experiences greater exposure to the norms of the host society, which may run counter to parental beliefs, by attending school and having greater English proficiency (Fulgini, 2012). However, this item was omitted from final analyses of closeness because its inclusion detracted from the internal consistency of the closeness items and was not part of the original scale.

Behavioral engagement at school. “Ongoing engagement” items were taken from the *Rochester Assessment Package for Schools for Middle School (RAPS-SM*; Institute for Research and Reform in Education, Inc, 1998), a popular measure of behavioral engagement at school (Fredericks, Blumenfeld, Friedel & Paris, 2005), that included: “I work very hard on homework,” “I don’t try very hard in school,” “I pay attention in class”, “I often come to class unprepared,” (1 = not at all true, 4 = very true). An additional question asked, “How important is it to you to do the best you can in school?” (1 = not at all important, 4 = very important). This 5-item scale was normed with 2429 students, aged 10-15 (44% African American, 16% Hispanic,

39% European American) with acceptable internal consistency ($\alpha = .68$) (Institute for Research and Reform in Education, Inc). In the current study, Cronbach's alpha revealed a slightly lower internal consistency ($\alpha = .65$). The average score of the five items was taken to create a composite of engagement, in which higher scores indicated greater engagement. This was explored as a continuous variable and as a dichotomous variable. I created dichotomous groups based on the median score, but because the distribution was positively skewed, exploring the variation at the margins was more powerful, especially in order to explore the experiences of students who reported the lowest engagement. I divided the sample to examine a group reporting the highest engagement as compared to those reporting relatively lower engagement (using the 75th percentile score as a cut-off point); and, I created groups of those reporting the lowest engagement (using the 25th percentile score as a cutoff point) to compare to a group reporting relatively higher engagement.

Parental resources. The following questions were used to measure parents' resources (items are dichotomous): "Did one or both of your parents go to high school in the US?" (yes, no), "Did one or both of your parents complete high school?" (yes, no), and "Did one or both of your parents go to college?" (yes, no). These questions were also asked: "How much do you think your parents worry about money," ("very little," "sometimes," "a lot, almost always.") and, "How comfortable is your mother/guardian speaking English," (very comfortable " "somewhat comfortable," "not comfortable"). For each of these questions, students had the choice to answer, "I don't know."

Initially, I had planned to create a "parent resource composite," however, because student responses had lower correlations than expected, parent resources questions were examined separately. The variable pertaining to worry about money was dropped because correlations indicated that it was not associated with any of the other parent variables. The item about parents' college attendance was also dropped because there appeared to be some confusion in student responses about whether "college" was interpreted as the Spanish word, "colegio," which has various meanings (including "college," "private school," and "high school") depending on which country someone is from (SpanishDict.com, Spanish.StackExchange.com). There was also concern that students did not have enough clarity regarding differences between college and vocational training. The answers from the question "How comfortable is your mother/guardian speaking English" that indicated low or no comfort were collapsed into one category of "not very comfortable" to be compared with "very comfortable," because it serves as an indicator of nativity status, and those who were born in the US are much more likely to be "very comfortable" with speaking English.

Achievement. Participants were asked to think back to the end of 8th grade to identify the majority of their grades in math and in English/Language Arts (Mostly F's, D's, C's, B's, or A's). Categories were collapsed into High (Mostly A's and Mostly B's), Medium (Mostly C's) and Low (Mostly D's and Mostly F's) achievement groups for both math and English.

Demographics. Participants were asked to report their current grade (9th-12th) and year of birth, and to indicate how they describe their gender (male, female, trans/other) and race/ethnicity. For race/ethnicity, traditional racial categories similar to those found on the Census (White, Black, Asian/Pacific Islander, Latino/Hispanic, Native American/American Indian) were included. Middle Eastern was added, as were choices for biracial/multiracial and "other," where participants were asked to list or specify how they identified. Because I was interested in studying potential differences within several of these larger racial categories, under the Asian American and Latino/Hispanic options, four national-origin options and "other" were presented

based on demographic information about the areas of particular interest to this study, the categories under the Latino/Hispanic option included Mexican/Mexican American, Guatemalan/Guatemalan American, Ecuadoran/Ecuadoran American, and Salvadoran/Salvadoran American. Participants were asked to check all of categories that applied to them.

Analytic Procedures

The first research question aimed to provide descriptive data about the types of messages that Latino adolescents hear from their parents. I was interested in knowing the frequency of all of the individual messages as well as examining the total messages heard (TMH) in each content domain and the proportion of messages heard (PMH) in the two umbrella domains.

The second research question examines whether consejos were different depending on the level of school, parental, and individual resources. Independent sample t-tests or ANOVA were used to determine bivariate relationships between resources (school, parent, and student) and TMH for content domains and PMH for umbrella domains. Information gathered from these tests was used to create a final OLS regression model to see how resource variables were related to PMH and TMH when other resources were taken into account.

The third research question sought to provide data about how useful students found each message, as well as how useful they perceived each content and umbrella domain, given varying levels of resources available in their school, parents, and within themselves. Bivariate relationships between resource levels (school, parent, and student) and perceived usefulness were examined using independent sample t-tests or ANOVA. Information gathered in these tests was used to create final OLS regression models to see how resource variables were related to the usefulness of each content and umbrella domain while taking the other resources into account. In order to determine whether closeness provided a buffering or intensifying effect, interaction terms were formed between closeness and the other resource variables and entered into the models.

Results

In the following section, I describe preliminary analyses and specific results pertaining to each of my research questions.

Preliminary Analyses

Preliminary analyses were conducted to answer the following questions regarding relationships between resource variables. Tables 2-3 contain frequencies for parent and student resource variables.

Are the parent resource/demographic variables associated with each other? Chi-square analyses were performed to determine relationships between these variables; significant associations were expected due to their related content. The variables concerning immigrant status (comfort with English and attendance of high school in the US) were highly related ($\chi^2(1) = 99.7, p < .001$). As expected, 91% of parents who had not attended high school in the US also did not seem very comfortable speaking English. However this split was less clear among parents who had attended high school in the US: 26% of these parents did not seem very comfortable speaking English. This suggests that these items were imperfect measures of immigrant status, as it is possible that parents may have immigrated to the US before high school, received inadequate or limited English instruction, and thus continued to feel less comfortable speaking it despite having completed high school in the US.

There were also significant relationships between parent completion of high school and parent attendance of high school in the US ($\chi^2(1) = 20.6, p < .001$) and between parent completion of high school and mother's comfort with speaking English ($\chi^2(1) = 17.4, p < .001$). Parents who had not completed high school were less likely to have attended high school inside the US and to feel very comfortable speaking English. In other words, parents who were likely to be immigrants, were less likely to have completed high school.

Are the student resources associated with each other? Significant correlations were found between self-reported grades in middle school for math and English ($r = .40, p < .001$). However, this was a lower correlation than expected, so grades for each middle school subject were examined separately. Significant correlations were also found between self-reported grades in middle school and current student engagement (math: $r = .26, p < .001$; English: $r = .22, p < .001$).

ANOVA was used to compare mean levels of engagement and closeness between the groups who reported high, medium, and low middle school grades. Students who reported receiving mostly A's and B's in eighth grade math, also reported higher current engagement ($M = 3.43, SD = .43$) than those who reported receiving mostly D's and F's in eighth grade math ($M = 3.19, SD = .48$), $F(2, 235) = 5.75, p = .004$. Students who reported receiving A's and B's ($M = 3.39, SD = .46$) in eighth grade English, also reported significantly lower current engagement levels than those who reported receiving mostly D's and F's ($M = 3.09, SD = .52$), $F(2, 235) = 5.26, p = .006$.

Students who reported receiving mostly A's and B's in eighth grade math reported higher closeness ($M = 3.49, SD = .51$) than students who had received mostly C's ($M = 3.24, SD = .7$), $F(2, 235) = 3.57, p = .03$.

Do parent or student resources differ by school? This was examined to determine whether there were potentially confounding effects among these variables. Table 4 contains results of these analyses.

Parent resources. Chi-square analyses revealed that there were significant relationships between school and both variables associated with immigrant status: with mothers' comfort with speaking English ($\chi^2(1) = 9.9, p = .002$) and with parent(s) having attended high school in the US ($\chi^2(1) = 7.9, p = .005$). In both cases, a higher percentage of students at EB High reported that their parent had not gone to high school in the US (65.7%) or that their mothers were not very comfortable with speaking English (71.2%) compared to at Aquinas High's, where 45-55% students reported that their parent had not gone to high school in the US or wasn't comfortable speaking English.

Student resources. There was a significant interaction between school and self-reported previous grades (English: $\chi^2(2) = 6.8, p = .03$; math: $\chi^2(2) = 9.5, p = .009$). At Aquinas High, a higher percentage of students reported receiving A's and B's in eighth grade math (61.9%) and English (81.3%) than at EB High (48.6% and 64.7%, respectively). Students at EB High reported significantly higher engagement ($M = 3.39, SD = .46$) than those at Aquinas High's ($M = 3.24, SD = .44; t(238) = -2.28, p = .023$). See Table 5 for these results.

Research Question One: What Are the Themes and Content of the Consejos or Advice-Messages that Mexican-heritage Adolescents Report Hearing From Their Parents?

One purpose of this study was to determine what types of advice Latino adolescents hear in a larger sample than has been studied previously. This question aimed to provide descriptive data regarding content of individual consejos heard by adolescents from their parents, as well as those within the umbrella domains of *targeted* (including the messages in the content domains of *targeted academic* and *targeted relationships*) and *general* (including the messages in the content domains of *socializing*, *school behavior*, *inspirational*, *exhortations*, and *cautionary tales*). It was also of interest to examine how many messages adolescents heard in each of the seven content domains.

Composites were formed for each of the seven content domains by summing the four relevant items within each domain (total messages heard, TMH). Endorsements for items within each umbrella domain were also summed, resulting in total targeted and non-targeted messages heard. However, because the number of possible items in the umbrella domains (targeted = 8 and general = 28) were so disparate, proportions of messages heard (PMH) were calculated by dividing the total number of items heard by the total items possible in order to compare their frequency of endorsement.

Individual messages. Examination of the individual consejos messages that students reported hearing indicated that many students heard many of the listed messages. The percentage of the students who reported hearing each message ranged from 20-89%. Table 6 presents the frequency that each individual message was endorsed. The most frequently endorsed message was that they had to get good grades (88% reported hearing this; in the *exhortations* domain). Other highly frequently endorsed items (which over 80% or more of the students reported hearing) included:

- To avoid risky behavior like drugs and parties (*socializing* domain)
- That I have to behave well at school (*school behavior* domain)
- I believe in you; Keep going and don't give up; If you work hard, you can achieve your dreams; Success comes from hard work and commitment (*inspirational* domain)
- That my main job right now is to work hard in school; That getting an education is the only way to get ahead (*exhortations*)

- That they want my life to be easier than theirs; To avoid mistakes they made (*cautionary tales* domain).

The item with the fewest endorsements was “that I should take or drop a certain course at school” (in the *targeted academic* domain; only 20% reported hearing this). Other messages that were heard by 50% or fewer of the students included two messages in the *targeted relationships* domain “what I should do if my teacher is not treating me right,” and “what I should do if my teacher gives me an unfair grade”; and, two messages in the *socializing* domain: “To put off dating until I’m older, because school is more important” and “To avoid kids who get bad grades or don’t pay attention in class.”

The mean number of total messages heard by the students was 19 out of 28.

Content Domains. Table 7 contains the frequencies for the total number of messages heard (TMH) in each content domain (ranging from 0-4 items). Within the *targeted academic* domain, the majority of students heard two or three of the messages. In the *targeted relationships* domain, the distribution was different: 20% heard none of the messages, while about 50% heard three or four of the messages. In the *socializing* domain, over 50% heard three or four messages, but 20% heard only one. In the *school behavior* domain, the majority of adolescents reported hearing three or four of the messages. In the *inspirational* domain, the majority of students (66.8%) heard all four messages. In the *exhortations* domain, just over 50% of students heard all four messages, and 26.8% heard three of the messages. The *cautionary tales* domain showed a similar pattern, with 55.7% reporting hearing all four of the messages and 20.5% hearing three of them. These results suggest that sizable portions of adolescents reported hearing one or two of *targeted* messages whereas the majority of students reported hearing all of the *inspirational* messages, and most of the *school behavior*, *exhortations*, and *cautionary tales* messages.

Umbrella domains. Students reported hearing a higher PMH in the *general* domain (74%) than in the *targeted* domain (55%).

Descriptives of Engagement and Closeness Scales. Mean reported engagement for the whole group was 3.35 ($SD = .46$). Mean reported closeness to an adult in the family was 3.4 ($SD = .6$).

Research Question Two: Does the Frequency of Certain Consejos Vary Depending on the Level of Resources?

Does the content of consejos differ by the resource level of the school? T-tests were also conducted to examine the differences in TMH for content domain items and PMH for umbrella domain items between EB High and Aquinas High. Students at EB High reported hearing a higher TMH in the area of *targeted academic* messages ($M = 2.3, SD = 1.18$) than at Aquinas High ($M = 1.9, SD = 1.14$), $t(241) = -2.25, p = .03$.

Do consejos differ by parent resources? Independent sample t-tests were conducted to compare the mean PMH (for umbrella domains) and the mean TMH (for content domain) between the groups created by the parent educational variable (parent completed/did not complete high school) and immigrant status variables (parent went to high school in the US/ outside the US; mother/guardian feels/does not feel comfortable speaking English).

Immigrant status. Children whose parents did *not* attend high school in the US heard more *exhortations* ($M = 3.3, SD = .93$) than those whose parents did ($M = 3.00, SD = 1.09$; $t(223) = 2.44, p = .02$). Children whose mother does not seem very comfortable with speaking English reported hearing more *exhortations* ($M = 3.35, SD = .91$) than those whose parents seem less comfortable ($M = 2.93, SD = 1.10$; $t(240) = 3.20, p = .002$).

Educational status. A relationship approaching significance was found for *targeted relationships*: children whose parents completed high school heard more advice in this area ($M = 2.36, SD = 1.47$) than those whose parents did not ($M = 1.97, SD = 1.47; t(207) = -1.83, p = .07$).

Do consejos vary by student resources? In order to examine contrasts among student resources, ANOVA was used to compare the TMH and PMH among the groups based on self-reported math and English grades in middle school (divided into high, medium, and low grades). Pairwise-correlations were conducted to determine associations between the engagement and closeness composite scores and TMH for each content domain and for the PMH for the umbrella domains.

Self-reported grades from middle school. Although self-reported grades from middle school in Math and English were correlated, $r(242) = .40, p < .001$, this association was lower than expected and Math and English grades were examined separately. Items were collapsed into high (students reporting Mostly A's and B's), medium (Mostly C's), and low (Mostly D's and F's) achieving groups for both Math and English/Language Arts grades in order to ensure sufficient cell size. The mean PMH of umbrella domains and the mean TMH of content domains were then compared among these groups using ANOVA.

An analysis of variance showed that the association of past English grades with the TMH of *targeted academic* messages was significant $F(2, 238) = 3.04, p = .05$. Post hoc analyses using the Sidak correction indicated that students in the medium achievement group heard more of these messages ($M = 2.54, SD = 1.03$) than the high achieving group ($M = 2.08, SD = 1.17$).

Engagement. Pairwise correlations were generated for students' mean level of engagement and the TMH (content domains) and PMH (umbrella domains). Engagement was significantly and positively correlated with the TMH in *socializing* advice, $r(239) = .17, p = .009$.

In order to further examine differences in this area, especially at the lower end of reported engagement (because the data was distributed with a strong positive skew), engagement was dichotomized: students who had engagement scores at or below the 25th percentile (3.0) comprised the 'relatively low' group, while those with scores above the 25th percentile comprised the 'higher' group. Independent-sample t-tests revealed that students who reported relatively low engagement reported hearing a lower TMH overall ($M = 18, SD = 5.27$) than those reporting higher engagement ($M = 19.65, SD = 5.7; t(240) = 2.01, p = .05$). Students in the relatively low group also reported hearing a lower PMH of *targeted* messages ($M = .49, SD = .28$) than those in the higher group ($M = .57, SD = .29; t(240) = 1.94, p = .05$). In addition, there were two trends for students who reported relatively low engagement. These students reported hearing less *targeted academic* advice ($M = 1.96, SD = 1.19$) and *inspirational* messages ($M = 3.13, SD = 1.21$) than those in the relatively high group (*targeted academic* advice: $M = 2.28, SD = 1.14; t(241) = 1.87, p = .06$; *inspirational*: $M = 3.44, SD = 1.06, t(242) = 1.92, p = .06$).

Closeness. Pairwise correlations were generated for students' mean level of closeness to parent (or adult in family) and the TMH of messages heard in each content domain. It was determined that closeness was significantly and positively correlated with *targeted academic* advice ($r(239) = .25, p < .001$), *targeted relationships* ($r(239) = .28, p < .001$), *school behavior* ($r(239) = .21, p < .001$), *inspirational* messages ($r(240) = .44, p < .001$), *exhortations* ($r(239) = .20, p = .002$), and *cautionary tales* ($r(239) = .23, p < .001$). Closeness was also significantly and positively correlated with both *targeted* ($r(238) = .31, p < .001$) and *general* ($r(239) = .32, p < .001$) PMH as well as with overall TMH ($r(238) = .36, p < .001$). Please see Tables 8-9.

How do consejos vary when all resources are taken into account? In order to determine relationships between the frequency of types of advice and resource groups while

taking into account the other variables, each content domain (TMH) was regressed on school, parent, and student resource variables. This was also done for the umbrella domains (PMH). The models for the content domains of *targeted academic*, *targeted relationships*, *inspirational*, and *exhortations* advice were significant. Both models for the umbrella domains and overall messages heard were significant as well. In these models, the only variable that contributed unique variance when holding all other variables constant, was closeness. Please see Table 10 for part correlations and p-values.

Summary. In terms of bivariate relationships, adolescents whose parents did *not* attend high school in the US heard more *exhortations* than those whose parents did. Adolescents whose mothers do not seem very comfortable with speaking English reported hearing more *exhortations* than those whose parents seem less comfortable. In other words, variables indicating immigrant status seemed to be linked to hearing more of the *exhortations* messages. Adolescents who attended EB High heard more *targeted academic* messages. In the area of student resources, those who reported receiving mostly C's in middle school English heard more *targeted academic* messages than students who reported receiving mostly A's and B's. Engagement was positively correlated with *socializing* advice. Those who reported very low engagement scores tended to hear fewer messages overall and fewer *targeted* messages. Closeness was positively correlated with *targeted academic*, *targeted relationships*, *inspirational*, *school behavior*, *cautionary tales*, and *exhortations*. It was also positively correlated with *targeted* and *general* messages.

In the final regression models, closeness was the most significant “predictor” for the content domains of *targeted academic*, *targeted relationships*, *inspirational*, and *exhortations*, as well as for both umbrella domains of *targeted* and *general* messages.

Research Question Three: What Types of Advice Are Seen as Useful in the Eyes of the Adolescent Respondents?

Overall Usefulness. Mean usefulness for each content and umbrella domain was calculated by summing the ratings for each of the messages in each domain and then dividing by the number of items that the student had rated (to accommodate the answer choice “my parent didn't say this”, which was treated as missing). Table 11 contains mean usefulness scores for each domain for the whole sample. Overall, students reported that messages were fairly useful ($M = 2.46$). They reported finding *general* messages more useful ($M = 2.51$) than *targeted* messages ($M = 2.29$). They found *inspirational* messages ($M = 2.66$) and *exhortations* ($M = 2.58$) to be the most useful, whereas *targeted academic*, *targeted relationships*, and *socializing* advice messages were rated the lowest in terms of usefulness ($M = 2.33$, 2.29 , and 2.31 , respectively).

Does the level of perceived usefulness differ by the resource level of the student's school? Independent-sample t-tests were used to compare mean usefulness of each content and umbrella domain between EB High and Aquinas High. Students who attended EB High reported *targeted academic* advice to be more useful ($M = 3.686$, $SD = .506$) than those who attended Aquinas High ($M = 2.123$, $SD = .586$), $t(216) = 3.197$, $p = .0016$.

Does perceived usefulness of consejos differ by parent resources? Independent-sample t-tests were used to compare mean usefulness between parents who were presumed to have more or less education (whether they had completed high school) and between parents who were presumed to have varying immigration status (whether they attended high school in the US, whether they felt very comfortable speaking English). Children whose parents had *not* attended high school in the United States reported significantly higher usefulness of *school behavior*

advice ($M = 2.512$, $SD = .572$) than those whose parents had attended high school in the US ($M = 2.34$, $SD = .582$), $t(205) = 2.13$, $p = .034$.

Does perceived usefulness differ by student resources?

Previous Grades. As reported above, self-reported math and English grades from middle school were examined separately, and each collapsed into high (Mostly A's and B's), middle (mostly C's), and low (mostly D's and F's) reported grades. Usefulness of content and umbrella domains were then compared among the high, medium, and low groups using ANOVA. A significant difference among the reported grades was revealed for perceived usefulness of *school behavior*, $F(2, 221) = 3.38$, $p = 0.036$. Post hoc analyses with the Sidak correction revealed that students in the medium group found *school behavior* advice significantly more useful ($M = 2.53$, $SD = .51$) than students in the low group ($M = 2.16$, $SD = .75$).

Engagement. Pairwise correlations were generated for students' mean level of engagement and the usefulness of the messages heard from each content and umbrella domain. Table 10 presents these correlations. Engagement was significantly correlated (at $p \leq .002$) with *targeted academic* (.27), *socializing* (.21), *school behavior* (.24), *inspirational* (.26), and *exhortations* (.25). The correlation between *targeted relationships* and engagement approached significance ($r = .14$, $p = .06$). Engagement was also significantly correlated with usefulness of *general* (.21) and *targeted* (.16) messages at the $p = .05$ level. This indicated that when students reported higher levels of engagement, they were more likely to find their parents' advice more useful in all content areas. In order to further examine the experience of the students reporting the lowest engagement, students were split into groups with students who reported lower engagement scores (at or below the 25th percentile ($M = 3$) comprising the "relatively low" group) and those with higher engagement; individual t-tests were conducted to compare TMH and PMH between the relatively low and higher groups. In all content and umbrella domains, students who reported relatively low engagement also reported significantly lower ratings of usefulness.

Closeness. Pairwise correlations were generated for students' mean level of closeness to their parent (or adult in their family) and the usefulness of the messages heard from each content domain. Significant correlations at the $p = .05$ level were found for all content and umbrella domains (please see Table 12 and 13).

How does perceived usefulness vary when all resources are taken into account? I

was curious about how each type of resource related to advice usefulness when the other resources were taken into consideration, as well as whether combinations among the variables would create interactive effects. In order to test this, simultaneous OLS regressions were conducted to examine whether the mean usefulness of each content domain was related to resource levels of the school, parents, and student resources. Because it was hypothesized that parent-child closeness might serve as a buffer when other resources were lower or an intensifier when resources were higher, interactions were generated with closeness and each of the other resources (school, parent, student) and tested. None of the interactions were significant except for the interaction of closeness and parent completion of high school (Closeness x ParentHS). All other interaction terms were subsequently dropped from analyses. Table 14 contains beta coefficients, standard errors, and p-statistics for each variable in each of the following models.

Final Models. The model for the *targeted academic* content domain was significant $F(7,162) = 4.04$, $p = .0004$; it explained 11 % of the variance (adjusted R^2), with school predicting unique variance ($b = .27$, $p = .003$). This indicated that while taking all other variables into

account, students attending EB High were more likely than those attending Aquinas High to report that *targeted academic* advice was more useful.

The model for the *socializing* content domain was significant $F(7, 171) = 5.07, p < .0001$, and predicted 14% of the variance in usefulness of *socializing* advice. Of the predictors, only student engagement ($b = .22, p = .04$) and closeness ($b = .24, p = .04$) to parents contributed unique variance when taking into account the effects of the other variables. This indicates that controlling for other resources, students reporting higher engagement and closeness were more likely to report higher usefulness of advice in the *socializing* domain.

The complete model for *school behavior* was significant, $F(7, 171) = 5.60, p < .0001$, and explained 15% of the variance in the usefulness of this advice. Of the predictors, engagement contributed unique variance ($b = .24, p = .01$) as did parent high school completion ($b = -1.18, p = .01$). This indicated that increased student engagement was linked with higher perceptions of usefulness in this area. When parents had attended high school, students tended to report lower perceived usefulness. Additionally, although closeness did not contribute significant variance when all variables were controlled, the interaction term of closeness and high school completion did ($b = .32, p = .02$). Examination of the plotted graph (Figure 1) indicates that when parents had not completed high school, increased closeness was not associated with usefulness of *school behavior* advice; however, when parents had completed high school, increased closeness was linked to significantly higher perceptions of usefulness. In other words, a positive relationship between closeness and usefulness of advice was only evident when the parent had completed high school. When parents had not completed high school, students generally tended to view this type of advice as fairly useful, regardless of whether they felt close to their parent.

The model for the *inspirational* content domain was also significant, $F(7, 178) = 3.80, p = .0007$ and explained 10% of the variance in the usefulness of the advice. Of the predictors, student engagement contributed unique variance when all other variables were held constant ($b = .27, p = .002$). This suggests that, controlling for other resources, students reporting higher engagement tended to report higher perceived usefulness of *inspirational* advice.

The model for *exhortations* was significant $F(7, 185) = 6.30, p < .001$ and explained 16% of the variance in the *exhortations* domain. Within the model, parent completion of high school contributed unique variance to the model ($b = -1.61, p < .0001$), in that when parents had completed high school, the students tended to find exhortations significantly less useful than when their parents had not completed high school. When all variables were held constant, closeness was not significantly associated with usefulness, however, the interaction term between closeness and parent high school completion was significant ($b = 1.50, p < .0001$). Plotting the interaction (Figure 2) indicated that when parents had not completed high school, increased closeness had little to no association with usefulness of *exhortations*; however, when parents had completed high school, increased closeness led to significantly higher perceptions of usefulness. In other words, a positive relationship between closeness and usefulness of advice was only evident when the parent had completed high school. When parents had not completed high school, students generally tended to view this type of advice as fairly useful, regardless of whether they felt close to their parent.

The model for the *cautionary tales* content domain was significant, $F(7, 178) = 3.39, p = .002$, and explained 8% of the variance in usefulness of the *cautionary tales* advice. Parents' completion of high school was again associated with lower perceptions of usefulness above and beyond other variables ($b = -1.47, p = .002$). Again, closeness was not significantly associated, however, the interaction term of closeness and parent high school completion was significant (b

= 0.42, $p = .002$). Examination of the plotted graph (Figure 3) indicates that when parents had not completed high school, increased closeness was not associated with usefulness of *cautionary tales*; however, when parents had completed high school, increased closeness led to significantly higher perceptions of usefulness. In other words, a positive relationship between closeness and usefulness of advice was only evident when the parent had completed high school. When parents had not completed high school, students generally tended to view this type of advice as fairly useful, regardless of whether they felt close to their parent.

The complete model for the umbrella domain of *general* advice was significant, $F(7, 188) = 6.66, p < .001$ and explained 17% of the variance of usefulness. In this model, engagement contributed unique variance when all other variables were taken into account ($b = .15, p = .04$), indicating that when students were more engaged, they perceived *general* advice as being more useful. Parent completion of high school was also significant ($b = -1.35, p < .001$), where again students whose parents had completed high school tended to find *general* advice less useful. Closeness was not significantly associated with usefulness when all other variables were taken into consideration, but its interaction with parent completion of high school was significant ($b = .39, p < .001$). Examination of the plotted graph (Figure 4) indicated that when parents had not completed high school, closeness was not associated with usefulness of general advice; however, when parents had completed high school, increased closeness was associated with significantly higher perceptions of usefulness.

The complete model for total usefulness was significant, $F(7, 188) = 6.61, p < .001$. It explained 16.8 % of the variance in overall usefulness of parent advice. In this model, engagement contributed unique variance when all other resource variables were taken into account ($b = .14, p = .04$), indicating that when students were more engaged, they generally perceived all advice as being more useful. Parent completion of high school was also significant ($b = -1.29, p < .001$), where students whose parents had completed high school tended to find parental advice generally less useful. Again, although closeness was not a significant predictor of usefulness, its interaction with parent completion of high school was significant ($b = .37, p < .001$). Examination of the plotted graph (Figure 5) showed that when parents had not completed high school, closeness was not associated with usefulness of advice overall; however, when parents had completed high school, increased closeness was linked to significantly higher perceptions of usefulness.

Summary of bivariate relationships. When examining the ratings of usefulness within the whole sample, *general* messages were deemed more useful than *targeted* messages. *Inspirational* and *exhortations* had the highest mean usefulness ratings whereas *targeted academic*, *targeted relationships*, and *socializing advice* had the lowest ratings. Students who attended EB High and those whose parents had not attended high school in the US reported higher usefulness scores for *targeted academic* advice. Students who had received mostly C's in 8th grade English reported that *school behavior* advice was more useful than those who had received Mostly D's and F's. Finally, current levels of reported engagement were positively correlated with all content domains and umbrella domains, with the exception of *targeted relationships* and *cautionary tales*. Parent-child closeness was positively correlated with perceived usefulness in all content and umbrella domains.

Summary of final models. Testing the final regression model showed that there were different contributing factors to the perceived usefulness of different content domains. Usefulness of *targeted academic* advice was rated higher when students attended EB High. Usefulness of *socializing* advice was linked significantly and positively to engagement and

closeness while other variables were held constant. *Inspirational* advice was linked positively and significantly with student engagement only. *Exhortations*, *cautionary tales*, *school behavior*, and *general* advice were all seen as significantly more useful when coming from parents who had not completed high school. Further, an interaction term between closeness and parent high school completion was significant in each of those models, indicating that closeness was positively associated with perceived usefulness, but only when the parent *had* attended high school. *School behavior* advice was also seen as more useful when the students reported higher engagement.

Discussion

Researchers have sought to identify and examine educationally supportive activities that Latino parents do but are not captured in traditional measures of PI. Several cultural models have emerged, including *educación* and family obligation (*familismo*), that although are outside the PI activities typically expected by schools, are aligned with the goals of teachers and schools. This dissertation is focused on *consejos*, or the verbal support and advice given by parents, which has been reported to be an integral strategy for guiding and motivating children in school. While the extant qualitative literature suggests that *consejos* are widely used and considered valuable, there is very little research that has examined the extent of their use in the Latino population.

The first goal of this study, therefore, was to address this gap in the research and survey the types of parental advice messages heard by Latino youth in a much larger sample than has been previously studied. The second aim was to approach the *consejos* from the standpoint that cultural models and practices are not static or homogenous, even within a group that shares a language or country of origin. Drawing from the sociocultural perspective, I assumed that, because the varying allowances and constraints in families' respective proximal environments would influence the strategies that parents found available and optimal for their children, the practice of giving advice would also vary. I set out to find whether this was the case by looking at whether the content and number of messages heard varied along with three sets of contextual factors: 1) resources in the school (amount of funding, opportunities for personalized relationships with staff, overall academic achievement); 2) parental resources (their English proficiency, their level of education, their knowledge of the US school system); and 3) student resources (previous achievement and current engagement).

In addition, this study emphasized the importance of the parent-child relationship, the most proximal context in which advice is given and received, as well as the perceptions of the adolescent recipients of *consejos*. Drawing from two recent studies (Holloway et al; 2014; Suizzo et al, 2012), I hypothesized that the amount of closeness and communication between the giver and the recipient of *consejos* would be closely associated with both the content of the advice given and the perceptions of the messages by the children. Finally, rather than viewing children as passive vessels into which cultural messages are poured, I wanted to take into account how the adolescents remember, assess, and either apply or dismiss *consejos* in their own lives. In this study, I looked at whether the adolescents found the different *consejo* messages useful in helping them do their best at school, and whether the messages' perceived usefulness was associated with variations in the available school, parent, and student resources. These inquiries were intended to emphasize the importance of children's perceptions of specific PI behaviors as well as to probe for within-group variability depending on their contextual settings.

I found that the adolescent students heard many of the *consejos* that were mentioned in the qualitative literature, indicating that these messages are generally widely encountered by Latino youth. There were several bivariate relationships between messages and resource levels. However, when all resources were taken into consideration, levels of reported closeness were most powerfully associated with the number of messages the student reported in the umbrella domains and in several content domains. With regard to student perceptions of usefulness, varying results were found for each content domain. As expected, differences in perceived usefulness were also found when resources at the school, parent, and student levels varied. I will now discuss key results for each research question in more detail.

Research Question One: What are the themes and content of the consejos or advice-messages that Mexican-heritage adolescents report hearing from their parents?

The goal of the first research question was to gauge what types of advice messages Latino students were hearing by surveying a larger sample than had been previously studied. Because all previous studies that looked at consejos were either qualitative or only examined a narrow group of messages (e.g., Suizzo et al, 2012), I drew from them to develop a new instrument (the Parental Advice Measure; PAM) based on the kinds of messages that parents and children reported. In order to ascertain the prevalence of specific kinds of advice, the first part of this instrument investigated whether the participant had heard each message. While the majority of advice described in the literature was characterized as general (e.g., inspirational advice messages, cautionary tales or narratives of hardship, and exhortations about the importance of education), there were also several instances where parents advised their children about specific incidents and delineated the steps they should follow. I was particularly curious to learn more about these two styles of advice, and whether students were hearing more of the *general* messages or more *targeted* counsel. I also wanted a more fine-grained picture of the content of the consejos, so I grouped the messages according to two targeted content domains—*targeted academic* and *targeted relationships*—and five general content domains—*socializing, school behavior, inspirational, exhortations about the importance of education, and cautionary tales*.

Overall, the most frequently heard messages were from the *general* content domains, and the least commonly heard were those in the *targeted* content domains. In terms of the content domains, sizable portions of the adolescents reported hearing one or two of the *targeted* messages while a majority of students reported hearing *general* messages, including all of the *inspirational* messages and most of the *school behavior, exhortations, and cautionary tales* messages.

This pattern, in which *general* advice outnumbered *targeted* advice, mirrors that which is found in the literature. There were multiple studies in which inspirational messages, exhortations about the importance of education, cautionary tales (Arellano & Padilla, 1996; Auerbach, 2007; Ceja 2004; McWhirter, Valdez, & Caban, 2013; Gandara, 1995; Morando, 2013; Ramos, 2003; Sanchez, Reyes, & Singh, 2006) and advice about school behavior were reported, whereas instances exploring the more *targeted* consejos were fewer (e.g., Delgado-Gaitan, 1996; Holloway et al., 2014). It is also possible that these findings belie a problem with the measurement of targeted consejos. This issue is discussed further in the limitations section below.

The data collected for this part of the study indicated that the types of messages reported in qualitative studies are in fact quite widespread and heard by a much larger sample of Latino youth than has been studied for this purpose previously. This was especially true of the messages categorized as *inspirational, school behavior, exhortations, and cautionary tales*.

Research Question Two: Does the frequency of certain types of consejos vary depending on the level of resources available in the adolescents' proximal environment (home and school) and within the adolescents themselves?

Beyond asking whether or not adolescents had heard the particular consejos, I wanted to know whether there were any variations in the types of messages heard when there were variations in the resources that were available to the youth at home and at school. I assumed that parents repeatedly appraise how to best help their children, a process that includes assessing the environment for opportunities and responding to barriers or setbacks. In order to operationalize

this phenomenon, I looked at whether adolescents heard different messages from their parents when there were variations in their resources at the school, parent, and student level. I examined and compared what messages were heard when a student attended schools with higher and lower resources (i.e., funding, staffing, and overall student achievement); when students' parents had higher and lower educational attainment, experience with the US schools, and English proficiency; and when the student reported higher and lower middle school grades and current school engagement levels.

Students' reports about the perceived closeness to their parent (or other adult) appeared to be the most important resource or contextual factor regarding the number of messages heard by the students. Students who reported higher closeness, heard more messages overall, even when taking into account the other resource variables. This was also true for both umbrella domains as well as the content domains of *targeted academic*, *targeted relationships*, *inspirational*, and *exhortations*. This suggested that children who perceive higher closeness engage in more communication with their parents overall. In the case of *targeted academic* and *targeted relationships*, this result aligns with the hypothesis that students who feel closer to their parents and have greater feelings of confianza tell their parents more about specific issues they face at school, which allows parents to give more *targeted* advice (Holloway et al., 2014).

Research Question Three: What types of advice are seen as useful in the eyes of the adolescent respondents?

The goal of this research question was to capture high school students' perceptions of the advice that they heard so as to understand whether they considered it useful. This step may be particularly helpful for understanding whether certain PI practices, like *consejos*, may or may not impact student motivation and achievement. In the second portion of the new instrument, the PAM, students were asked how useful each advice message was in helping them "do their best at school." As in RQ2, I was also interested to see whether perceptions of usefulness varied depending on the resources from students' schools, parents, and selves. My hypothesis that not all *consejos* would be seen as equally useful was substantiated. I also found that the students' perceptions of usefulness of different domains of advice were variable depending on levels of certain resources.

Considered all together, the advice messages were considered fairly useful (between *a little* and *very*) by the whole sample. The umbrella domain of *general* messages received a higher usefulness score than the *targeted* domain. Of the content domains, students tended to give *inspirational* and *exhortations* advice the highest ratings while *targeted academic*, *targeted relationships*, and *socializing* received the lowest scores.

The high ratings for *inspirational* advice are important, though not surprising, as they indicates that adolescents appreciate and respond to positive verbal encouragement from their parents. This aligns with the finding of one qualitative study found, in which 44% of high school students interviewed about support they received from parents or other adults in the family identified their encouragement and understanding as the most useful form of support (McWhirter et al., 2013). This verbal cheerleading may help enhance children's feelings of self-efficacy, or the perception that they are "able to produce desired effects by their actions" (Bandura, 2006; p. 4), which in turn impacts the tasks they choose to take on, the effort they will expend, their level of persistence, and their achievement (Schunk & Meece, 2006). Although self-efficacy beliefs are developed over time, based on one's own experiences with success and failure, they can be strongly affected by persuasion (Schunk & Meece), especially from their parents. In fact,

parents' perceptions of their children's abilities have been shown to be more influential on their children's perceptions of their abilities than the children's grades (Frome & Eccles, 1998). Additionally, inspirational messages may increase feelings of *relatedness* to parents, a construct that has been linked to higher behavioral and emotional school engagement (Furrer & Skinner, 2003). These researchers proposed that, "children who are high on relatedness are more likely to show enthusiastic participation in school activities and fewer negative emotions" (Furrer & Skinner, p. 158).

That *targeted* advice was rated the lowest in terms of usefulness was unexpected. In two studies, tailored and detailed advice seemed useful to the children receiving it (Delgado-Gaitan, 1996; Holloway et al., 2014). One possible explanation for the current results is that the items did not capture the most pressing challenges that students needed help with, and thus the advice was not very useful. Another explanation for this finding is that although parents attempted to provide their children with some guidance about navigating their school careers, they may have had incomplete information or offered suggestions that seemed out of touch with the students' current situation. In one study examining parental advice to young Latino professionals, one woman spoke of her parents encouraging her to go to college to become a secretary because they thought the job was stable and in high demand; she appreciated her parents' intentions, but chose a different career path (Morando, 2013). In another study, one child's mother told her son, "don't learn it by heart, you have to understand what you are doing," (Valdes, 1996; p. 134), however, this advice may have confused rather than helped in this particular situation because the child's assignment was to memorize the keyboard so he could learn to type. Although this was good advice for most learning situations, it did not match the current task.

The low ratings for *socializing* advice were also unanticipated. However, given the importance of relationships with peers as well as the need for greater autonomy during adolescence (Eccles et al., 1993), it is reasonable that students in high school might appreciate this type of advice less. More specifically, adolescents may feel that the socializing advice (for instance, advice to avoid peers who get poor grades or to postpone dating) infringes on a domain that they believe to be under their own authority rather than that of their parents. As children move into adolescence, they consider more areas of their lives within the personal domain (Smetana & Daddis, 2002), "defined as comprising the private aspects of one's life and entailing issues of preference and choice pertaining to friends or activities, the state of one's body, and privacy" (p. 565), and thus to be regulated by the individual rather than an external force. Though parents may feel they steer their child's social life as part of their moral education, adolescent children may find this generally more intrusive rather than supportive.

How does perceived usefulness vary when taking all resources into account, and does closeness contribute a moderating effect? The final models for perceived usefulness, in which school, parent, and student variables were taken into consideration, were significant for the *general* umbrella domain, as were final models for the content domains of *targeted academic*, *socializing*, *school behavior*, *inspirational*, *exhortations*, and *cautionary tales*.

Students who attended EB High reported higher perceived usefulness of *targeted academic* advice than students attending Aquinas High. This was considered a strong possibility before data was collected because of the limited individualized attention and guidance that students can receive at EB High (due to its much larger student-to-counselor ratio). Students may thus need more support in choosing classes, finding ways to develop their talents, and to make connections with counselors. Because they may worry about falling through the cracks, they may find parental support in the academic realm especially useful. At Aquinas, however, students

likely receive more individualized guidance and support from teachers and school staff, and thus may find their parents' advice in the academic realm to be redundant or not as accurate as what they receive at school.

Students who were more engaged in school and were closer to their parent (or adult family member) reported higher usefulness of *socializing* advice. Students who are more dedicated to doing well in school may recognize the risk for distractions present in their environment, and therefore find reminders to avoid social situations that could detract from their educational goals of greater use. In contrast, students who are less engaged in school are more likely to be the students whom parents advise their children to avoid. Also, if students are less committed to doing well in school, social relationships at school might be a higher priority. These students may be more likely to consider social and peer relationships within their personal domain, as explained above, and want less interference from their parents in the area. The association with closeness may work similarly, as without it, adolescent children may be more likely to perceive parents' advice in this area as being nagging and intrusive rather than benevolent.

The final model for *inspirational* advice indicated that students who reported higher engagement also found inspirational messages more useful. This could indicate that, while most students found these messages useful, they may be particularly helpful in maintaining and fueling students who are already "on their way" in terms of working hard at school. Much of the content of these messages highlights hard work and its pay-offs. While students who are less interested in doing well at school may appreciate their parents' encouragement and expressions of belief in them, they may not find these as influential in motivating their efforts at school. Some students may have found that working hard has not resulted in getting higher grades; this may have even played a role in limiting their school engagement. Alternately, their "dreams" may not require doing well in school (e.g., being an artist, aesthetician, plumber), so they might want to apply the value of hard work elsewhere.

With regard to advice about *school behavior*, parent and student resources were associated with perceived usefulness in this area. At the parent level, students who indicated that their parents hadn't completed high school found school behavior more useful than students whose parents had completed high school. At the student level, those who reported higher engagement reported higher usefulness in this area. There was also a significant interaction between parent completion of high school and parent-child closeness. I will address the student-level finding here, but the other results below. Students who are more dedicated to doing well in school are likely more interested in following to the behavioral norms that are expected, and may view advice in this area as a good reminder for overall success in school. They may have benefited from their comportment in the past or seen how students who don't follow behavioral norms are treated negatively by teachers. In contrast, students who are less engaged, may be less interested in trying to improve their behavior to optimize their school performance. They may have tried to follow parental advice about behaving well in the past, but it may not have resulted in better outcomes for them.

An interesting pattern was found with the final models for *school behavior*, *exhortations*, *cautionary tales*, and *general* advice. For these domains, parent completion of high school and an interaction term of parent completion of high school and closeness contributed significant variance to perceived usefulness of the advice. This indicated that students whose parents did not complete high school found these types of advice more useful. Further, there was a correlation between closeness and usefulness that was only evident when the parent had completed high

school.

In the case of cautionary tales and exhortations about the importance of education, adolescents whose parents did not complete high school may see their parents, who have to work low-paying and often physically exhausting jobs, as a powerful example of what life is like when one's education is limited. This lived experience may provide salient evidence to children of the truth behind parental admonitions and exhortations about education, rendering them more useful. To make this connection even clearer, parents with undesirable occupations have reported taking their children to work with them to further impress upon them the realities of their lives and to motivate them to work hard in school (e.g., Arellano & Padilla, 1996; Auerbach, 2007; Lopez, 2001). In contrast, the adolescents whose parents *did* complete high school may notice that despite having graduated, their parents' lives are still difficult. These students may consider cautionary tales and exhortations less useful because they perceive attenuation in the link between educational attainment and ascending the social structure. This explanation draws from the work of Ogbu and his colleagues (e.g., Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Ogbu, 1989) in which they argue that people of color raised in the US (compared to immigrants) have become disillusioned with the "American dream" of education as a vehicle for social mobility because of their encounters with both in school and in the adult opportunity structure.

It was somewhat surprising that the association between closeness and perceived usefulness only existed when parents had finished high school. Suizzo and colleagues (2012) found that students generally seemed to embrace messages about the importance of education more when they also described more parental warmth; however, they did not measure parents' educational level. As mentioned above, children's experience of hearing about and witnessing firsthand the challenges faced by parents who didn't graduate from high school, may lend so much gravity to parents' cautionary tales and exhortations that whether they feel close to them or not is irrelevant. They can see the proof with their own eyes. However, when this link between limited education and difficult life circumstances is less solid, as may be the case of for students whose parents who *did* complete high school, closeness appears to become more important in determining how students perceive these kinds of *consejos*. If students feel more closeness with their parent, they may be more able to perceive the supportive intent of these messages; this may increase feelings of obligation and desire to work harder for their parents. One young Latina college student in a previous study reported,

"My driving force is to not let my parents down. My education is important to me, but not as important as it is to my parents. I mean, they want so much for me and are counting on me. Whenever I get discouraged, I think about their dreams for me, and all they've done for me. And I know I have to keep going. I can't let my people down. They're my strength" (Arellano & Padilla, 1996; p. 493)

However, if students do not feel close to their parents, the stories of hardships may induce guilt or resentment, and exhortations may feel like nagging. As one student reported, "Some people would say that it makes them sad and it makes them feel bad, and it does to a certain extent, but then it encourages me to say, 'I don't want my children or my brother's children or anybody really to go through that.'" (Ceja, 2004; p. 350). As the results from this study suggest, adolescents whose parents finished high school may not feel the same way. More research may be needed to fully understand why this is the case.

Similarly, with regard to the *school behavior* advice, students whose parents have less education may recognize that their parents are doing their best to help them succeed, but also that their limited formal schooling prevents them from giving more targeted academic advice. In

contrast, students whose parents did go to high school may have higher expectations for parental guidance, given their parents' greater experience in the school system. If these children wish their parents could give more instrumental support, closeness may provide a buffer from feelings of bitterness or resentment about advice that otherwise might seem less helpful. In contrast, if children don't feel close to their parent, the behavioral advice may seem particularly inadequate and disappointing.

Summary. Overall, I found that adolescents attributed different levels of usefulness to the diverse types of advice messages they heard and that their perceptions of the messages' usefulness depended on different contextual factors. On the whole, *general* consejos—in particular, *inspirational* and *exhortations* advice—were seen as more useful than the messages of the *targeted* and *socializing* domains. As hypothesized, when resources at the school, parent, and student levels were taken into account, there were variations in perceived usefulness. At the school level, students who attended EB High, the school with lower resources, found *targeted academic* advice more useful than those who attended Aquinas High. At the parent level, adolescents whose parents had not completed high school felt that *exhortations*, *cautionary tales*, and *school behavior* advice was more useful than those whose parents had completed high school. At the student level, those who were more engaged in school also found *inspirational*, *socializing*, and *school behavior* advice more useful. Adolescents who were closer to their parent also rated *socializing* advice more useful. Interestingly, adolescents who were closer to their parent(s), found *exhortations*, *cautionary tales*, and *school behavior* advice more useful, but only when a parent had completed high school; adolescents whose parents didn't complete high school found these domains useful regardless of whether they felt more or less close with their parent(s). Taken together, these findings indicate that students do not perceive consejos as universally and uniformly useful, but rather that variations in resources in student environments are associated with how children perceive parental advice.

Limitations

Although this study has helped to extend and complicate the research on consejos as an educationally supportive practice, there are some important limitations to consider when interpreting the results as well as thinking about future directions.

One key limitation was the reliance on students' self-reported data. Questions pertaining to parents' educational and financial background were surprisingly difficult for students to answer (12-14% of students reported not knowing whether one or both parents had completed high school, gone to college, or worried about money; 6% didn't know whether one or both had gone to high school in the US). Having parents answer these questions would likely provide more reliable data. Questions about previous achievement (middle school grades) relied on students' memory and honest reporting. Data regarding current engagement levels also depended on students' honesty as well as accurate self-assessment. External sources of information like past and current report cards or teacher report of engagement would have aided in providing more reliable information, which may have yielded different results; for instance, there might have been greater correlation between grades and engagement.

Further, because the feasibility of collecting data from a large group of high school students depended on acquiring a waiver for parental permission, direct questions about parent and student nativity status were not permitted. Thus, I had to use questions that attempted to elicit information that pointed in a certain direction. However, even if these questions had been allowed, collecting this data might have been difficult. Students may not have known the

answers, and they and their parents might not have wanted to answer for fear of potential repercussions from law enforcement.

Further refinement of the PAM might be useful for future research. Overall, the survey may need to be condensed or shortened. It was observed that many students' energy to answer questions at the end had flagged, further evidenced by a number of surveys where the answers to the last items were repeated and contradicted previous answers. Shortening the survey might be aided by using a responsive computer-based program so that students would only have to answer questions about the usefulness of messages if they reported having heard them (rather than encountering the same list of items twice).

I was surprised by the results that across the whole sample, *targeted advice* was heard least frequently and was also the least useful by the whole group. While this may be a valid result, more inquiry may be warranted. Designing items to explore the *targeted* advice domain was particularly difficult because such advice was given in very specific situations. The examples that I gleaned from informal interviews and the literature may not have been applicable to the respondents; however, it is possible that participants may have received targeted advice in scenarios that were not included in the survey. To better understand the usefulness ratings, it would be helpful to know whether students based their ratings on experiences that revealed the inappropriateness of the advice they were given or whether they just suspected that it wouldn't be useful. This is an area where further research could be fruitful.

The *targeted advice* results also raises the issue of whether targeted advice should actually be considered part of the same cultural model of *consejos*, and begs the more complicated question about what types of verbal messages are considered *consejos*. If one considers Valdes' definition of *consejos* as "homilies" (Valdes, 1996; p. 125), the messages found under the *general* domain may better comprise the cultural model, whereas what I considered to be targeted advice may serve as a different construct altogether. Perhaps it is closer to aspects of more widely recognized PI behaviors for adolescents that might be expected by the school (e.g., often measured as discussions about school or the future), as the targeted advice is more instrumental and presumes more knowledge of the intricate workings of the school system. However, given their similarities in their delivery and intent, both targeted and general advice-giving and receiving can be considered cultural activities that Latino parents and children take part in. In other words, even if they are different entities, both are impacted by the setting and experiences of the giver and recipient, may impact student school performance, and merit further exploration.

In future research, it might be useful to revisit the boundaries of the content domains. The items were grouped into a priori domains by consolidating information thematically from qualitative studies. However, there may be better ways to cluster items in order to better capture information about frequencies and usefulness. This may be useful due to the similarities among the final models of cautionary tales, exhortations, and school behavior. Additionally, the items included in the targeted relationships domain covered interactions with both teachers and other students. Though this ambiguity did not appear to impact preliminary analyses in this study, it may make more sense to separate these items into different domains in future studies. Further examination using techniques like factor analysis might help clarify the relationships found in this study and may reveal others.

Because some of this study's results were unexpected, it may be helpful to include a qualitative component in which students identify the advice they hear most frequently, explain the context, and describe how they responded to it. Such questions may be best addressed in

interview format, and may help provide more clarity about their choices to incorporate or dismiss parental advice. Other useful additions might include eliciting parents' responses about when and why they impart particular messages, capturing more multidimensional opinions about the value of *consejos*, and collecting data about students' post-secondary goals. Finally, after such adjustments and refinements are made to the PAM, it will be important to conduct tests for the validity and reliability of the PAM as a whole, as these formal measurement procedures were not conducted in this study.

The current study was largely exploratory and avoided making causal claims about parent behaviors and child outcomes. However, future research should investigate whether different *consejos* impact student grades via motivation, as reports from parents and children suggest (Arellano & Padilla, 1996; Auerbach, 2007; Ceja, 2004; McWhirter et al., 2013; Morando, 2013; Sanchez-Reyes et al., 2006; Suizzo et al., 2012). Further, it would be interesting to test whether student perceptions of usefulness would mediate associations between advice and student motivation, and whether variable levels of resources in the students' environments could serve as moderating factors in such a model. Devising more complex models and incorporating longitudinal design would help understand such questions of directionality and causality of questions, and help discern whether parents' *consejos* change based on changes in students' performance, as is the case with parental expectations (Gallimore et al., 2001).

One final area worth exploring in the future entails examining *consejos* in Latino families from differing SES levels. Although the majority of Latinos in the US have long belonged to the country's lower income brackets, limiting the ability to explore and compare cultural models with different class contexts, a growing Latino middle class has developed in recent years (Agius Vallejo, 2012; Rodriguez, 1996). This may provide a further context to examine, as resources become more available, the ways that parenting strategies and approaches to *consejos* might change.

Implications

Despite these limitations, this dissertation contributed to a wider and deeper understanding of *consejos* as a PI strategy used by Latino parents. While readers of earlier qualitative research on *consejos* might have assumed that this cultural model of advice-giving was common within the Latino population, its actual prevalence was unclear. This study shows that a practice that had previously been reported only anecdotally is in fact widely performed. Latino children hear many of the messages that have been reported in the qualitative studies, and what's more, find many of them useful as they navigate their high school experiences. While this data is significant to researchers' consideration of PI in Latino families, it is also important for teachers and other adults in the school setting to understand that Latino parents—while they may speak to teachers, attend conferences or visit the school fewer times than parents from other groups—are far from uninvolved. The results from this study add more evidence to a growing body of literature that shows that beyond caring very deeply about their children's education (e.g., Delgado-Gaitan, 1992; Delgado-Gaitan & Trueba, 1991; Valdes, 1996), Latino parents use a wide variety of available strategies, including giving *consejos*, in order to support their children's education. Furthermore, it will be helpful for schools to understand that children tend to find these messages useful and motivating, so they can support and encourage parents' delivery of these types of messages.

However, it is also relevant for schools to note that the majority of the parental advice that students hear is general rather than targeted in nature. This points to the need for schools to

ensure that students have access to counselors and other knowledgeable adults who can give them accurate and tailored advice about which classes to take or drop, how to meet all graduation requirements, and how to find additional academic support if needed. While resources at large schools do exist, they are often hard for students to find or fit into their day. Some larger schools have incorporated advisory programs or “schools within schools,” which have created smaller communities that give students more chances to create longer-lasting relationships with teachers who can guide and advise them in school-related matters (e.g., Miles & Darling-Hammond, 1998; Wasley & Lear, 2001). Many parents—especially those who have limited educational attainment or experience with the US school system—lack the expertise that school staff have about optimizing students’ pathways to graduation and post-secondary school success. Therefore, the onus is on schools to provide the bulk of academic advising and support. However, schools can enlist parents’ help by making sure to provide them with key information as well.

The lower perceived usefulness of *targeted* advice indicates a need for better information channels for parents, so that they can give current and relevant advice to their children. Several studies have documented that low-income parents of color often want but do not have adequate knowledge about current academic systems or how to help their children apply to college (Auerbach, 2007; Carreón, Drake, & Calabrese, 2005; Martinez, Cortez, & Saenz, 2013). While some have criticized parent interventions that condescend to Latino parents or misplace the burden of teaching on them rather than the schools (e.g., Valdes, 1996), better programs may serve as a conduit of information that parents desire (e.g., Auerbach, 2004; Delgado-Gaitan, 1996). Schools can also hire Latino parents who have successfully guided their children through high school to serve as liaisons for other parents and to lead parenting groups. As the mother in Delgado-Gaitan’s study (1994) learned more about the resources at her son’s school through her parent-led group, she was able to give him more nuanced advice and to harness more resources in his educational setting. School-supported groups like this one can widen parents’ social support networks, helping parents with fewer resources gain greater social capital and work together to identify the best PI strategies for their school. By providing parents with information that is specific, well organized, and easy to comprehend without extensive experience with US high schools, parents can then provide more targeted advice that students may find more applicable.

Finally, the findings in this study highlight the importance of close parent-child relationships. Although adolescence is a developmental stage with a reputation for increased strife and distance between parents and children as children seek greater autonomy and independence, research has shown that parental support is still very important (Gutman & Eccles, 2007). Closeness to parents (and other adults) has not only been linked to social-emotional wellbeing in this age group (e.g., Demo & Acock, 1996), but also to student motivation and achievement (e.g., Ryan, Stiller, & Lynch, 1994; Suizzo et al., 2012). In this study, parent-child closeness was linked to the amount of advice children received as well as to their perceptions of the usefulness of the advice, especially if the parents had completed high school. Keeping this in mind, school psychologists and counselors can develop interventions to foster communication and connection between adolescents and their parents. They might design events or support groups to increase empathy and understanding across the generations and to address other common adolescent-parent concerns (e.g., negotiating boundaries and limit-setting, safety around drugs and alcohol, dating). For Latino students with immigrant parents, it might be useful to address issues of cultural incongruence due to varying levels of acculturation. All families may benefit from game-nights, service projects, or barbecues where parents and children

can have fun together in low-stress environments. The findings from this study continue to underscore the importance of fostering closeness between parents and their adolescent children.

Conclusion

This study aimed to provide more knowledge about parental consejos, or advice, an emic PI activity that has been cited in existing qualitative literature about Latino families. One contribution of this dissertation comprises new information about the types and prevalence of advice messages heard by a much larger sample of Latino youth than previously studied. In addition, it joins the project of shedding light on the normative processes of Latino families and the within-group diversity of Latino families. This study followed in the tradition of examining how families support their children's education responding to and using the resources available to them. By showing that the messages heard by children, as well as their responses to these messages, vary according to different levels of resources in the environment, this dissertation helps discount the notion that Latinos are a monolithic and static group whose members practice and perceive cultural practices in the same way. It also highlights the active role that children play in the transmission of cultural processes and in contributing to the effectiveness of various PI activities. Finally, the findings from this study indicate that further study of this cultural practice is merited, to further understand how it might impact the motivation and achievement of students with varying levels of resources in their environments.

The results from this study provide fodder for schools and researchers to consider when studying Latino students or developing interventions to support them and their families. At the same time, they remind them that parents and children within this group have different experiences with school due to variations in structural and individual factors, which may lead to the need for further tailoring and individualized supports.

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Tables and Figures

Table 1
Demographic Data

	<i>n</i>	Percentage
Gender		
Male	119	48.6%
Female	125	51.0%
Trans/Other	1	0.4%
High School		
Aquinas High	64	26.1%
East Bay High	181	73.9%
Grade		
9th	1	0.4%
10th	189	79.1%
11th	23	9.6%
12 th	26	10.9%
Survey Language		
English	226	92.2%
Spanish	19	7.8%
National Origin		
Mexican	167	68.2%
Central American	33	13.5%
Latino, not specified	45	18.4%

Table 2
Frequencies and Percentages for Student Resources

	<i>n</i>	Percentage	Mean	SD
8 th Grade Math grades				
High - Mostly A's & B's	118	48.6		
Medium -Mostly C's	65	26.75		
Low -Mostly D's & F's	60	24.7		
8 th Grade English grades				
Mostly A's & B's	167	68.7		
Mostly C's	49	20.2		
Mostly D's & F's	27	11.1		
Engagement			3.35	.46
Closeness			3.40	.60

Table 3
Frequencies of Parent Variables

	<i>n</i>	Percentage
Parent(s) Completed High School		
Yes	116	55.2%
No	94	44.8%
I don't know	33	13.5%
Parent(s) Attended High School in US		
Yes		
No	90	36.7%
I don't know	136	55.5%
	16	6.5%
Parent(s) Attended College		
Yes	57	23.3%
No	156	63.7%
I don't know	30	12.2%
Perceived Parent Worry About Money		
Very Little, Not Often	32	13.1%
Sometimes	103	42.0%
A Lot, Almost always	73	29.8%
I Don't Know	35	14.3%
Mother's Comfort Speaking English		
Very Comfortable	83	33.9%
Somewhat Comfortable	116	47.4%
Not At All Comfortable	45	18.4%

Table 4

Chi-Square Results of Relevant Parent and Student Resources Between Schools

	EB High		Aquinas High		Chi-Square Statistic
	<i>n</i>	Percentag e	<i>n</i>	Percentag e	
Parent Resources					
Parent attended high school in the US					
Yes	57	34.3%	33	55%	7.85**
No	109	65.7%	27	45%	
Parent seems very comfortable speaking English					
Yes	51	28.3%	32	50%	9.9**
No	129	66%	32	50%	
Parent completed high school					
Yes	81	53.6%	35	59.3%	.55 (ns)
No	70	46.8%	24	40.7%	
Student Resources					
Math grades in middle school					
Mostly A's and B's	79	43.9%	39	61.9%	9.47**
Mostly C's	48	26.7%	17	27.0%	
Mostly D's and F's	53	29.4%	7	11.1%	
English grades in middle school					
Mostly A's and B's	115	64.3%	52	81.5%	6.8*
Mostly C's	40	22.4%	9	14.1%	
Mostly D's and F's	24	13.4%	3	4.7%	

* $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$ *** $p \leq 0.001$

Table 5

Independent Sample T-Test Results of Relevant Student Resources Between Schools

	<u>EB High</u>		<u>Aquinas High</u>		<i>t</i>	<i>P</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>		
Mean engagement	3.39	.46	3.24	.44	-2.28	.02
Mean closeness to parent	3.37	.63	3.49	.52	1.40	.16 (ns)

Table 6
Frequency of Endorsement of Individual Messages

	Frequency (n)	Percentage
Targeted Academic		
I should take extra classes in something I am interested in	147	60.0%
That I should take or drop a certain course at school	50	20.4%
That I should talk to a counselor (or someone else who knows) about which electives I should take or which classes I need to graduate	150	61.2%
What I should do if I don't understand something in class	191	77.9%
Targeted Relationships		
What I should do if my teacher is not treating me right	123	50.2%
What I should do if my teacher gave me an unfair grade	119	48.6%
What to do if a kid starts messing with me	153	62.5%
How to handle it when I have a problem with a friend	149	60.8%
Socializing (General)		
If you hang out with kids who make trouble, people will think you are going to make trouble too	150	61.2%
To avoid kids who get bad grades or don't pay attention in class	123	50.2%
To put off dating until I'm older, because school is more important	108	44.1%
To avoid risky behavior, like drugs, parties, etc.	201	82.0%
School Behavior (General)		
To make my homework look neater	118	48.2%
That I have to behave well at school	198	80.8%
That I need to pay more attention in class	159	64.9%
That I should always be polite to my teacher	159	64.9%
Inspirational (General)		
That if I work hard, I can reach my dreams	213	86.9%
That success only comes from hard work and commitment	201	82.0%
That they believe in me	198	80.8%
To keep going and don't give up	207	84.5%
Exhortations About Importance of Education (General)		
That I MUST go to college	169	69.0%
That I have to get good grades	218	89.0%
That getting an education is the only way to get ahead.	196	80.0%
That my main job right now is to work hard in school.	199	81.2%
Cautionary Tales/ Sacrifice (General)		
How hard life was in their country or in their childhood	190	77.6%
About the sacrifices they have made so I could have a better life	182	74.3%
That they want my life to be easier than theirs	208	84.9%
To avoid mistakes they made.	200	81.6%
Generic Parental Advice/Directives? (General)		
That I should not play so many video games or watch so much TV	158	64.5%
That I should get a job	123	50.2%
That I should eat more vegetables	147	60.0%
That I should help with chores	196	80.0%
That I should clean my room	191	78.0%
That I should take advantage of opportunities	218	89.0%

Table 7

Frequencies of Number of Each Message Heard Within Each Content Domain

	Frequency (<i>n</i>)	Percentage
Targeted academic		
0	23	9.5
1	44	18.1
2	67	27.6
3	79	32.5
4	30	12.4
Targeted relationships		
0	50	20.6
1	37	15.2
2	34	14
3	51	21
4	71	29.2
Socializing (General)		
0	23	9.4
1	49	20.1
2	44	18.0
3	67	27.5
4	61	25.0
School Behavior (General)		
0	16	6.6
1	39	16.1
2	42	17.3
3	73	30.0
4	73	30.0
Inspirational (General)		
0	11	4.5
1	12	4.9
2	19	7.8
3	39	16.0
4	163	66.8
Exhortations (General)		
0	4	1.7
1	13	5.4
2	36	14.8
3	65	26.8
4	125	51.4
Cautionary Tales (General)		
0	7	2.9
1	16	6.6
2	35	14.3
3	50	20.5
4	136	55.7

Table 8

Pairwise Correlations Between Closeness, Engagement, and TMH for Content Domains

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Mean Closeness	1.00								
2. Mean Engagement	.16*	1.00							
3. Targeted Academic	.25***	.13*	1.00						
4. Targeted Relationships	.28***	.07	.45***	1.00					
5. Socializing	.09	.17**	.30***	.38***	1.00				
6. School Behavior	.21**	-.04	.40***	.46***	.33***	1.00			
7. Inspirational	.44***	.09	.35***	.27***	.26***	.37***	1.00		
8. Exhortations	.20**	.11	.19**	.15*	.33***	.35***	.40***	1.00	
9. Cautionary Tales	.23***	.01	.30***	.35***	.33***	.45***	.49***	.45***	1.00

*p≤0.05 **p≤0.01 ***p≤0.001

Table 9

Pairwise Correlations Between Closeness, Engagement, PMH for Umbrella Domains, and TMH for overall messages

	1	2	3	4	5
Mean Closeness	1.00				
Mean Engagement	.16*	1.00			
Targeted	.31***	.11	1.00		
General	.32***	.10	.54***	1.00	
Total Overall	.36***	.12	.79***	.94***	1.00

* $p \leq 0.05$ ** $p \leq 0.01$ *** $p \leq 0.001$

Table 10
Part Correlations for Research Question Two

	Targeted Academic		Targeted Relationships		Inspirational		Exhortations		Targeted		General	
	<i>r</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>P</i>
School	.11	.12	-.02	.72	-.01	.86	.04	.57	.04	.60	-.004	.96
Parent Completed High School	.08	.25	.08	.23	-.04	.52	-.06	.41	.10	.15	-.04	.52
Mother very comfortable with English	-.04	.54	-.06	.39	.03	.67	-.11	.12	-.06	.36	-.02	.77
Parent attended high school in the US	-.03	.63	.03	.63	-.04	.56	-.02	.77	.003	.96	-.01	.91
Engagement	-.02	.83	.003	.96	.02	.76	.04	.61	-.01	.92	.04	.56
Closeness	.26	.003	.23	.001	.43	<.001	.21	.003	.28	<.001	.30	<.001

Table 11
Mean Perceived Usefulness for Total Group

	<i>N</i>	<u>Total Group</u>	
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Targeted Total	230	2.29	.534
Targeted academic	217	2.331	.515
Targeted relationships	200	2.286	.602
General Total	244	2.505	.461
Socializing	224	2.307	.644
School Behavior	226	2.447	.578
Inspirational	234	2.659	.496
Exhortations	240	2.579	.536
Cautionary Tales	230	2.467	.568
Total Overall Usefulness	244	2.461	.441

Table 12

Pairwise Correlations of Closeness, Engagement, and Usefulness of Content Domains

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Mean Closeness	1.00								
2. Mean Engagement	.16*	1.00							
3. Targeted Academic	.20**	.27***	1.00						
4. Targeted Relationships	.16*	.14	.60***	1.00					
5. Socializing	.32***	.21**	.36***	.48***	1.00				
6. School Behavior	.32***	.25***	.47***	.64***	.44***	1.00			
7. Inspirational	.26***	.26***	.37***	.47***	.49***	.59***	1.00		
8. Exhortations	.26***	.25***	.37***	.50***	.46***	.73***	.58***	1.00	
9. Cautionary Tales	.24***	.10	.42***	.54***	.44***	.67***	.53***	.67***	1.00

* p ≤ .05 ** p ≤ .01 *** p ≤ .001

Table 13

Pairwise Correlations of Closeness, Engagement, and Usefulness of Umbrella Domains

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Mean Closeness	1.00				
2. Mean Engagement	.16*	1.00			
3. Targeted	.15*	.16*	1.00		
4. General	.33***	.21***	.60***	1.00	
5. Total Overall	.33***	.22***	.74***	.98***	1.00

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

Table 14
Final Regression Models for Research Question Three

	Targeted Academic			Social			School Behavior			Inspirational			Exhortations		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>P</i>
Engagement	.15	.09	.09	.22	.10	.035	.24	.09	.01	.27	.08	.001	.22	.08	.009
Closeness	.12	.10	.22	.24	.12	.043	.10	.10	.31	.15	.09	.12	-.01	-.08	.92
Parent(s) completed high school	-.10	.48	.83	-.55	.43	.30	-1.18	.47	.014	-.26	.43	.55	-1.61	-.40	<.001
Parent(s) went to high school in US	-.20	.11	.07	-.02	.13	.89	-.10	.11	.39	-.07	-.10	.46	.08	.10	.46
Mother is comfortable speaking English	.19	.11	.09	-.16	.13	.25	-.02	.12	.86	.01	.10	.89	-.11	-.10	.27
School	.27	.09	.003	-.14	.10	.18	.05	.09	.61	-.05	.08	.53	.08	.07	.33
Close X ParentHS	.06	.14	.643	.19	.15	.22	.33	.14	.02	.08	.12	.53	.47	1.50	<.001
Adj <i>R</i> ²	.11			.14			.15			.10			.16		
<i>F</i> Value	4.04***			5.07***			5.60***			3.80***			5.48***		

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

Table 14
Continued

	Cautionary			General			Overall		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>P</i>
Engagement	.05	.09	.60	.15	.07	.04	.14	.07	.043
Closeness	.02	.09	.81	.04	.07	.58	.04	.07	.60
Parent(s) completed high school	-1.47	.47	.002	-1.35	.34	<.001	-1.29	.33	<.001
Parent(s) went to high school in the US	-.03	.12	.83	-.02	.09	.80	-.03	.08	.75
Mother is very comfortable speaking English	.01	.12	.95	-.03	.09	.72	.004	.09	.96
School	.11	.09	.24	.04	.07	.54	.07	.07	.31
Close X HS	.42	.13	.002	.39	.10	<.001	.37	.10	<.001
Adj <i>R</i> ²		.08			.17			.17	
<i>F</i>		3.39**			6.66***			6.61***	

* $p \leq .05$ ** $p \leq .01$ *** $p \leq .001$

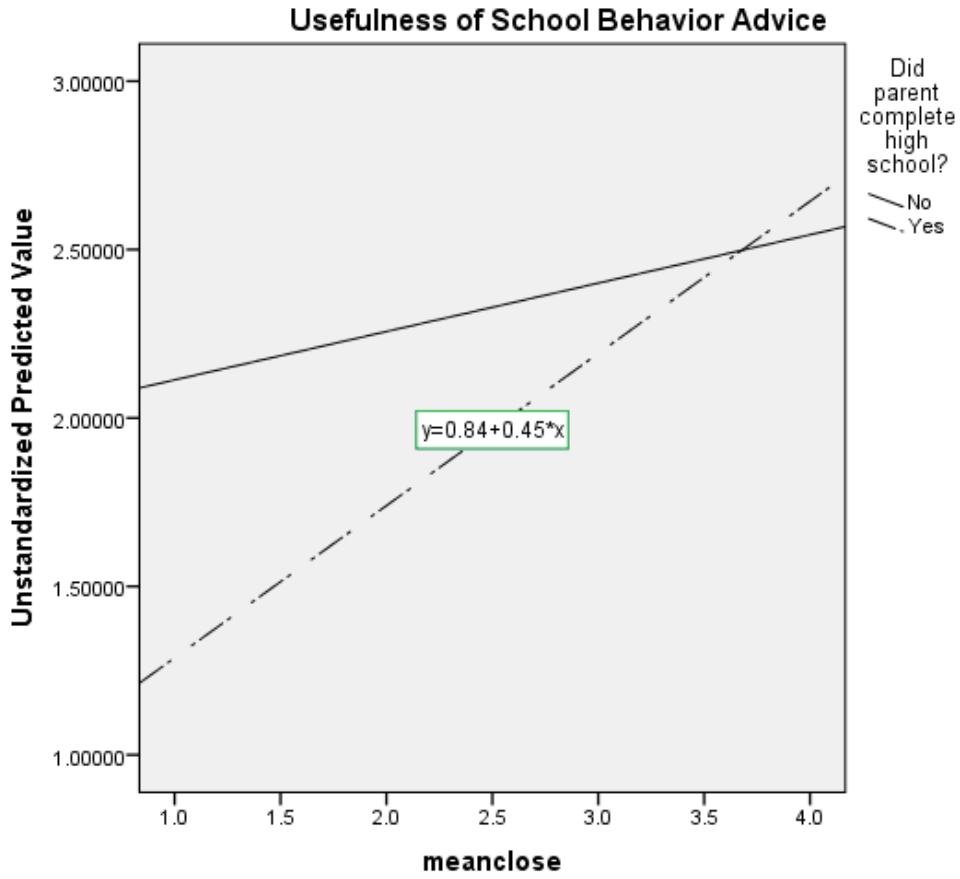


Figure 1
 Graph of Interaction Term: Closeness and Parent Completion of High School (Closeness x ParentHS) for Perceived Usefulness of School Behavior

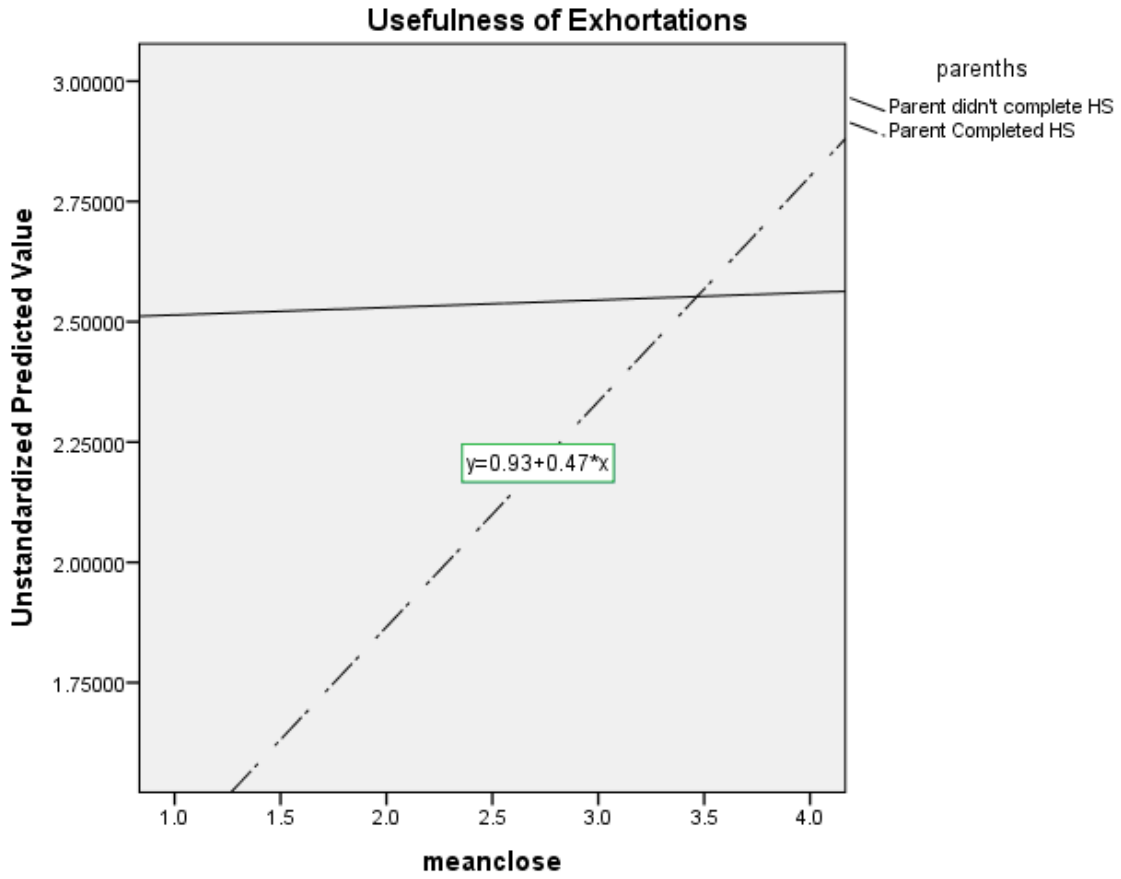


Figure 2
 Graph of Interaction Term: Closeness and Parent Completion of High School (Closeness x ParentHS) for Perceived Usefulness of Exhortations

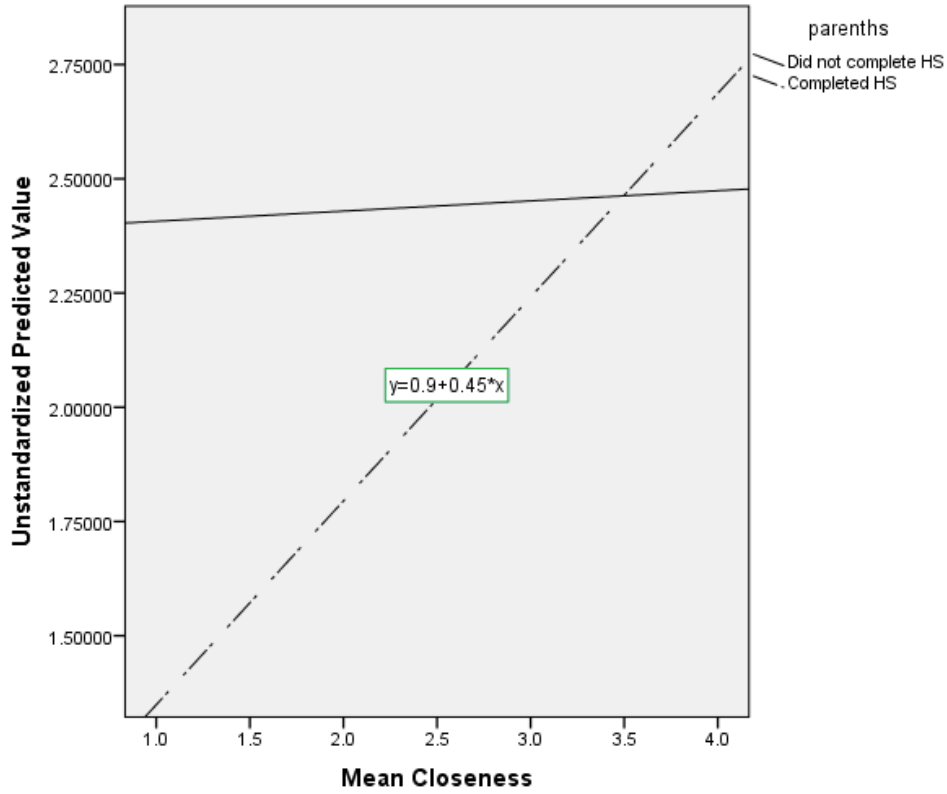


Figure 3
 Graph of Interaction Term: Closeness and Parent Completion of High School (Closeness x ParentHS) for Perceived Usefulness of Cautionary Tales

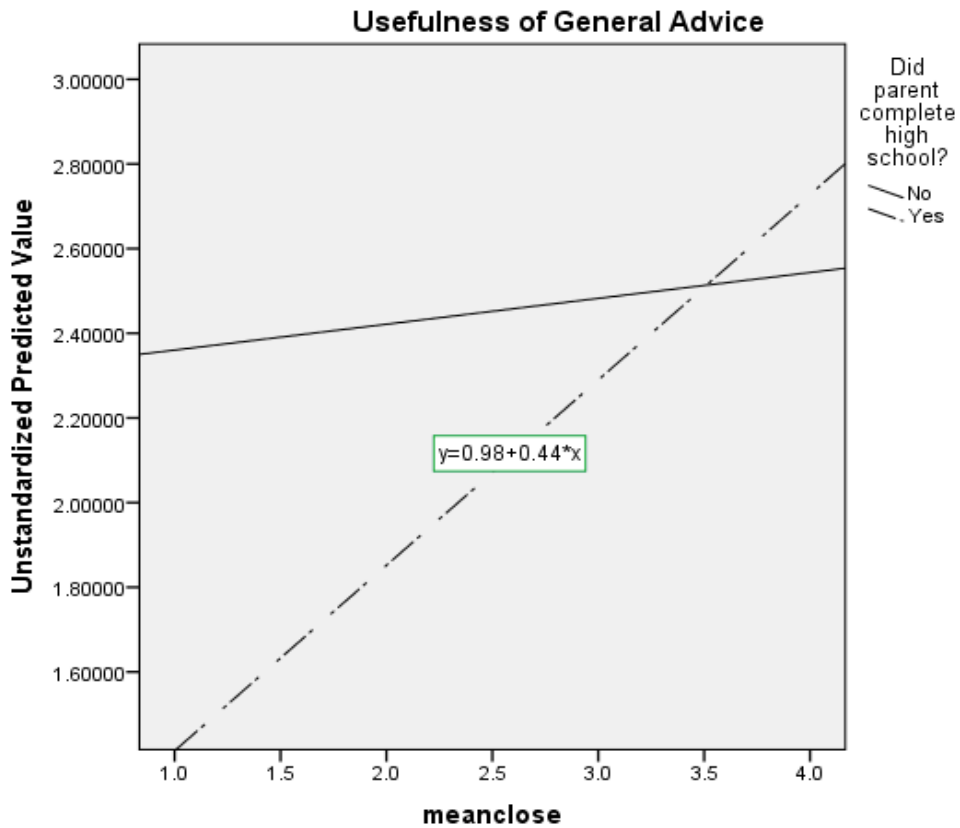


Figure 4
 Graph of Interaction Term: Closeness and Parent Completion of High School (Closeness x ParentHS) for Perceived Usefulness of General Advice

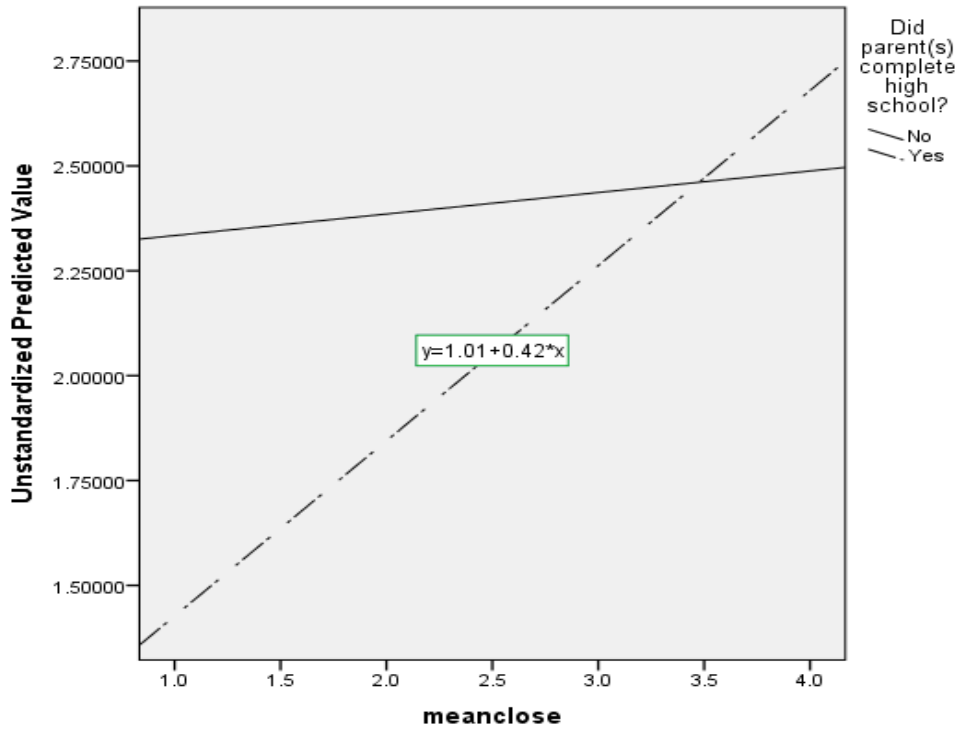


Figure 5
 Closeness and Parent Completion of High School (Closeness x ParentHS) for Perceived Usefulness of Overall Advice

Appendix A: Survey Development: Themes, Items, and Targeted/General

Content Theme	Items	Targeted / General
Targeted Academic	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. I should take extra classes in something I am interested in 2. That I should take or drop a certain course at school 3. That I should talk to a counselor (or someone else who knows) about which electives I should take or which classes I need to graduate 4. What I should do if I don't understand something in class 	Targeted
Targeted Relationships	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. What I should do if my teacher is not treating me right 6. What I should do if I disagreed with a teacher's grade 7. What to do if a kid starts messing with me 8. How to handle it when I have a problem with a friend 	Targeted
Socializing	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 9. If you hang out with kids who make trouble, people will think you are going to make trouble too 10. To avoid kids who get bad grades or don't pay attention in class 11. To put off dating until I'm older, because school is more important 12. To avoid risky behavior, like drugs, parties, etc. 	General
School Behavior	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 13. To make my homework look neater 14. That I have to behave well at school 15. That I need to pay more attention in class 16. That I should always be polite to my teacher 	General
Inspirational	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 17. That if I work hard, I can reach my dreams 18. That success only comes from hard work and commitment 19. That they believe in me 20. To keep going and don't give up 	General
Exhortations about importance of education	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 21. That I MUST go to college 22. That I have to get good grades 23. That getting an education is the only way to get ahead. 24. That my main job right now is to work hard in school. 	General
Cautionary tales	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 25. How hard life was in their country or in their childhood 26. About the sacrifices they have made so I could have a better life 27. That they want my life to be easier than theirs 28. To avoid mistakes they made. 	General

Appendix B: Survey

1. What grade are you in? _____

2. How would you categorize your race/
ethnicity? (please check all that apply)

_____ White/Caucasian

_____ Black/African American

_____ Asian/Pacific Islander

_____ Vietnamese/Vietnamese American

_____ Chinese/Chinese American

_____ Cambodian/ Cambodian American

_____ Pilipino/Pilipino American

_____ Other (please specify): _____

_____ Latino/Hispanic

_____ Mexican/Mexican American

_____ Guatemalan/Guatemalan American

_____ Ecuadoran/Ecuadoran American

_____ Salvadoran/Salvadoran American

_____ Other (please specify): _____

_____ Native American/American Indian

_____ Middle Eastern

_____ Biracial/Multi-racial (please list): _____

_____ Other (please specify): _____

3. How would you describe your gender?

_____ Male

_____ Female

_____ Other/Transgender

4. In what year were you born? _____

5. Think back to 8th grade. What is your best guess for what your grades in *math* were?

- Mostly F's
- Mostly D's
- Mostly C's
- Mostly B's
- Mostly A's

6. Think back to 8th grade. What is your best guess for what your grades in *English/ Language Arts* were?

- Mostly F's
- Mostly D's
- Mostly C's
- Mostly B's
- Mostly A's

7. Did one or both of your parents (or guardians) complete high school?

- Yes
- No
- I don't know

8. Did one or both of your parents (or guardians) go to high school in the US?

- Yes
- No
- I don't know

9. Did one or both of your parents (or guardians) go to college?

- Yes
- No
- I don't know

10. How much do think your parents (or guardians) worry about money?

- Very little, not often
- Sometimes
- A lot, almost always
- I don't know

11. How comfortable is your mother/guardian speaking English?

- _____ Very comfortable
- _____ Somewhat comfortable
- _____ Not at all comfortable

12. How comfortable is your mother/guardian talking to teachers or school administrators?

- _____ Very comfortable
- _____ A little comfortable
- _____ Not at all comfortable

Please rate how true these statements are for you by checking the box for the answer that matches your opinion. There are no right or wrong answers.

	Not At All True	Somewhat True	Pretty True	Very True
13. I work very hard on my schoolwork.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
14. I <u>don't</u> try very hard in school.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
15. I pay attention in class.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
16. I often come to class <u>unprepared</u>.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

17. How important it is to you to do the best you can in school?

- _____ Very Important
- _____ Sort of Important
- _____ Not very Important
- _____ Not At All Important



★ Now, please think of the adult in your family that you feel closest to as you answer these next questions. Please check the box to indicate how true these statements are for you.

Write who the adult is here (For example, “my mother” or “my uncle,” etc. – please do NOT write their name): _____

	Not At All True	Somewhat True	Pretty True	Very True
18. I can talk openly with this adult	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
19. I feel comfortable admitting doubts and fears to this adult	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
20. This adult is interested in talking to me when I want to talk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
21. This adult expresses affection or liking for me	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
22. This adult knows what I am really like	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
23. I feel close to this adult	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
24. I am confident that this adult would help me if I had a problem	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
25. This adult is interested in the things I do	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
26. This adult <u>doesn't</u> understand what I'm going through	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

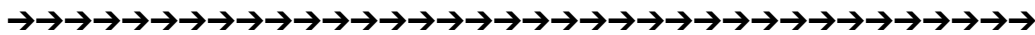
Please make an X if a parent (or adult in your family who you feel close to) has said this or something like this to you during this school year.

- ___ I should take extra classes in something I am interested in
- ___ That I should take or drop a certain course at school
- ___ That I should not play so many video games or watch so much TV
- ___ That I should talk to a counselor (or someone else who knows) about which electives I should take or what classes I need to graduate
- ___ What I should do if I don't understand something in class
- ___ That I should get a job
- ___ What I should do if my teacher is not treating me right
- ___ How to handle it when I have a problem with a friend, or another kid in the school
- ___ What to do if a kid starts messing with me
- ___ To avoid kids who get bad grades or don't pay attention in class
- ___ If you hang out with kids who make trouble, people will think you are going to make trouble too
- ___ To put off dating until I'm older because school is more important
- ___ To avoid risky behavior, like drugs, parties, etc.
- ___ To make my homework look neater
- ___ That I should eat more vegetables
- ___ That if I work hard, I can reach my dreams
- ___ That success only comes from hard work and commitment
- ___ That they believe in me
- ___ To keep going and don't give up
- ___ That I MUST go to college

Please continue to make an X if a parent/guardian (or adult in your family that you feel close to) has said this or something like this to you during this school year.

- ___ That I have to get good grades
- ___ To take advantage of the opportunities that I have
- ___ That I should clean my room
- ___ How hard life was in their country or in their childhood
- ___ That they want my life to be easier than theirs
- ___ About the sacrifices they have made for me
- ___ To avoid mistakes they made.
- ___ That I should help with chores around the house.
- ___ That I have to behave well at school
- ___ That I need to pay more attention in class
- ___ That I should always be polite to my teacher
- ___ That my job right now is to work hard in school.
- ___ That getting an education is the only way to get ahead.
- ___ What I should do if my teacher gave me an unfair grade

Now, please go look over the whole checklist you just finished (above) and circle the 3 things you heard most frequently in the last two months.



Some things that parents say are more helpful than others. For each thing that a parent (or adult in your family you feel close to) has said to you at least once during this school year, **how useful was it in helping you do your best at school?** If your parent didn't say the thing, just check "My parent didn't say this" and move on to the next question.

	My parent didn't say this	Not Useful At All	A Little Useful	Very Useful
I should take extra classes in something I am interested in	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
That I should take or drop a certain course at school	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
That I should not play so many video games or watch so much TV	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
What I should do if I don't understand something in class	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
That I should talk to a counselor (or someone else who knows) about which electives I should take, what classes I need to graduate, or how to get financial aid for college	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
That I should get a job	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
What I should do if my teacher is not treating me right	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Please continue to mark **how useful was it in helping you do your best at school?** for each thing that a parent (or adult in your family that you feel close to) has said to you at least once during this school year. If your parent didn't say the thing, just check "My parent didn't say this" and move on to the next question

	My parent didn't say this	Not Useful At All	A Little Useful	Very Useful
How to handle it when I have a problem with a friend, or another kid in the school	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
What to do if a kid starts messing with me	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To avoid kids who get bad grades or don't pay attention in class	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
If you hang out with kids who make trouble, people will think you are going to make trouble too	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To put off dating until I'm older because school is more important	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To avoid risky behavior, like drugs, parties, etc.	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To make my homework look neater	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
That I should eat more vegetables	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

That if I work hard, I can reach my dreams	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	If you check this, move on to the next question			

Please continue to mark **how useful was it in helping you do your best at school?** If your parent didn't say the thing, just check "My parent didn't say this" and move on to the next question

	My parent didn't say this	Not Useful At All	A Little Useful	Very Useful
That success only comes from hard work and commitment	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
That they believe in me	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To keep going and don't give up	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
That I MUST go to college	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
That I have to get good grades	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
To take advantage of the opportunities that I have	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
That I should clean my room	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
How hard life was in their country or in their childhood	<input type="checkbox"/> If you check this, move on to the next question	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

That they want my life to be easier than theirs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	If you check this, move on to the next question			

YOU'RE ALMOST DONE! Please continue to mark **how useful was it in helping you do your best at school?** If your parent didn't say the thing, just check "My parent didn't say this" and move on to the next question

	My parent didn't say this	Not Useful At All	A Little Useful	Very Useful
About the sacrifices they have made for me	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	If you check this, move on to the next question			
To avoid mistakes they made.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	If you check this, move on to the next question			
That I should help with chores around the house.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	If you check this, move on to the next question			
That I have to behave well at school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	If you check this, move on to the next question			
That I need to pay more attention in class	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	If you check this, move on to the next question			
That I should always be polite to my teacher	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	If you check this, move on to the next question			
That my job right now is to work hard in school.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	If you check this, move on to the next question			

That getting an education is the only way to get ahead.

If you check this,
move on to the
next question

What I should do if my
teacher gave me an unfair
grade