

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Judith N. Bennett for the degree of Doctor of Education in Education presented on May 3, 1996. Title: Participation, Persistence, and Progression: Motivating Factors in the Success of Hispanic Community College Students Who Moved from Mastering English as a Second Language to a Certificate or Degree Program.

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Abstract approved: _____
Wayne W. Haverson

This interpretive research sought to understand how eight Hispanic students who mastered English as a Second Language (ESL) matriculated at a rural community college, and what motivating factors encouraged or encumbered their academic persistence and success. Particularly the study focused on student backgrounds, motivations, and persistence factors influencing their success. Participants were chosen as follows:

- + Spanish is their first language.
- + English is their second language.
- + They are over the age of 21.
- + They are or were enrolled in a certificate or degree program.
- + They had earned at least 21 credits at a community college.
- + They had a grade point average of at least 2.0.

In-depth student interviews, conversations with staff, and examination of student records supplied data for the progression of case records. Data analysis resulted in the generation of eight hypotheses for academic success: (a) participatory learning; (b) appropriate support system, such as developmental classes, tutoring services, and mentoring instructors; (c) trust in the educational system; (d) social integration, (e) English and Spanish language fluency; (f) use of personal and community resources to combat racism; (g) family support; and (h) financial backing.

Theoretical frameworks used for data collection and analysis primarily were those of Paulo Freire and Margaret Wheatley. Both espoused participatory learning and leadership. I also found the literature that focused on multiculturalism valuable.

The study revealed that Hispanic ESL students persisted despite major obstacles which might have been devastating. They had ethnic bias to overcome and the need to master the English language. Some were working single parents, some in full-time jobs.

The initiative to become economically self-sufficient and to maintain a strong trust in education empowered students to persist and succeed. Participants supplied proof that Hispanic ESL students can succeed in community college when there is an appropriate support system. The study suggests that although the elements for moving toward multiculturalism are being put in place, they are not, as yet, attaining the necessary synthesis. The criteria for efficient use of participatory learning, improved curricula and environment, and administration committed to developing self-efficacy of ESL students are necessary conditions for success.

Participation, Persistence, and Progression: Motivating Factors in the
Success of Hispanic Community College Students Who Moved
from Mastering English as a Second Language to a
Certificate or Degree Program

by

Judith N. Bennett

A THESIS

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Doctor of Education thesis of Judith N. Bennett presented on May 3, 1996

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Judith N. Bennett, Author

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Participation, Persistence, and Progression: Motivating Factors in the Success of Hispanic Community College Students Who Moved From Mastering English as a Second Language to a Certificate or Degree Program

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Introduction

“Colleges are facing competing pressures—both to slow down and to move faster, as they make changes in the name of ‘multiculturalism.’ ”

(The Almanac of Higher Education, 1992, p. 3)

The purpose of this study was to examine the motivating factors that led to the success of Hispanic English as a Second Language (ESL) students who are or were in certificate or degree programs at a rural community college and to help future ESL students succeed in community colleges. The research objectives of this study were to (a) demonstrate an understanding of the growing need for community colleges to meet the educational needs of Hispanic students, (b) identify and document the current range of motivating factors and determine which are useful at the community college level for Hispanic ESL students and (c) propose a framework for future studies.

This study examined the experiences of a group of eight Hispanic ESL students. Through in-depth interviews, close descriptive methods, cross-case critique, and triangulation, student profiles were drawn to learn about their backgrounds, their motivations for continuing their schooling, and their reasons for registering at a community college. The goal was to identify the motivating factors which may have influenced these eight students in the persistence of their education. The study examined the extent to which the community college can contribute to the success of Hispanic ESL students. It identified and documented the current range of Hispanic educational development on the community college level and proposes a framework for further research.

Multiculturalism is a positive value in the democratic nation, state, and community. Multiculturalism is a term that appeared in the 1980s to refer to a new kind of cultural pluralism which stresses the inclusion of multicultural perspectives and empowerment of members of minorities in all aspects of public life (Averbach, 1994, p. 1179). The population of the United States is approximately 260,000,000. Hispanics comprise 23,400,000 or 9% of the population as indicated in Figure 1 (*The Almanac of Higher Education*, 1992). By the year 2000, it is predicted that this statistic will rise from 9% to 11% (28,600,000) of the total population (Bahls, 1994, p. 66).

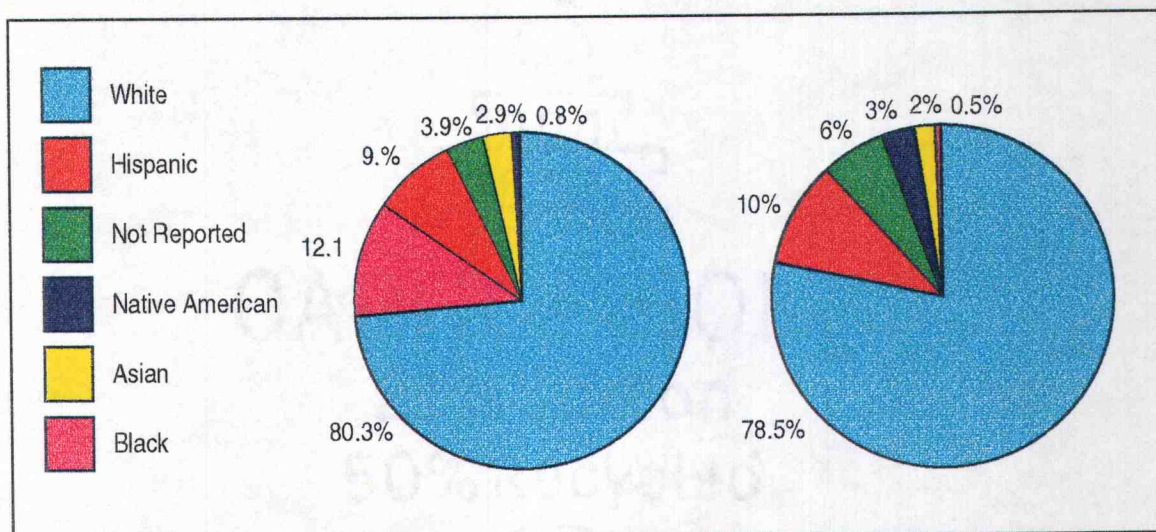


Figure 1

Comparison between United States 1990 and Cedar Community College 1994-95 Racial and Ethnic Distribution

The 1992 *Almanac* also reported that Hispanic college enrollment went from 227,000 in 1978 to 384,000 in 1988, an increase of 69%. In the academic year 1988-89, Hispanic males earned 9,172 associate degrees and Hispanic females earned 11,122. This increase creates challenges that are relevant to the value of attaining multiculturalism. Even with this great increase of 69% in the number of Hispanic students, one might think that 968 public community colleges (Gwaltney, 1992) in the United States would be adequate for implementing true multiculturalism. Multiculturalism

will not come by default, it requires “praxis,” reflection and action (Freire, 1994). Participatory democracy underlies the concept of multiculturalism; therefore, there must be continuous and ever-broadening participation in education.

Chapa and Valencia (1993) stated that Hispanic education will continue to lie dormant in spite of the “dramatic growth of the Latino population, if the status quo goes unchallenged” (p. 165). They listed three causes that have crucial effects on Hispanic access to college: school segregation, growth of youth population, and low socioeconomic status. Perhaps the status quo is beginning to be challenged in that the statistics of one community college in the Pacific Northwest show the proportion of the Hispanic community college students is almost equal to the proportion in the population of the United States (Figure 1). For purposes of this study, I named the institution Cedar Community College. By coincidence, the representation of this college is parallel to the averages of the total United States population, but by no means indicative of all community colleges. According to the 1990 census the total population of the community that Cedar Community College serves is about 210,000. The Hispanics in this community total about 7,500 (Murphy & Seidel, (1993). Studies of adult educational attainment for Hispanics report that the percentage of those who completed four years of high school or more (ages 25-35+) as a mean of 9.2%, using a population sample from the 1990 Census which counted 22,354,059 Hispanics (Figure 2) 9% of the total U.S. population (Gamboa & Buan, 1995).

The State of Oregon, with a population of approximately 3,000,000 people, has 4% of its population with Hispanic heritage, and that percentage is rapidly increasing. Oregon’s increases are substantially larger than the 50% increase for Hispanics registered nationwide, doubling their number, and—interestingly—the Hispanic student population is evenly split between men and women (269 men and 260 women in 1981, 533 men and 540 women in 1990) (Gamboa and Buan, 1995). The Oregon Council for the Humanities published *Nosotros*, a study about the state’s growing Hispanic population. This project

reflects the council's commitment to increasing the public's understanding of Oregon's diverse ethnic character. Editors Erasmo Gamboa and Carolyn Buan (1995) write:

Oregon is a land of immigrants, whose largest ethnic minority comes from Mexico; the Spanish-speaking countries of Central America, South America, and the Caribbean; and Spain. This population is vibrant and complex, drawn to the state from many countries and many walks of life. This complexity makes the question of "what to call ourselves" difficult to answer. Latino, Chicano, Mexican American, South American, and Hispanic . . . the possibilities abound. Not surprisingly, the answers are as varied as the individuals who give them.

Oregon es un territorio de inmigrantes, cuyo grupo más grande de minoría étnica proviene de México; los países hispano parlantes de América Central, América del Sur, y el Caribe; y España. Esta población, vibrante y compleja, que atrae este Estado proviene de muchos países y diversos ámbitos sociales y laborales. Esta complejidad hace la pregunta "cómo llamarnos" difícil de contestar, Latino, chicano, mexicano americano, sudamericano, e hispano . . . las posibilidades son innumerables. Por lo tanto, no debe sorprendernos que las respuestas sean tan diversas como las personas que las ofrecen. (p. 1)

This study examined the experiences of eight Hispanic students for whom English is a second language and who have either earned or are working toward a certificate or degree at a rural community college. Five of the subjects are from Mexico, one from Puerto Rico, one from Venezuela, and one from Bolivia. Figure 2 indicates their homeland, its proximity to the United States, the year each subject immigrated to the United States, along with origins of Hispanic populations in selected states for 1990. I chose a cross-case study approach based on an interpretive philosophy to see how this group of Hispanic ESL students experienced their community college education. Primarily this study will look at student backgrounds and motivational factors which help to determine their persistence toward academic success.

Statement of the Problem

Some research has highlighted the lack of success of Hispanic ESL students (DiMartino, Ferns, & Swacker, 1995; Gould, 1932; Griffin, 1992; Kennedy and Park, 1994; Marcoux, 1961). But these studies focused on the failures instead of the successes. The purpose of this research was to investigate the perceptions and perspectives of

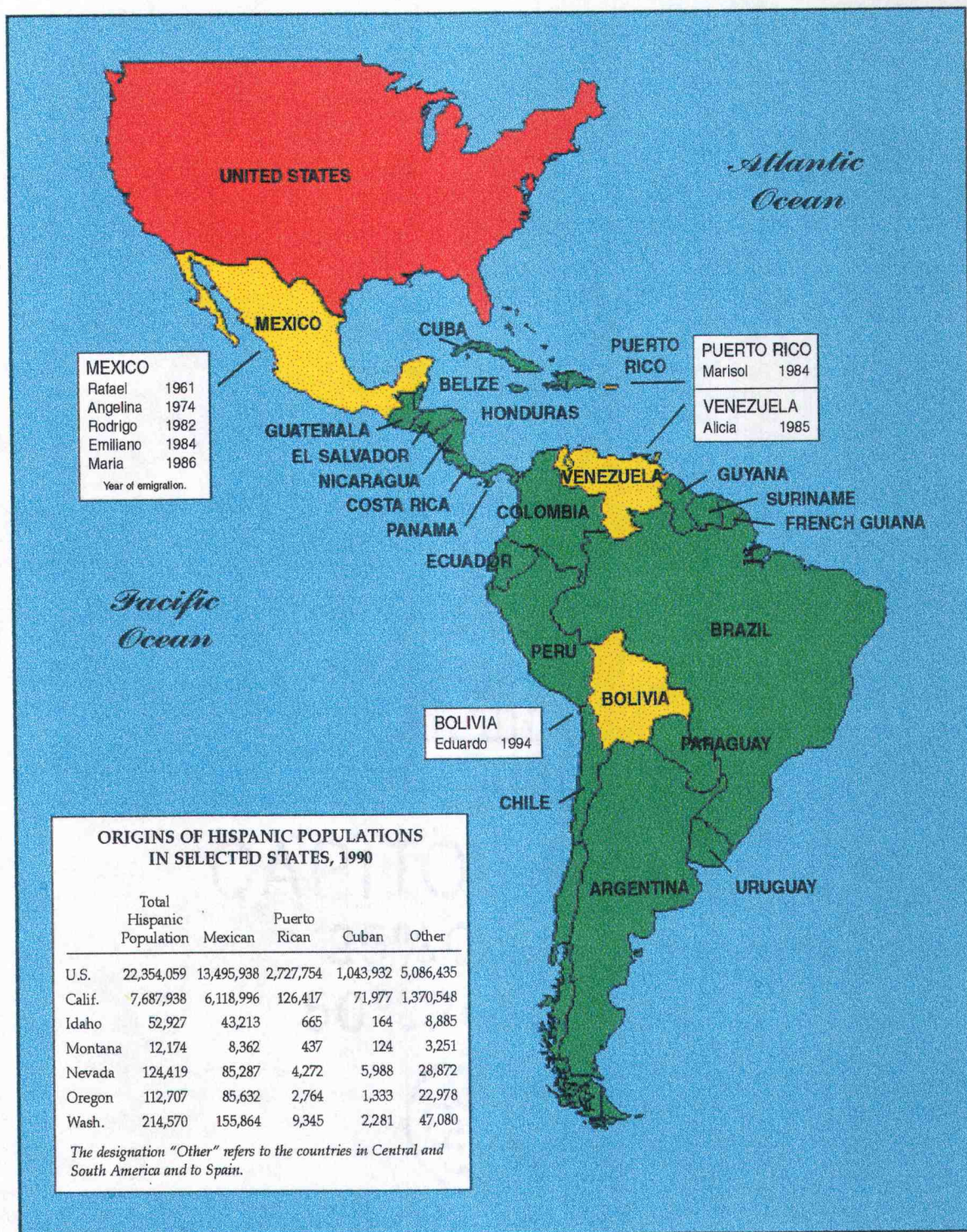


Figure 2

Latin America, United States, Eight Hispanic Students, and Origins of Hispanic Populations in Selected States, 1990 (Gamboa and Buan, 1995, p.6)

Hispanic ESL students who have succeeded academically in an English speaking environment. From a theoretical point of view, this study sought to identify motivational factors which are common to success. Success is defined as "achievement of something desired, planned, or attempted" (Morris, 1975, p. 1285). Success goes beyond fulfillment of desires; it demands a deeper meaning of life. Einstein believed that the value of a successful person should be seen in what they give and not in what they are able to receive (Browns, 1966, p. 645). While there appears to be rapidly growing concern for community colleges to meet the needs of such students, there has been little related research on the subject of this study, namely investigating the motivational factors that influence success of these persons in attaining certificates or degrees.

Research Question

What is it about the experiences of Hispanic ESL students that encourages or encumbers their persistence and success at a community college?

Rationale for the Study

In selecting Hispanic ESL students, I have chosen the minority group that is projected by the year 2000 to grow from 9% to 11% of the total U.S. population. The rationale for the study involves the increasing numbers of Hispanic students and the success that is important to present and future Hispanic students. According to the 1990 census, the total population of Hispanics is 22,354,059 as shown in Table 1 (Gamboa & Buan, 1995). To date, little data are accessible by which to evaluate the success of Hispanic ESL students. The research on Hispanic higher education has only been implemented within the last few years, and what data exist are mostly relevant to 4-year institutions.

Table 1

Population Growth in the United States, 1980 to 1990

	1980	1990	% OF CHANGE
U.S. Population	226,545,805	248,709,873	9.8%
Total Hispanic	14,608,673	22,354,059	53.0%
Mexican	8,740,439	13,495,938	54.4%
Puerto Rican	2,013,945	2,727,754	35.4%
Cuban	803,226	1,043,932	30.0%
Other	3,051,063	5,086,435	66.7%

(Gamboa & Buan, 1995, p. 7)

Prior research that has examined academic success and failure has concentrated on primary and secondary schools. This research has not succeeded in helping community colleges because it dealt only with high school students, using such quantitative factors as college aspirations, units undertaken, units completed, grade point average, and graduation appraisal to define student success (Ovando, 1977). Ovando's study concluded that ESL Hispanics students were under-represented in high school and higher education in the 1960s.

In a notable exception to this research, Hurtado (1985) surveyed 260 California Anglo and Mexican American community college students. He isolated factors which might affect their success or failure, drawing comparisons between the Anglo and Hispanic findings. Although his study emphasized the comparison between the ethnic groups, the factors of success and failure that he isolated were corroborated by my findings. Studies other than Hurtado's may be constructive because they provide data for Hispanic ESL backgrounds, but they do not provide responses about how and why Hispanic ESL students are or are not succeeding at the community college. Nor do they furnish understanding into what success is like for the Hispanic student. Ovando's

(1977) study shows that Hispanics are as likely as non-Hispanics to go to college. He concludes that Mexican Americans and Anglos do succeed because of family support, high socioeconomic status, peer-group backing, and academic self-concept.

Another study, Nieto (1994), in her article "Lessons from Students on Creating a Chance to Dream" found diametrically opposed outcomes from Hurtado (1985) and Ovando (1977). She interviewed nine high school students who were positive about their schooling, their future, and their lives. Using qualitative methods, she formulated criteria for the understanding of multicultural education that is anti-racist, thorough, imbued in the curriculum, and rooted in social justice. The students identified themselves as African American, Mexican, Native American, Black and White (biracial), Vietnamese, Jewish, Puerto Rican, Lebanese, and Cape Verdean. They came from a variety of homes ranging from singleparent to extended families. Nieto investigated what elements of these students' experiences encouraged them to continue with their schooling. The one common factor was that all nine were successful students. She concluded that extracurricular activities were crucial as outlets for energy and for the learning of leadership skills. She listed positive factors that contribute to success as caring instructors, affirming school climates, and loving families.

There appears to be rapidly growing interest in studies about multiculturalism. Although Nieto (1994) offers insights into the factors for school success, the other studies were more statistically oriented and would be more beneficial for policy purposes. I found that only Hurtado (1985) and Nieto (1994) gave perspectives or perceptions into what success might be for Hispanic ESL students. The scholarly literature on persistence research (Bean, 1982; Chacon, Cohen, & Strover, 1986; Feldman, 1993; Fischbach, 1990; Grosset, 1989; Halpin, 1989; Pascarella, Smart, & Ethington, 1986; Tinto, 1975, 1987, 1990, 1993; Voorhees, 1987;) has recognized variables that emerge to influence persistence; however, little persistence (Hurtado, (1985; Kraemer, 1993; Nora, 1987) research has concentrated primarily on Hispanic ESL students enrolled in community college certificate or degree programs.

Significance of the Study

Student success and persistence are critical issues for community colleges (Bandura, 1986; Diggs, 1979; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991; Seligman, 1992; Tinto, 1993). "In the past, the federal government pushed colleges to open their doors to minority students. Now, many campus officials feel their attempts to increase racial and ethnic diversity on their campuses are at odds with conservative notions" (Gwaltney, 1992, p. 2). Governmental institutions, such as state legislatures, are applying pressure on community colleges to close the door and to become more responsible for their results (Cohen & Brawer, 1991; Parnell, 1990; Roueche & Roueche, 1993). Student success and persistence need to be especially supported for Hispanic and other groups who are disadvantaged. If the multiculturalism approach does not work, if the doors are not kept open, what else is needed for its success?

Limitations of the Study

1. The population in this study was limited to ESL students who are or were enrolled in a certificate or degree program.
2. The sample population was only eight students and not characteristic of all community college students.
3. No attempt was made to apply this study to other groups.

Definition of Terms

The following definitions clarify terms which are used in the study:

English as a Second Language (ESL): Students who use Spanish, their mother tongue, at home or among friends, but use English at school or at work (Richards, Platt, & Platt, 1992).

Good Teaching: Characteristics such as caring, awareness of cultural differences, and high expectations for all students, in addition to knowledge of subject matter. "Teachers need to become students just as students need to become

teachers in order for education to become reciprocal for both” (Freire 1970).

Grade Point Average (GPA): The mean of a student’s course grades based on the following scale of points: A = 4, B = 3, C = 2, D = 1, and F or W = 0.

Motivate: To energize and stimulate one to action.

Motivation: In psychological terms, motivation can be described in two areas:

1. Extrinsic motivation: behavior in pursuit of factors outside the learner, such as an award, praise, or recognition.
2. Intrinsic motivation: a response to internal needs within the learner, such as, the need to know, the need for novelty, and the need for growth (Eggen & Kauchak, 1992, Piaget. 1952, 1976).

Motivation: In second language and foreign language learning, learning may be affected differently by different types of motivation. Two types of motivation are sometimes distinguished:

1. Instrumental motivation: wanting to learn a language because it will be useful for certain “instrumental” goals, such as getting a job, reading a foreign newspaper, passing an examination.
2. Integrative motivation: wanting to learn a language in order to speak with people of another culture who speak it (Richards, Platt, & Platt, 1992).

Multiculturalism: The respect for each other’s integrity among differing cultures.

A term that appeared in the 1980s to refer to a new kind of cultural pluralism which stresses the inclusion of multicultural perspectives and empowerment of members of minorities in all aspects of public life (Averbach 1994, p. 1179).

Self-efficacy: A belief that a person holds regarding their own individual capability to achieve certain behaviors or tasks.

Success: Achievement of something desired, planned, or attempted (Morris, 1975). Einstein added that the value should be seen in what is given and not in what is received (Browns, 1966).

Organization of the Study

Chapter I presents the introduction, problem statement, research question, rationale, significance, limitations, and definitions of the study. Chapter II is a review of the literature related to the Hispanic ESL students and examines more closely the meaning of the terms motivation and persistence. Negative studies of academic programs and positive studies of academic success are contrasted in light of the nature of the study. The research design and methodology of the study are discussed in Chapter III. Chapter IV synthesizes the case profiles and cross-case analysis, and Chapter V presents generated hypotheses stemming from the data. Chapter VI presents general implications and suggests areas for future research. References and five appendices follow Chapter VI. Appendix A and B consist of the informed consent forms for student and non-student participants. Appendix C lists the interview questions; Appendix D describes one interview transcript. Appendix E is a proclamation from the office of the governor for the State of Oregon declaring September 15 to October 15, 1995, as Hispanic Heritage Month.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

My grandmother had a very interesting theory; she said that each of us is born with a box of matches. . . . A pleasant warmth grows within us, fading slowly as time goes by, until a new explosion comes along to revive it. Each person has to discover what will set off those explosions in order to live, since the combustion that occurs when one of them is ignited is what nourishes the soul. That fire, in short, is its food. If one doesn't find out in time what will set off these explosions, the box of matches dampens, and not a single match will ever be lighted.

(Laura Esquivel, 1994, p. 64)

This study examined the experiences of a group of eight Hispanic ESL students who were enrolled in certificate or degree programs at a rural community college. Through in-depth interviews, close descriptive methods, cross-case critique, and triangulation, student profiles were drawn to learn about their backgrounds, their motivations for continuing their schooling, and their reasons for registering at a community college. The goal was to identify the motivating factors which may have influenced these eight students in the persistence of their education.

This chapter is a review of the literature related to the Hispanic ESL students and examines more closely the meaning of the terms motivation, and persistence. Negative studies of academic programs and positive studies of academic success are contrasted in light of the nature of the study. The following review of the literature concentrates on three points: (a) Hispanic studies, success and non-success in school; (b) motivation, extrinsic and intrinsic; and (c) persistence of students who attended post-secondary public institutions.

Twenty-nine Hispanic studies were reviewed in this chapter. In a spectrum from 1932 to 1994, these studies explored success or failure of ethnic minorities including Hispanics, students from elementary through 4-year college. Eleven studies (Attinasi, 1986; Bennett et al., 1994; Chapa & Valencia, 1993; Cortes, 1990, 1994;

Cummins, 1989; DiMartino, Ferns, & Swacker, 1995; Gandara & Osugi, 1994; Kennedy & Park, 1994; Nieto, 1994; West, 1994) were related and helpful, but did not correlate directly to this study. Lucas, Henze, and Donato's (1990) study promoted the success of Latino high school students and correlated with this study. Three studies (Hurtado, 1985; Kraemer, 1993; Nora, 1987) were the only studies directly related to Hispanic students who studied English as a second language at community colleges.

While the majority of Hispanic studies do not evaluate the academic success of ESL students at community colleges, they do reveal the perspectives of the authors' conclusions about multiculturalism in primary and secondary schools. Formal research studies that considered Hispanics' success and non-success in early education began to appear in the literature (Martindale, 1929; Rodee, 1923; Thompson, 1922; Walker, 1928) around the 1920s. Ten years later, Mexican immigration and segregation studies started to emerge (Bogardus, 1930; Carpenter, 1936; Gamio, 1930; Lanigan, 1932; Reynolds, 1933). Most of these early studies, however, were conducted with elementary school children (Foster, 1931; Hoard, 1936; Leis, 1932; Martindale, 1929; McCammon, 1936; Neal, 1929; Treff, 1934; Weir, 1936; Wilder, 1936), and arrived at opposing conclusions.

In the succeeding years, other researchers who sought to discover more information about Hispanic students (Brown & Roucek, 1945; Burma, 1954; Chase, 1941; Goldstein, 1943; Griffith, 1948; Menefee, 1941; Sanchez, 1932;) also arrived at conflicting conclusions. These studies have not been incorporated in this literature review because they concentrated on migrant workers from Mexico rather than Hispanics attending primary, secondary, or post-secondary schools.

Literature review was organized as follows: (a) early studies which survey elementary and secondary school Hispanic children; (b) literacy of ESL students; (c) studies which conclude that Hispanic students are academically successful; (d) studies that evaluate multiculturalism; and (e) studies that investigate pre- and post-enrollment factors that govern persistence and retention at community colleges.

Hispanic Studies

Early Hispanic Studies

Nine studies (Carillo-Beron, 1974; Ceja, 1957; Chang, 1957; Gonzalez, 1976; Gould, 1932; Levine, 1976; Marcoux, 1961; Meguire, 1938; Ovando, 1977) have been conducted at the regional, national, and international levels and have emphasized both positive and negative results for Hispanic students. The Hispanic studies reviewed in this chapter examined educational influences as a particular effect, and have been included to exhibit what the educational attributes are that Hispanic ESL students have used in the past to reach their goal of success. The studies include primary, secondary, and post-secondary education.

In an early study that included Hispanics, Katherine Meguire (1938) investigated educating Hispanic students in school by presenting methods and guidelines to help elementary school teachers have a better understanding of Hispanic children so that they could become effective contributors to society. According to the census report of 1930, there were approximately 1,500,000 Hispanics in the United States. According to Meguire, the Mexican ambition for a leisurely life is a result of their ancestry.

Manuel Ceja (1957) and Betty Gould (1932) conducted studies in California where the goal was to integrate Hispanics into society in order for them to become worthwhile citizens. The goal of their studies was similar to Meguire's (1938); however, taking a positive view, Ceja wrote that if America is committed to human rights, schools must provide integrated democratic group interaction so that the Hispanics can give back to society. Gould had a negative approach, evaluating the methods of teaching Hispanics. She argues that by providing proper methods of teaching Hispanics, educators would help Mexican children make the shift from "half-hearted" Americans to becoming more worthwhile humans in society.

Fred Marcoux (1961) wrote about the handicaps of bilingual Mexican children in California. He asserts that there has not been another group of immigrants that have linguistic solidarity which offers such public school problems of assimilation as the

bilingual Mexican child. Marcoux views bilingualism as a problem and sees Hispanics as handicapped due to the fact they remain on the economic and social levels "inferior" to comparable Americans.

Carlos Gonzalez (1976) gave an overview of the Mestizo heritage and the implications for teachers of Mexican American children in California. He argued that a cross-cultural view of Mexican American children may aid educators in understanding the attitudes and behavior patterns of the children and parents. Elaine Levine (1976) studied ethnic esteem among Anglo, Black, and Hispanic elementary school children. By viewing ethnic photographs, her subjects were asked to write 12 statements based on self-esteem, competence, significance, virtue, and power designated by Coopersmith (1967). She wrote that since self-acceptance is correlated to positive self-esteem, ethnic attitudes and choices help in the psychological study of ethnic people's self-concepts.

Dorothy Chang (1957) studied the socioeconomic and cultural influences on Hispanics to find the association of attitudes toward these high school students and their behavior and to discuss curriculum and improvement between student, instructor and parents. Chang's outcomes were positive in nature and she believes that racial prejudice has a profound influence locally and globally. She believes that it is the responsibility of administrators to develop healthy attitudes for instructors and students.

Carlos Ovando (1977) collected data on 496 students in two high schools in the Chicago area. In this study, Latino is used as a generic term incorporating Mexican, Central American, Cuban, Puerto Rican, Latin American, or Spanish origin. Regardless of ethnicity, Ovando's findings revealed that students who hoped to go to college were influenced by their parents wanting them to go to college; higher socioeconomic status was somewhat related with college-bound students. Higher grades and friends' opinions would not affect college goals. College-bound students perceived more benefits from attending college. One of the most important findings

was that despite the fact that Latinos were under-represented in high school and higher education in the 1960s, Latinos were as likely as non-Latinos to want to go to college.

Carmen Carrillo-Beron (1974) concentrated on the family as she investigated the importance of the Mexican American family in framing attitudes and values toward education. Carrillo-Beron argued that psychologists and sociologists have the understanding that Mexican Americans are torn between two cultures: they neither embrace the Mexican culture nor the Anglo, North American culture.

Literacy of ESL Students

Four studies that have examined illiteracy of ESL students (Bennett et al., 1992; DiMartino, Ferns, & Swacker, 1995; Freire, 1994; Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990) have arrived at conflicting conclusions.

Paulo Freire (1994) believes ESL students need to overcome oppression and illiteracy. He writes that people can learn and act to change the world. Education deposits knowledge but does not increase understanding. Learning to read and write is a fundamental political act (Freire, 1994). This view is highly positive, having the objective of changing society and learning to view the perceptions of social, political, and economic conflicts and work against oppressive elements of reality.

Tamara Lucas, Rosemary Henze, and Ruben Donato (1990) found eight features that described the key to success of high school "language minority" students. Value is placed on languages and cultures, hiring minority staff as role models, high expectations for minority students, staff development in cross-cultural communication, enriched curriculum, counseling programs, family involvement, and empowering minority students through education. The authors also emphasized strong support services, positive attitude toward minority students, and commitment to their success.

Karla Bennett et al. (1992) presented diverse positive and negative effects that are essentially a middle class approach to American education. A college education expands students' opportunities so that their lives will be better than their parents' and

that their children's children's lives will be better than theirs. College is seen as the optimum functional path to transformation and empowerment.

The Diane DiMartino, William Ferns, & Sharon Swacker (1995) design methodology is adequately described and fits the problem, but the authors did not bring a larger population into their study. The sample tested was unfairly chosen and was small: 42 native speakers and 34 ESL students. The authors conclude that if English is the second language, it will not help these students' knowledge and competence. This raises the question: Would they be at an advantage if they were given the same CD-ROM directions in their own language? The authors give no attention to the benefits of being bilingual, such as access to written literature and a broad cultural background.

Appraisal of Academic Success

Seventeen studies that have examined the academic success of ESL students and the predictive value to reach academic success in college programs have both positive and negative conclusions. Six of the 17 studies (Chapa & Valencia, 1993; DiMartino, Ferns, & Swacker, 1995; Gould, 1973; Griffin, 1992; Kennedy & Park, 1994; Marcoux, 1961) were negative. Gould thinks that Mexican children need to become more worthwhile human beings, and Marcoux believes that bilingualism is a problem and views Hispanics as handicapped and "inferior" to comparable Americans at the socioeconomic level. Kennedy and Park's manipulations and measures of Asians and Mexicans are not adequately described and operationalized. The manipulations are not shown to be valid and reliable because using self-reported grades as a dependent variable is a fatal flaw. Whereas the study is readable, well-organized, structured, and concise, it still is an inadequate study. Apples are compared to pears. Asia is many countries, Mexico is one country. The study has a limited predictive value.

Jorge Chapa and Richard Valencia (1993), regarding socioeconomic status, take the pessimistic view that Hispanics are not heading in the direction to reach parity

with Whites. Chapa and Valencia conclude that we have to acknowledge that fact as well as suggesting attendant political, social, and economic uneasiness. Accepting existing conditions may result in a society even more separated by race and class than it is today. This is another negative study, yet it hits home.

Louis Attinasi (1986) begins to approach the subject of Hispanics who are on the path to the university, but does not cover much ground on the community college level. The community college is a transition, a stepping stone to a more lucrative career. ESL students would gravitate more to the community college than to a university. Attinasi has a positive view but is dealing with a negative phenomenon; he is dealing with failure, not success. Although Attinasi acknowledges as much, his statistics deal primarily with the southwestern states with cultural attributes quite different from the Pacific Northwest, the locale of this study.

Rodney Griffin (1992) extracts from documents and interpretations of the Hispanic experience and indicates internal validity. The author believes that Hispanics as a group are falling behind other minorities. America is known for its upward mobility, but now that there are not enough jobs to go around, the Mexican American is worse off. By isolating the factors that underline the notion of a class system, Griffin is writing about rich and poor. Griffin predicts a grim future as he looks at the numbers of Hispanics from the lower and working classes. There was no construct-related evidence, since the author cited no experiments, although he uses statistical evidence to support his position. It is qualitative in that it is anecdotal, but it grounds some of its conclusions in quantitative data.

Six studies (Chapa & Valencia 1993; DiMartino, Ferns, & Swacker, 1995; Gould, 1932; Griffin, 1992; Kennedy & Park, 1994; Marcoux, 1961) concluded that Hispanic students do not succeed in primary, secondary, and post-secondary education. DiMartino, Ferns, & Swacker and Marcoux view bilingualism as a problem; Chapa and Valencia, as noted above, believe Hispanics will not reach parity with Whites in the present situation. This literature has focused mainly on studies that highlighted the failures instead of the successes.

Thirteen studies (Carrillo-Beron, 1974; Ceja, 1957; Chang, 1973; Cummins, 1989; Gandara & Osugi, 1994; Gonzalez, 1976; Hurtado, 1985; Levine, 1976; Lucas, Henze, & Donato, 1990; Meguire, 1973; Nieto, 1994; Nora, 1987; Ovando, 1977) intimate that Hispanic student research may produce useful predictors of academic success for advanced education. These studies concluded that ESL students perform academically as well as the Anglo-Saxon populations, given their language limitations. Sonia Nieto writes about the success of multicultural students and asserts that expectations of ability need to change so that greater numbers of young people can be reached. In the final analysis, students are asking us to look critically not only at structural conditions, but also at individual attitudes and behaviors. Nieto concludes that we need to seek a full blown conversion not only of our schools, but of our hearts and minds.

Patricia Gandara and Leiani Osugi's (1994) qualitative study is readable, well-organized, structured, and concise. Gandara and Osugi's experiences in California and Washington D.C. cover content-related evidence. Criterion-related evidence is used when the authors predict the outcome. They predict a grim future as they look at the tiny numbers of Hispanic women from the working class who persevere to earn doctorate degrees, and their ghettoization into a more traditional women's sphere indicates that the path to equality in education is still a drawn out process.

Multiculturalism

Five studies incorporated perspectives of multiculturalism (Cortes, 1990, 1994 Cummins, 1989; Tatum, 1992; West, 1994) Carlos Cortes believes in social justice. His theories are stated clearly and understandably. Cortes thinks that it is fine to have the endless conflict between pluralism and unity, but on either side there are too many extremists. *Pluribus* radicalism sometimes takes the shape of the rationalization of all diversity whatever the social costs or risks to *unum*. At the opposite end of the spectrum, the *unum* radicals give central thought to *unum*, but many of them are suspicious of racial and ethnic diversity. They look at it as a hazard to the future of

American society. In his study, Cortes believes that multicultural education needs to be boiled down to the basic socializing forces: individual and pluralistic enrichment. By isolating the factors that make multiculturalism successful, he hopes this will support a model for providing guidelines for the future.

Beverly Tatum (1992) specified student resistance to learning about racism and stated some strategies to overcome it. She speculated that educating White students about race and racism goes further than the classroom; it is carried out into the larger community. The increased awareness has a ripple effect in White peer groups which may create a comfortable environment for all students. Although White students may go through a period of discomfort with minority students and may be confronted with their prejudices, they learn to be comfortable with the discussion. At the same time, minority students are able to voice their concerns without disheartening effects. Many educational institutions are beginning to examine enriched cultural curricula as they become more multicultural.

In Jim Cummins (1989) study, criterion-related evidence is used when Cummins predicts the outcome, which is changing the relationships with educators in order to promote the empowerment of minority students to support success.

Cornel West (1994) is aware of multiculturalism and believes the Europeans did not adequately take into account the minority experience. He postulated his theories on the race and social justice experience using historical documents such as "The Civil Rights Act of 1964" and his own experience.

From a research perspective, the variety of sample sizes, which ranged from nine middle and junior high students to 260 community college students (Nieto, 1994; Hurtado, 1985), may be responsible for the diametrically opposite results from study to study. One group of Hispanic or multicultural students may be very unlike another group of Hispanic ESL students entering another institution. Students may vary in gender, age, socioeconomic level, motivation, and incentives for persisting at a community college.

One difficulty with the quantitative studies reviewed here is the alternative variables that scholars used in their research patterns to make comparisons or illustrate contrasts of ESL Hispanic students with Anglo students. The usage of the number of credits pursued, graduation classification, or retention rates as the only indicator of success may not be appropriate to many Hispanic students who enter community colleges with the objective of taking a few classes before transferring, looking for employment, or going into a training program. Students may conduct themselves differently once they matriculate at a community college with respect to the amount of developmental courses taken, the number of classes taken per term, the hours that they are working outside of school, and the goal to re-enroll for additional terms. A central point is the student's motives, which are vital in order for the researcher to know if a student was successful.

Quantitative techniques have not clearly expressed Hispanic ESL students' academic success in post-secondary education. Descriptive studies have supplied internal details for schools, but they have not given responses about how and why ESL Hispanic students are or are not succeeding. Further, they do not provide responses correlating to what success might be for these students.

Retention Factors

Finally, studies such as Hurtado (1985) and Nora (1987) have evaluated the perspectives and perceptions of Hispanic ESL students in community colleges. Hurtado by going directly to students to ask them about their post-secondary educational experiences and Nora surveyed 1,786 Hispanic students. These studies use student words to help community college staff understand which motivating factors contribute to increased student success.

Jose Hurtado's (1985) study is not designed to provide a comprehensive portrait as to why and what specific groups of Hispanic ESL students are succeeding at a community college. Hurtado defines a successful community college student as

one who has achieved a sophomore standing of 40 quarter units and will transfer to a 4-year college. It is, however, an informative reference, and the recommendation is that all community college staff need to sensitize themselves to the diversity of their student population.

Amaury Nora's (1987) findings showed that for Hispanic community college students, the community college commitments affected undergraduate retention indicators considerably more than did academic and social integration gauges.

Findings from these studies have supplied an abundance of information about Hispanic ESL students and provide the groundwork for my study of these students in a community college.

Motivation

Motivation is divided under two headings: extrinsic and intrinsic. There are three main theories of motivation: (a) behaviorism views motivation as reinforcement, (b) cognitive theories view motivation as the need to understand, and (c) social learning goes beyond the first two theories and encompasses personal factors. Since social learning theory includes the interactions of all three theories, this study will concentrate on social learning theory.

Motivation is the force or incentive that energizes and stimulates one to action (Eggen & Kauchak, 1992). The behavior can come from factors outside the learner, such as an award, praise, or recognition. Behavior research studies indicate the complexity in continuing with such extrinsic rewards. In fact, Albert Bandura (1969) discovered an equivalent amount of learning in children based on three models (reward, punishment, and no consequences) that had an impact on learning for the sake of learning.

Intrinsic motivation is a response to internal needs within the learner, such as the need to know, the need for novelty, and the need for growth (Eggen & Kauchak, 1992; Piaget, 1952, 1976). Research on the intrinsic theories of motivation shows that

there is a wide spectrum of variables which influence behavior and behavioral change. Studies of attitudes and the attitudinal construct known as self-efficacy—defined as individuals' judgments of their capabilities to organize and execute courses of action required to attain designated types of performance (Bandura, 1986)—have led to vital techniques for the study of motivation in students.

Attitude scales with respect to education have become significantly widespread. Borg and Gall (1989) note:

Scales are frequently developed to measure the individual's attitude toward a particular group, institution, or institutional practice. An attitude is usually thought of as having three components: an affective component, which consists of the individual's feelings about the attitude object; a cognitive component, which is the individual's beliefs or knowledge about the attitude object; and a behavioral component, which is the individual's predisposition to act toward the attitude object in a particular way. (p. 311)

For students in this study, the first connection is with external factors such as the institution the student will be attending. Their will to enter college and persistence is the inner motivation.

Piaget (1976) projected a positive outlook of affective components as infants view the environment in a joyous quest. Regarding affective learning, Bandura (1986) stated that "Remarks that conjure up feelings of revulsion and dread can create new fears and hatreds; conversely, remarks arousing positive reactions can be used to foster likes and attractions" (p. 185). A concert pianist practices every day. The immediate outcome of playing the piano could be very dull. Even though there are not immediate, tangible rewards, there is likelihood of reward in the future (Bandura, 1977). Concert pianists, as well students, labor diligently for a distant dream.

Habituation to virtue, as Aristotle wrote, is an intrinsic value which leads to habits of the heart that are almost automatic. Aristotle believed that habituation leads to a reliable character because it becomes internalized. It starts out as behavioral habituation, an endless practice, and then it becomes part of the character structure. It starts out as intrinsic. Habituation to virtue could be extrinsic, one would get a reward, but then it becomes intrinsic as part of the character structure.

Students continually acknowledge change in their courses by assessing their goals and looking forward to their goals, whether extrinsic rewards are in place, and whether they have the strength to persist. When instructors and staff consider it appropriate to step in and help, most students respond in a positive way (Hodges, 1993). Success requires persistence, the strength to not give in to failure. Seligman (1992) believes that an optimistic attitude is the key to persistence. Self-esteem is another factor that gives rise to student persistence. But self-esteem relates to how the culture's philosophy looks at personal values and how well one's behavior is equal to the standards of worthiness (Bandura, 1986). Minority students who have set their educational goals "face the painful choice between allegiance to their roots or success" (Shor, 1992 p.109). Perceived self-efficacy involves the judgment of personal proficiencies.

Self-perception and beliefs toward a goal, referred to as self-efficacy (Bandura 1986), are becoming an accepted concept in current studies of attitude and motivation (Kifer, 1992). People's beliefs in their competency affect their motivation as well as the daily projects they engage in. People's self-efficacy has been shown to determine how much effort they will exert in a project and how long they will persist in the light of challenges (Bandura, 1988).

Bandura (1986) believes that the experiences which predict one's own behavior take another shape in social systems using collective beliefs. Capra (1982) notes:

To understand human nature we study not only its physical and psychological dimensions but also its social and cultural manifestations. Human beings evolved as social animals and cannot keep well, physically or mentally, unless they remain in contact with other human beings. More than any other social species we engage in collective thinking, and in doing so we create a world of culture and values that becomes an integral part of our natural environment (p. 298)

Hodges (1990) adapted the following summaries from Bandura (1986), stating causes of persistence and causes of non-persistence as illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2

Causes of Persistence & Non-Persistence

Causes of Persistence	Causes of Non-Persistence
1. If people's perceived self-efficacy for a certain task matches their estimates of how much the task demands, they will tend to persist in working on it.	1. If people's perceived self-efficacy for a task is lower than their estimates of the task's demands, they will tend to give up.
2. If people believe that they have a high self-efficacy for a task, even in the face of obstacles or aversive experiences, they will tend to make vigorous and persistent efforts to complete it.	2. If people believe that they have low self-efficacy for a task, then in the face of obstacles or aversive experiences, they will tend to give up working on it.
3. If people try a task and succeed, their perceived self-efficacy rises; and when they try the task again, their persistence efforts would also rise to complete it.	3. If people try a task and encounter repeated failures, their perceived self-efficacy drops; and when they try the task again, they tend to give up early.
4. If people try a task, succeed at first, and later encounter repeated failures, their perceived self-efficacy may stay reasonably high and they may persist in their efforts to accomplish the task.	4. If people try a task and encounter repeated failures early in the course of events, they are likely to lower their perceived self-efficacy and to give up early.
5. If people try a task and do NOT try as hard as they can and encounter repeated failures, they tend to persist in their efforts.	5. If people try a task and try as hard as they can and still encounter repeated failures, they are likely to lower their perceived self-efficacy and to give up early.
6. If people try a task and encounter adverse external circumstances and fail, they tend to persist in their efforts.	6. If people try a task and are NOT blocked by adverse external circumstances and fail, they are likely to lower their perceived self-efficacy and to give up early.
7. If people observe someone else attempt to do a task and succeed, they are likely to raise their perceived self-efficacy and to persist longer in their own efforts.	7. If people lack a successful model to observe they are likely to use only their own experiences as the source of their perceived self-efficacy and tendencies to persist.
8. If people watch a model who is similar to them attempt to do a task and to succeed, they are especially likely to raise their perceived self-efficacy and to persist in their own efforts.	8. If people watch a model dissimilar to them attempt to do a task and succeed, they are not likely to raise their perceived self-efficacy or their tendency to persist.
9. If people are uncertain about their self-efficacy and watch a model attempt a task and succeed, they are likely to raise their perceived self-efficacy and to persist.	9. If people feel certain about their efficacy—either high or low—and watch a model attempt a task and succeed, they are not likely to raise their perceived self-efficacy or their tendency to persist.
10. If people watch a model who uses a different technique for doing a task than they have used and they see it succeed, they are likely to raise their perceived self-efficacy and to persist in their efforts.	10. If people watch a model succeed who uses the same technique that they have used and failed with, they are not likely to raise their perceived self-efficacy or their tendency to persist.
11. If people listen to someone try to persuade them that they have the ability to do a task successfully AND they already have reasonably high self-efficacy, then they are likely to raise their perceived self-efficacy and their persistence.	11. If people listen to someone try to persuade them that they have the ability to do a task successfully BUT they have a low self-efficacy, they are not likely to raise their perceived self-efficacy and their persistence.
12. It is easier for another's persuasion to lower people's perceived self-efficacy and persistence than it is to raise them. (Hodges, 1990, adapted from Bandura, 1986, pp. 390-453)	

The nature of self-efficacy is a theory of motivation and can have predictive value for behavioral change (Bandura, 1969). So, the theory of self-efficacy can provide additional understanding into the part that attitudinal constructs play in reflecting, accomplishments, and eventually in self-motivation.

Persistence

Seventeen Hispanic studies which were conducted between 1932 and 1994 were reviewed. Ten or more related reviews were presented on recent research of community college retention and persistence. Persistence research was organized as follows: (a) six studies at public community colleges, (b) two studies at 4-year institutions, and (c) two (three including Nora's, 1987, study in the Hispanic section) Hispanic persistence studies.

Findings from persistence research have supplied further knowledge about student retention and attrition in community colleges. Most of the research reported studied the interplay of many pre-enrollment factors such as age, gender, pre-college academic preparation, social class, employment status, student aspirations, educational plans, academic involvement, high school GPA, entering test scores, and ethnicity. Post-enrollment categories included college GPA, financial need, weekly study hours, and faculty intercommunication. Tinto's (1975, 1987, 1990) conceptual strategy deals with the retention and withdrawal of college students due to the interplay between student and faculty in academic and social settings. The frequency and substance of those interactions are vital to the student's completion.

But the social sphere was not looked upon as having great effect on community college retention by other studies (Chacon, Cohen, & Strover, 1986; Feldman, 1993; Fischbach, 1990; Grosset, 1989; Halpin, 1989; Pascarella, Smart, & Ethington, 1986; Voorhees, 1987). Tinto's (1975) model of Student Integration and Bean's (1982) model of Student Attrition recognized retention and persistence variables that can be applied to community college students.

Literature that deals directly with persistence studies of Hispanic students who studied English as a second language is limited. Two studies have centered around the persistence of Hispanic students in community colleges: Kraemer, (1993) and Nora, (1987) (Nora is reviewed in the Hispanic Studies section). Other representative works and related literature include Cabrera, Nora, and Castaneda, (1993); Feldman, (1993); Fischbach, (1990); Grosset, (1989); Halpin, (1989); Pascarella, Smart, and Ethington, (1986); Tinto, (1975, 1987, 1990); and Voorhees, (1987). A review of these studies and the framework described here will help to make sense of the problem and the approach taken for research of investigating the perceptions and perspectives of the eight Hispanic community college students for whom English was their second language and who moved on to certificate or degree programs.

A classic model which other researchers have emulated and which is connected to student retention and persistence is Vincent Tinto's (1975) retention paradigm. Much of community college persistence research is taken from this paradigm, which was first created for usage at 4-year schools (Feldman, 1993). Tinto's paradigm was rooted in Emile Durkheim's *Suicide: A Study in Sociology* (1951). Durkheim argues that when people are adequately woven into the whole fabric of the community, particularly in terms of frame of mind and connectedness, suicide rates will decline. Spady's (1970) empirical analysis implies that Durkheim's suicide theory may be applied to student attrition (Halpin, 1989). Crucial to Tinto's paradigm is the interplay between students and faculty in the academic and social environment. The interplay is vital to motivate students to reach their goals and to the obligations of the institution. If the student and staff relationship is powerful and offsets any other options to college, students will remain in school. If this does not happen, the student may withdraw. Tinto emphasized academic and social integration in colleges. The incorporation of these two factors is complex. Pascarella, Smart, & Ethington, (1986) have produced an analogous study in a community college environment in order to test Tinto's paradigm. This is not, however, an evaluation of Hispanic ESL students.

Ernest Pascarella, John Smart, and Corinna Ethington (1986) used Tinto's (1975) causal model to outline the long-term persistence of students in 2-year colleges. The authors used a sample of 825 first-time students from eighty-five, 2-year colleges over the prolonged engagement of 9 years. They concluded that the environmental factors were not correlated with success. It is the way teachers react, the way the structure is set, and the way of the cultural climate. The student has to fit the environment of the college. Some students fit beautifully into the institutional environment. They do not have to be trained or tamed. In Pascarella, Smart, and Ethington's study, the authors discovered that specific types of academic and social integration were vital to persistence.

The few student background variables (ethnicity and secondary-school social and academic accomplishment) were not able to distinguish the persisters. For men, institutional commitment had a more positive effect than for women. On the other hand, secondary school social involvement was a more important positive aspect for women. For men, communication with staff had a forceful, positive influence toward persistence (Pascarella & Terenzini, 1991; Spady, 1971). For women, communication with staff did not have a direct correlation with persistence. Instead, the strongest association with social and academic measures were leadership activities. The authors admit that it is difficult to correlate the study of men and women to other research because most have not studied men and women separately. The theoretical model shows that the two variables with positive outcomes on degree persistence and completion were academic and social integration for both sexes. Although there was predictive validity to this study, Pascarella, Smart, & Ethington's (1986) study does not look into ethnic distinctions in performance and persistence.

Richard Voorhees (1987) investigated the persistence of students at Arapahoe Community College. The author does go a little further than Pascarella, Smart, & Ethington (1986) in that he looks at minorities as part of a variable. His sample focused on 369 first-time continuing, full- and part-time students, and he includes independent variables of student demographic attributes, enrollment objective, intent

to return, frequency of interaction with faculty, and satisfaction with the community college. Voorhees employs a multiple group analysis to determine the characteristics of first-quarter freshmen who are community college persisters. Academic integration, which included college GPA, number of hours spent studying each week, and frequency of interaction with faculty, was found to be unrelated to persistence.

There was interplay among gender and other variables in studies of university student persistence (Bean, 1985) and 2-year college student persistence (Pascarella, Smart, & Ethington, 1986). Gender was interconnected with enrollment status, ethnicity, purpose, satisfaction, intent to return, and GPA. Students enrolled on a part-time basis in community colleges had more of a tendency to withdraw. Pascarella, Smart, & Ethington cite the National Center for Education Statistics (1980) report revealing that Hispanic students enrolled in 2- or 4-year institutions showed considerably higher dropout rates than non-Hispanic minorities; however, that factor proved to be a nonessential variable in persistence. Students who entered a community college for employment-related reasons persisted at a higher rate than those who entered for other purposes. Satisfaction with the role of being a college student is linked to persistence (Bean, 1980). Student intent to return is connected with persistence. Finally, GPA seems to be the most common variable associated with persistence. Other persistence factors were found to be gender, purpose for enrolling, and intent to return. To establish validity for community college factors, Bean should have used a community college model rather than a 4-year and university conceptual model.

Richard Halpin (1989) applied Tinto's (1987) model to find that college persistence and withdrawal are essential predictors of an open-door, nonresidential, comprehensive community college. Halpin chose 381 first-time, full-time freshmen who matriculated in a rural New York college. He distributed a questionnaire derived from Pascarella and Terenzini (1980) to a composition class in which 90% of the freshmen were enrolled. Halpin's study concluded that the Tinto paradigm, the concept of persistence or withdrawal, does indeed have predictive validity for

researchers and administrators. The author stated that 74.5% of the variance was accounted for by faculty concern for teaching and student development, academic and intellectual development, and interaction with faculty. The other 25.5% variance was accounted for by institutional and goal commitments, and again, interaction with faculty. The varying degrees of student integration were demonstrated to be valid predictors of persistence even when background was controlled. Environmental factors were also used. Academic integration into campus life was discovered to have more weight than social integration, a finding that is not surprising because commuter students have little chance to interact with faculty and students in their cohort. Therefore, unlike traditional residential students, environmental factors employed a trivial part in withdrawal or persistence of community college students.

Jane Grosset (1989) applies a critique and description of the causes of student attrition found in research literature. Analyzing Tinto's (1987) theory, she describes the conceptual framework of retention for research on institutional commitment at a 2-year institution. Grosset believes that Tinto's paradigm has neither been defined satisfactorily at commuter colleges nor been descriptive enough for community colleges. She asserts that external forces such as families, work settings, and peer groups may weaken rather than strengthen participation in community colleges. As indicated by Nora (1987), Pascarella and Chapman (1983), and Voorhees (1987), social integration, a key point in Tinto's paradigm, was a central concept for community college students. Grosset's (1989) study, however, did not provide any statistical evidence for her findings. She cites general comparative retention patterns and student characteristics. In general, 6% of White students were inclined to graduate in 2 years, contrasted to 2.2% Black students, 1.5% Asian students, and 1.4% Hispanic students. She emphasized ethnicity and public rather than private high school admission test scores as factors predicting persistence. Aspirations, financial aid, and developmental studies were not predictive of retention, nor of persistence. Grosset continues to point out the correlation between student characteristics, college

experience, and persistence in Philadelphia Community College research findings, using the appropriateness of Tinto's paradigm as a guide for institutional awareness.

In Rita Fischbach's (1990) study, her major goal was to investigate student persistence and a category of comparable predictors among full-time students at a major Illinois community college. Fischbach also compared persistence between vocational and academic program students. Pre-enrollment variables included age, gender, race, American College Testing (ACT) Program score, high school rank and class size, and stated goal. She discovered that the dropout and departure rate of 41 of the 150, 27% students after freshman year is less than the national norm of 47% for all community college students. Equality of proportion tests were used to assess whether there were deviations between Associate of Science (AS) and Associate of Applied Science (AAS) students. Equality of proportion tests also were used to distinguish persistence rates of gender, race, and goal. Stepwise regression was used to determine which of the following factors predicted persistence: age, sex, race, goal, ACT score, and high school rank. GPA as an indicator of academic integration had been conveyed as the primary predictor of success.

Fischbach (1990) found no critical variation in persistence rates in AS or AAS programs within pre-enrollment variables. Only ACT scores, student age, and high school percentile were found to correspond to persistence. GPA and withdrawal were the only important post-enrollment variables; teachers were the institutional factor most vital to student success; and family was the most powerful personal factor, followed by work, money, and transportation.

Alberto Cabrera, Amaury Nora, & Maria Castaneda (1993) present their readers with the combination of Tinto's Student Integration Model (1975) and Bean's Student Attrition Model (Bean & Metzner, 1985). The authors believe an increased awareness about the procedures that influence students' persistence or withdrawal from college will be produced. They believe that a large gap in Tinto's theory has been the part of external elements in forming an awareness of perceptions, and perspectives. The authors, therefore, merged a path model that embraces both

theoretical cores. They surveyed 2,459 first-time, unmarried freshmen who were U.S. permanent residents and under 24 years of age. Attitudinal data were collected by sending out a questionnaire producing 466 usable surveys. The results indicated that better understanding of the persistence process can stem from the merging of Tinto's and Bean's theories. Although Tinto's paradigm constrained the role of environment factors to only shaping commitments, Bean and Metzner believed that environmental factors should be taken into account. Nevertheless, the correlation between encouragement from friends and family and academic experiences should not represent the only effects of environmental factors in the model.

Mary Jane Feldman (1993) investigated pre-enrollment variables as predictors of 1-year retention for first-time students in a community college. The motive was to use data that are often available when students start their programs and to ascertain whether such data can help identify students who are more likely to withdraw. Based on a logistic regression model to select predictors of retention, the lower the high school GPA, the greater the student's possibility of dropping out.

Ethnicity correlated to retention both on its own and within the logistic regression equation. Usually, White students had higher retention than minority students. The analysis implied that, for this sample, Black students were 1.75 times more likely to withdraw than White students. Their sample representation of Hispanic, Asian, and Native American students was small; the authors stated that it might be deceptive to draw a direct conclusion about the odds. They did state, however, that the minority students (except for Asians) showed a higher likelihood of dropping out than Whites.

Feldman's (1993) study used a sample of 1,140 first-time students for whom she had complete data on all variables: high school GPA, gender, age, ethnicity, goals, full-time/part-time status, and developmental needs. Feldman looked at the pre-enrollment factors that characterize students who are likely to withdraw from a community college. This theoretical framework is in opposition to Tinto's (1987) model, which states that retention of students is dependent upon relationships within

the college environment that occurs *after* the student enrolls. Feldman found that the following had predictive value for attrition: (a) the lower the high school GPA, the greater the odds for withdrawing; (b) students aged 20-24, minorities (except for Asian), and part-time students had higher withdrawal rates.

Maria Chacon, Elizabeth Cohen, and Sharon Strover (1986) investigated Hispanics at five California colleges: one private university; one from the University of California system; one community college; and two 4-year state universities, one rural, and one urban. They sent out questionnaires in 1980 and 1981. Although the authors concentrated on women, they included a male sample for comparison at three of the five campuses. The sample included 508 women at five campuses and 160 men at three campuses. The authors found that Hispanics are underrepresented in higher education, and cited: (a) Hispanics and other minorities are concentrated in 2-year institutions, and that within these colleges many take classes that do not lead to degrees; (b) older students with heavy responsibilities on their jobs are less likely to persist; and (c) academic performance is difficult to unravel from the effects of lower socioeconomic status (SES). This last barrier coincides with Tinto's (1975) analysis, which states that SES is inversely related to persistence.

Chacon, Cohen, and Strover (1986) used a multivariate analysis to examine gender on student progress and barriers to persistence. Because the design was cross-sectional with five colleges, they concentrated more on progress than on persistence. The measures they studied were program progress, fixed time costs, freedom from academic difficulties, and background. Their results revealed that the type of student at the five colleges showed wide variability. Students at the private university had the highest SES and the lowest mean age. The University of California student had the lowest SES. The women and men were not significantly different from each other in any of these variables. Community college students were older and had lower SES, and they worked many more hours than the university students. The authors concluded that the conventional and unconventional college experience varied greatly. At one end of the spectrum was an 18-year-old living in a dormitory and at the other

end was a 30-year-old woman combining child-rearing, working, and attempting to earn a college degree by enrolling for six credits at a community college. The authors stated that in many ways their study was a document of the miseducation of language-minority students who enter college with weak skills in English. More women enroll in community colleges than men. They asserted that the Hispanic woman has a double disadvantage, ethnicity and gender, in higher education.

Barbara Kraemer (1993) examined factors affecting academic persistence for Hispanic college students at a private 2-year bilingual junior college in Illinois. She focused on the relationship to student integration in academic and social environment. Kraemer studied 277 Hispanic graduates (78% women): 14% from North America, 86% from Puerto Rico, 28% from Mexico, 13% from Central America, 11% from South America, and 3% from other Caribbean countries. On an average, the students had spent 15 years in the United States. She employed a questionnaire that provided measures of latent constructs emulating Tinto's (1987) theoretical framework for student persistence. Possible gauges for student integration into the academic environment included library use, participatory learning, seeking tutorial help, using a computer lab outside of class, meeting with instructors outside of class to discuss academic topics, and meeting with an academic advisor. Social integration was specified as the extent to which the Hispanic environment and interplay with other Hispanics at the college were significant to students.

Conclusion

Kraemer (1993) concluded that the operational definitions of academic and social integration were appropriate to the study population and provided effective measures of the student integrative process at the college. The author recommended for further research a study of the attrition of students over 25 years of age who are full-time Hispanic 2-year college students.

Feldman 1993 showed that age had predictive value for community college retention, discovering that students over the age of 25 did not withdraw as easily as younger students. But most of the studies did not delineate the age factor in community colleges.

Metzner and Bean (1987) discovered that environmental elements, family obligations, juggling work and school, health, and other personal problems may be formidable for older, non-traditional students as compared to non-traditional students of any age. The environmental elements did not affect withdrawal. Further, the psychological elements of goal commitment and stress were not immediately related to withdrawal. Metzner and Bean's study found that the results for ethnicity revealed that minority students received lower college grades, and GPA was the predominant reason for withdrawing.

Fischbach (1990) and Feldman (1993) indicated that high school GPA was the largest vital pre-enrollment factor for predictive value in retention. In view of the fact that many Hispanic ESL students are immigrants, it is difficult to build on a high school GPA; therefore, in my study it would be hard to use that variable as a persistence predictor.

Tinto (1975, 1987, 1990) showed the importance of interplay between student and staff in the everyday academic and casual social settings. If the student and staff relationship is stable, the student will persist. If it is unstable, the student will withdraw. Tinto noted that a college embodies academic and social systems. Students may be able to integrate into either or both the academic or social side. The incorporation of academic and social settings is complex. In the case of Hispanics, little is known about how much of the social setting dominates academic goals. Student background attributes such as family history, pre-college schooling, individual characteristics, goal of graduation, and commitment to the college have been under study by Pascarella and Chapman (1983) to investigate the validity of Tinto's (1975) model. The authors compared academic and social integration at 4-year residential institutions, 4-year commuter institutions, and 2-year commuter

institutions. Social integration played a more powerful role at 4-year residential colleges, while academic integration was vital at 2- and 4-year primarily commuter colleges. This study, however, did not investigate Hispanics, nor emphasize ethnicity.

Tinto's (1987) model of the persistence and withdrawal process in post-secondary institutions is complex. The higher the degree of institutional and goal commitments, the greater the chance that the student will persist at that college. There are, however, other factors that affect persistence. Tinto (1987) writes about Hispanic background factors:

It may be argued that overall differences in rates of system departure between blacks and whites are primarily due to differences in their measured ability rather than social status background. Presumably differences in measured ability arise from differences in those groups' prior educational experiences, which favor the educational achievement of whites relative to blacks. Obviously the same cannot be said either of individuals generally or of differences between Hispanics and other racial groups. In all but one case—namely, persons of highest social status origins—rates of system departure among Hispanics were consistently higher than those of whites and blacks of comparable ability. In other words, as is the case with lower class whites (but not blacks), there must be background factors other than ability that explain why more Hispanics did not obtain a college degree. (p. 29)

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

Introduction

Interpretive research . . . is needed in education for the following reasons: To make the familiar strange and interesting again—everyday life is so familiar that it may be invisible, to achieve specific understanding through documentation of concrete details of practice, to consider the local meanings that happenings have for the people involved in them, to engage in comparative understanding of different social settings, and to engage in comparative understanding beyond the immediate circumstances of the local setting.

(Sharan Merriam, 1988, pp. 165-166)

This study explored the experiences of eight Hispanic ESL students who matriculated into a certificate or degree program at a rural community college. Through in-depth interviews, close descriptive methods, cross-case critique, and triangulation, student profiles were drawn to learn about their backgrounds, their motivations for continuing their schooling, and their reasons for enrolling at a community college. The objective was to identify the motivating factors which may have influenced these eight students in the persistence of their education.

The research design and methodology employed here are based on a qualitative perspective. These research approaches were chosen for two reasons. First, this study emphasizes success unlike some of the previous studies. Second, an interpretive point of view using a multiple-case scheme was chosen to understand how a group of eight ESL participants perceived their experience of community college education.

This chapter consists of the research design and methods, the researcher's background, the criteria for the participants' selection, data collection, data analysis procedures, and ethical awareness for the study.

Motive for Interpretive Design

I decided to use interpretive research philosophy, rather than an experimental design, for the nature of the challenge being scrutinized. The strength of the variables and the outcomes needed to be carefully planned (Borg & Gall, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1988; Miles & Huberman, 1994). To date, few facts are available by which to predict the success of ESL students who have, or will earn, a certificate or degree. I used in-depth interviews to distinguish the determining variables that would form the groundwork for the generated hypotheses. What I am exploring is the determination of the students to succeed within the setting of the participatory environment: the community college.

The nature of the challenge being explored involved introspective awareness and the deepest life experiences that affected the student's determination. These are givens and cannot be manipulated. This study intended to explore the backgrounds, motivational factors, and education of ESL Hispanic students desiring to fulfill credit courses that may lead or have led to a certificate or degree in a community college. Case studies exhibit that truth as much as possible from the students' perspectives and perceptions, using authentic communication. Rather than merely testing hypotheses, this study generates hypotheses that serve as a guide to additional research and awareness.

Merriam (1988) notes:

Interpretive case studies, too, contain rich, thick description. These descriptive data, however, are used to develop conceptual categories or to illustrate, support, or challenge theoretical assumptions held prior to the data gathering. If there is a lack of theory, or if existing theory does not adequately explain the phenomenon, hypotheses cannot be developed to structure a research investigation. A case study researcher gathers as much information about the problem as possible with the intent of interpreting or theorizing about the phenomenon. . . . Rather than just describing what was observed or what students reported in interviews, the investigator might take all the data and develop a typology, a continuum, or categories that conceptualize different approaches to the task. (pp. 27-28)

Extensive searches (Attinasi, 1986; Carillo-Beron, 1974; Ceja, 1957; Chang, 1957; Chapa & Valencia, 1993; Citron, 1995; Cortes, 1990, 1994; Crepeau, 1991;

Cummins, 1989; Griffin, 1992; Hawkins, 1993; Hurtado, 1985; Kennedy & Park, 1994; Kraemer, 1993; Luttrell, 1989; Nieto, 1994; Nora, 1987; Ovando, 1977; Stoll, 1994-95; West, 1994) for studies about Hispanic ESL students in community colleges led me to choose an interpretive research point of view and primarily a case study design as the pattern for this examination. Miles and Huberman (1984) suggest that a case study be used when a researcher is in "a bounded context in which one is studying events, processes, and outcomes. . . . A "case" could include a wide range of settings: a school, a program, a specific project, a network, a family, a community, and even the behavior of an individual over time in a specific environment" (p. 28). This case study emphasized the persistence of Hispanic ESL students at a community college, using student interviews, student records, and informal conversations with community college staff as confirmation for this research.

Erickson (1986) cited interpretive analysis as a search for the reasons behind human interactions. Employing a case study point of view, I highlighted the backgrounds of eight students, the influences of their families, their motivations for matriculating in a community college, their enrollment, where or who they turned to for support, and the motivating factors inside and beyond the community college infrastructure which have supported or conflicted with the process of stretching for their goals.

I was particularly curious to know what happens to Hispanic ESL students once they register for community college credit classes. What were these students' perceptions about their experiences within the setting of the college? What heartfelt events, personal attributes, and academic practices affected these students in the community college environment? To answer these questions, a "bounded" case study approach and an interpretive design enabled me to come to terms with those questions (Miles & Huberman, 1984).

The Researcher

In interpretive research philosophy, the researcher is the lead data collection “instrument” (Borg & Gall, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1988; Miles & Huberman, 1984). My personal environment, education, and commitments formulate the implied information that I embrace about community colleges and ESL students that influenced the research. Since my perspective and background may affect the research, I am providing a sketch of my background and experience.

Background and Experience

I was born of Mexican heritage in a family of seven in the Midwest, and my awareness of multiculturalism has always been high. I earned my baccalaureate of arts degree at a private college in the Midwest, where I majored in International Relations. The experience led me to pursue a Masters of Arts in Latin American studies at an urban university. These college experiences expanded my appreciation of the value of different cultures. My first teaching experience was at a community college in an Adult Basic Education program. I taught ESL classes in a multicultural setting which included people from Mexico, Columbia, Paraguay, Italy, Korea, Japan, and China. They had ethnic bias to overcome and the need to write and speak fluently in the English language. This helped me to develop deeper insights into the cultural conflict and cooperation which characterized the ESL students.

I have also worked for 10 years in developmental studies, ESL, and GED preparation at the same community college where my teaching career began. I have witnessed the transformation of students through education and academic success. Most students experience a sense of accomplishment and increased self-esteem from the process of knowing that they can succeed as they move on to further their education or enter into the workplace.

The reader has a right to know about the successes that I achieved. What personal experiences helped me to achieve success? What is my relationship to the

community? Consider me a woman of two cultures: Anglo and Hispanic. These are my circumstances: I am composing the pages of this dissertation on my Macintosh PowerBook 165c computer, surrounded in the room by hundreds of books from Neruda and Shakespeare to Freire and Wheatley. One of my friends, who is of Mexican descent, has been working closely with me for the last year. She is the coordinator of Hispanic Affairs for a 4-year college. In one report, she writes: "All the people around me are great, especially Judy Bennette [sic], who is filled with a deep sense of justice and sensitivity." She emphasizes what a strong role model I am for the Hispanic community. She sends Hispanic people to me for help in translating from Spanish to English. Two weeks ago, she referred a Cuban to me and mentioned that I have a doctorate degree. I told her, "I am not yet a doctor." "This is 1996," she replied, "You will soon be Dr. Bennett."

It is education that transformed my life. As a student, I mostly received and am now finding myself in a position to give. I agree with Einstein: "To me, giving is success" (Browns, 1966, p. 645). I lived in a working class family lacking power and status. I have been empowered by my sheer drive for education. Shortly after earning my baccalaureate degree, I ran into a former classmate. She stated that I had been known as the "star" at that particular college. I was surprised—I had not known that.

I remember one of my professors stating that I was a determined student. I struggled throughout my undergraduate and graduate schooling, working and attending classes on a full-time basis. At one point, I worked 36 hours and had to see a counselor who advised me to cut back on my work hours. I loved learning, yet at times it was extremely stressful. There were times when I felt the road was not always smooth. There were moments of depression and crucial turning points where I was forced to make cruel choices. Divorce does not always go with success, and yet I think I surmounted it. Whatever does not destroy you makes you stronger (Nietzsche, 1992). At times, I was too absorbed, driven in one direction to learn again. Not only was that stressful, but there were moments when I was too engaged in my pursuit of learning instead of the pursuit of happiness. Although I did not experience early

mentoring, there were one or two professors who encouraged me and believed in me. I sang in the college choir; I played on the men's community college tennis team. I was a well-rounded student.

My parents immigrated to the United States in the 1920s from a small village north of Mexico City. They settled in Texas and picked beets in the fields. Because of my father's trade as a tailor, they wore brocaded clothes while picking in the fields, which caused people to stare. At some point, they moved to the Midwest, where I was born. In Mexico, my father had been a tailor, the family trade, and he continued that trade in a garment shop, later becoming a waiter. My mother was a seamstress and also worked in a factory most of her life. If my parents were living, my mother would be proud of me; my father, alas, would be indifferent. My mother envisioned me working with numbers and now I teach mathematics. I have also taught English as a Second Language and Spanish.

My years of experience in teaching have been rewarded by the success of my students. I believe in my students and sincerely pass on to them what I learned at the private schools that I was fortunate to attend. Within the last 10 years, my college president has received letters of praise from my students. A group of students wrote: "Judy is friendly, cooperative, organized, and encourages class participation. . . . Judy is the type of teacher that the educational system needs to inspire returning students." Most of my students in the ESL classes were Hispanic and some of them switched from the role of student to friend. I have two good friends from Columbia and Mexico who are former students.

From childhood on, college was always at the front of my mind, blinking like a star in the sky. I was the youngest of five children, and the only one, as far as I know, that had the strong urge to become highly educated. However, all my brothers and sisters were graduated from high school. I grew up speaking English and Spanish because my siblings spoke English and my parents spoke Spanish. I was lucky. During my undergraduate years, I studied in London and Florence and learned Italian. Later, while working on my master's degree, I studied Portuguese. I wanted my

enthusiasm for education to be transferred to my children and my children's children. I trust that my education will reverberate with meaning for other Hispanic students.

In 1995, I was asked to be the liaison to a 4-year college and the Hispanic community when they were applying for a \$350,000 grant to establish schooling during the summer for high school students from Hispanic, Native American, and Caucasian backgrounds. I contacted the Hispanic community to ask for letters of support for the grant. The letters were written with great enthusiasm.

After teaching for many years, I enrolled at a land grant university in its doctoral studies: Community College Leadership Program in Education. Once my course work was completed, I began to write this dissertation. I wished to explore what happens when ESL students enroll in college-level courses and achieve their goals.

For purposes of this study, I was continually alert to my own objectives and biases in order to see it from the student's perspective rather than from my own. Miles and Huberman (1984) argue that "care should be taken not to get locked into premature generalizations" (p. 77), and I endeavored to let the students express their meaning through the interview. I was careful not to control the students and subjectively assume answers. I asked open-ended questions. Two highly regarded research theorists, Borg and Gall (1989), suggest the use of open-ended questions to elicit richer qualitative responses. I cannot disregard the existence of my ESL background and the possibility that it may sway the methodology of data gathering and data assessment, but I was consciously working to be objective.

Theoretical Beliefs

How did I become the person that I am today? My beliefs reflect an interpretive research philosophy based on the works of Paulo Freire and Margaret Wheatley as indicated in Table 3 (Freire, 1994; Gibson, 1994; Wheatley, 1994). My philosophy is: (a) that social reality is created by man as a social animal, and that there is a need for change and a need for permanence; (b) that there is constant

Table 3

Freirean and Wheatleyan Approaches by Key Criteria

Criteria	Freire	Wheatley
1. Origins	1. 1950s and 1960s northeast Brazil poverty, oppression and illiteracy Adult	1. 1990s No class consciousness Deals mostly with CEOs but participatory More Hierarchical Adult
2. Philosophical Standpoint	2. Structuralist-poverty caused by oppression Explicitly political Not neutral—on the side of the poor/oppressed People as subjects—can learn and act to change the world More Marxist, teach poor how to stand up for selves	2. Change from top down but more at cutting edge Not afraid of chaos Emphasis on quantum physics Claims chaos, not harmful because critical to participating Appeals to CEOs as if to help struggle for quality leadership
3. Cultural Context	3. The oppressed exist in a culture of silence determined by the dominant class, and characterized by: fatalism superstition naivete dependence	3. Does not use class analysis rational in the narrow sense Cohort and teamwork
4. Educational Context	4. Traditional “banking” Education deposits knowledge; does not increase understanding; Learn to read and write is fundamental political act (Freire, 1985 and Freire & Macedo, 1987) Democratic	4. Assumes a democratic position Does not want to pump you full of facts; wants to change paradigm; At the cutting edge
5. Objective	5. Change society; liberation; “learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions and to work against the oppressive elements of reality” Rich vs. poor	5. Make this a more genuine human society Concern with gender Own perception of reality
6. Process	6. Achieving understanding—the means rather than the end Popular education—people centered Teacher as coordinator Rooted in vocabulary and life of people (Brown, 1975) Framework provided by codification (e.g., through pictures) of “generative words (selected for value from syllabic and discussion point of view)” “Problemizing”—exposing the inherent contradictions of society through discussion Dialogue—shared discussion, investigation and conclusion between equals Group/community class learning in collective setting Action—reflection cycle—“Praxis” Encourages conscientization part of which is class consciousness Discussion based on anthropological concept of culture (respect other cultures)	6. Achieving understanding—the means as opposed to the end Popular education—people centered Teacher as coordinator Interested in people, but more in rulers Wants to change paradigm of way to look at universe Bureaucratic mechanism comes from the top down Nobody works alone, we will work together (Freire, 1994, pp. 52-119; Gibson, 1994, pp. 49-50; Wheatley, 1994, pp. 1-149)

interaction; and (c) that human beings are cultural animals, and they communicate not only through spoken, written, and body language, but through their overall culture (Freire, 1994). Erickson (1986) believes that “the most basic difference between the interpretive and the standard approaches to research on teaching lies in their assumptions about the nature of cause in human social relations” (p. 125).

That we have both a need for change and a need for permanence is shown by the very fact of creating institutions, such as the community college. It encourages personal change within a framework of social stability.

Within the community there is constant interaction between professors and students, between taxpayers and administration, between policy makers and public desires. We are dealing here with cultural symbols in establishing a community college. We are dealing with the culture. Man is a cultural animal. I am a product of a culture. I could not survive if I did not learn and absorb the language and culture of my nation. The eight students in my study may be able to surmount their challenges, and they were distinguished by their persistence. While we are limited—physically, socially, and psychologically—we have room for individual development.

We can adapt or we would not survive. We do not like to live in chaos. It is deeply ingrained in human beings to do the thing they did before. Why do we do that? Although my life has changed, my character has remained permanent. I am the same as I was in 1970 as I am in 1996. Even though I change endlessly, I am still the same person that I was 26 years ago.

Individual human interaction is a high societal form with three major concepts: interaction of human beings and how they communicate with each other, interaction with their environment, and interaction of classes, rich and poor.

Brazilian educator Paulo Freire (1994) notes:

Meanwhile the investigators begin their own visits to the area, never forcing themselves, but acting as sympathetic observers with an attitude of understanding towards what they see. While it is normal for investigators to come to the area with values which influence their perceptions, this does not mean they may transform the thematic investigation into a means of imposing these values. The only dimension of these values which it is hoped the people whose thematics are being investigated will come to share (it is presumed that the investigators possess this quality) is a critical perception of the world,

which implies a correct method of approaching reality in order to unveil it. And critical perception cannot be imposed. Thus, from the very beginning, thematic investigation is expressed as an educational pursuit, as cultural action. (pp. 91-92)

With these concepts in mind, I reached into the world of the student subjects and encouraged them to play a “stronger role in defining the content of the interview” (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992, p. 97). Further, Patton (1990) wrote, “The interviewer must maintain awareness of how the interview is flowing, how the interviewee is reacting to questions, and what kinds of feedback are appropriate and helpful to maintain the flow of communication” (p. 330). All in all, I emphasized the students’ perceptions and perspectives rather than my own.

The Participants

I selected eight Hispanic ESL students who are or were enrolled in a rural community college as the study’s population. Ragin (1987) argues that “interpretive work attempts to account for significant historical outcomes or sets of comparable outcomes . . . in some investigations . . . the goal of interpretation takes precedence over the goal of causal analysis” (p. 49). Primarily, the intention was to interpret each case. It is a requirement that the researcher interpret the gathered data and identify any contradictions that may lead to more evidence—“much like a good detective” (Yin, 1994, p. 58). Interpretive research is drawn to interpreting and communicating carefully the significance of the participants’ information.

The decision to matriculate in a community college was determined by the students before I decided to interview them, so typical case sampling strategy was used (Patton, 1990). I chose the participants who came from a recognizable group of ESL college-seeking students who are or were enrolled at a community college.

I obtained from the registrar’s office a list of all the ESL students at the community college. I specifically asked for ESL program enrollment dating back to 1989 so that students enrolled in the fiscal year 1994-95 might be identified. I

identified student attributes that helped to get to the heart of the study. The attributes used were:

- + Spanish is their first language.
- + English is their second language.
- + They are over the age of 21.
- + They have completed or will complete a certificate or degree program.
- + They have earned at least 21 credits at a community college.
- + They have achieved at least a 2.0 grade point average.

Since the study involved only eight students, I identified each student's ethnicity, establishing that the examples mirrored the gender and ethnic balance of students registered at the community college. Therefore, the sample is four Hispanic women and four Hispanic men.

The basis for their selection was not their chosen majors or course study; however, a perfect model would be from vocational and academic transfer programs. I anticipated interviewing four females and four males from 1-year certificate programs and 2-year degree programs. The participants may be earning or working on a certificate or associate degree as an end in itself or have the intent of transferring to a 4-year institution.

The community college provided statistics for 1989-1995. The ESL list "Students with Program Major or 1(+) Credits Earned Only" contained 101 students, of whom 36 are Hispanic. Four of these, three women and one man, fit the criteria of 21 credits or more. Nineteen Hispanic students were on the list of GED completers. Of the eight Hispanic high school graduates, one man fit the criteria. Since eight Hispanic students, five women and three men, were graduated in the 1994-95 academic year with a degree or certificate, they all fit the criteria. Of these Hispanic ESL students, eight were selected for the interviews. The institution's administration is enthusiastic about learning what happens to these students subsequent to enrollment in college credit classes and promised full cooperation with the study.

Methods of Data Collection

Yin (1994) cited three principles of data collection: (a) use multiple sources of evidence; (b) create a case study data base; and (c) maintain a chain of evidence. I used four methods of data collection in the research (Merriam, 1988; Yin 1994):

1. I conducted in-depth, tape-recorded interviews at a community college between November 1995 and April 1996. The interviews were conducted with each individual student and were triangulated with the conversations with staff and a review of student records.

2. I conducted hard copy searches for relevant ESL descriptions of college-bound students through extensive inquiry of journals and books in the community college and the university libraries (e.g., ESL, Hispanic and community college periodical bibliographies, news clippings, and other mass media articles).

3. I conducted computer literature and database searches through library sources (e.g., Dissertation Abstracts Online, ERIC, and Sociological Abstracts).

4. I focused on networking, attending conferences, and contacting authors of books and periodicals (e.g., Paulo Freire, Ivan Illich, and Margaret Wheatley). Key workshops included the summer conference at a university on Cultural Awareness (1995), A Summit: Hispanic Youth in Crisis (1994), and Summer conference at a college on Honoring Differences (1994).

Awareness of students and their relationship with community college faculty and other students supplied further knowledge. I interpreted and described the data as personal case studies with a collective cross-case approach (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Merriam, 1988; Yin, 1994).

Data Sources

The main data source for this research was open-ended discussions. I had one tape-recorded interview and follow-up interviews by telephone with each subject. Toward the end of the study (in April 1996), I gave the students the opportunity to

review the findings of their particular case. The in-depth interview was the primary method used to collect information about students' perceptions and perspectives, including their backgrounds, their motivations, and their performance within the community college.

Interviewees were telephoned to arrange for interview times and to provide me with an opportunity to discuss preliminary concerns. Prior to the interview, I gave each participant a copy of the "Consent Form for Student Participants" (Appendix A). Interviews were conducted at a place of their choice so that participants felt comfortable in their surroundings. The subjects were promised confidentiality to ensure sincerity. Further, it was not the intent of this study to interfere with or to compromise current relationships.

The first interview with each student lasted at least one hour. The second was shorter. A third meeting was arranged so that the participant could respond to my draft versions of the case study interview. Written interview questions served as checking points to ensure that related questions were communicated and that as much data as possible were elicited from each student. The interview protocol was developed and used for each set of interviews (Appendix C). I endeavored to use a variety of questions that would spark perceptions, perspectives, opinions, awareness, background, and feelings. I believed that the open-ended layout allowed for respect, freedom, and adaptability with each participant. It permitted me to regulate and balance the questions, keeping in mind the dynamics of each one-on-one interview situation.

In the context of the interviews, I created an atmosphere that made the student feel at ease. I understood that at the beginning, a tape recorder might deter open dialogue, so approximately 20 minutes of the interview was not taped. When I met each student for the first time, I introduced myself, presented my background, communicated about the study, and answered any questions that the student had. At this time, the students were asked to agree to the conditions of the study and sign the consent form. After this preliminary work was completed, I turned on the tape

recorder and the interview began. The tapes were transcribed immediately after the interview, while the discussion was fresh in my mind. I used Qualitative Solutions and Research Nonnumeric Unstructured Data Indexing Searching and Theorizing (QSR NUD•IST) 3.0 for Macintoshes, which is designed for qualitative studies data analysis and converts the transcriptions to separate files.

The focus of the first interview was student background, academic education, reasons for enrolling in community college courses, social intricacies, and stumbling blocks to success. The second interview investigated support networks, current goals, and motivational factors. I gave the students a copy of the transcript from the first interview as soon as possible, so that they could read and comment. I took the lead from the first interview, modifying my questions as necessary. The students were given a chance to respond to each interview before starting the next one.

From the registrar's list, I selected four women and four men. To preserve anonymity, they will be called Alicia, Angelina, Maria, Marisol, Eduardo, Emiliano, Rafael, and Rodrigo. I met and spoke via telephone with each student two or three times.

Document Review

Enrollment records from the main campus of a community college provided the necessary demographic data. I looked at details in reference to gender, ethnicity, age, academic goals, course work attempted and completed, and GPA to learn more about the students.

Data Analysis

My analysis started in June 1994 while I was collecting the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Miles & Huberman, 1984; Patton, 1990). I sketched graphic drawings of the dynamics and connections. The data search consisted of interpretive research, data collection, and analysis. Merriam (1988) states that data analysis is the "process

of making sense out of one's data" (p. 127). Further, she believes that data should be compressed and linked together into a story so that it makes sense to the reader. In formulation of the analysis, I merged, modified, and interpreted the data. According to Bryman and Burgess (1994), the challenge is to "articulate as fully as possible the processes associated with data analysis" (p. 224). Glaser and Strauss (1967) used three methods to implement constant comparison: (a) coding all data, (b) inspecting data and redesigning a developing theory, and (c) combining the explicit coding of the first approach and the style of theory development of the second. This is important because of the interconnected nature of the research. As this study is compared to previous ones, it opens up new vistas and new connections (LeCompte and Preissle, 1993).

Continuation of the data analysis followed after the first interview was transcribed. I read and reread the transcript, sorting the codes and patterns, interpreting verbal and nonverbal behavior. I listened and re-listened to the tapes until I derived perspectives and perceptions to prepare for the next eight interviews. I improved the questions with each interview (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). I listened carefully so that I had the chance to clarify any misinterpretations.

I developed lists of coding groupings, which were reworked at a later date. The preparatory list of groupings resulted from countless readings of the transcripts. I attempted to draw parallels where similar events took place within a stated time line. I labeled the time line as (a) past history, (b) enrollment in an ESL program if this is applicable, (c) transition to college classes, (d) college education, and (e) subject's vision for the future.

The strategy was to look for five aspects: background, ESL programs, reason for continuing schooling, community college education, and the future. I classified background, ESL programs, and transition to college classes into one grouping. Success factors, self-efficacy, and attitude were other groupings. I used the program, QSR NUD•IST 3.0 for Macintoshes, to enter the codes and had the program search and sort each file for classification into one grouping of equivalent coded sections.

Each file of the coding groupings was printed, using the categories to alphabetize and sort the data. Next, I looked for that topic within the sorted transcript segments and used the data for the narrative of the particular student or for the cross-case approach. If a selection from one of the students crossed many coded groupings, it was marked with each of the codes and identified under each code term.

The data reports included interview transcripts, field notes to describe the setting, school records, and individual computer codes in order to prepare the specific case profiles. The intent of this study was to identify a deep perception of the condition and its meaning of those involved. The interest is in the procedure rather than consequence, the frame of reference rather than a specific variable, in discernment instead of corroboration (Merriam, 1988). I listened to the students carefully, recorded their stories separately, and formulated a cross-case approach that investigated the students' relationships among and across the cases for analysis (Yin, 1984).

I wrote the case profiles and organized the data into related sections, in which the cross-case approach showed frequent patterns. From this, I anticipated forming the hypotheses. I looked for data pattern-matching between the students' relationships and their responses, "if the patterns coincide, the results can help a case study to strengthen its *internal validity*" (Yin, 1994, p.106). Generated hypotheses will be presented in Chapter V of this research.

Reliability and Validity

Merriam (1988) identified an important question about internal validity and the closeness of the researchers findings to reality: Do the case studies capture what is really there? She suggested that data are always open to interpretation. She concludes that "validity, then, must be assessed in terms of interpreting the investigator's experience, rather than in terms of reality itself" (p. 167). Because of the variation and intricacy of human behavior, interpretive research becomes more of a challenge in regards to validity and reliability.

LeCompte and Preissle (1993) wrote that “internal validity raises the problem of whether conceptual categories understood to have mutual meanings between the participants and the observer are shared” (p. 342). Since the mission of reliability is to reduce any biases and flaws in the research, expanding the efficiency of the researcher's data gathering and evaluation should enhance reliability. Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested certain tactics for ensuring internal validity and their use to establish trustworthiness in an interpretive design: prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing, referential adequacy, and member checks. Merriam (1988) argued that along with these strategies, the researcher's speculations need to be clearly stated at the beginning of the study. These techniques were used to establish the reliability and validity of this research.

I interviewed and observed the subjects for a period of 5 months. I triangulated conversations with students, staff, and student records department. As the research developed, this allowed me to cross-check communications. I also looked for correlation between the students and grade point averages and graduation reports from the registrar's office.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested some techniques for establishing trustworthiness as they apply to interpretive research: triangulation (sources, methods, and investigators), member checks, and prolonged engagement. These techniques were used to support the validity and reliability of this study.

Triangulation is the use of multiple sources of data (Merriam, 1988; Miles & Huberman, 1984; Patton, 1990; Yin, 1994). Triangulation requires the use of multiple sources of documentation and “combines dissimilar methods such as interviews, observations, and physical evidence to study the same unit. The opportunity to use multiple methods of data collection is a major strength of case study research” (Merriam, 1988, p. 69). Student interviews, conversations with faculty and staff, and student records were used to triangulate. As the study evolved, I cross-checked facts drawn from the student interviews with facts gathered from conversations with faculty and staff who knew the participants. Further, I correlated the data from the

students concerning course fulfillment and grade point averages with reports of academic achievement from the admissions office.

Member checks (in process and terminal) were made by talking with the subjects who participated in the study. Member checks were carried out by giving the students the review of the questions and findings of their particular case. One student responded with a thank you note for letting him read his section and content of the dissertation write up from the interview questions. "To the best of my knowledge, all this information is accurate." Further, the students were given two more chances to reply to the data.

Prolonged engagement is the period during which the interviews were conducted; it can be short but reasonable. The 5-month period allowed participatory interviewing on a regular basis to establish ensuing patterns and to form trust relationships with the students. Three of the students had been in my classes, and I had known them for one to two years. Two others I had tutored in the learning center. The other three I gradually became acquainted with over the 5-month period. Sincere relationships emerged between the students and me that supported shaping the data. The study centered around the students; their perceptions and perspectives highlighted the ground for activating the hypotheses.

Conversations with Staff

I needed further information after the student interviews, so I had conversations with the staff. The intent was to increase the number of sources for receiving information to enrich the validity of the research (Yin, 1984). I provided faculty and staff with a consent form (Appendix B) to sign before any conversations began. I also observed the students at the institution and noted interactions with staff and other students.

Interviews and conversations with staff began November, 1995 and continued through April, 1996. The time-frame gave me the opportunity to develop and evaluate concepts while data were being collected. The aim of the data collection was the

obtaining of descriptions that explained how eight ESL students were motivated to enroll at a rural community college and continue their studies in college credit classes.

To optimize the validity of the study, I requested that the students read their first interview transcripts before the second interview occurred. I gave the students further opportunities to reply to the information; I sent them the written transcription of the interviews and their case profiles for their feedback. The third meeting took place toward the end of the 5-month period in order to discuss their case studies. Toward the end of the 5-month period, I asked them to make any corrections or omit anything they did not feel comfortable with. I looked at the patterns to see how the descriptions fit individually and collectively.

The interviews were conducted over two quarters, which enabled me to establish trustworthiness with the students. They were the center of this research, and I anticipated that their perceptions and perspectives would form the groundwork of my hypotheses.

To enhance the authenticity of the study, I kept a journal to note qualitative methods and to record field notes, which included the ambience of the interview to record interviewee's gestures and attitudes; I also kept case files to describe how data were collected and how the decisions were handled while compiling the data for the study.

Ethical Awareness

I was aware of the purpose of the study and the privacy of the students before, during, and after the research was completed. I communicated to the students the purpose and action of the research and any advantages and disadvantages which involved their participation. All eight students and faculty and staff were provided with consent forms (Appendices A and B). I changed the participants' names in order to safeguard against any psychological or social discomfort. I kept the information and coding of theories in a locked file cabinet in my home.

CHAPTER IV

CASE PROFILES

Introduction

Education does not change things overnight. It makes change possible and irreversible. It cannot be stolen or taken away. It can be given away without losing any of it. It is something to hand down to your children and grandchildren like a family treasure. For me education is very important.

La educación no cambia las cosas de un día a otro. Hace el cambio posible e irrevocable. No puede ser robada ni negada. Se puede usar y no se pierde nada. Es algo que se pasa a sus hijos y nietos como un tesoro familiar. Para mí, la educación es muy importante.

(Cesar Chavez, 1975-76, p. 6)

This study examined the experiences of a group of eight Hispanic ESL students who were enrolled in certificate or degree programs at a rural community college. Through in-depth interviews, close descriptive methods, cross-case critique, and triangulation, student profiles were drawn to learn about their backgrounds, their motivations for continuing their schooling, and their reasons for registering at a community college. The goal was to identify the motivating factors which may have influenced these eight students in the persistence of their education.

This chapter synthesizes the case profiles and cross-case analysis. In order to understand the perceptions and perspectives of Hispanic ESL students, I conducted in-depth interviews with eight participants (four women, four men) at a rural community college. The study concentrated on motivating factors that have influenced these students to persist at the college. Each of the interviews, along with student records and demographic data, formed the case profiles. To protect the students' privacy, pseudonyms were used. I named the institution Cedar Community College. I selected cross-case comparisons to express the pattern that developed from the data.

Case Profiles

Maria

Maria is a 25-year-old divorced woman with a warm welcoming attitude that shows in her alert, brown eyes. Born in Mexico, Maria moved to the United States alone when she was 15. Her family stayed in Mexico. Neither of her parents were graduated from high school. She is the first and only person in her family to go to college.

Maria remembers the elementary school as a very structurally rigid educational approach. They had a lot of homework and many assignments. She went to the same school for middle school. This school was more fun. Maria went to the tenth grade. When she moved to the southern part of the United States, her goals were to continue in school, but at that time she was unable to do so. Four years later, she began to study English as a second language.

In the south, after four years, the first contact that Maria made was through telephoning. Although she spoke very little English, it was understandable. She found the telephone number for a community college in the southern state and called. She attended ESL classes for 6 months at a community college. Looking at the level of her education, she reasoned, "I really wanted to continue and do something with my life. So I started looking for you know, culinary, technical art, and different colleges and what they offered." So in the process of looking for what the community college offered, she began to study English.

It was a classroom with four students who wanted to learn English. It helped me a lot to read it and write it, but I learned it faster by practicing it. And then a lot of times I thought it wasn't really helping much because I was learning pronunciations and little things. But later, when I was actually practicing and picking up a newspaper and reading it, it actually made sense with what I know and what I pick up in the classroom, so it was really helping. (147-148, November 1995)

She moved to the Pacific Northwest, and within a short time located an ESL program at Cedar Community College. She found the ESL classes "very easy." Upon taking tests and evaluations of writing and knowledge of English, she was ready to go

into regular GED classes at Cedar Community College. After she passed all five GED tests and earned her certificate, she then enrolled in community college courses. She learned a lot from what she studied. "I learned techniques that have helped me not only for my degree but for everyday life. I learned to look at things from a different point of view. Definitely my knowledge has become broader since then—since my college classes."

Of the GED program, Maria said, "Basically I wanted to learn how to write. I wanted to learn how to speak correctly and read and everything. But I wasn't really planning on going to college. That was something that came up after I was in the GED class and I decided to go on with my education." In studying for her GED, she realized that if she wanted to go to college, she could. After earning her GED certificate, she worked as a waitress and was making good money, but she also started thinking, "Where is it going to take me?" A motivating factor for Maria was that she did not want to be a waitress "her whole life." She decided she should find a way to move on. Her family was supportive of her educational efforts.

The way they look at education? My father always told me that education is something that you should never limit yourself to. However, since I come from a not very wealthy family, my family couldn't afford sending us all to school. But they do think highly of education. That's part of the reason I went to college because I want to prove to my brothers that I can do it and that anything is possible. (417-418, November 1995)

She enrolled in the community college "to be somebody and to be able to open doors for myself and not wait for someone to open them. I want to be able to go out there and see whatever the world has for me." She chose this college because it was close to where she was living.

I wanted to study law. I was always interested in law. But I realized it was very, very long years of college, and since I don't have support from my family and I'm working to pay for college, it's difficult, so I have to take it a step at a time. I like law. It was one of my interests since I was little. A lot of people get misinformation from law enforcement, and a lot of Hispanics are afraid of the law because they don't know it. (302-303, November 1995)

One of Maria's dreams is to help Hispanics who do not really know the law and to help them to look at it in a different way. Most of her friends show a lot of support for her attendance at the community college.

Her short-term goals are to finish her 2-year degree and get a job working with the police department, "And maybe later on opening my own business in criminal investigation." Her long-term goals are getting three degrees, A.A., B.A., and M.A., and working for herself or for a good corporation or for the government.

Maria remembers her first college class:

It was writing and it was interesting. I think writing has always been a challenge. I was kind of scared because I was competing with a lot of Anglos who had more knowledge of the language than I did. But I never felt less or more than them. I felt that I had the same abilities to learn the course materials that they did. (347-347, November 1995)

She felt confident that she could do the work and do it well. She has been attending the community college for four quarters. At times she had to stop because she had to pay for the classes as she went along. Stopping has made the completion of her degree more difficult in a number of ways.

When I stop I get turned off or my mind is not used to reading or writing or being taken up with studies. If I don't follow something right from the beginning, it makes it hard to go back to it. I attended college full- and part-time and worked pretty much full-time. (371-372, November 1995)

She talked about juggling jobs. She is a court bilingual interpreter as well as a waitress with an income between \$10,000 and \$20,000 per year. "It's hard because my job requires for me to put 100% at work regardless of my life or school. And also my school requires 100%." So she found it difficult sometimes to do both. At any rate, she has to support herself, and she wants to go to school.

Maria thinks that it will be very beneficial to her own family when she gets married and has children because they will see how hard she tried to get what she has; also when the children have questions about college, she will be able to answer them. She will feel included in her children's lives and "will relate to their education, their mind and everything. I think it will definitely help me a lot."

She thinks there has been a change in her nephew as a result of her going to college. Her 19-year-old nephew tells her, Maria added, "You're going to get somewhere." She and her nephew, who is attending a university, encourage each other. Her sister-in-law told her that the nephew is doing his best because Maria is doing it by herself. "So he's trying to kind of compete, so he is really encouraging. I like that."

One of Maria's favorite courses was Criminal Law. Another one she liked was Becoming a Master Student. This course gave her a different point of view, of adjusting to college, of being responsible for what she wants, and it was really helpful. She thought writing was difficult and challenging, but she liked it.

The largest obstacles she has faced outside of college have been economic. She thinks of her bills. "I am buying my house, and a new car—not a new car but new to me anyway—paying my bills and being on time, and going to college and working hard, and being single, and not having the support of a family, so it's just a lot of stress."

Maria has good feelings about her ability to succeed at Cedar Community College. She has it set in her mind that she will graduate regardless of the costs she has or the hard courses. "I will finish my degree. It is something I will make happen. I feel confident about that." She stated that even if she dropped out for a term, she will finish, even if it takes a little longer.

Advice that she would give to incoming Hispanic ESL students is:

I would tell them to have an open mind and accept all different points of view from teachers and students as well and to be open about it. I know that the teachers have different forms of teaching and different personalities. Well, we are the ones interested in learning something from them; they all have something to teach. We just have to be willing to have an open mind and accept them, no matter how difficult their personality is or format might be. (482-483, November 1995)

When asked if she thought that special programs or services should be created to help people who come from an ESL background, she replied:

I don't think so. I think whenever special programs are created—giving them special rights because they speak another language or something like that—they are making it easier for them. It has to be on the same level of study for

everyone because the fact that they have problems doesn't mean they are less intelligent. (487-488, November 1995)

She thinks that to be fair everyone should be treated equally.

For Maria, the most satisfying experience has been getting good grades. Maria has maintained a solid grade point average (2.75) while working and attending classes. She experienced frustration when she was writing without a computer and trying to learn new words. She participated in student activities such as study groups, giving speeches, doing research, and getting to know her classmates. She also works at the community college translating from Spanish to English in a women's training program for dislocated workers.

Maria was also positive about discussing the community college instructors.

There was one person who helped her a lot with encouragement and Maria claims:

She was just being there for me. She was a teacher who found time to help her with support and counseling. One of the best feelings is when the teacher is really interested in advising how to get better grades. I think the most rewarding part is knowing that my teacher is a person who really cares and not a person just doing her job. (537-542, November 1995)

Maria feels that the encouragement she received at the community college gave her the courage and confidence to persist.

Maria has made friends on campus. The tutoring services, as well as group study have been useful. She has had three different tutors from the time she started working on her GED through the present work toward her degree. "They have been wonderful people who have helped me get good grades and have spent the extra time with my homework assignment and have given me encouragement. It has been a wonderful experience being a complete stranger, and coming in to a new environment."

She is very satisfied with Cedar Community College but thinks that teachers should encourage students to study in groups. She only had two classes where they did that, and it was really helpful. Maria reiterated how it did not feel like a classroom. It felt more like a group of people learning together, learning from each other. She emphasized how good that was for teacher and student.

On a typical day, Maria gets up early, but not too early. She has coffee, showers and drives to school. She is in school from 9:00 a.m. to 1:30 p.m. Then she drives home, has lunch, does some laundry, cleans house, and gets ready for work at 4:00 p.m. in the women's program. She does not arrive back home until 10:30 or 11:00 p.m. Maria said, "That is a typical day." In class, Maria would sit in the front of the class. She would be taking notes and looking at the teacher most of the time. She also asks questions in class. If she feels like she is getting a little bored, she reminds herself that she is paying for this class, so if she does not take advantage of it, she will be losing money and wasting time.

When asked why she is succeeding when there are ESL students who skip out, she states:

I think I have received a lot of encouragement from people who say that I can do it and have expectations that I can. And I think I can. I think people who drop out are either a little bit lazy or they think everything is going to be easy and don't follow up with their goal. They don't have enough courage to continue, I think. Maybe they have more problems than I do. I don't know. I think a lot of us have higher, different expectations of school. We think that we learn everything within a month or within a week, and then we'll get good grades and stuff like that. But then when they are in a class where they are not getting good grades, they are saying I'm wasting my time here. And you know, it's hard and I'm paying money to be here, and I don't feel good about what I'm getting so I might as well drop. They may drop out, but I don't think they give 100%. (617-618, November 1995)

Maria has changed since enrolling at the community college. "I think of things before I do it. I think about the impact it would have on my life, and my school, and my future; I'm not such an impulsive person as I was, probably." After she graduates, she is planning to get a good job and work hard in different areas of her life. She comments about other Hispanic ESL students and what they can learn from her success at the college:

They can handle it. Not everything is going to be easy. In order for us to succeed, we have to give our best in every area of our lives. And sometimes we have to try harder than the Anglos, and that's because we have a second language, but that is not a barrier for us not to go to school and not to graduate from a college or a university. (652-653, November 1995)

Maria believes that no matter what kind of education your parents have or what kind of education parents give, the student is responsible for opening doors to education. When asked if economics was a big factor in the pursuit of education, she replied, "Yes and no. Yes, because you have to work hard, and you have to concentrate on what you invest your money on; and no if you really have a materialistic point of view, and you would rather have designer clothes than pay for your school or rather have a nice car than go to school and spend money on books."

She has a few mentors, people that she really looks up to. She admires one instructor who helped her during hard times. She also mentioned a Hispanic researcher:

I also admire her very much because when I was in her class she told us that she had to drive 300 miles to go to school. And I really thought, 'Wow, she is doing all this, and she is not as young as I am and she is doing her best. Why can't I?' So I look up to those people who are trying very hard to succeed even though they are at a different level than I am. If they can, I can too. So I really admire those people who are giving their best, even though they have different problems than I or bigger problems. I think that's wonderful. (539-540, November 1995)

Many of Maria's instructors have helped to form her attitude toward college and life. She plans to finish her degree and find a different job in the field that she is studying and then continue to earn a baccalaureate degree.

Maria ended stating, "People should encourage each other more. People should be a little more human."

Rafael

Rafael is a 48-year-old married father of two, who started at a community college in 1994. He is an extrovert with a keen sense of politeness and usually has a smile on his face. He is almost always conversing with his classmates. Born in Mexico, he moved to Oregon at 13. His immediate family included his mother from Mexico City, his father, who was from Spain, and nine siblings. Five were born in Mexico, and four in the United States. In Mexico, Rafael attended two elementary grade schools. Now he lives with his wife and 16-year-old son in their own home in a lovely, rural area surrounded by mountains and tall pine trees. His income is now between \$30,000

and \$40,000 a year. This interview took place in a simple community college room with traces of mathematical equations on the blackboards. I thought the conversation flowed freely. Rafael spoke enthusiastically.

At 13 years of age, he started to learn English in a small town in the Pacific Northwest with a tutor whose name he still remembers. There were no ESL programs that he knew of in that area during 1974. His junior high years were spent in the west, where he started going to a speech therapist because much of the pronunciation of words in Spanish is not the same as in English, especially the j's.

While attending high school back in the northwest, he was older than most of the students, and at times he did not attend classes regularly. For a while he skipped school and wrote his own excuses. "Because I was drawing on my mom's name, her name is Concepción, I was spelling it with a t-i-o-n at the end, and that is not the way you spell it. She finally wrote a note herself, the real McCoy, and that's how I got caught." After that he attended school regularly and started liking it though he thought it was very hard. Besides going to high school, he had a full-time job.

I was working for U.S. Plywood. As soon as I was done with school, I would grab my lunch and head down to the bay to catch the ferry which would take us across the bay. Then I would work a full shift. I used to get out at two in the morning. Then I would go home, take a shower and sleep for a little bit and then go back to school again. It was very hard to keep up with job, school, girlfriends, oh boy. The main thing that I wanted to do was graduate out of high school. (170-176, December 1995)

After graduating from high school, he decided to join the army. Though he was not yet a U.S. citizen, they told him that since he had been here since childhood he was eligible for all benefits. So he joined the army and went to Fort Lewis, Washington for basic training. He is a Vietnam veteran and after 3 years he was discharged from the service because of a disability.

After completing his mission in the service, he attended a community college in California because he had an opportunity to use the G.I. Bill. At that time, he was studying criminology and mechanics. "Even in high school, all my electives were

mechanics, and then I went to college for mechanics. I was a mechanic in the army, so I had a mechanical mind if you will.”

He moved back to the Pacific Northwest, and within a short time located a community college and began studying—30 years after leaving high school. “I was really surprised I was doing really good. I surprise[d] myself because I didn’t think I was going to make it. I’m doing very well.” He thinks that the community college is not like army schooling. He describes his army college experience. “It’s like an academy; you go to school there like a full-time college, but it’s military subjects. It doesn’t have anything to do with reading and writing.” He said that he earned a military certificate of achievement.

Rafael worked as a mechanic, but when the Veteran’s Administration found out he was working as a mechanic, they objected because he was receiving disability payments. They gave him two options: either quit his job and go to school or keep the job and give up the disability payments. He decided to quit his job. “I always wanted to go back to college.” His original motivation for continuing at the local community college was that he had wanted to become a professional mechanic. The money was still allocated for his studies. He is close to his parents, and they’ve been positive about his going to college. His friends are “amazed that an old man like me could still go to school.” His present major is Human Services. “I like to help people a lot.” Rafael is motivated to continue his education after completing his associate degree. “I have the opportunity once given the degree here to go up north . . . to pursue the [degree] to keep going with my career, and to get my Bachelor’s degree. I have the opportunity for about six more years. This was because of the G.I. Bill, Chapter 31,” he said.

Rafael has completed three quarters at a community college and recalls his first day: “I was kind of nervous. I felt kind of left out because I was seeing the younger generation coming into college; I felt butterflies in my stomach. But the whole time it was not easy in the first term; it was very hard. But now I think I am getting used to it.” This is his fourth quarter and he remarked, “I’m afraid if I stop I won’t get going again.” He is a full-time student and is not employed. “I always like to work, but it was

so hard to work and go to college at the same time; I just couldn't do it." So economics was not a factor in Rafael's case. "Yeah, money is no problem."

When Rafael started college, his wife was very supportive. He explains what she did from the beginning of his studies to show her support:

Well you know, it was funny because we have a big house and my wife set up the last bedroom in the house. She made the curtains and matching pillows out of material with deer, elk and fish on them. . . . That is my office. And she got me, I think they call them, day beds. If I get tired in the middle of the night or when I'm studying, I go to sleep right there or just rest for a while. The computer system is already set up. The whole room is set up just strictly for me. (502-503, December 1995)

His 16-year-old son was not particularly supportive, and his other son in the marines in Japan "doesn't care one way or the other." Rafael noted that his parents pushed him to go to college. "Times were different . . . especially for someone in the Mexican community to go to school and hold a job at the same time. It was, how should I put it, an honor, maybe?" My parents do ask, 'how are you doing in school?' I say, 'Well, I'm doing very well.' [Then] I tell them my GPA which is 3.5. Too bad to them it doesn't mean anything."

Rafael was the first one in his family to go to college. He is the only one of nine siblings to finish high school. He was especially motivated because his parents did not attend college:

Well you know, I don't think they pursued their education as far as they would like to simply because the money was not there. We always lived so-so in society but not enough to go to colleges and things like that. Colleges in other countries, especially Mexico, are very, very expensive. Only a few will get the education they need. When they came here, they went to high school at night for English classes, but that's as far as they went. I imagine it got boring for them because, at 60 years old, it is not the same as learning when you are a kid. (972-978, December 1995)

In discussing his course work, he says he discovered that he always enjoys mathematics, history, and science. He likes numbers and thinks that history and science are fascinating because they are always changing. He has not liked psychology because it can get pretty deep; however, he believes that he must keep going because psychology and all the human services courses are a must for his degree. When asked

about the social nature of education, Rafael responded, "Well you know, because of my age, it was a little different. I wouldn't really want to associate with the younger generation. Maybe it's just my imagination, but now all the other people want to associate with me. I was like a magnet. Maybe they think I know more." It definitely made him feel good that people were drawn to him. When asked if he had a mentor, he replied that he had two or three

When asked about how he felt about his ability to succeed at Cedar Community College, Raphael responded:

How do I feel? Very good, really. It's a change . . . because in high school I really didn't care. But now definitely I do care. He talked about advice that he would give someone who was starting classes at the community college: Study your material. Definitely do your homework. Homework is a must. Some teachers say you've got to spend 2 hours homework for each college hour. . . . I think it is more than that.

Rafael was positive and upbeat about his ability to succeed.

He finds few obstacles on campus; but when he is stuck on a problem, he does not like to bother the teacher, although he does contact faculty when he has a question due to his hearing problems. He wears a hearing aid. He bothers his peers when he is definitely stuck. He thinks it is really frustrating when he cannot get the problems worked out when he wants to complete a project. "Boy, sometimes my stomach just turns up and down. I get very nervous." Barriers off-campus were few with the exception of occasional car trouble.

When asked about the overall experiences at the community college, Rafael noted:

The main thing is that I'm doing real good. That's where I want to stand because I like to stay one step ahead of the system, but the system doesn't allow me to do it. For example, I can't buy books before the classes, way before the classes. That way, I have a chance to look at them. Also, about grades, I won't see my grades until maybe next week or 2 weeks from the time the term ends. In between this time, my stomach just turns; I am so nervous. (778-779, December 1995)

Rafael would like to know what his grades are immediately, not necessarily the official grade. He stated that 50% of his teachers will tell him his grade at the end of the term.

The president of the community college sent Rafael a letter asking him to join the honor society. People who have a GPA of 3.5 and above are eligible. He did not know if he would join because there are meetings to attend, and he did not know if he would have time with his schedule being as full as it is.

Rafael describes himself as a student who is “easygoing, I guess I always like to have fun, you know. It’s funny because if somebody feels down, all I have to do is say something and they tell me, ‘You know something, I feel real bad this morning but after I talk to you I feel good.’ ”

When asked about his overall experience as a student at the community college, Rafael responded that in general the faculty and staff has been very encouraging, positive, and helpful. He has used the tutoring services in the learning centers at both the main campus and the satellite campus. He commented, “Learning centers are just great. . . . I ran into a little bit of a problem because there are not enough tutors in the learning center.” He stated that there were only one or two tutors for English, one for language and one for math. Rafael comments on participatory learning:

One thing I noticed is that in most of the classes I have to work in a group, and I never worked with a group before. Here they encourage group work, and it helps a lot. . . . People will have to depend on me and I have to depend on them. That’s one thing about Human Services; everything is in teams. (778-779, December 1995)

Rafael was a student in my math class, and he contributed to the group process by asking questions and providing answers when questions were posed. He seemed at home in the participatory learning process.

Regarding the job market, he said, “I hope it’s real good. Right now the job market, when I check, is not very good for the simple reason that the people around here are requiring professional psychologists and psychiatrists. . . . So, with an AA degree, it’s not going to do me any good.” He felt he needed an advanced graduate degree. “I checked into it; the job market is very, very slim.”

On a typical day, Rafael arrives on campus a half-hour early before his first class begins. He defines success as “to be all you can be.” He thinks that he has

become more mature and more dependable since he enrolled into the community college. When asked if other Hispanic ESL students can learn from his success, he replied, "Yes, definitely, without doubt, yes. But I notice there's a couple out there, maybe they're not learning as much as I'm learning, but they're having a pretty tough time." He commented that he has seen ESL students in classes, and they have a very hard time because of the English language.

Rafael will finish at Cedar Community College after winter quarter 1997 and will enroll in a 4-year university at that time.

Marisol

Marisol is a 30-year-old, divorced mother of three children. She is engaged to be married to a carpenter in April, 1996. In many ways, she is a perfect example of a Hispanic radical female who knows her legal rights and stands up for them. She admits to being aggressive; however, she is working on becoming assertive. We met at a local coffee shop at her suggestion, and she answered the questions as the soft lull of noise and music filled the air along with the aroma of espresso drifting into the room. It was a relaxed atmosphere. Marisol looked as I remembered her when I tutored her in mathematics, as if she had just stepped out of the shower: clean, bright, and well dressed in her blue jeans.

Born in New York, Marisol lived in Puerto Rico and New York in her early childhood spending a number of years in both locations. At the age of 1 year, her immediate family moved to Puerto Rico. She lived there until she was 4 and then moved to the Virgin Islands. Marisol dropped out of school at age 16 and earned her GED. Her brother dropped out of high school at 17 and joined the military. Later he earned his GED. He is attending college on the G.I. Bill in Korea. Her sister earned a certificate from a community college. Her mother is a high school graduate and after getting her divorce, she put herself through college and graduated. Her father has a master's degree and a prominent position at a 4-year institution. Her 65-year-old

grandmother also went to college. Her grandmother is a poet and writes books in Spanish.

Although Marisol was born in New York, she was raised in a traditional Puerto Rican household. She went to St. Mary's Catholic elementary school, which was very structured, in the St. Croix Islands. The nuns taught the children, and she remembers "no one talked to one another . . . no one helped one another." Marisol recalled her Catholic school experience:

The Catholic school experience was strict but I liked it. We had uniforms. I think they should have uniforms now. We learned more. In third grade, I knew algebra and how to structure my sentences and break them down. By third grade, I knew all my times tables. The elementary school experience in the United States was not good. I was ahead of everybody else. I was very bored, and because of that I just never had an interest in school afterwards. Then in high school, I dropped out. (120-121, December 1995)

She moved around a lot so she experienced different schools. She attended junior high in the Pacific Northwest. She liked that. Even though it was an American school, it was structured because it was old-fashioned. She thought it was a lot like being in a private school, except they were not required to wear uniforms. The smaller classes led to a lot of individual attention. It made it easier. She described it as a small little country school. She liked the junior high school only because she was able to pick out almost all her classes. So if she wanted all art classes, that's what she enrolled in. The reason for this freedom was that it was an alternative school. She recalls exhilarating experiences in junior high:

. . . pottery class teacher. . . I think he was supportive. He didn't allow kids to pick on other kids and that kind of stuff. To tell the truth, I think he kind of favored me. I'm not sure why. But I think my better experiences, as far as remembering teachers, were in parochial school. I remember all of my teachers then. I never went to kindergarten. I skipped kindergarten. I took a test and went straight to first grade. I did take trips at parochial school, and we went to the beaches. I learned a lot. (160-165, December 1995)

She never really liked high school. It was short-term.

Marisol's first language was Spanish. Her second language was Cruzan, which is a Jamaican dialect. Her third language was English, which she learned in the United States.

At present, she has a job as a Medical Specialist earning between \$15,000 and \$20,000 a year. Although she was one term away from finishing the certificate, she was hired while she was doing Cooperative Work Experience (CWE) at Cedar Community College. Since she entered her college classes in 1991, this is what happened to her:

I think it's mainly because I'm bilingual, and I volunteered at a clinic, and I got the job. I was pulled out of school and was hired. Ever since then I've gotten off of welfare completely, thank God. I still live in the same apartment that I've lived in for the past 4 years. I've just been working. I've gotten myself into the National Guard so I can further my career, possibly go to nursing school. I'm getting married and hopefully moving into a house soon. That's about it, really. (275-276, December 1995)

She was grateful for getting the job which enabled her to get off the welfare rolls and support her three children. She is enthusiastic and self-motivated:

What motivated me to go to college? The fact that I didn't want to be working at a fast food place. I did not want to work somewhere that would not help or further my future. It would just impede me to stay doing nothing. I want to travel, and the fact that I have kids to support. I plan on just traveling in a motor home, totally self-contained, and just get a job wherever I go, basically as a nurse in any Third World country, especially Belize and those places, Guatemala. (300-301, December 1995)

Marisol's motivation for enrolling in college was to support her children. She selected the closest community college because it was the least expensive. She said, "Actually it was through Job Opportunity Basic Skills (JOBS). It's what was offered to me at the time through the Adult and Family Services (AFS) department." She declared a major, Medical Assistant. She remembers her first day on the community college campus:

I was excited and a little nervous. For my first college experience, it was traumatic because I had to leave my child behind in a day care, and it was the first time I had ever been separated from him I think it was worse for me than it was for him. He was 5 at the time, I think, 4 or 5. And I cried the whole time. (405-406, December 1995)

Marisol attended this community college for 2-years straight through. "I think I did summers also. You know at AFS they don't let you do anything else." She stopped at one point because for the JOBS program she had to take one quarter off. She did not

think that the time out of school mattered in relationship to the completion of her certificate.

Marisol was a student who I personally tutored in the learning center while she was studying mathematics. I also interviewed her for a project in an Education and Work class last winter. She related the following information to me at that time. While attending the community college, as part of her program, she was required to do Cooperative Work Experience (CWE) which she found valuable.

I think the strengths are the fact that I went out into the work force and did handle the job. I am earning a Medical Office Clinical certificate. I was a non-paid Clinical Assistant in 1992. I was hired in September and was legally employed. When I went through the JOBS program it was a short amount of time. The health clinic told me they had an opening. When they hired me, I believe one of the reasons is that I am bilingual. After the college program, I was a volunteer through JOBS. The Job Council paid the health center to have me work for them. I was in charge of placing myself in an organization. (January 1994)

She suggested improvements for CWE. She found the classes to be the "same stuff over and over." She found the lecture was fine in the beginning, but afterward it was boring and not stimulating. She suggested that instead of class, they should meet for 30 minutes to give an update and then to use the rest of the time in a more creative way. She adds, "In the vocational program, they need to have Spanish in the clinical program. This should be one of the top priorities." Because of the community college program, Marisol now has a full-time, 40-hour-per-week, position at the community health center:

Actually, I'm a clinic assistant and I do everything in the front office, and I'm the interpreter. As far as changing goes, I want to change because I want more of a leadership role. I want to be in charge of the department or something. Actually what I want to do is become a paramedic emergency room nurse. (340-341, December 1995)

It was a job that determined her major study. Marisol wanted a job that was in demand all over the world. She wanted a career that would last. Marisol has a 2.24 GPA, 56 credits and is 12 credits away from earning her certificate. Although she has one term to complete her certificate, she is going to finish her certificate through the military

with the National Registry. They accepted her credits that she earned at the community college.

She is going in as an E-2 instead of just a private because of her education. She explained, "You can't go into the military anymore without a degree. A GED doesn't cut it anymore. You have to have some college experience or be a high school graduate to enter the military." Some of her short-term goals are to complete her basic training, active duty, and medical training with the military. Some of her long-term goals are to find a higher paying job.

When asked to describe the connection between work and education, she stated that economics was not a big factor in the pursuit of education because AFS took care of it. She states, "Had I not been on welfare, I could not have gone because school is ridiculously expensive. I think it is ridiculous that America should have to charge its citizens for education, which is why I'm going into the Guard because I will get free education."

She said that her family was supportive of her when she was enrolled in the community college. Her parents feel that education is an individual choice. Marisol does not believe that education is the main path to success. She thinks that experience is the main path to success. Her main priorities in achieving her goal are to be able to support her children and give them what they need in life.

Marisol spoke about how she managed her time and energy while going to school and working. She also suggested that people go out and volunteer.

You're already trained and when they have to hire someone, the first person they are going to think of is you. That's how I got the job. I did good work. I was fast at learning and I was bilingual. I think everyone in this world should be bilingual. And if you're English speaking, go and learn a foreign language. If you live in Hawaii, you've got to learn Japanese. Employers, managers, and partners in corporations must realize this. (540-541, December 1995)

She believes that people need to learn another language in order to function better in the world. For the most part, she believes that a general education is beneficial.

Did the social nature of education help her to socialize? She felt very adamant about it:

I didn't like the people at the community college. There were a lot of people that have no self-respect for themselves. It was depressing for me to go there. For the most part, it was all welfare families, and although I was on welfare, I had self-respect and pride in the way I looked, and the way I acted, and what I was doing. Half the people there did not. And as far as I was concerned, anyone that tells you it's because 'I'm poor' is just lying because it does not take much to buy soap and water and look decent and to care about your appearance and the way that you are. It was almost like being in elementary school, the attitude of these people. . . . I could not stand being there. I felt like I was in kindergarten with all of these immature little people. It got to the point where I didn't want to go to school anymore. I dreaded going. I did not want to go. I would go all the time dressed and people would ask me, 'Where are you going, are you going to an interview?' Especially, the women would comment. It was disgusting. (607-608, December 1995)

She was also discontented with the welfare system. She was quite harsh in her judgment.

Regarding discrimination, she personally has never dealt with racism or bigotry because she will not let anyone approach her in that fashion. Concerning other people, she has overheard remarks about Mexicans or Blacks and says, "If I know the person personally, I'll say something."

Marisol commented positively more than once about the JOBS program. Marisol appears to be satisfied with the fact that she was able to obtain a job and to reach one of her goals. She thinks the JOBS program in itself made her feel good because they were helping mothers get an education, a good job, and slowly get off assistance. She asserts that the JOBS program was a positive move and helped her stay in school. They did not pressure people to go get a job and get off welfare immediately. She recalled, "It was kind of weaning women off AFS so it was good." It was a slow process. One teacher in the JOBS program influenced her by talking about how people approach other people and the subtle signs to look for. She feels good that she has been able to provide for her three children as a result of attending the community college through the JOBS program. She also feels that the CWE program was an added dimension in helping obtain a well-paid position.

Marisol sees herself as a civil rights activist. Her mother was a chairwoman for the National Organization for Women (NOW), and that has influenced her to stand up for her rights. Her father helped her to know her legal rights. Her father and mother were important influences. Both were vital forces in her success. A major motivating factor is that her parents were so active in civil rights, which led to her strong beliefs.

When asked how she felt about her ability to succeed at the community college, she replied, "Oh I felt good. I was very proud of myself for obtaining what I obtained. I was very proud for getting off of welfare."

Marisol's use of the student support system on campus has consisted of the learning center where she used tutoring services to get help with her math. She also took advantage of the counseling services which were beneficial to her but were not as available as she would have liked them to be. She has never been in an ESL classroom, but she thinks that all Hispanics who do not know English should learn English. She also believes that all business employees and employers should have classes to teach their employees Spanish.

She spoke about the teachers she liked and disliked. The ones she liked were patient. They were willing to sit with the student and discuss things with them. They were not condescending. They were positive in their approach, and they offered plenty of encouragement. There were the opposite type of teachers, the ones who were condescending and unapproachable. They did not have time for the students. She did spend time talking with faculty or staff if necessary. She characterizes her relationship with her instructors as good. Marisol attributes her success to different factors: "I'm succeeding because I am not ignorant. I'm succeeding because I'm going out there and grabbing what I need to do to further myself and my education and my career."

She thinks that success is achievement of set goals. "I feel good about accomplishments and getting myself out of a hole." She thinks that the job opportunities for her will be good because she is bilingual and because of her training. In the future, she plans to go to a 4-year university.

In order to help other Hispanic ESL students learn from her success at the community college, Marisol strongly recommends volunteering, learning English, and knowing the law.

You must know your legal rights and know where you stand in America legally; you must know what your civil laws are. Because if you don't know them, you are ignorant. Go to the library. Go to your law schools [and] affirmative action. They have booklets that can tell you what your legal rights are. In any employment situation, know your rights. Not everybody in this world knows that all your personal records are legally yours to look at whether you want to or not. Half the people I've spoken to don't believe they have a right to look at their medical records or go to any organization in this world and pull their records out and have legal rights to obtain them. There is a lot of ignorance in this world, and I think it keeps people stagnated. (892-902, December 1995)

Marisol thinks that more than education, people need to know their legal rights.

Marisol ended the interview with closing comments about Cedar Community College:

The one thing that I really liked and was beneficial was that the courses that I went through taught me exactly what I was going to learn at work. They didn't teach you social studies. They didn't give you what you weren't going to apply at work. They taught you exactly what you were going to apply at work, and I think that's how education should be. No one needs social studies unless you're going to be a teacher. Unless you're going to be a graphic designer or computer expert, you're not going to need algebra or fractions for that matter. I think they just have to streamline education in schools and just basically give you what this community college had: 2-year programs for specific jobs. That's the way I think education should be. I'd have programs for specific jobs and not just have classes, a wide variety of classes. I think a lot of it is a waste of time. (907-908, December 1995)

During the past year, she enlisted in the National Guard. In May of 1996, Marisol leaves for boot camp to train and to finish the certificate that she started at the community college. Though it is only a few months away, knowing that this will be a new life for her gives Marisol a time line and a bright future to look forward to. Her determination is as strong as ever as she continues to make sacrifices for her three children. She has faith in the value of this new "free education" for herself and her children.

Emiliano

Emiliano is 27 years old, clean cut, confident, and married. He graduated from a community college in 1995. Emiliano is now at a 4-year university completing his baccalaureate degree. He chose to be interviewed in his brother's home in lush forest surroundings where the sun from the window sparkled onto the white, wrought iron table at which we were seated.

Emiliano was born in Mexico but immigrated to the Pacific Northwest to join his family when he was 12 years old. His parents were not college educated, but they made sure that Emiliano and his three brothers were. His mother, more than his father, was encouraging because she had started college but had to drop out. His father finished grade school in Mexico, which would be the equivalent of junior high in the United States. Emiliano is the youngest of four brothers in his family. Two of his brothers attended Cedar Community College. His oldest brother is working for a well-known computer corporation. His middle brother is still attending college working toward a degree.

The Mexican American school Emiliano attended was both mentally and physically demanding. It was a Mormon school, so religion was stressed. He was kept busy from 8:00 o'clock in the morning until about 6:00 o'clock in the evening. Classes were held from 8:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m., and then from 3:00 p.m. until 6:00 p.m., there were sports. Emiliano was good at sports. He was especially good at basketball. It was not an easy school. The instructors were well-educated and bilingual; they had mastered English and Spanish. Most of them had graduated from Brigham Young University (BYU), and the others were graduated from universities in Mexico. According to Emiliano, "Mixed together, these produced pretty good discipline."

Emiliano started learning English at the age of 5. When he moved to the Pacific Northwest at age 12, he entered the eighth grade in a junior high in a small town. His English was not that good. Emiliano recalls:

There was a lot of racism coming in because I think I was one of three Spanish guys in the whole school. But it wasn't that terrible either. You could feel racism, but you just brushed it off and kept going. There were enough people

who were open, and you could have your friends and get them to support you and stuff like that. . . . It was just because our English wasn't that good at the time, so people at that age make fun of you and it affects you quite a bit. Classes were hard because sometimes you didn't understand your teacher. If you wanted help, sometimes they couldn't communicate with you, so it was kind of tough at first. (134-135, December 1995)

At age 13, he had a traumatic experience. He thought that it was a mixture of many things, including not understanding the language; and thus, he was unable to communicate. He was active in sports but said, "The opponent team was usually very rude because here was this Hispanic kid beating them. There were a lot of racist comments going back and forth." He decided not to continue with the team, so he began to drop out of sports. He thought it was very "dramatic" because he was very active in sports. He avoided going to school as much as possible.

An exhilarating experience in junior high was also related to sports. Emiliano continued, "Then I got into basketball, and it was the one thing that nobody could beat me or call me names or anything because they just couldn't do it." He was that good because in Mexico they worked so hard at basketball. He used to beat his coach. Coming here, Emiliano felt that the students were nothing compared to what he was accustomed to when playing basketball in Mexico. "That did give me a lot of friends and a lot of acceptance" he explained.

After that school, Emiliano really did not like it in the northwest, so he decided to go south. There it was better because there were a lot more Spanish speaking people; however, the public schools were not very good. He recalled, "You could basically get away with not studying and not doing much." The move west did not work for Emiliano, so he decided to come back to the northwest after he dropped out of high school. Then he went into a "home studies" program. A woman taught him for 2 years usually 3-hours a day. They met at the library, and she would go through the material. After that, Emiliano decided to get his GED. "I felt ready for it." He took the five GED tests and passed them.

After he completed his tests, and because he is a Mormon, it was time for him to go on what is called a "mission." At the age of 18 or 19, he went to teach people

about his church. The fact that Emiliano is a Mormon might indicate one reason why he was persistent. He went out and knocked on doors and as he said, "talked to people constantly for 2 years." His Mormon upbringing may indicate that the role of religion is important in his persistence. The Mormons are noted for their emphasis on education. On his return, after 2 years, he enrolled in the community college. He confirmed the importance of education:

I come from a family where education is everything. My oldest brother had already graduated from BYU. It was just, you go to school. How else are you going to get anywhere? . . . My mother was the one who kept pushing us to go to school. Probably the other side that pushed us a lot into education was the church. We always, even in church in Mexico, had to go to what was called seminary at 7:00 o'clock in the morning, 5-days-a-week. That was kind of your Bible study. So there was education pushed quite a bit. You just grew up with it. (169-170, December 1995)

Emiliano studied from the time he was a young child at his church, so he continued studying throughout his lifetime.

An additional motivation for continuing his education at a 4-year university was, as he put it, "Probably seeing what's happening out there with jobs, the job market." He thinks that there are no jobs out there for high school graduates. Even with a bachelor's degree, it is getting more challenging to get a job. "Now even in your small jobs sometimes you need a piece of paper to show you can do something." His brother graduated with a computer science degree from BYU and is earning a good living. "He's doing really well, so I think that had a lot to do with it, seeing that you just don't go and waste money, and that you can actually get something out of it." His friends have gone to college. Many of them have started at the university with Emiliano.

He chose the local community college because of its proximity, and it was affordable. He graduated from the community college with an associate degree in computer science. He majored in computer science from the beginning of his college career which had a lot to do with his oldest brother being a computer engineer.

One of his short-term goals is to get into the professional school program at the university. He has applied to the professional school, and if you do not make it through

you cannot earn a baccalaureate. He explains, "The university has its own college. In order to get into the college of engineering, I have to apply to the professional school of engineering. To be accepted depends on your GPA, what classes you've taken, and what kinds of grades you've got. That's what gets you in." His long-term goal is to graduate and work for Hewlett-Packard or Novell.

Now he is attending full-time at a university. Along with this, he is also employed at the university repairing computers, hardware and software for the campus. When he was employed at Cedar Community College, he worked 20-hours-a-week while attending full-time. Emiliano stated that he is able to work 10-hours-a-week at the university, and at the community college he handled 20 hours of work because the loads were lighter. At the university, he said that as far as the work hours, "More than 10 would break me." While attending the community college, in addition to his job, he qualified for a Pell Grant and was living at home, so he did not have to pay rent.

Emiliano defines success as "being happy with what you're doing, being able to support your family, (His income is \$10,000 a year.), and being able to function socially at a comfortable level. By that I mean at least the necessities." His priorities in achieving his goal are that school comes first, then marriage, and then probably work. He manages his time and energy by applying 80% of his time to school, 10% to homework, and 10% to religion. He discusses his educational activities with his family. "I talk to them whether it's a good talk or a bad talk." He explained the benefits of education to himself and his family, "I am able to expand my learning abilities. I am able to do the things I want to do. I am able to have the things I want. I am able to take care of my family."

He particularly liked the computer science classes and the Native American culture classes at the community college. His least favorite was Speech class. One of the obstacles, he felt, was the language barrier. "I understood quite a bit, but there were still a lot of times I didn't catch something. Other than that, when I first started, I wasn't sure whether I was going to make it or not because I didn't feel completely prepared as far as the language."

Emiliano compliments the computer instructor at the community college.

Books that influenced him were the books about Native Americans. "I just learned how important it was to educate myself about all cultures, not just my own culture."

Emiliano described how he felt about his ability to succeed at the community college and at the university.

In the beginning, I wasn't too sure. Probably after the first year I was there, I was sure I would [succeed]. I think I'm going through the same thing at the [university]. During my first term, I wasn't sure I was going to make it through my classes, but I passed them. I think I learned what the system is and how to get through it. The educational experience at the community college was very helpful. It was a step to get to the university which has helped. It just helped prepare me for a bigger step, and the university has helped prepare me for the next step of going into the real world. (524-525, December 1995)

Now that he is positive that he will make it, Emiliano has some recommendations for prospective students. First, he advises students to relax and to not get nervous because they are doing something new. Second, he encourages them to talk to their teachers if they do not understand something. Third, he suggests that they use all the resources that are available for learning: the learning center and friends. He thinks friends are usually the best because they may also be going through what the student is experiencing.

Emiliano thinks that special programs or services should be created to help people who come from an ESL background.

I think so. I was lucky that I started in Mexico learning English. I saw a lot of the Spanish students that started here without any English trying to keep up in classes. They could do the work. Taking a test was a killer for them because they didn't understand it. I think the more help they can get with the language part of it the better it is and the farther they can go. (549-550, December 1995)

Emiliano had empathy for the Hispanics who were trying to handle the English language barrier. Teachers need to be more aware of the problems of ESL students.

Some of the frustrating experiences has been lack of money while attending college. The Pell Grant covers exactly what is needed for school, but it does not allow for doing anything else. If a student is on financial aid and a class is dropped, it is a

problem finding a way to make it up. Satisfying experiences have included his graduating, getting through a class that was really tough, and understanding a concept.

Emiliano thinks of himself as an average student. He studies whatever the class requires. He is a B+ student. He graduated with a 3.34 cumulative grade point average. He describes the faculty at the community college as being positive and friendly.

There's a math teacher; he was very helpful, and another one that was my favorite teacher. Let's see... gray hair. He even helped during the tests. He would sit down with you and give you credit, but he made you suffer through it for about an hour first. Some were more professional about it than others. I'd see them once or twice after class. (579-580, December 1995)

About the support services at the community college Emiliano said, "They very definitely benefited me." He thinks that to improve the services, they should offer more quality time for people. "Many times I had friends go looking for a tutor and they couldn't find one."

Emiliano interacts academically and socially at the institution. Emiliano socialized on campus especially during and after math class. He spent 3-days-a-week, a good 6 to 7 hours, working with a cohort on problems. He tried interacting socially by joining an international organization, but it required a lot of time, so he dropped out. In the classroom he said, "I can turn to anybody and talk, so I guess socially it's helped." He thinks that he is able to make friends more quickly as a result of his community college experience.

When asked to compare a typical day at the community college and at the university, Emiliano responded, "One thing that has changed which is interesting. At the university I sit in the front, not in the back or the middle anymore. When I sit in front, I get more in my notes from what they're saying and what is on the board." In between classes he talks to friends. After classes, he goes home, eats, and sits down with his books to study for his classes the next day. In the evening he watches a little television.

When asked why he is succeeding when so many ESL students do not succeed in college, Emiliano answers, "Language! It's at the point where I can function better,

whereas a lot of ESL students still don't understand it that well, and that always builds a wall between the teacher and yourself. The teacher can also get frustrated when the student can't understand something." His final words to Hispanic ESL students who are reaching for success are encouraging. "Put a lot of emphasis on learning your language, do not take it lightly because that's what opens your doors. Anybody can learn a career, but if you have the obstacle of language, the career isn't going to come. So learn the language and stay put."

As a result of graduating with an associate degree in computer science from Cedar Community College, he has the same computer emphasis at the university, but he will add a multimedia minor. He explains that his education will be more advantageous to him than his parents' education was to them. "When they came [to the U.S.], they were very limited because of the language. . . . Also, they are not as well educated as I am, so probably I will be better off." This motivates him to the extent that dropping out of college is as he said, "Not an option." Viewing the job market, he said, "It's "very competitive . . . lots of companies are closing down which puts a lot of educated people out of work. I think there will be a lot of competition, but sometimes I think there's a job out there, so it's just a matter of searching." The computer career that he chooses is going to "steer the rest of his life." He believes that his life will not change much except that he will be working for a corporation instead of attending college.

Alicia

Alicia is a 27-year-old married woman with twin daughters. She was born and raised in a town in eastern Venezuela. She is a soft-spoken woman with a charming smile. Alicia spent the first 18 years of her life in that Venezuelan village attending elementary, junior high and high school there. She has five siblings, three brothers and two sisters. During her elementary schooling, her mother was trying to see which school was best for the children, so Alicia went to several different private schools. It was difficult for her to go from one school to another. Both her parents graduated from

high school, and her older sister also graduated and went one year to college. Her younger sister is in high school. Her brothers attended high school, but she does not know whether they finished. At her request, the interview took place in Alicia's duplex. Her home was bright and cheerful with remnants of colorful Christmas lights on a pine tree. Once in a while, the Spanish language was spoken between Alicia, her children, her husband, and me. They have a combined family income of \$20,000.

Alicia recalls being able to read well during her grade school years. She had knowledge of numbers, and she remembers that she was impressed with numbers like ten thousand and one million. She learned numbers quickly in first grade and describes herself as a good student. She said of high school, "It felt like it was fun for me." She verbalized about her high school experience in Venezuela.

Well, I had to do a lot of work. I studied for each class and did a lot of paperwork and research and going to the library. . . . The teachers were getting us ready to go to the universities because the teachers in Venezuela [think] that we are in class to learn. Here I am. If you want to learn you do it, if you don't, that's okay with me. . . . What I didn't like was physics. I hated [it]. Those classes are mandatory. Starting in the ninth grade, you have to take chemistry, physics, biology, math. They're very hard classes. I didn't like physics because I just couldn't get it. (162-173, December 1995)

She emphasized that in ninth grade you could choose what you want to major in, such as humanities, science, administration, or commercial studies. She chose humanities and enjoyed it.

In 1985, she moved to the Pacific Northwest; she entered an ESL program at a community college learning center. Her aunt was responsible for Alicia arriving here with a student visa. She studied English and went on to college. She remembers her ESL activities as having had more than one teacher. She had one for pronunciation and one for grammar. She knew they were given the present, the past, and the future tenses. She had one teacher who was teaching at the first level because they had one, two, and three levels. They moved her to the second level.

After attending the ESL classes for about a year, Alicia married a man from Mexico. When her twins were 3-years-old, she decided to go back to college. She began immediately to take classes at the same local community college where she had

studied English. She wanted to go to a 4-year institution but was not allowed to do so because of her visa status. So she went to the community college because as she said, "They opened the door for me." When she was studying ESL, she knew all along that she would go to college. Her main motivation for continuing to take college classes after mastering the English language was to prepare herself for a better job. She also looked forward to becoming knowledgeable in computers. She was self-motivated.

Alicia feels that her experience in the ESL program gave her the confidence to move into the community college because it was familiar to her. Further, a friend introduced her to a women's training program at the college that helped her pay for the classes and books. She thinks that she paid the college back for the books. She paid tuition for five terms until she received her work permit, so she could apply for financial aid. Her major is Business Assistant. She attended as a part-time student enrolling in basic skills and regular college classes. Her first five terms were satisfying as she earned a 4.0 GPA. After twelve quarters, she maintains a 3.06 cumulative grade point average because she has to take care of her two daughters and her husband. She also has a job at which she works from 20 to 30 hours-a-week. She started cutting back because it was too much. She stopped going to the community college for two terms even though she had to complete one more course to earn her certificate. She is planning to enroll in Business Law in Spring Term 1996 to complete that last class for her Business Assistant certificate. One of her short-term goals is to finish her class to get her certificate and to continue to work. Her long-term goal is to continue her schooling at a local 4-year college.

Now, Alicia was optimistic about her education at Cedar Community College; however, she remembers her beginning terms:

I wasn't confused with a particular class; it was with everything. [I was] trying to understand everything around because that was the first time I was really going to school in the United States, and everything is so different. I was trying to understand everything at once. It took longer than a term to understand everything like GPA. Everybody was talking about GPA, and I said I didn't know what a GPA is. I was fighting with myself, [asking] why do I have to take a reading class? I know how to read. Why do I have to take a math class? I know math. So I was really frustrated taking those classes. Finally there was peace. (447-448, December 1995)

Alicia was one of my math students in the Spring Term 1993 before I knew that she was to be a subject in this study. Her work was extraordinary. Due to placement test requirements, she had to take certain developmental studies classes in reading, writing, and mathematics. Because of this, it took 2 years to finish her certificate; however, not getting her certificate when she wanted it was frustrating for her. Alicia did exceptionally well in those classes and was able to take some higher level college classes shortly afterwards. Even though she had to interrupt her schooling because of her job as a health promoter at a medical clinic, she knew all along that she would complete her Business Assistant certificate. When she first started working, it was in a work study position at the college; then she found a permanent job even though it would be difficult to work full-time and go to school full-time. During Spring Term, she will have Fridays free, which is when the Business Law class meets. She said, "It was just a matter of fitting it in at the right time."

When asked to describe the connection between education and work, she stated that the main problem was with scheduling her classes to coincide with her work schedule. Her supervisor was flexible and is still flexible and gives Alicia the space she needs to take her classes. She was relying on the Pell Grant, but her new "Health Supporter" position helped pay her child care and gasoline.

Alicia has strong support from her parents. "My mother was very supportive. My father was beyond being supportive; he was pushy." Her father was constantly pushing Alicia and her siblings to go to school, to high school, and to college. It was a patriarchal family. Her parents and brothers are still in Venezuela. Her father thinks that an education is important to get a good job. She does not have the verbal support of her husband, but he helps with the children. "He does help me, when I was taking night time classes, he was taking care of our daughters. He was against my going to college. I let him know I am taking one class, and it is an evening class." Despite the verbal non-support from her husband, Alicia persisted.

Alicia defines the essence of success, "Success is to get what you want. If you want something and you want to do it or you want to get it, you will be able to say you

did it.” For her, education is the main path to success. She does not discuss her educational activities with her husband or with anyone else. “No, I really don’t tell anyone because I’m pretty selfish with my education right now. I feel like it’s mine, and I don’t want anyone to take it away from me. That’s the way I feel. I don’t know why.” The benefits of education for Alicia are to get more prepared for the future. She knows that she will have more opportunities in the work force and a better paying job because she believes that you get more in wages here after going to college. She thinks this will help her family.

She found the community college courses challenging and liked them all. She mentioned her Math, Computer and Business English classes. Alicia thinks it is very important when you get a job to know how to write business letters. She also believes, “Math is helping me to help my daughters. I feel it is very important to know all this because the children come to me and ask, ‘Mom how do I do this?’” Even if classes were difficult for her, she enjoyed them because as she said, “I felt like I was learning something.” Books that she liked at the community college were *Human Relations at Work* and her Business English book. Another book she liked was a reference manual that has all the grammar and punctuation in it.

In Alicia’s opinion, the largest obstacles that she has faced outside of school that impacted her college enrollment were finances. She felt that the social aspect of college was important because it helped her to socialize with her teachers and classmates. She did not experience racism in the community college *per se*, but she did experience it at times within the community. At one point, she heard people referring to her and her family as “there are the Spanish people.” Once she approached them and said, “I speak Spanish, but you know Spain is in Europe.” Then they asked her where she was from. She said, “Venezuela.” They replied, “Oh, you are from South America.” Everything changed for the better when they heard she was from Venezuela. Although she has had several bad experiences in the community, she states, “It doesn’t really bother me.” On the other hand, she talked about how open and friendly her employers were from the beginning. She really appreciated that they were flexible. She

said, "I was looking for a job with a supervisor or manager who cared about the family, being flexible with what is going on with my life. They feel if I work that way, I will be more productive. So that was something positive for me."

Alicia's involvement at the community college has been positive. She said, "I was successful because I knew that once I started going to college, I wanted to finish that goal." About her ability to succeed, she states, "I'm pretty much positive." When asked what advice she would give to incoming students, she shared this:

I would let them know first that the teachers are really nice, and they are willing to talk to you if you have a problem. They are willing to explain it to you. If you go to the teacher, they won't say they don't have time for you. They will help you with a problem you are having in the class, so that is really nice. It's a lot of work there. It's not any different from any other place. You have to do a lot of homework for each class, but they're very flexible. . . . Special study methods? One of my study methods that I am working towards is I need to study in the morning. In the evening when I am tired and exhausted, I find that I am not able to assimilate anything. What I do sometimes is get up around 4:00 o'clock in the morning and do all my work because in the night for me, my brain is tired. (814-815, December 1995)

She feels that she can accomplish a lot. "I can even write things like a story." She feels confident enough in the morning to write the answers to questions in her homework assignments.

She says the registrar was very helpful to her explaining everything she needed to know. The registrar explained to her about GPA. A member of the women's program staff explained that it was necessary to take reading, math, and writing because those classes are very important. She speaks highly of the community college instructors. Alicia interacts more academically than socially. She did make one friend who moved out of town. As a commuter student, she didn't really have friends on campus. She was very busy and had to be at certain places at certain times, so she did not have time to be "a popular student."

Alicia used the tutoring services at the college. Alicia thinks she is succeeding while so many ESL students are not because she planned her goal in a step-by-step way. When asked if she thinks she has changed as a result of her experience at the community college, she answered that she is the same, but she now has more

knowledge of grammar so she can help her daughters. She, also, has more knowledge of math. She kept all her papers, so she can go back to her notebooks if necessary.

Alicia has her goals set for herself. The first step is to apply for scholarships. The second step is to have the money for tuition and books so that she can go on to a 4-year college as soon as she finishes her Business Assistant certificate. She plans to study international relations. The third step is to change jobs because her job is very stressful. Before she leaves her present job, she needs to have a part-time job.

When asked what she thought other Hispanic ESL students can learn from her success at the community college, she said:

The most important thing, I think, is to be positive with yourself. Remember all the time, that if you fail one step, you can go back and you can go again, and you can go again. That's the way I feel. Okay, this is another step, and you are going up I feel like a child, but a child is going to try again to go up. That's the way I feel, like a person that needs to keep going. (994-995, December 1995)

Eduardo

Eduardo is the youngest of the Hispanic ESL students interviewed for this study. He is 21 years old and single. He is slender, sharply dressed in blue jeans and a rainbow colored jacket from Bolivia, and he is wearing studious, John Lennon-styled spectacles. An only child, he was living with his parents up until a few weeks prior to the interview when his parents moved 300 miles away. Now he lives with friends. Eduardo's income is under \$10,000 a year. He lived in Bolivia for 19 years and then moved to the United States. His parents lived in the Pacific Northwest. His father, an American who immigrated to Bolivia and later returned to the United States, attended the University of San Francisco. His mother finished high school. The interview took place in a community college meeting room with a window and stacks of pastel colored paper in one corner on the floor. We sat at a long table.

Eduardo went to elementary school in Bolivia where he remembered, "The chairs were very small, chairs that moved a lot because they were old. It was amazing, the wood was carved. They were very uncomfortable. My country is very poor, you

know, so they don't put much money—the government doesn't have much money—for studies, so it's very hard." The school room had 40 students about his age. Eduardo said that during his elementary school years, he studied a lot of everything as done here. Bolivia also has bachelor's degrees. The teachers prefer that before you go to the university, you learn things like biology, chemistry, and math. "Math is very important in my country." He also took music, Bolivian history, and some world history.

Eduardo explained the Bolivian school system:

Our system is, we call basics, that is 5 years; then we have 3 years of intermediate; we call it advanced for 4 years. We start from the beginning to end with the same people, so we know each other. That's what I like about Bolivia, the school in Bolivia. We started with 40 and we finished with 37. We are like brothers and sisters. We know each other—what are our problems and stuff like that. Twelve years with the same people is very nice. That's one of the things I miss about my country. I'm in school here, and I have to go to class with different people, and it's a new experience. (101-102, February 1996)

One of the things that he did not like about his school in Bolivia was that they were very strict. He thought that they had too many rules. They always had to show respect to the teachers and be on time. "They were very picky on little details, so it was sometimes hard. Personally, I felt that I didn't have enough time to have fun. We had fun but not too much. It was hard." What he liked about his school experience in Bolivia was that they prepared him well, so he feels that he can go to any university and know that he is prepared for the university. He knows this because when he came to the United States, he did not know much English, just a few words. Now, 1-year and 2-months later, he can understand almost 100% of what the teacher is saying at the front of the class. He feels good because he knows all the knowledge they taught him in his country he is now applying at the community college.

Eduardo studied ESL at Cedar Community College and thought that the teachers were doing a good job. He came to the campus and asked for English classes. He does not remember how he did it because he did not know English, but he tried his best to explain what he needed. His ESL teacher gave him the schedule. "She told me,

'You've got to start this day, and you can come and study with us.' That's how I knew about ESL classes." He really liked his first teacher and claimed, "She knows how to teach." He described his first class:

No, I didn't know anybody that was there. It was kind of weird. I felt, I don't know, it was a new place where I was feeling alone. 'Oh what am I going to do?' I was discouraged the first time, but when the teacher started to explain to us what the class was about, then I felt more comfortable, and after the first week I felt very comfortable. The teachers and the class were very nice toward me. . . . I felt homesick, but when the teacher came to the class, she was looking for some papers so I waited for her to find her papers and when she was ready, I stood up and said, 'Good morning.' That's the way we say hello to the teacher. (176-177, February 1996)

A student explained to Eduardo that in the United States students do not have to do that. As a result of the ESL class, he was prepared for college but believed that he needed more English before he could take the community college placement test. Although he did not need a GED, he studied with GED people not only for the test but to learn more English. Being with people who speak English helped Eduardo a lot.

Eduardo recalls how he has changed since his first day at the college.

Yes, I came here and looked around and said, 'Wow, this is a new world!' I remember thinking, 'Can I adjust to this place?' All was new. I couldn't understand too much what people were saying to me. I was nervous. I felt alone; I didn't have friends. I was discouraged to talk to people. Now they hear my English, but now I don't care. If I don't know how to say something, I just ask, 'How do you say this?' (299-300, February 1996)

It took him 7 or 8 months to get into regular classes. He would have liked to continue the ESL classes, but there was not enough time for him to do that because he had to study. Reaching his goal will not be easy. When he gets home he is really tired after working 5-hours-a-day. He relaxes and listens to music for a half hour. Then he goes to his room and takes out his books and starts to study. He emphasizes that because he is so tired it is not easy to do at times, but he does not see any other way to manage his time. He claims that it is hard to go to school and study. When he finishes school, he believes that he will be glad that he did it.

He studied systems engineering for 1 1/2 years at the University of Bolivia before he came to the United States. It was self-motivation that brought him to the

community college after mastering the English language. He said, "I grew up with the idea that I had to study something, to be something, to do something for my country," He decided to see what the options were and started at the community college.

Eduardo chose the local community college because it was close to his home. His declared major was computer science. He likes computers and math, so he chose something that involved computers and math. He was told that the community college had a good computer science program. When he completes his program, he will earn an associate of arts degree in computer science.

Some of his short-term goals are to learn more English, to have good writing skills, and to sharpen his speaking skills, especially his pronunciation. "That's the hardest part for me. I will try now to get better grades." After four quarters, he maintains a 3.10 cumulative grade point average. His long-term goals are to become a computer engineer. He would like to work with computers, especially with software.

Eduardo describes the connection between education and work. He arrives on campus at 7:00 or 8:00 a.m., stays until 3:00 p.m. and begins his job at a Mexican restaurant at 4:30 p.m.. He arrives home at around 9:00 p.m. and then takes a break for 30-minutes. He has something to eat and then he studies. He was enrolled at the community college for three quarters continuously. The first two terms, he attended part-time, now he is a full-time student along with being employed.

His parents have remained supportive of his education, giving him what he describes as "a little car." He welcomes their support. They said, "We don't expect good grades. We just want you to go to school and see if you like it. Study English." Eduardo adds, "So here I am, still studying." He also received a lot of encouragement from his friends. Before he moved to the United States, they told him, "Learn English first, and then study there because they have good studies and better conditions to study, so you have to take this opportunity and go and study there." His parents are equally supportive of his education in general. Both his parents make decisions in the family on an equal basis. His mother and father feel that education is the best way to prepare a person for any situation in life. Eduardo's point of view about education is

that "98% of success is hard work and the other 2% is luck. Sometimes you have luck, sometimes you don't. I know people who are very smart; they have a degree, but they don't live very well. I know people that they don't have a degree, but they have a good job and a good house." He believes that 98% of education just introduces you to life, to goals, and to success. Economics is a big factor for him, but he pays his own way toward his education.

For me, I want to succeed by having a lot of money [and] a good position. For me success in life is to have a job that I like, know how to support my family, and is something that is inside of me. Having an education is something that I will never forget. It is part of me. All that I studied is part of me. It is like having another life. Without the studies, I can't be the same. (389-390, February 1996)

Eduardo has made more friends. He believes that the social nature of education at the community college has helped him to socialize. Social as well as academic factors have helped Eduardo to speak better English. He has the opportunity to practice more.

When asked if he had a mentor, Eduardo responded, "I want to be like my grandfather in Bolivia. He is an amazing person. He knows a lot of things. I can't express my feelings. I can't express. I don't have the words in English that make the personality of my grandfather. He is special to me." He couldn't seem to express his thoughts about his grandfather in English, so I asked him if he would be willing to tell me in Spanish. "Okay, I can tell you in Spanish."

Mi abuelo es una persona muy inteligente. Es una persona muy dulce. Tiene una presencia serena. Es muy serio y cuando habla usa muchas palabras dulces. Tiene muchas cualidades de un buen hombre. Nunca critica, ni habla mal de nadie. Nunca critica si haces algo malo; pero cuando te habla, habla contigo y lo hace con sinceridad. No te dice, 'porque has hecho esto mal?' Pero si de indica lo has hecho mal y te dice como se pueden corregir los errores. Cuando me caía en el error tres veces, me decía: 'Que pasa, porque no puedes hacerlo mejor? No estas funcionando?' (490-491. February 1996)

My grandfather is a very intelligent person. He is a very sweet person. He has a quiet presence. He is a serious man who speaks with many sweet words, many, many qualities of a good man. And he never says that anything is bad. But when he speaks to you, he speaks with sincerity in contrast to blame as in, 'Why have you made a mistake?' He tells me that I made a mistake, but errors can be corrected. And I like this very much about him. And he always says, 'If you make a mistake, forget about it; you can do good.' Yes, but if he catches

me making the same mistake three times, he asks, 'What happened? Let's see, are you not functioning?'

I thanked him and he started to tell me about books and music that have had an influence on him.

When asked about books and music, his face lit up. A book that really impressed Eduardo was his math book that he used in calculus. He said, "It is a very, very good book. It is tough reading, but once you get into the point of the author, you can see things clearly. It is amazing. I like it." Music that has influenced him has been from his own country. "I prefer Bolivian music and classical music." When Eduardo was 13, his grandfather used to say, "You have to sit now with me, and we are going to listen to good music." So he learned about the composers like Strauss, Mozart, Bach, and the history of music. He brought his Bolivian music with him.

Eduardo is positive that he is going to succeed at Cedar Community College. Advice that he would pass on to other Hispanic students would be to ask for ESL classes because they will help the students to learn the language and to feel good. The teachers are very good teachers. They make you feel at home. When asked if he thought that there should be special programs for people who have an ESL background, he thinks that they should have a group of people who are from other countries similar to an international collective, so that they could support each other. He would like to see a group of people that could share some of their culture, and he would like to meet new people from other countries.

His most satisfying experience was his writing. When he started taking writing classes, he thought the English language had too many words and too many rules. He did not find it easy to write in English. After the second week of his writing class, he felt very good. His writing grades were good. He passed Writing 10 and moved on to Writing 20. His English was much better. He was writing more and enjoying it.

Reading was a different story. Frustration set in when Eduardo could not understand the material that he read. He did not do well the first time around in the

reading class. He vowed to take the class again when he had mastered the English language. Later, he took the same class with the same teacher and did much better. In both reading and writing, sometimes he did well and sometimes not so well.

Eduardo describes himself as always giving his best effort. "But I have to tell the truth. If I don't understand something, I say, 'Oh it's English.' I know sometimes it's not my English. I try to do my best. One of my problems is I always try to be perfect." His parents try to convey that he does not have to be perfect. They tell him to do what he can do. Eduardo compliments the faculty as being very helpful and positive in their teaching approach. He did not hesitate to ask for help or to spend time talking to faculty or staff outside of class.

He expresses himself, "I think of my instructors as friends." He always sits in the front of the class because he can understand more of what the teacher is saying. Eduardo says the tutoring services have been beneficial to him. He used the tutoring services in the learning center for math and writing.

When asked why he is succeeding when so many ESL students are not as persistent in college, he comments:

One of the things is that I believe a lot of ESL students have to work, and they have to support a family, and it's very hard to support a family and come to study. But there are other students that they come to ESL classes and they just work part-time, and they don't put in too much effort. They just come to ESL classes, and they think that's it. That's how I'm going to learn English. Then they go home and speak Spanish and watch TV in Spanish. So they don't practice their English. One thing that I did that helped me a lot is review my notes and try to learn the words. And I watch TV in English. Even though I didn't understand anything, especially the African Americans. I thought, "Oh my God, what language." Then I started understanding more, but what I need is more practice in speaking. (657-658, February 1996)

Although Eduardo is still in the process of learning English, he is really happy with his community college experience.

Eduardo has changed as a result of his experience at a community college. He had to adjust to this new place and leave some things behind that he used to do, but he just changed little aspects of his life. "Education is not easy. It is a hard life with studies, working, and family."

"I am more clear with my goals as a result of my studies," he said. His plans are to complete his Associate of Arts degree and go on to the university. He is still looking for a university to transfer to. After he finishes at the university, he plans to earn a master's degree. "After that I will feel success."

Eduardo does not have any idea if he will find a job as a result of his education because computer technology is changing too fast. He thinks that it will be more difficult to find something because there are a lot of programmers, but he said, "I think with English and Spanish and computers, I will find something I like to do." He imagines having the perfect family in the future. His advice to other Hispanic students: "I think they can learn that with effort they can do what they want to do. I know it is hard and takes a lot of time. There is a lot of suffering. But all of this effort will be success."

Angelina

Angelina is a 36-year-old, divorced mother of two, who started at Cedar Community College in 1993. She has a bright twinkle in her eyes and is smartly dressed in a floral pattern. She looked eager and ready. She was born and raised in a small town in Mexico where her grandparents also lived, but she moved north at the age of 15. Her immediate family included eight sisters and brothers and her parents. Her father moved alone to the north part of the United States after marrying her mother because he was able to earn a better living. He visited the family in Mexico only once a year. Thus, her mother had to make the choices in raising her and her siblings. Angelina grew up in a matriarchal family. When the family arrived to join her father in the United States, he wanted to take the role of head of the family, but he couldn't really because her mother had been accustomed to being in charge. Her family was poor. Our interview took place in a typical college meeting room with a copy machine spitting out copies in an adjacent room. But it was an informal room. It turned out that the interviewee was a highly articulate woman.

Angelina went to school in Mexico from first through sixth grade. "In the United States," she said, "that would be from kindergarten through eighth grade." She enjoyed elementary school very much and felt well-liked among students and teachers. She always tried to be prepared for classes and tests. She does not remember being a bright student; however, at that school the bright students were chosen to march in the band. She played the drums and felt that was really special. When asked about her elementary school experience, she responded, "I think I was one of the best students, actually, I loved that."

In 1974, her whole family moved north to join her father. After arriving in this country, Angelina went to eighth grade for a couple of months and was taught math and geography. "Without using the language, I knew it all. I remember the teacher going over and doing things on the board, and I knew what she was going to talk about." Her move from Mexico to the west caused her to lose a full school year.

She never did go to high school. Her father was a seasonal worker, so he would travel around to different counties in the northwest. She worked to help her father pay back money that he owed to a Mexican bank. She was excited that the whole family was together, and it was a new beginning. She remembers thinking, "It was probably a better future for us." At that time I thought, someday, . . . probably a couple of years, when I go out and work, I will find a job at night and go to school in the day, which I did 2 years later."

She was self-motivated to learn English and her goal was to go to college, but Angelina remembers:

Well, I started on my own. I started reading books and getting to know people and getting tutors like my neighbors. They were older people, and there was this nice lady who was a teacher when she was younger. She always invited my sister and I [*sic*] to her house every day at 6:00 o'clock and she would give us classes. And so that's how I started. And then I started going to the ESL program. (292-293, December 1995)

She attended a bilingual center at night to continue learning the English language. She went for 2 years. She also studied English on her own. When she was 17, they told her that they could not teach her anymore and that she was ready to move on to a

community college. She enrolled in writing, reading, math, and vocabulary classes. She also enrolled in ballet, gymnastics, voice, and music classes. Angelina's motivation for enrolling in college was to become proficient in English so as to have a career. She wanted to become self-sufficient. She chose the community college because of the proximity and cost.

Angelina is close to her parents, to her siblings, and to her own children. Two of her brothers and one sister attended college and earned degrees in Mexico. She lives in an apartment with her 8-year-old daughter and 10-year-old son. Her income is between \$5,000 and \$10,000 a year. According to Angelina, her parents and brothers are not supportive of her educational efforts, but she did receive encouragement from her friends. Her children are supportive.

Yes. They're happy their mama knows more English. They keep commenting about it. I help them. I'm always going to their school talking to their teachers. They're happy. They are bilingual. They take classes in sign language. They always try to talk to me in sign language and I say, 'No, talk to me in Spanish instead.' (635-637, December 1995)

Angelina moved to the Pacific Northwest in 1992. She recalls her first day at Cedar Community College: "Everything was different. It was something new. It was a new experience that I was looking forward to. I was so used to talking to everybody, and then when I got here I couldn't really turn, smiling, and say hello to somebody because they seemed different. They seemed so distant."

Economics has been one of the largest obstacles for Angelina. In 1993 she went into the JOBS (welfare) program. She has been enrolled for 3 years. She enrolled in courses on a part- and full-time basis and also worked part-time. "I said many times to my advisor, I want to enroll in college courses." Ultimately, she bypassed the GED. She plans to go back to work toward a GED because it is something that she wants to do. She earned a Business Assistant Certificate. Angelina has accumulated a GPA of 3.38 and will graduate in June 1996. Working and going to college has been really hard, but she discovered that it was good for her confidence to realize that she was able to do both.

She liked the classes that she enrolled in and could not think of any classes that she did not like. The ones that she mentioned were Bookkeeping, Business English, and Records Management. She liked them because she felt that the instructors were good, and she could see that they really enjoyed teaching those classes. Angelina also saw a sense of fairness in those instructors toward the students. "I never felt laughed at." If she ever had problems, she talked to the instructor.

Two problems arose. There was an incident involving an instructor whom Angelina admired. Other classmates believed it was discriminatory. Angelina thought the instructor did not do anything intentional; however, it was a sensitive issue. Another problem was in another class. There was a new student who had mentioned in a prior class that "you have to stop those people from other countries from coming to this country because they [are] just taking the best of this country." The ability to see all sides of the question is one quality of persistence. One element of success is that she was able to see this. Some may have dropped out but Angelina showed persistence. "For me, I consider education as one of the paths to success."

The social side of her college education helped her to make friends at the community college. She did not have any problems making friends; she was sociable. She was an active member in the college's international organization. She also directed dances for a college workshop. Angelina commented about a women's training program, "They gave me a strong self-confidence that I can do this. I want to do this and yes I can do it." As far as a mentor, there were quite a few people that she trusted; however, she mentioned one Native American woman that made "a very important difference in how I feel at the college." Also, she had great admiration for the person who is in charge of the women's training program.

As far as books and music were concerned, Angelina liked psychology books. Listening to her folklore music from Mexico, she said, "It helped me to identify my origin, where I came from, and how important it is for me to feel in touch with my culture." Angelina felt positive about succeeding at Cedar Community College. Angelina wanted to give as a result of earning an education. Her recommendation for

an incoming student is to get a good orientation at the college and get acquainted with the people who are willing to help you. "If you have any negative feedback from anybody, don't hesitate to go talk with another person. Just be persistent with what you really want."

When asked what special programs or services should be created for students who come from an ESL background, she responded:

The services ESL students should have would be a person who can represent them, and somebody who can understand them, not just serve them, but someone who knows what they are going through. For example, it should be someone who is actually in their culture. . . . When I met you at the college, I didn't know what kind of background you had [I am Hispanic], but I felt that, gosh, there is something about this lady that I can get comfortable with The encouragement that you gave me when you were there gave me more assertiveness in what I was doing, and helped me overcome any kind of doubt that I had, about learning to study and if I was doing it right or wrong. Just by seeing you there and encouraging me, it was like it's okay; I want to do this. I want to learn. (149-150, March 1996)

When asked to describe what kind of student she is, Angelina replied, "I am a real persistent student. I want to learn the material, and if I don't understand something I go to the instructor and have him explain. All but one instructor has been encouraging at the college." To her, it's very important that the instructors care for their student's education.

Angelina thought the reason she was succeeding when so many ESL students do not succeed in college was because she was persistent. Her advice to Hispanic ESL students: "Be independent, clear in what you want, patient, and value your efforts." Her final advice is "to be persistent."

Rodrigo

Rodrigo immigrated to the United States from Mexico 14 years ago. He is a 31-year-old, married father of two, with an income between \$10,000 and \$20,000 a year. His immediate family includes his mother, father, and three brothers. His father reached the second grade in Mexico, and his mother graduated from high school. His mother studied English after they came to the United States and earned her citizenship.

His parents were born in Mexico: They raised their children in Mexico in a Mormon community and immigrated to the Pacific Northwest with two of their four sons.

Rodrigo and another brother immigrated later. His mother and father encouraged him to continue with his education. "I guess we got more support from my mom." She did secretarial work for a bank in Mexico after she finished high school. His dad worked in Mexico supervising a packing plant. Following in the footsteps of his brother Emiliano, Rodrigo decided to attend the community college. He had graduated from high school in Mexico. All three of his siblings attended college. His oldest brother was graduated from Brigham Young University (BYU); his younger brother will graduate in June 1996 from a community college with a degree in Human Services; his youngest brother is attending a university in the Pacific Northwest. Rodrigo, himself, second to the oldest, is enrolled at a community college. The interview took place in his home, which has a lovely view of towering pine trees.

In Mexico, Rodrigo completed his elementary and secondary education at a Mormon school. He attended elementary school with 50 other students in one big cement block room. He studied Spanish, English, and Mexican history and he took extensive classes in mathematics and science. After school, the students worked together as a group in the community. Rodrigo describes the students as "about 80% were half Mexican and half American, light and blonde," After high school, they went on to BYU in Hawaii or BYU in Utah.

Rodrigo's high school experience took place in a small classroom with a close-knit group of 20 students. He describes himself as being good at sports and good with people. He grew out of being a "kid who got into trouble" into being a student. Study was rigorous, but he liked it. He was graduated with a high school certificate which would enable him to go to a university in Mexico or a college in the United States. He thought his teachers were good but remembers one in particular that really pushed. "If you said, 'No, I can't do this,' he would turn around and say, 'Don't ever say you can't do it. You can do anything you want to do.' "

After graduating from high school, he went on a church mission for 2 years. He did not see his parents or family for 2 years. "You go wherever they tell you to go. I went to Mexico City and Acapulco. The only way you have to communicate with your family is through telephone and letters. You're not allowed to have a girlfriend; you're just serving the church for 2 years. You don't get paid for it; it's all voluntary." After he completed his mission, he immigrated to America.

Rodrigo began taking community college classes in the Pacific Northwest. It was different; there were only a few minority students in the classroom. He knew that his brother Emiliano had a lot of problems with racism in the same town's high school, which had led his brother to drop out and earn a GED. Rodrigo remembers being prepared, "So when I got to college, I didn't know if I was going to have those same kind of problems. I sat in the back of the room and watched. I never did have any problems with that [racism]."

His family had always been education oriented, and the siblings function as role models for one another. His brothers' example was a motivating factor in Rodrigo's enrollment at Cedar Community College. Rodrigo felt that he had to do something for himself and for his brothers. He also received encouragement from his family. When he first arrived here, he wanted to go straight to college, but his immigration process took at least 3 to 4 years.

When Rodrigo began at the community college, he chose law enforcement as his major; but because he was not a citizen, he shifted to nursing, only to discover that there were more applicants than jobs. He will have an A.A. degree in Human Services and a certificate as an Emergency Medical Technician (EMT). His short-term goal was to finish school, so that he could spend more time with his family. His long-term goal was to move wherever he was offered a job.

Rodrigo remembered being nervous on his first day at the community college. He did not know where the classroom was. It was a new experience for him. Being away from school for so long, and now in another country, he was afraid. He found people to be friendly. Since he started to go to college, he has worked full-time jobs.

He is careful to explain, "These full-time jobs are not 40-hour-a-week jobs; they are more like 50, 60 hours a week." Presently, he works a 72-hour week. Due to these long hours, this term he is taking only three credits. He has stopped a few times after attending several terms always because of work. This has made the completion of his degree more difficult. "It just prolongs it more, like I'm never going to get done with it." He scheduled his time carefully, using a planner everyday. He worked out at the gym for an hour on his lunch hour and in the evening. His wife and children were supportive of his school work.

Education is definitely the main path to success for Rodrigo. Success to Rodrigo meant to accomplish something, not only a degree. "If I do a project and I do it well, to me, that's success." He recalled what his landlord told him, "It doesn't matter what you do in life; even if you shine shoes, do the best you can. That way you can feel good about it; you're going to be happy." His priorities are to finish school and to buy a house. He believed that the benefits of education to himself and to his family is to have a better life. "My family is going to have things they only dreamed of. Progress, they are going to have progress. They are going to be able to share with other people especially people of their own race. Hey, I accomplished something; you can too."

Rodrigo saw changes in his siblings as far as education was concerned. His next younger brother dropped out of high school when he was a junior. Rodrigo claims, "He got into a lot of trouble." He decided not to go to school because he thought he was not good in school. Rodrigo's youngest brother also had challenges, but decided that he had to set an example for his siblings by going to school.

The emergency medical courses were Rodrigo's favorite. "Ever since I was little, I wanted to be a doctor." Biology courses were among his favorite as well. "You can do good in courses that interest you." He did not like math, chemistry, and speech. His biggest obstacle is being able to support his family and also attend school.

He comments about Cedar Community College:

It's a good college. I think it could use a little improvement as far as offering night classes. . . . Because if you're working, you will have a lot of problems

getting the classes you want. A lot of classes are offered during the day, so that is a block right there for working people. My success has been, thanks to Cedar Community College, that I took classes and found work in the field I'm interested in. So I would definitely give credit to CCC, but when it comes to night classes, there's nothing much. (604-605, February 1996)

Rodrigo has always been an outgoing person, so the social aspect of education was as important to him as the academic side. Work and school were his social life. He had a lot of friends. As far as racism in the community college, he had encountered none. However, in the community he had problems with the police. When driving his car, he often got pulled over. He said, "I never got a ticket because they never had a reason. I think they thought, 'There's a Mexican in a car; let's pull him over.' It used to make me mad. I'd say, 'why did you pull me over?' [They'd say,] 'Oh, we couldn't see your tags; there was some dirt over them and we couldn't tell if they were expired or not.' " Another time on the freeway, the police pulled him over, and their first question was, "Do you have any drugs in the car?" Rodrigo was taking law enforcement at the time, and he wondered why they did not ask for his driver's license or registration. A third incident happened when he and his father were driving in town; he had long hair in a pony tail. He noticed the officer looking at him and said to his father, "He's going to pull us over." The officer did not give him a ticket because again there was no reason. He signed a petition at the college because people were tired of being harassed.

"Since I've been involved in EMT, this does not happen anymore because they know me." Within the community, however, racism has arisen at work. It does not bother him. A couple of times a supervisor asked him if he wanted to do something about it and Rodrigo said, "No." "One of my coworkers told me I could have owned this company if I had done something about all the racial slurs. But to me they are mentally down below me for thinking that way."

Before Rodrigo went to college, he did not read very much. He remembers reading *Elephant Mask*. after high school, he did not read another book until he started college. One of the first books he read in college conveyed an important message. "It

was about positive attitudes and that you can do anything you want to do.” He reads more now as a result of the community college.

His thoughts about succeeding at the community college are positive. “Yeah, I’ve never said no; I’m not going to be able to finish it. It’s been hard, but I’m the type of person that if I start something I finish it. I don’t easily give up anything that I’m doing.” He is upbeat and positive about his ability to succeed. The advice Rodrigo would give to incoming college students is to see a counselor so that they could provide guidelines. He suggests that students do their homework and they will pass. “I told this to my brother, and he’s doing great. He’s going to graduate in June with a degree.”

Rodrigo has had a most satisfying experience as an Emergency Medical Specialist. “It’s paying back.” Most frustrating of his college experiences has been not being able to go to school full-time. It seems to be taking a long time. His brother had to move in with his mother in order to get help to finish at the community college. That is the only way his brother was able to attend as a full-time student. Rodrigo thinks that it would be helpful to have more evening classes. “What am I going to do? Ask my boss if I can take off from work because they don’t offer evening classes? That’s one of my problems.”

Rodrigo describes himself as a B student, “I’m not an A student. I’m not a C student. I’m a B+ student. He has a respectable GPA (3.06). I’ve never had any problems with teachers. I’m a quiet student. I enjoy going to school.” Most of his relationships with students and staff were through EMS or EMT classes. They studied together in a group. They kept each other’s telephone numbers. “I still keep in touch with some people even though it’s been 3 or 4 years ago.” His EMT instructor is the first Latin American involved with EMS in this area. “To me that was kind of interesting; the first minority involved in EMS.” He thinks that ESL students are going to need extra help because they are learning a different language and learning about a different society.

When asked why he is succeeding when so many ESL students are not, he gives credit to the school he attended in Mexico. He emphasized that it is a really good school. "To graduate from that school, calculus, chemistry, and physics are required. We studied English as a second language. So I give credit to the school; definitely they have a good system."

He thinks that this school is a good community college. His success has been such that he thanks the community college for giving him the classes in EMT, and that he is working in the field that he is interested in. Rodrigo has changed since enrolling at the community college. In his own words, Rodrigo expresses some of these changes: "Definitely, you would notice a mature person, a goal-setting person, a more positive person. When I first got here I had long hair. I didn't really care much about what I was going to do. After attending the community college, it made me really see things as they really are. Reality hit me in the face and woke me up."

Rodrigo recognizes that the job market is tight. Rodrigo asserts, "There are a lot of us out there. It's getting full. There are a lot of qualified people out there. But what I do know is that there is always going to be the need for treatment . . . and for our [EMT] services."

In response to what other Hispanic ESL students can learn from his success at the community college, Rodrigo noted:

It's not impossible if you set your mind to it. I know it's hard. I was fortunate that I learned English when I was a small kid, third grade. I know it's hard once you get past the age of 12; studies just get harder as you get older, but you can do it: proof, my mother. My father, without going to school, just by being here, speaks English. You can do it if you say to yourself, 'Do it.' (644-645, February 1996)

Cross-Case Analysis

The Hispanic ESL student participants in this study were selected because they shared several attributes. First, they had been or are enrolled at the same community college. All of them had studied English as a second language. Six of them studied ESL at a community college. Two studied ESL in a bilingual school in Mexico. They

enrolled in college classes to earn a certificate or degree. Each student had earned at least 21 credits by the time they were interviewed. All were 21 years of age or older. Each was considered a successful student. Cross-case analysis revealed several similarities and some differences among the participants. I have divided the patterns into the following categories: backgrounds, motivation, positive attitudes towards the community college, multiculturalism, trust in education, participatory learning, and economics. The next section depicts sketches of these categories.

Backgrounds

The participants share five background attributes: (a) born or raised in a Spanish speaking community, (b) strong family connections, (c) family tradition of valuing education, (d) low to middle socioeconomic status, and (e) racism or discrimination experiences.

Born or Raised in a Spanish Speaking Community

The participants were born or raised in Mexico, Venezuela, Bolivia, or Puerto Rico, and this contributed to a sense of pride in their country or province. Maria, Rafael, Angelina, Emiliano, and Rodrigo spoke proudly about Mexico. Emiliano and Rodrigo expressed enthusiastically how they were raised with a strong Mormon influence in Mexico. Angelina stated how her interest in Mexican folklore music helped her to identify with her origin, culture and heritage. Maria returns to Mexico periodically to visit her family. Rafael described his country warmly as he remembered, "La Escuela Blanca" (the white school). Alicia remembered her childhood in an eastern town in Venezuela. Eduardo mentioned, "My country, Bolivia," several times throughout the interview and talked about his love for Bolivian music. And Marisol praised her Puerto Rican heritage and talked of her move from Puerto Rico to the Virgin Islands, and the fact that she speaks three languages. I found that cultural pride as a common factor contributed to the stability of the participants' persistence and their progress.

Strong Family Connections

Strong family ties appeared to be a common factor in the family backgrounds of all but one of the participants; Marisol's parents were divorced. Seven of the students came from a solid family background although Angelina's father lived for many years in the United States before he returned to Mexico to bring back the whole family. The stability of the Hispanic families contributed to the encouragement the students received during their school years. Their family connections helped these students have a strong ethnic identity when continuing their community college education.

Family Tradition of Valuing Education

All but one of the participants' parents demonstrated impressive interest in their children's success at the community college. The parents' own education ranged from second grade to completion of baccalaureate and master's degrees. Eduardo said that his parents believed the accomplishment of an education would prepare him for any situation in life. Emiliano and Rodrigo thought that if it had not been for their bilingual schooling in Mexico, they would not have acquired the strong academic background to see them through community college and university. Their parents believed all along that they would go on to college. They received more support from their mothers. Rodrigo believed that he had to attend college to set the example for his younger brothers. Alicia said, "My mother was trying to see which private schools were better for us . . . My mother was very supportive. My father was not only supportive, but he was pushy." Rafael's parents questioned him about school. Marisol spoke proudly of her college-educated mother, father, and grandmother, emphasizing that her grandmother went to college and was a poet who wrote books in Spanish. Maria's father always told her, "Education is something that you should never limit yourself to." Only Angelina's parents were an exception to this pattern. She stated that her parents have not been supportive of her educational efforts.

Despite lack of family support, two of Angelina's brothers and one sister attended college and earned degrees in Mexico. In Emiliano and Rodrigo's family, the mother graduated from high school and the father completed elementary school. All Emiliano and Rodrigo's siblings are college educated. Marisol's sister is community college educated. Eduardo's father was an American who immigrated to Bolivia and later returned to the United States where he attended a university in the Pacific Northwest. His mother finished high school. Eduardo is an only child, so he is the only one attending college. Alicia feels as though her college education is her prized possession. She stated, "I'm pretty selfish with my education. . . . I feel like it's mine, and I don't want anyone to take it away from me." Alicia's siblings completed or were completing high school. Rafael, however, was the only one of nine siblings to finish high school. Rafael and Maria are the first members of their families to attend college. Among all the families, there was strong family belief in the value of education. Positive support by parents and siblings was expressed individually and collectively.

Low to Middle Socio-Economic Status.

Most of the participants grew up in low-income homes. Angelina, Rafael, Emiliano, and Rodrigo's parents were farm laborers in Mexico. Maria's father was a manager in the sugar industry. She considered her family to be between poor and middle class. Emiliano and Rodrigo's mother worked as a secretary after high school. In the case of Angelina, her father was a migrant laborer who worked in the United States and traveled back to Mexico to stay in touch with the family. And Eduardo often described himself as living in a poor country, Bolivia. Alicia and Marisol differed in socio-economic status since they went to private Catholic schools as children. The level of income of these Puerto Rican and Venezuelan households was in a higher bracket. The poverty guidelines chart from the Department of Health and Human Services, February 1996 shows: \$7,740 for one person; \$10,360 for a family with one child; \$12,980 for two children; and \$15,600 for three children. Only three of the eight students were operating at these poverty levels. The lowest range (\$5,000 to \$10,000)

included Angelina, Eduardo, and Emiliano. The middle range (\$15,000 to \$20,000) included Marisol and Rodrigo. Alicia had a combined income of \$20,000 to \$25,000. And Rafael, the highest, had a combined income of \$30,000 to \$40,000 a year. The transition to the income after their immigration to the United States and after attending the community college revealed a wide range.

Racism or Discrimination Experiences

Seven of the eight students experienced or overheard derogatory remarks against Hispanics at the community college or the larger community. Alicia remembers that at one point a woman referred to her as that Spanish speaker, to which she replied that Spanish speakers are in Spain which is in Europe. The woman then seemed to retract her statement and implied that Alicia was accepted when the woman found out that she was from South America. Angelina recalled racial comments from classmates and snide remarks. Emiliano spoke about the sensitivity that is felt when a child experiences racism. It's something that he will not forget; however, now, in the community college and in the larger community, he just "brushes it off and keeps going." Marisol overheard remarks made about Mexicans or Blacks. If she knew the person they were talking about personally, she would speak her mind in defense of the minority. Rodrigo never had problems with racism at the college but did in the larger community. He remembers listening to racist remarks and having people brush them off as jokes. Eduardo, Maria, and Rafael reported no problems with racism or discrimination at the school. Later, it was disclosed that one of these students did encounter racism. Maria told how a woman at the post office told her to stop speaking Spanish because she was now in the United States. Marisol never dealt with it personally but overheard racial remarks and was a strong advocate of civil rights. As these students became more aware of their civil rights, they felt more enlightened. Angelina stated that she feels more comfortable as a human being now that she knows more about civil rights. Since seven out of the eight Hispanic students felt prejudice in some form, we can see that the civil rights problem is far from being solved.

Motivation

The participants in this study all attained another dimension in their lives through the act of enrolling at a community college and knowing at least two languages, English and Spanish. Marisol also speaks Cruzan, a Jamaican dialect. The students were somewhat discontented before having the community college experience. They wanted to master the English language. Angelina's integrative motivation was to learn the language well, so she would be able to communicate and understand people. She liked the English language before she arrived in this country. When she enrolled in the college, she wanted to pursue language study and to work toward a career. Eduardo expressed having a great deal of self-motivation. He grew up with the idea of studying and doing something for his country. He decided to start at the community college and to look at what the alternatives were.

Due to the fact that the participants did not have a college education, they ended up with low-paying, dead-end jobs. That motivated all eight students to become self-sufficient economically, and they looked at the community college as a path to acquiring more solid jobs. Maria thought she needed more than "just being a waitress." She now works as a bilingual translator at the courthouse, which ties in with her goal of studying law enforcement and continuing at a 4-year institution. Eduardo works as a waiter in a restaurant, but he will go on to a university to continue his studies in computers. Rodrigo works as an EMT and as a fire fighter, and he will end up with a degree in the medical field and a degree in Human Services. Angelina is in a work-study position at the college, hoping to move up into a more satisfying position. At the back of her mind is the attainment of a 4-year degree. Alicia works in a clinic and knows that she does not want to be in a low-level position. Instead, her dream is to earn a baccalaureate in International Relations and work for an international corporation. Marisol spoke of her position at the medical clinic and of her vision of becoming a leader in the medical field. Emiliano is a work-study employee in the university computer department. When he earns his bachelor's degree, he hopes to be employed

by Hewlett-Packard or Novell. Rafael plans to earn an A.A. degree and move on to earn a B.A. degree in psychology.

The participants expressed a variety of motivating factors.

Angelina:

1. Her dream, since the age of 7, was to learn the English language. She remembers listening to the radio. There was static on the station and Angelina heard English intermixed with Spanish. "I had a dream and it was to learn English."
2. Education would help her to help her children.
3. When the JOBS program came into her life, it was financially difficult for Angelina to get into the classes, but the JOBS program gave her the opportunity to do so.

Eduardo:

1. It is necessary to be prepared in life to have a career.
2. Appreciation of U.S. schools gave him a lot of opportunities, options, and choices.
3. I need to have something solid for the future.

Eduardo is described by an ESL instructor at the community college:

I really like Eduardo. He is a very personable man. He worked hard. He is highly intelligent and asked good questions. He was wonderful as a person and as a student. He was in ESL for 1 or 2 terms. At some point in his career he started taking developmental education classes at the same time as the ESL classes. Then he began to take college courses. (April 1996)

Maria:

1. Her parents didn't have an education and didn't have the opportunity to go to school.
2. She would give something back to the community that has helped her a lot, especially friends and teachers.
3. For herself, she wanted to be self-sufficient and not dependent on anyone, to be able to provide for children, and not to be left without resources.

Rodrigo:

1. He received encouragement from his parents.
2. Setting a good example for two younger brothers was vital to him.
3. Economic self-sufficiency was a prime mover.

Alicia:

1. The opening of more doors in the work force would help to attain higher positions.
2. Preparation for the future stood out in her mind.
3. Helping her twin daughters with their homework was important. "If the parents are educated, they will be able to help their children with science, English, and mathematics."

Rafael:

1. Encouragement from the Veterans administration to use the G.I. Bill stirred him into action.
2. His family encouraged him.
3. His long range goal of earning his associate of arts degree kept him going.

Emiliano:

1. He followed his oldest brother's example.
2. Religion was a factor in encouraging education.
3. Contribution from all the teachers he has had.

Marisol:

1. Support of her children enabled her to give them what she was not able to have.
2. She hoped for a better position in life.
3. Definitely getting off welfare was a prerequisite for becoming economically self-sufficient.

Marisol, as a single parent, is described by the clerk specialist at the community college:

She came into the JOBS program on a grant. She went to school here, got good grades, and is a real sharp woman. Marisol worked here as a student worker. She seems to come from a middle income, successful family. She is always extremely well groomed. She had drive and the ambition to get off assistance. Ever since she left the community college, she is doing well. She is a real determined person. (March 1996)

Marisol knew her life would change for her and her three sons as soon as she became economically self-sufficient. Her dissatisfaction with the way her life was before she entered the community college led her to find a better way for her family.

Positive Attitudes Toward the Community College

The participants in this study had arrived at a time in their lives when they were content with their schooling and felt this attitude aided their persistence. They were determined to complete their certificates and degrees. Alicia expressed her thoughts, "I'm pretty positive that I will succeed." Alicia received encouragement in the larger community as well as the college. The coordinator of the women's program spoke about Alicia:

From the beginning, she had a long-term goal to get a bachelor's degree in international business. She has been able to hang in there for her long-term goal. She had to get a degree. She has finished her degree in Winter Term 1995 and applied to the local 4-year college. . . . Alicia was hired as an administrative assistant serving the Spanish people for the women's program. She attended Hispanic Coalition meetings. She was the liaison. She was wonderful, invaluable. . . . She is very goal oriented and able to keep putting one foot in front of the other. She is a very good student. Her persistence is commendable and she always has one eye on the community. (March 1996).

Although Maria has been in and out of college, the coordinator of the women's program also has extraordinary praise for her, stating that she has started and stopped school a few times to work in order to pay her tuition. She is assertive, resourceful and a self-starter. Maria remains positive in her pursuit of education. The instructors were positive in their approach. Since Maria worked at the college, the staff knew her well. A clerk specialist stated, "She's a lovely lady and works hard at whatever she

attempts,” and the intermediate secretary said, “She was a happy person and had a lot of support, sometimes we hugged.” The coordinator remarked that both Alicia and Maria were gifts to the educational system.

Angelina’s thinking was along the same lines as Einstein when he remarked that the value of success is viewed by what a person gives (Browns, 1966, p. 645).

Angelina stated:

I feel very positive. I think it is because I feel that I can give more than I have been given, in a way. Going to school, I have been aware of more things than if I hadn’t gone to college. It gave me self-confidence to be a better citizen in the community, and I think I still need to learn more so I give more. I don’t know how to explain this. I need to learn more to give more in a more professional way. (124-125, December 1995)

Eduardo stated that he was positive that he was going to succeed. Emiliano, Maria, and Rafael felt that the faculty was encouraging, positive and friendly. Marisol thought that the JOBS program itself made her feel good because it helped mothers get an education to get a good job and slowly get off assistance. She viewed that as a positive process.

Rodrigo said that in one of his first classes he encountered a book about positive attitudes. It impressed upon him that he could do anything he set out to do. He also commented that this book made a significant difference in his life: before he started at community college, he did not read much, now he reads. Rodrigo felt the instructors were positive role models. He felt the instructors encouraged him to accomplish his goals. “When I got here, I had long hair, I didn’t really care much about what I was going to do. Now, you would notice a mature person, a goal-setting person, a more positive person.” All the participants had a healthy, positive attitude toward the community college. Seven of the eight were actuated by families that supported them. Therefore, they were intrinsically and extrinsically motivated. I think it was the family structure that gave the students their strength.

Multiculturalism

The participants verbalized their perceptions and perspectives on integration into Anglo society from the Hispanic culture. Interestingly, however, their idea of success did not require a complete absorption into Anglo culture. They were exemplifying multiculturalism.

At times the words of the Hispanic students were firm about civil rights, and at times they were not completely sure. Only five out of the eight students knew about the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Marisol eloquently expressed herself:

Oh, I was definitely an activist. And because of that I'm an activist now. My mother was chairman of NOW organization and that influenced me a lot. As far as knowing my legal rights, my father helped me a lot with that. I'm succeeding because I am not ignorant. I'm succeeding because I'm going out there and grabbing what I need to do to further myself and my education and my career. I make steps and I go out and I get it. I know my legal rights, and that is a big issue because a lot of Hispanics do not know their legal rights and let people walk all over them. I have a lot of confidence in myself. And I'm an assertive person, sometimes aggressive, and that's not good. That's something I need to work on. (812-813, December 1995)

Marisol strongly recommended that everyone know their legal rights, know where they stand in America legally, and know what the civil laws are. "Because if you don't know them then you are ignorant." Maria also was very interested in civil rights. Angelina heard about the civil rights movement, and she felt more comfortable now that she knew more about it. Emiliano learned about the civil rights movement, but, "I guess because I wasn't there, I don't really feel what they went through. When you see it on film . . . it kind of makes you sick that people had to go through that, but I think you only get the concepts; you don't get the feel of the importance." Alicia stood her ground when she heard racial slurs. She said to her husband, "I don't care; we're in America." Eduardo did not experience any racism. Rafael could not remember what the civil rights movement was about.

Although the participants had a broad range of views on civil rights, they valued civil rights information as a step to integration and an awareness of a larger, national social movement. In the 1960s, the civil rights movement was complex in

nature and incorporated Hispanic communities throughout the Southwest, Midwest, Northwest, Washington, and Idaho (Gamboa, 1995). Although it focused on Blacks, Hispanics were involved toward the end.

Trust in Education

In one way or another, all of the participants in this study had a strong trust that education would transform their lives socially, culturally, politically, and economically. This trust fed their persistence and led them to have a powerful motivation to continue in their studies. The educational message that the participants conveyed was a strong force correlated with success. It was reinforced by their words over and over. The students spoke of sharpening their skills in order to get a better job, following their dreams and attending 4-year universities, helping their children and becoming self-sufficient. Alicia reiterated that to be successful is "to get what you want or go where you want to go. My next goal is to go to the university and finish, so that I feel more successful." Angelina spotlighted education as the main path to success. She emphasized that she knows that her children will be more successful because she is becoming educated. Eduardo reflected:

My point of view is that education is not really the only key to success. I guess it's like 98% of success and that is because of education. The other 2% is luck, sometimes you have luck and sometimes you don't. I know people who are very smart; they have a degree, but they don't live very well. I know people that don't have a degree, but they have a good job and a good house. I believe that 98% of education is what you introduce to your life, to your goals, to your success. For me, I want to succeed and have a lot of money and a good position. For me, success in life is to have a job that I like, know how to support my family, and is something that I will never forget. All that I studied is part of me. It is like having another life. Without the studies, I can't be the same. (382-391, February 1996)

Emiliano viewed education as "everything." His oldest brother was graduated from a university. Now Emiliano was at a university and thought that success was an extension of the college. He believed that he will be "producing for the company instead of for the college." Maria thought she wanted to continue her education and do something with her life. She also felt that her education would be beneficial to her

family. Marisol seems to be on the same wavelength as Illich (1977, p. 7). She did not believe that education is the main path to success. "I think experience is the main path to success. There have been people that have graduated with master's degrees and can't find a job because they don't have experience in the job they have applied for. It's ridiculous." Rafael asserted that once he continues at a 4-year college, he will be able to get a better job. Rodrigo took the advice of his parents and his persistence shines through not only for himself but for his siblings:

You have to get an education. Working out in the fields doing this and that just isn't going to pay your bills. My older brother graduated from a 4-year university, and I'm next in line. If I don't do it, my younger brothers are going to look at me and say, 'Well, he didn't do it.' So that's one of the things that I'm going to have to go to school for: to be an example. I'm the one that talked them into it. Emiliano definitely didn't want to go because of the [racism] problems he had. Then my oldest brother went to the university and talked him into it, and now they're both doing really well. (196-209, February 1996)

All of the participants spoke about their persistence and determination to complete their certificate or degree program. Three of the women will graduate in June. All have goals to continue with their education. One of the men is in his second year at a university. The other four will continue at the community college. For the participants, education will give them freedom to look at new options for success. So, for them, education is the key to success. It is participatory, it is democratic, and therefore it is fruitful.

Participatory Learning

New leadership in colleges and the workplace calls for participatory learning (Wheatley, 1994). Participatory learning is a value in the community college. All the students spoke about their success within this group process. Each of the students experienced a positive learning process at the community college. Five said participating actively and fully in the process of their education gave them an opportunity to learn from others in the group. Maria is very satisfied with the community college but thinks that teachers should encourage students to study in

groups. She had only two classes in which they did that and it was really helpful. Maria explained:

I had a teacher; she was a very hard teacher and required a lot of work. I had a lot of thinking to do and a lot of research. She was very, very strict. It was a writing class. And the good thing about it was [for] every assignment we did, we sat in a circle, and she read our papers aloud. We were able to hear from different students: how they were writing; how they were looking at different things—different subjects like pregnancy and teenagers—different problems, and how they were putting them on paper. We were able to understand different points of view, and it was really interesting. I really enjoyed that, and I learned a lot from that. It was really neat, and I think if all teachers were to emphasize that—not standing at the head of the a class and telling you what to do all the time—I think they could get more in touch with the student. (587-588, November 1995)

Maria reiterated how it did not feel like a classroom. It felt more like a group of people learning together, learning from each other. She emphasized how good that was for teacher and student.

Rafael commented, “One thing I noticed is that in most of the classes you have to work as a group, and I never worked with a group before. Here they encourage group work and it helps a lot. People will have to depend on you and you have to depend on them. That’s one thing about the Human Services program, everything is in teams.” Rafael was a student in my math class, and he contributed to the group process by asking questions and providing answers. He seemed at home in the participatory learning process. Angelina related a group experience in which there was conflict. That too can lead to growth in the learning process.

Maria’s emphasis on the teacher and learner in the participatory learning process mirrors Freire (1994). If the process of participatory learning works, as it did with Maria’s example of sitting in a circle in her writing class, there will be a sense of knowing and understanding and also a positive feeling (Johnson, Johnson & Smith, 1991). Most of the participants mentioned working in a group inside or outside of class which correlates with the college and workplace depending upon students and employees who know how to function well in teams.

Economics

All eight participants grew up in low-income to middle-income households. The fathers' jobs varied widely: field or mountain worker (Emiliano and Rodrigo's father), migrant worker (Angelina's father), sugar industry manager (Maria's father), and education professionals (Marisol and Eduardo's fathers). Now, some students looked to a brighter future than their parents had experienced.

After Alicia had completed her certificate as a Business Assistant, her goal was to look for a higher paying job. She would look for part-time work while she attended the university because her present job was full-time and was too demanding. She scanned the newspapers and while looking at the ads, she discovered that secretarial work paid less than bookkeeping. Alicia said, "I am looking to change jobs. The other thing is I'm starting to work as a volunteer once a week in a payroll department to get experience. I have all the knowledge, but I don't have the real experience of how to work with payroll or as a bookkeeper." Alicia believed that the more prepared for the future she was the more opportunities she would have in the work force. She thought she would get more wages after going to college.

Angelina was looking forward to working in an office rather than a factory. Eduardo's long-term goal was to become a computer engineer. He wanted to work with computers and especially with software. Emiliano looks forward to working for the computer industry when he receives his baccalaureate in computer science from a university. Maria remembered when she was working as a waitress. She asked herself, "Where it this going to take me?" Maria's short-term goal was to finish her degree and to get a job working with the police department, to get some experience, and perhaps to open her own business in criminal investigation. Her long-term goal was to get three degrees, A.A., B.A., and M.A. She would like to work either for herself, a good company, or the government. At the time of the interview, she was employed as a court bilingual translator.

Rafael asserted that there are a lot of benefits for him in the future. After earning his 4-year degree in Human Services, his top priority is to work and support

the family. He stated it frankly, "No job, no eat." Rodrigo had his future well in hand; he would continue to work on both his Human Services degree and EMT certificate. When he completes both, he would like to stay in the area, but "if [I'm] offered a job in another town, I would move. You have to pay the bills."

When asked what motivated her to go to college, Marisol spoke wholeheartedly about the connection between college and work:

The fact that I didn't want to be working at a fast food place. I did not want to work somewhere that would not help or further my future. It would just impede me to stay doing nothing. I want to travel and to be able to acquire a job wherever I'm at. In any Third-World nation, the medical field is probably the only place that you can get a job. I have kids to support. I plan on just traveling in a motor home, totally self-contained, and just getting a job wherever I go, basically as a nurse in any Third-World country, especially Belize and those places, Guatemala. (292-302, December 1995).

All eight students had inspirations and goals to earn a better living than their parents had earned. They did not want to wind up in dead end jobs. They contemplated an illuminating future in which one has a chance to develop faculties in a cooperative manner, which leads to a becoming life (Schumacher, 1973).

CHAPTER V

HYPOTHESES

Introduction

Blossoms lifted from pans of water became crowns in your hands, diadems and magic wands—ephemeral symbols of ephemeral kingdoms. Noontime was the cool shade of your room against a scorching sun. Your habitat filled with brushes, oil paints, plaster molds, easels, canvases, canvas stretchers, statues of saints in the process of coming alive, and in the midst of all the chaos . . .

Sacuanjoches sacados de panas de agua se convertían en tus manos en coronas, diademas y cetros frescos—efímeros símbolos de efímeros reinados. Los mediodías eran la penumbra de tu cuarto contra el solazo. Tu aposento lleno de pinceles, óleos, moldes de yeso, caballetes, lienzos, bastidores, santos de bulto a medio retocar, y en medio del caos . . .

(Daisy Zamora, 1993, pp. 264-265)

This study explored the data in the search for motivational factors that influenced the success of eight Hispanic ESL students at a rural community college who moved from mastering English as a second language to a certificate or degree program. The goal was to identify the motivating factors which may have influenced these students in the persistence of their education. I looked at the factors that helped or challenged the students' persistence that led to success. The eight participants persisted and progressed with their courses. In-depth interviews, triangulation with these interviews, conversations with staff, and analysis of student records supplied the data for each participant's case history.

This chapter presents experiences which have been stated in the case profiles and led directly to the hypotheses. The analysis was computer based derived from the interviews through multi-functional software, QSR NUD•IST. Case profiles and cross-case analysis explained in Chapter IV permitted me to explore patterns, make comparisons, and illustrate contrasts that emerged from the participants' experiences.

Computer Analysis

I converted interview transcripts which originally had been word-processed to files in Qualitative Solutions and Research Non-numerical Data Indexing Searching and Theory-building (QSR NUD•IST), a software system for the development, support and management of the data analysis. On-line documents were entered into QSR NUD•IST as ASCII text files. The codes were entered into QSR NUD•IST which then searched each file for comparably coded components. I organized case records which consisted of hand-coded interview transcriptions, field notes, written documents, and coded output for each participant. Using the case files, I searched the data to make comparisons and illustrate contrasts.

In analyzing the data, I incorporated the descriptive and systematic use of the Computer program QSR NUD•IST to shape the case profiles. This computer program was designed to be used with grounded theory qualitative studies. The interpretive procedure, using the perspectives of the participants, was integrated with grounded theory. The theory emerged from the data (Merriam, 1988, Strauss & Corbin, 1990, Miles & Huberman, 1994). A tree-like web gave me maximum meanings by displaying the patterns of coding schemes in hierarchical profiles. This facilitated the data collection process. The line number told which code it was and built the indexing on a tree and revealed how subjects were related.

After word processing the data, the interview questions and answers were entered into a raw file. The program then searched all eight interview files for words or patterns at my command. It searched each file separately. The project design indicated the options, line-by-line, sentence-by-sentence, or paragraph-by-paragraph, for analyzing the data. Through experimentation, I discovered that line-by-line or sentence-by-sentence did not give me complete ideas, and since the eight students were verbose, I chose paragraph-by-paragraph. The sum of the lines included in the merged files of the text was 6771, comprised of headers, subheaders, and lines which delimits individual entries and paragraphs. The alphabetized merged files included 6771 text units or paragraphs for all the students (N=8). Next, it gave the paragraph

that the word was in. At the end of the report, it stated how many lines were in the report, what percentage of the file had that word in it, and the percentage of participants that used the word. It searched for words or phrases by indexing codes. Interview and background data merged easily. This preliminary strategy unfolded as I searched and merged background, family, motivation, education, and economics.

In Figure 3, family includes occurrences of mother|father|mom|dad|daughter|son|sister|brother|kids|husband|wife. Education incorporates community collegelschoolluniversity, and attitude takes in positive|negative. These three were searched in patterns. Interesting information emerged. "Education" for instance, yielded the highest percentage (11%). I must add a caveat about this computer program. It does not express the hidden meanings existing in every personal encounter. The computer expresses only the manifest meaning.

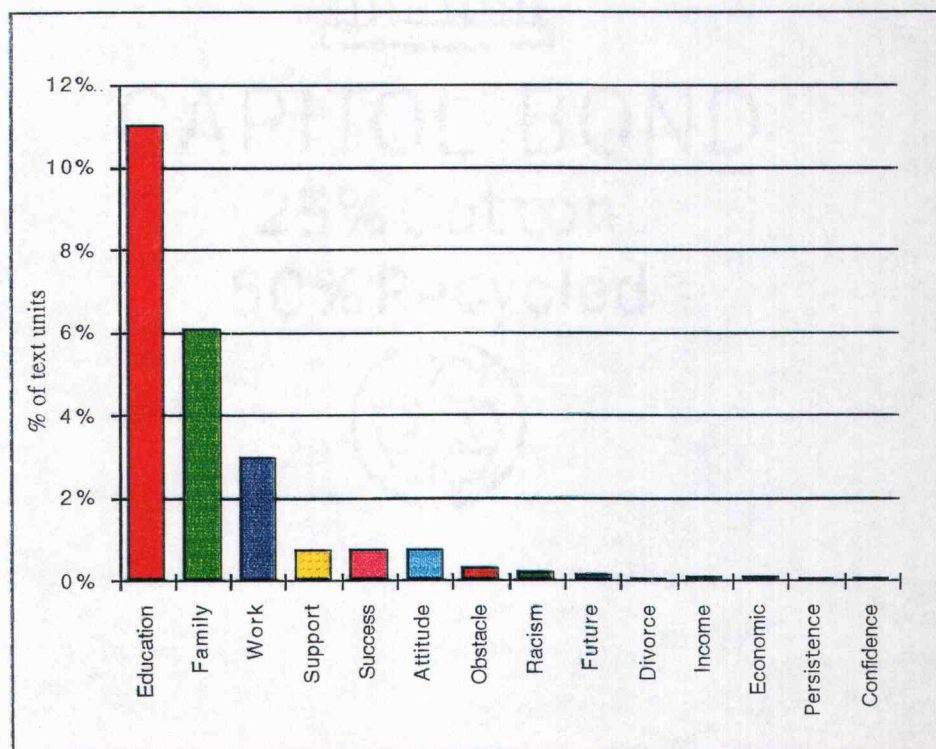


Figure 3
Percentage of Text Units by Category

I used four chronological experiences to categorize the data: (a) the return to school, which looked at content and discontent with present life status, the motivation to continue, and college enrollment; (b) the community college experience, which included level of preparation, emotional and financial backing, balancing family, school, and work, social and academic integration, stumbling blocks, and responsibility; (c) participant background, which embraced early life events, family environment, and attitudes toward school; and (d) future plans, which included motives and objectives, participant's trust in the educational system, the value of persistence, and ideas of success and a more satisfying life.

The eight students were chosen from the Cedar Community College enrollment 1994-95. They are classified according to the section from which they were chosen: ESL, GED, HSC, or community college graduates as indicated in Table 4.

Table 4

ESL, GED, HSC, and Graduates Academic Year 1994-95
Cedar Community College

	Total Ethnic Students	Hispanic Students	Anglo Students
ESL	101	36	0
GED	32	19	415
HSC	6	5	95
Community College Graduates	9	9	270

In order to participate in the study, students had to be at least 21 years of age and enrolled or previously enrolled in a certificate or degree program. They also had to have earned 21 credits at the college. They had to have at least a GPA of 2.0. Areas of study or their objectives were not criteria. Six of the eight students were planning to transfer to 4-year colleges: two in Human Services, one in law, one in International Business, and two in the computer sciences. One had graduated from the community college and was in his junior year at a university. The seventh student was pursuing a certificate in the medical field, and the eighth was seeking an A.A. degree in medical and Human Services.

I discovered they had many attributes in common and a few differences. The most important characteristic of all eight students was that they were succeeding. All participants spoke two languages; one spoke three. All benefited from the family custom of valuing education. Three from Mexico, one from Bolivia, and one from Venezuela had studied English as a second language at a community college. Two learned English at a bilingual school in Mexico, and one learned it from her parents at home in Puerto Rico. Three were from middle-class backgrounds and five were from low-income homes. All eight had a positive attitude toward schooling. One praised the Job Opportunity Basic Skills (JOBS) schooling program for helping her to become economically self-sufficient. Four were high school graduates. Four were high school dropouts who went on to earn a GED. One woman was married and three were divorced. One was soon to be married for the second time. Three men were married and one was single. Three women and two men had children. All had previously worked at low-skilled jobs. Three of the eight were first generation college students. One was an only child and the only one of his family who attended college. Four had siblings who were college educated. All had strong family support backgrounds.

I wanted to understand how this group of students came into contact with the community college, what their perceptions and perspectives were about their college experiences, and how these students cultivated their growth in order to persist and strive for success at the community college. Education requires self-awareness,

and these eight students were very aware of their status in the college environment. The research question in Chapter I asks, "What is it about the experiences of Hispanic ESL students that encouraged or encumbered their determination and success at a community college?"

Hypotheses

In analyzing the data and the core ideas that were generated by this study, hypotheses were formed that emerged from the data, yet are introductory and untested. There are researchers who believe that this emergent paradigm is advantageous for social and behavioral research (Lincoln, 1985). In this study, the data collection, analysis, and theory form a partnership, and I began with the interviews and what is apropos to the data that developed (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Because the data represented the experiences of merely eight participants and not of the general population, the study is exploratory in tone. It examines the eight students' perspectives and perceptions, and then the emergence of the data surfaces as hypotheses instead of conclusions.

Hypothesis One: Participatory Learning Leads to Growth in the Self-Efficacy of Hispanic ESL Students

Participatory learning was enthusiastically praised by six of the eight participants. They embraced learning in small groups, knowing and understanding each other, helping each person in the group, and also having a positive feeling about the group and themselves. Students were more active in the participatory learning process. One male student said, "People will have to depend on you and you have to depend on them. Everything is in teams." These students were participating actively in the process of their own education. A female student noted, "We sat in a circle . . . it was really neat . . . I think if all teachers were to emphasize that, not standing at the head of the class and telling you what to do all the time, I think they could get more in touch with the student."

For the most part, the participants and their fellow students supported each other. An increase in self-efficacy of the students was clear when they persisted. Six out of the eight students are planning to earn a baccalaureate degree. One student will be satisfied only when he earns both his EMT certificate and associate degree, although he noted that he might later go on to a 4-year university as his brothers did. The eighth participant thought she would be satisfied with her certificate in the medical field. She was right where she wanted to be. All eight students observed other students complete tasks successfully, and I believe this also raised their self-efficacy (Bandura, 1986). Seven of the eight students were employed. The time they spent studying at the community college, along with their work, demonstrated that they had the persistence to succeed in a 4-year college program. Their increased self-efficacy was evident. Whatever particular work they did in college, as one student noted, prepared them for the larger work world.

Hypothesis Two: Hispanic ESL Students Can Do Well in Community College When There Is an Appropriate Support System

All the students, after taking the college placement test, enrolled in developmental classes. Some students did not believe these classes were necessary, but they agreed to enroll when it was explained as a college policy. Others merely participated and progressed into higher level classes after mastering the necessary skills. The instructors of these classes were praised by the students as wanting to help the students succeed. Because these classes were available, students had an easier transition into college courses.

Intercultural understanding was promoted by the administration, and genuine interaction resulted particularly between the staff at the satellite college and the Hispanic students. One instructor described a Hispanic woman student, "She's a real go-getter, real intelligent, real motivated." The instructor continued, "She's self-directed and motivated because she's more Americanized. Her own people think she is leaving her heritage behind." The instructor thinks this was not the case, for the student had told her she was just trying to better herself. This description comes from a

person who understands, builds a trust relationship with the student, and who is open enough to create this kind of conversation.

Four students obtained GED certification before matriculating at the community college. Participants in this study enrolled at the college almost immediately after mastering the English language; however, one who was already a high school graduate studied with GED students to improve his English. They admitted to having shortcomings in writing and speaking skills. They asserted that they “learned it faster by practicing it.” Six at one time or another practiced with other students or, in one case specifically, with a neighboring family to improve English skills. This volunteer use of the community college support services showed an initiative for persistence and self-efficacy. One student strongly stated that in order to succeed, “We have to give our best in every area of our lives. And sometimes we have to try harder than the Anglos, and that’s because we have a second language.” These students readily admit to needing more help than traditional students.

Each freely said it was imperative to have tutoring services within reach. An instructor recalls a male student’s habits, “He was very quiet. He was a really hard worker. He was there all the time. I’m not sure that he needed a lot of help, but he studied a lot.” All eight students used tutoring as a persistent goal to reach success. A coordinator remembered, “She was a very good student. One of her roadblocks was writing. It was really hard for her to get through Business Communication. She was so persistent. She received a lot of tutoring to pass her class.” For each student, tutoring was mentioned as a powerful factor leading to his or her success. The participants in this study have proven by their GPAs, progression toward their certificate or degrees, and their enrollment tendencies that they succeed in college if the support system is in place.

Hypothesis Three: Hispanic ESL Students Develop a Strong Trust in the Educational System to Promote Life-Long Learning and Future Changes

Often throughout the interviews, the participants voiced their trust in the educational system and believed it would affect them for the rest of their lives. One

proclaimed that having an education is something that he will never forget. He felt that with the studies he will never be the same. Four students came from families that did have educational traditions, and four from families with no formal education. All eight, however, had positive attitudes in one way or another toward the community college. It seems that the participants received their attitudes from having supportive families. Besides having these external motivations, the students exhibited an intrinsic spirit that determined success. It is not only the family that establishes success. There is an innate character structure.

Two brothers were admired as they succeeded at the community college and then continued to the university and on to respected positions in the computer industry. A woman who would soon graduate looked forward to someday working for an international corporation, a strong motivational move toward life-long learning and future changes. Many of the students had had menial labor jobs and recognized that this is not what they wanted in their future. At least four of the participants pondered the fact that their fathers had worked in the fields and struggled to survive. At the urging of their parents, they wanted a brighter future. An obstacle these students faced was the adjustment of living in another country. This was balanced by the fact that they could become better-educated in America. Almost all the students had this positive viewpoint. They had a trust in education and a belief in the future.

These students persisted to reach their goals although one stopped due to lack of funds and a heavy work schedule. She has now returned and soon will graduate and transfer to a local 4-year college. Another stopped to earn more money and then returned to school. The staff commented that they know she will finish. Another student stopped, but she is going to complete her certificate in the National Guard. The five remaining students are completing on schedule.

Hypothesis Four: Social Integration Is an Important Factor in the Persistence of Adult Hispanic Students Who Are or Were Enrolled in Community College Programs

Tinto (1987) articulated that the interplay between students and faculty in the academic and social environment is crucial to student success. Social integration is not

only the incorporation of social activities within the community college but is interaction between students and faculty and students and students. Three of the students were involved at one time in international relations programs, and one declared that she would engage in student government or other institutional extracurricular activities if her schedule would permit. Two emphasized that they socialized with students as a result of forming study groups. One of the women actually coordinated a dance activity for an all-staff college inservice day. Two of the students had never participated in campus activities. Four of the women and one man spoke of their instructors as "friends." Although this socialization is different from extracurricular activities, it is an important process. Three factors were important to the socialization process: (a) students met in study groups, (b) students socialized during participatory learning in class, and (c) students developed friendships outside of class.

Three factors were apparent for student social involvement:

1. Participants believed that an open mind was a necessary condition to accepting different points of view. One woman made friends easily and the registrar described her as "a sweetheart, real happy, really made everyone smile" (March 1996).
2. Participants asserted that initiative needs to be taken and creative ideas used. The student needs to reach out into the community.
3. Participants had to overcome initial feelings of anxiety. One did not want to associate with other students because he thought he was too old, but he said, "Maybe it's just my imagination, but now all the other people want to associate with me. I was like a magnet." It definitely made a difference to interconnect with other students and staff.

Three other factors hindered the social process for some students. (a) They all were employed, which kept them constantly balancing their busy schedules. (b) They socialized in their community rather than at the college when they had the time. (c) They held the importance of their children and family obligations in high esteem. Only one participant blatantly denounced her peers at the community college. As Pincus and DeCamp (1989) stated, "Institutions of higher learning must help to create the conditions that promote social integration of minority students" (p. 215).

Hypothesis Five: A Primary Benefit of Speaking Both English and Spanish is an Increase in the Self-Confidence of Hispanic ESL Students

Gaining a certificate or degree confirmed to all eight bilingual participants that they could be successful in achieving their community college goal. All eight were fluent in both the English and Spanish language. The eight students grew up speaking Spanish in their home as part of their cultural identity. They learned to read and write in Spanish and then made the transition to English. According to Dr. Marsnik of the Los Angeles Board of Education, a child who learns to read and write in Spanish has an advantage because children who learn to read and write in Spanish over a five-year period will later excel in both English and Spanish (*Wall Street Journal*, 1996, p. A5.) The participants were at the point where if they were unsure of the context of the language, they would ask, "What is the correct way to say this in English?" The students admitted that small errors here and there did not affect their confidence level.

The studies on bilingual education do not reflect the anguish of making one's way through a foreign culture. Richard Rodriguez (1982) tells of the emotional trauma associated with learning an unfamiliar language and being in an alien culture in his poignant book *Hunger for Memory*.

Participants in this study were academically motivated, relatively receptive to searching the curricula, and quickly learned from their selections. The fact that they spoke two languages was viewed by them as enhancing their first language and culture. The administration at Cedar Community College recognizes multiculturalism and students who come from a different culture as having an advantage to speaking a second language. At one inservice at CCC, Dr. Milton Bennett, Co-Founder and Director of an Intercultural Communication Institution, mentioned that we need to look at these students as bright and knowledgeable, not to be looked down upon but rather looked up to. Dr. Bennett commented, "After all which of us has knowledge of more than one language?" People who speak two languages add a richness to their culture. All eight students agreed that we need to have the ability to see the perspectives of others. This encompasses comprehension of our *E Pluribus, Unum* heritage both

nationally and collectively (Cortes, 1994). All eight participants' advice to incoming Hispanic ESL students was to learn the English language well so they could perform in the larger society, but at the same time enrich their heritage. Learning the English language gave them a sense of self-confidence.

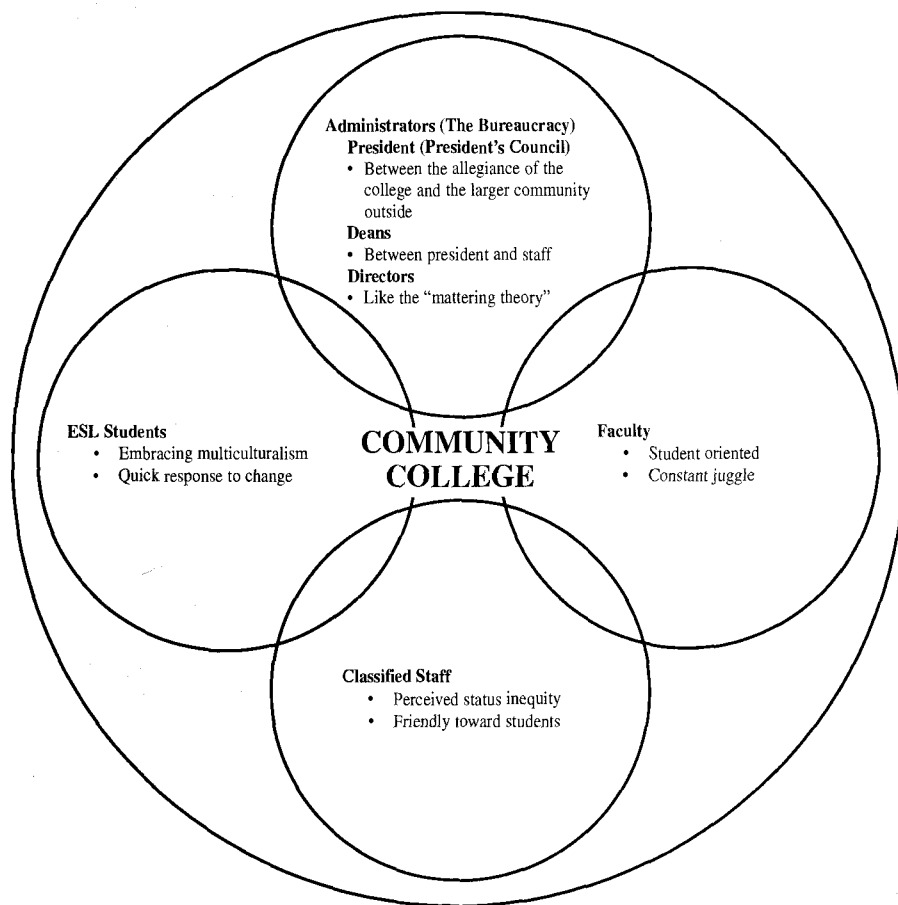
Hypothesis Six: Racism as Related to the Institution and the Larger Community Can Be Influenced by the Use of Personal and Community Resources

The participants in this study have strong feelings about racism. Racial incidents directly connected to the institution and the larger community were reported by seven students. One participant remarked that although he shrugged off signs of racism in the community college, he was reminded of a traumatic experience from the past. It was a mixture of many things, he said, including not understanding the language and being unable to communicate well. He was active in sports but "the opponent team was usually very rude because here was this Hispanic kid beating them. There were a lot of racist comments going back and forth." He said he will never forget the pain of racism, but he handled it at the community college by forcing himself to ignore it.

Another participant felt she was the target of racism in two classroom incidents. In discussing it with another participant, she found they had endured similar racial slights. One participant remarked about how the larger community looked down on Hispanics; he was pulled over by traffic police at least three times for what he felt were unjust reasons. Another commented on how his work supervisor said he could make a lot of money in court with all the racist jokes that were told in front of him. One student said she personally never dealt with bigotry because she would not let anyone "step up" to her in that fashion. But if she overheard remarks "about Mexicans or Blacks and if I know the person personally, I'll say something." One participant who reported no racial insults was later contradicted by a fellow student. She commented that the trust level between her and this particular student took many months to develop. This indicated the degree of trust which must be established between interviewer and interviewee before such sensitive areas can be discussed.

All eight students had a healthy way of handling the incidents with racism and appeared loyal to their institution. Each one of the students dealt with the racial issue in different ways. Each developed different strategies in order to cope with the situation. Although one student was hurt as a teenager, by traumatic incidents, he now blanketed his feelings through avoidance. Another one was combative and defended other victims. Another said, "If I hear people making racial remarks, I think they are lower than I am." Two participants expressed self-pride. When one of them encountered someone at the post office who asked her to "speak English, not Spanish; you are in America now," she responded that Spanish was her native language, and she had every right to speak it. Another student who was stopped "unfairly" at least three times by traffic police took positive action by signing a petition at the college to stop police harassment. One participant confronted the instructor so the problem was put out in the open and resolved.

Tatum (1992) writes about racism being a painful element in the lives of minorities. In our democracy, racism is morally wrong; institutional commitment to multiculturalism is a response to it. In general, mere discussion of racism is ineffective. If we are to have multiculturalism, the community college must establish continuous workshops. Workshops alone are not enough because they deal with the surface. In the larger society, there must be a change in the system. Change is achieved by praxis, by practicing what we believe. A change can start with the college, and then work within the larger society. The college can set up affirmative action, and create a more welcoming culture and climate. Team work is vital to this process. It is hoped racism will be remedied in part by improved ethnic awareness within all the subcultures of the community college. In the future, when we reach parity, we will use a term that reflects the new reality, "co-culturalism." The ripple effect could extend this sensitivity to the community at large as illustrated in Figure 4.



Note: The subcultures are within the larger culture. The subculture conflict leads to ultimate integration, seemingly chaotic but will end in a higher order in the Wheatley concept recognizing that chaos and conflict lead to a broader synthesis. Multiculturalism needs to be filtered throughout all subcultures.

Figure 4

Subcultures Within the Community College

To have a truly democratic institution, the embracing of multiculturalism is vital in all subcultures of the community college. All of the participants in the study highlighted the fact that the community college staff was positive in their approach to helping them succeed. In spite of the racism, the one common factor that all eight students had was that they were successful.

Hypothesis Seven: Successful Hispanic ESL Community College Students Influence Other ESL Students and Use Their Positive Family Attitudes Toward Schooling for Their Children and Their Children's Children

Four of the women emphasized how important it was to be able to help their children with their homework, and three said how supportive their children were toward their education. Three of the women mentioned how much more comfortable they felt when their children asked them school questions. They were pleased to be able to help with the children's mathematics. All the children combined in this study totaled 11. Nine of the children are in elementary or middle school. Of the two who have reached high school age, one has graduated, and one is attending college. Ten of the children's grandparents attended elementary school, three attended high school, one earned a bachelor's degree, and two earned masters' degrees in college. Now, of the eight participants, one will earn a certificate and a degree, a double major, at the community college, and one will take the two courses needed for completing her certificate in the National Guard. Of the remaining six, one is at a university, and five will continue to a 4-year college or university. One of the participants said to his teenage son, "Get an education and then worry about your job. . . . I encourage him to think about college now. If he doesn't want to go, that is up to him. My job is to push him." The encouragement that the participants received from their parents seems to be carrying on to their children and hopefully the value of education will continue to persist throughout future generations.

The students in this study have faith that their own matriculation at the community college has served as good role models for their children. One parent related that her children are proud of her for going to college. She also pays close attention to their schooling. Although she is working and attending full-time classes, she finds time to attend school conferences and to make sure that she stays in touch with her children's teachers. She believes that this is vital to future schooling of her children. Although a longitudinal study would provide more data, the prospects look positive for future generations.

Hypothesis Eight: Financial Backing Is a Necessary Condition for Hispanic ESL Students

The community college has an open door policy of service to all adults who benefit from low cost instruction. The college encourages comprehensive personal interaction, becomes a micro-community, and promotes future job opportunities. Financial backing was necessary for six of the eight participants in this study. The JOBS and women's training programs were utilized by four of the women. They strengthened the collaboration and collective foundation for these women. The finances allowed them the opportunity to persist.

Financial aid is crucial for community college students to make the commitment to transfer and to be successful (Pincus & DeCamp, 1989). The participants perceived success as having the aptitude to achieve sovereignty in their education and work. The age range, 21 to 48 years, did not appear to have any bearing on the fact that all eight were concerned with economic achievement, making life respectable for their families (Galbraith, 1971). They all believed they would attain a good position in the work force when they finished their schooling.

CHAPTER VI

IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

The point of departure of the movement lies in the people themselves. But since people do not exist apart from the world, apart from reality, the movement must begin with the human world relationship. Accordingly, the point of departure must always be with men and women, in the "here and now," which constitutes the situation within which they are submerged, from which they emerge, and in which they intervene. Only by starting from this situation—which determines their perception of it—can they begin to move. To do this authentically they must perceive their state not as fated or unalterable, but merely as limiting—and therefore challenging.

El punto de partida de dicho movimiento radica en los hombres mismos. Sin embargo, como no hay hombres sin mundo, sin realidad, el movimiento parte de las relaciones hombre-mundo. De ahí que este punto de partida esté siempre en los hombres, en su *aquí*, en su *ahora*, que constituyen la situación en que se encuentran ora inmersos, ora emergiendo, ora insertos. Solamente a partir de esta situación, que les determina la propia percepción que de ella están teniendo, pueden moverse los hombres. Y para hacerlo, auténticamente incluso, es necesario que la situación en que se encuentran no aparezca como algo fatal e intraspasable sino como una situación desafiadora, que sólo los limita.

(Paulo Freire, 1994, p. 66; 1993, p. 93)

This study investigated the experiences of eight Hispanic ESL students at a rural community college who moved from mastering English as a second language to a certificate or degree program. I looked at the motivational factors that helped or challenged the students' persistence and led to success. The eight participants may have "submerged" when they were in a state of discontent, "emerged" when they enrolled at the community college, and "intervened" when they persisted and successfully progressed with their courses (Freire, 1994). In-depth interviews, close descriptive methods, cross-case critique, triangulation with these interviews, conversations with staff, and analysis of student records supplied the data for each participant's case history. This chapter is arranged into three components: (a) discussion of the educational implications, (b) discussion of the study's limitations, and (c) conclusion with provisional suggestions for further research.

Educational Implications

Five Implications are derived from the hypotheses delineated in the preceding chapter. The first one spotlights the accountability of the community colleges instructional policies and procedures in relationship to Hispanic ESL students. The second looks at the feasibility of infusing the curriculum with diversity concepts for Hispanic ESL students. The third suggestion implies that the community colleges have the obligation to provide classes to help the participants begin and complete their courses. The fourth one highlights participatory learning. The fifth implication is awareness of Hispanic cultural contrasts.

Accessibility of the Community College

The participants in this study have proven that Hispanic ESL students can matriculate and succeed at the community college given the same academic support as traditional students. We must keep in mind that there are differences in all nationalities, and that some students' level of achievement are high and some are low. Ogbu (1994) cites an example of a professional meeting at which there was discussion about a state-mandated exam for licensing. Some who had doctorate degrees were unable to respond to the answers until the norm was lowered to one that had been set for minorities. But many speak of minorities as the underclass and unable to pass certain exams. Merely restructuring schools, unaccompanied by the reformation of educators and how and what they think about their students, is not an efficacious condition for complete school reform (Nieto, 1994). Further, a critical consideration in making an educational transformation is what from Freire's (1994) philosophical standpoint is called the structuralist viewpoint; poverty or keeping the ESL student in a weakened position is caused by oppressive structures.

I propose a change in the accountability of community colleges to their Hispanic participants, from the leaders to the students. Instead of being based on sovereignty and power, whether it is from a dean or an instructor, the community college is shifting to participatory leadership and learning (Wheatley, 1992). Attitudes

need to change from the top administrative positions down to the student, so that there is more empowerment of the student with the objective in mind that the Hispanic ESL student needs to learn to move into positive social action (Freire, 1994). Marisol mentioned that she knows her civil rights and that Hispanic ESL students need to learn their legal rights. Transformation of the community colleges cannot take place without listening to the students' voices and learning from the students' ideas. One eastern college encourages students to sign up for lunch to have "Beans with the dean." The meal is well attended. By encouraging participatory actions from schools and teachers, all cultures can begin to learn from each other.

Enriched Curricula

Community colleges need to recognize that Hispanic ESL students entering the college have cultural needs. The college system might review and infuse the curriculum with diversity concepts in their programs. Students in this study indicated that besides the occasional problem with racism, there was also a lack of understanding of their culture. The students felt that one of their biggest assets was their being bilingual and believed that speaking more than one language was important to all cultures.

Cultural diversity needs to be emphasized more through books, music, and classes woven into the curricula. One community college administrator from the south stated, "cultural diversity is big-time on our campus." This college has a large number of minority students, staff, and diversity interlaced throughout the curricula. One of the participants remarked that his favorite class was the study of Native Americans and another mentioned an Anglo, a Hispanic, and a Native American as three people she admired. The intercultural awareness continued to raise the participants awareness and self-confidence as they viewed international students through a different lens. Three participants referred to having an "open mind." One student felt it important "to have an open mind and accept differences, from teachers and students as well, and to be open about it."

Since most curricula are set up to teach limited course work, it might be a good idea to have one that is forward-looking and incorporates more cultural and interdisciplinary courses. Instructors could learn from colleagues when teaching an interdisciplinary course and students could experience more multiculturalism. There is little representation of the Hispanic language or culture in the curricula (Nieto, 1994). Usually there is no model for Hispanic ESL students in terms of instructors or in the curricula. Learning the traditional courses is practical, but learning on a multicultural level would support Hispanic ESL students far better for the future.

Messages from the larger community also contribute to limiting diversity concepts in the curricula. One participant recalled an incident in a post office line where a woman asked her to stop speaking Spanish, "Why can't you people speak English only. You are in the United States." The problem needs to be addressed at the college level, and perhaps it will spread out in to the community as people become more culturally educated.

Transition Courses

Participants agreed that the best way for Hispanics to succeed in community college was to enroll in the college to learn English. They said, "Hispanic ESL students need to practice their English as often as possible, review their English notes to learn the words, and watch television."

The students were aware that they were not letting their accents affect their self-efficacy. All eight students were fluent in both English and Spanish. Small errors here and there did not affect their confidence level. Many related that by listening, reading, and speaking the English language, even though at first they did not understand completely, they began to understand more and more.

Two of the students participated in GED classes to improve their English. This also helped them with transition into college courses. One JOBS Training Coordinator related how persistent another participant was when writing appeared to be a stumbling block. She persisted and overcame great barriers by enrolling in English writing classes

and "was a wonderful model." The coordinator felt that if other Hispanics viewed her efforts, perhaps community college education would become a viable resource for other Hispanics. To reduce her stress level, she audited one writing class before she enrolled in it. She enrolled in the class later and did extremely well.

Since most of the programs set up for Hispanic ESL students are ESL classes, it would be a tiny step to embrace writing since the greatest stumbling blocks seem to be writing classes. These students who wish to continue to college courses should be able to have the encouragement and strength to feel confident about their writing. It would be helpful if there were an advisory group in which one instructor would get to know the Hispanic student, function as a mentor, and become someone the Hispanic student could confide in. There needs to be a strategy for building self-efficacy.

Participatory Learning

Participatory learning is empowering to Hispanic ESL students. Their achievement is defined by interpersonal relationships and respect for cooperation. It is not only cooperation and the idea of the cohort; they also draw on experience. Their identity is based upon their role within the group. Participatory learning has features sought for participatory leadership: personalization, viewing the college as a community, and a continuing concern for high quality work within the college which can be practiced by students, instructors and administrators.

These characteristics, practiced by the community college, will increase college autonomy, optimize trust and collective responsibility among instructors, and provide more flexible roles for all those within the community college. The institution, the culture, and the climate could be fruitful in letting students participate wholly in their education and could present instructors with reciprocity in the learning process. The teacher is the coordinator (Freire, 1994; Wheatley, 1992). A responsibility of the community college is to help students succeed. The paradigm for a more conscious sense of self might be embraced across lines of culture (Bateson, 1994). First and

foremost, there needs to be a commitment to the self-worth of the Hispanic student as well as to the academic achievement.

There is little competition in participatory learning; it is mostly cooperation. The students learn from each other. It is not hierarchical. Confusion and chaos lead to a higher order. Wheatley (1992) believes that chaos is critical to participating. Freire (1994) thinks that people can learn and act to change the world. Everything about participatory learning is democratic. It is not a question of lecturing, but a question of participating which is part of the process. In the struggle to achieve, we submerge and become conscious of the exploitation, so we can emerge to intervene. In order to reach the ultimate unity, we have to disunite. There may be confusion and chaos, but that leads to unity.

Dialogue is absolutely crucial. Lecturing is from the top down and dialoguing is among equals (Freire, 1994; West, 1994). Participatory learning is rooted in vocabulary and the life of the people. Freire (1994) believes that we have to listen to the students and speak their language. The teacher learns from the student and vice versa. One of the key points in Freire's educational system is that he wants the students to be aware of the inherent contradictions in society because education should be a questioning of postulates of society. Constant doubting, constant criticism, deeper criticism is lacking. Participatory learning is a communion with people and an awareness of their differences. Freire believes in praxis: there is a theory and we actually practice it. We walk our talk. Participatory learning is aimed at equality. We think for ourselves and have respect for the differences in human beings, the very otherness in a person. In America, we know a little bit of other's nationalities, but we really do not understand the cultural differences. We do not really listen to each other (West, 1994). The average person, for instance, will not listen to a vegetarian's philosophical argument. They respect their position but are not affected by it. Multiculturalism is deeper than mere tolerance. Tolerance merely respects the right of a person to exist. Multiculturalism is really absorbing the other culture, really listening hard and trying to understand the person.

Cultural Contrasts

Gonzalez (1976) argues that a cross-cultural view of Mexican Americans may help educators in understanding them. American and Hispanic cultural attitudes overlap, but there are major differences as indicated in Table 5. Individuals as such cannot be judged by cultural criteria.

Table 5
Suggested Cultural Contrasts

Factor	Mainstream America	Mainstream Hispanic
1. World View	1. Person-centered world	1. Group-centered world
2. Values	2. Competitive Emphasis on future Emphasis on individual rights Assumption that everyone shares same materialistic values	2. Cooperative Emphasis on present Interpersonal relationships Proud of long history and tradition
3. Work Styles	3. Personal involvement	3. Motivated by loyalty
4. Identity	4. Based on personal competence Self-motivated	4. Based on role within group Group motivation
5. Thinking Styles	5. Practical Separate fact and feeling Direct expression	5. Philosophical Combine fact and feeling Spontaneous expression
6. Communication Styles	6. Direct confrontation Concern for self	6. Indirect confrontation fear of "losing face" Concern for welfare of others
7. Family	7. Family usually second to work Children independent	7. Family is first priority Children sheltered
8. Etiquette	8. Formality often sacrificed for efficiency "Let's get to the point"	8. "Old World" formality Etiquette considered measure of breeding
9. Ethics	9. Truth taught as absolute value Legal emphasis	9. Truth tempered by tact Fairness and justice emphasis
10. Time	10. Categorical imperative Deadlines and commitments are firm	10. Relative concept Deadlines flexible
11. Religion	11. Largely secular Mixed religions	11. Spiritual and metaphysical Long Roman Catholic tradition
12. Politics	12. Democratic	12. Democratic
13. Judicial	13. Innocent until proven guilty	13. Guilty until proven innocent
14. Status	14. Money is main status indicator and reward for achievement	14. Title and position more important than money (Kras, 1995 pp. 71-74; Pai, 1990, pp. 211-213)

Can one think of cultural cooperation in the 21st Century when the percentage of Hispanic students will be much greater? Would it not be better to address this issue squarely now rather than raising the question in theory only or ignoring it? To deal with multiculturalism, the schools must acknowledge the Hispanic's specific needs. It is essential that community colleges acknowledge that Hispanic ESL students have needs that are often voiced by students but unheard by faculty.

Somehow, the student is the least heard and the most involved in the community college. If Hispanic students are respected and treated as equals, they are more likely to respect themselves and treat others as equals.

Limitations of the Study

In this study, Hispanic ESL students who had successfully matriculated at a community college were investigated. Even though eight hypotheses and implications about the students have been shaped by this study, the findings are limited. The main limitation is that only eight Hispanic community college graduates or soon-to-be graduates were investigated. The declarations, therefore, can represent only the experience of eight students. Further, by selecting students who had earned at least 21 college credits, who were 21-years-old or older, and who had a GPA of 2.0 or higher, younger and less persistent students were excluded.

The fact that all these students came from families who valued education plausibly contributed to their determination. Further, five of them studied English at the community college which may have led to their inquiring about other classes and programs. Three sought out community college programs on their own.

Suggestions for Further Research

In this study, I have examined, from the eight students' perspective, the motivational factors that influence the success of Hispanic students who studied English as a second language and then progressed to a certificate or degree program.

The hypotheses shaped in Chapter V are shown as provisional and preliminary. Optimistically, they will mold the foundation for future research studies. Success for Hispanic students will involve choosing the correct approach within the community college and proper synthesis for integration. Ideas have consequences. My hope is that the study stirs up other topics for researchers: ongoing multicultural workshops, enriched curricula, more employability, participatory learning, civil rights awareness, and the effect of parental college education on children.

Continuous Multicultural Workshops

Despite obstacles, the eight students were willing to enroll in classes to further their academic and social skills and make a contribution to society. Chang (1973) found that racial prejudice has a profound influence locally and globally. She contends that it is the responsibility of educators to develop healthy attitudes for administrators, instructors, and students. Banks (1992) noted that transformational leadership, the development of all people in the institution to their full potential, is imperative to realize the multicultural vision (DePree, 1992; Gardner, 1990; Kouzes & Posner, 1987; Senge, 1990). Simmons (1994) writes that to accommodate the diversity represented in community college populations, the institution needs changes and adjustments in redefining their mission statements. Research could be conducted to examine whether there is truly praxis in the community colleges holding continuous multicultural workshops. Is multiculturalism happening in theory only or also in practice?

Multiculturalism has now taken over the civil rights movement and there is a big push in the colleges, but is it on as deep a level as the civil rights movement or is it only in language? Multiculturalism is much deeper than merely correct speech, and in that sense, we need to integrate in order to have a pluralistic society; however, as we increase our ethnic population, we develop strong anti-immigration and racist forces. The school can counter this trend by promoting and modeling true multiculturalism.

Enriched Curricula

New curricula must be developed. Changes may be developed in small increments to the traditional curriculum. Derman-Sparks and The A.B.C. Task Force (1989) believe that an anti-bias curriculum encompasses the positive objectives of multiculturalism, and it recognizes developmental tasks, stereotyping, bias, and discriminatory behavior in student's interactions. A productive study could follow a community college that is infusing anti-bias and multicultural content into their curricula.

Participatory Learning

Participatory learning and leadership must be demonstrated in an intercultural environment given the increasing Hispanic population in the United States. It is no longer a case of philosophical isolation in the community college classes and administration; therefore, participatory and inclusive leadership and learning is required, not hierarchical, in exclusive settings. One should emphasize student's human interaction, not bureaucratic power. Such social critics on the cutting edge as Freire and Wheatley favor participatory learning and leadership. Freire's ideas originated in the 1950s and 1960s in northeast Brazil where there was poverty, oppression, and adult illiteracy. Wheatley, in the 1990s, deals mostly with Corporate Executive Officers (CEOs). Both emphasize the democratic position. Freire asserts that traditional educational "banking" is that schools deposit knowledge and do not increase understanding. He believes that learning to read and write is a fundamental, political act (Freire, 1985; Freire & Macedo, 1987). Wheatley (1992) believes the paradigm needs to change. Lecturing is outmoded. Wheatley wants to give us a different way of looking at the universe. Freire believes in "praxis." Seven of the eight Hispanic students appreciated participatory learning. It would be intriguing to investigate a wide range of contemporary community colleges to see how they are implementing participatory learning and leadership.

Civil Rights

In the case of the Hispanic ESL student, attention must be paid to current civil rights policies. Hispanic students should be familiar not only with assumed civil rights, but with their actual legal rights. They should know the background of such civil rights movements as the Black uprising of the 1960s. Later, Mexican American social progressives, farm workers, college and university students, and political activists used cultural pride and the issue of discrimination to build a foundation for the Chicano Movement (Gamboa, 1995). Gutek (1991) discusses the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 when federal funds were provided to establish Hispanic studies programs and special counseling services in colleges and universities. Few of these programs exist today. Studies could be conducted on the status of these programs and the prospects for regeneration in the current atmosphere of xenophobia and anti-immigration legislation.

Children of the Eight Participants

Since the eight students in this study were positively influenced and encouraged by their parents and siblings, one would expect their children to be likewise influenced. Close attention can be paid to the family by researchers to determine the influence on the educational beliefs, patterns, and performances of children whose parents have returned to school. Ovando (1977) discovered that students who hoped to go to college were influenced by their parents wanting them to go to college. A longitudinal study of the participants and their children, with a follow-up in 20 years, could illustrate the long-term effects of their parents' schooling. My study could form the basis for further study of the effects of education upon future generations.

Employability

The group of eight students in this study looked forward to obtaining profitable work in the future. All were aware of the tight job market, the fact that traditional labor needs are disappearing, and the difficulty of finding a job without specialized training. Everyone, however, had the self-efficacy to suggest that if there were a job out there,

they would persist in obtaining it. I suggest that a longitudinal study be conducted to see if the Hispanic students' employability resulted from their success at the community college. I also suggest investigating whether the college environment was crucial and critical to the success of the students in obtaining a job. Another longitudinal study could be conducted at a college that is integrated with Hispanic students, instructors, and administrators to see what effect having ethnic mentors has on student success and obtaining work after graduation.

Conclusion

In synthesizing the six suggestions for further research, a theme emerges: The awareness and acceptance of multiculturalism can lead to positive action on the part of the educational establishment. The experiences of the Hispanic ESL students in this study indicated ways in which persistence and progression can be developed in less-favored students. Motivating factors were higher socioeconomic status, academic self-concept, and family educational values. Three of the students graduate this year with associate degrees and move on to a 4-year college; another is in his third year at a university, and the other five progress toward their certificates or degrees, and three of them emphasize that they will attend a university. I am curious to see what the future holds in store for them. Our country is changing. We too have to change. As President Clinton stated: "Whenever you hear someone putting down another culture, another language or another race—tell them, You're putting down America." Cedar Community College administration supports cultural diversity, participatory learning, transformational leadership, and school reform which also emphasizes new definitions and thinking on leadership. Further, a policy which emphasizes the Hispanic culture along with other cultures and does not dichotomize between cultures is a realistic and idealistic perspective for the future. It is important to keep in mind that the future leadership of the Hispanic community rests with its students who are the heart of this study.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

Informed Consent Form For Student Participants

Participation, Persistence, and Progression: Motivating Factors in the
Success of Hispanic Community College Students Who Moved
from Mastering English as a Second Language to a
Certificate or Degree Program

You are invited to participate in a study about your experiences at a community college. I am working on my doctoral degree at Oregon State University and am doing a study of English as a Second Language (ESL) students and graduates who enroll in college classes. Your opinions are valuable. The perspectives you share with me will help me understand the community college experience you are having from your own point of view. The information I am gathering may encourage future ESL students to succeed by helping CCC improve its student services and programs.

Your identity and privacy will be protected. I will not use your real name in my paper nor will I keep track of your name in my notes. Interview tapes and observation notes will be kept in a locked file in my personal office. Participation is voluntary; refusal to participate will involve no penalty or loss of benefits to you. You will receive a copy of this agreement in case you have any questions.

My research will focus on your outlook and response to your community college experiences, both inside and outside the classroom. Some of the topics we might talk about are your history, your family, school experiences both before and during your enrollment at the college, and your recommendations about how programs might be enriched.

The initial interview should last about one hour. If we have more to talk about, I will ask if you can stay longer or if you can meet with me again. I would like to interview you again another time later in the quarter to see if your perceptions have changed and how your classes are going. If you have questions, you may reach me or leave me a message. I will call you back as soon as possible. Thank you very much for your help.

Signature _____

Date _____

Signature _____

Date _____

Judith N. Bennett, Researcher

Appendix B

Inform Consent Form For Non-Student Participants

Participation, Persistence, and Progression: Motivating Factors in the
Success of Community College Students Who Moved
from Mastering English as a Second Language to a
Certificate or Degree Program

I am conducting research at a community college for my doctoral dissertation and request your consent to interview you. Permission for interviews is completely voluntary and may be withdrawn at any time. I will maintain your privacy by changing your name in my records and in the final report. I will do the same for the students I interview. Interview tapes and observation field notes are kept in my personal office.

The purpose of the research is to investigate how English as a Second Language (ESL) students perceive and interpret their community college experience once they enroll in college coursework. Statistics from the community college indicate that many ESL students who matriculate into college courses drop out after their first quarter, yet no studies have been conducted to investigate why the attrition is high or how such students feel about their community college experiences. I will ask students about their family lives, school experiences both before and during enrollment in community college coursework, support systems they may use, and suggestions for program improvement at the college. I am interested in your perspectives with regard to the ESL students or graduates who participate in this study. How do you perceive them as community college students? Are there barriers that prevent them from succeeding? Are there college services or structures that could increase their level of success?

Student participation is voluntary; refusal to participate involves no penalty or loss of benefits to which the subject is otherwise entitled. Subjects may discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which they are otherwise entitled.

Students have received a detailed informed consent document describing what I am doing. Further, I plan to obtain their permission for any observations or conversations about them with faculty and staff. They will have an opportunity to ask questions at the beginning of the interview process before deciding to participate. If you have any questions, please contact me. Thank you very much for your help.

Signature _____

Date _____

Signature _____

Date _____

Judith N. Bennett, Researcher

Appendix C

Interview Questions

Background Information

Questions for Hispanic ESL students who earned or are working toward a certificate or degree:

Background and Demographics

1. Where were you born?
2. Did you grow up there? If not, where?
3. How many people were there in your family as you grew up?
4. Was your whole family from Mexico? Puerto Rico? Venezuela? Bolivia? Are they all still living?
5. Have other members of your family attended college? Did your brothers and sisters go to school? To what grade level did they attend school?
6. Where did you go to elementary school? Was the seating in a row with the seats firmly attached to the floor?
7. Tell me what you remember about your elementary school experience?
8. Where did you go to junior high or middle school?
9. What was your experience in junior high?
10. How far did you go in school?
11. Describe your high school experience for me. Can you give me the most unpleasant or traumatic experience in high school? Can you give me the most exhilarating experiences? Do you remember any particular teacher?
12. How did you find out about the ESL program? How did you get started in your ESL study or learning English?
13. If you started to learn English at a community college did anyone approach you or did you initiate your own beginning? Who did you contact first?
14. Can you describe your early activities? Who was involved?
15. Did you use a GED preparation program or class after ESL classes to help you enter college courses?
16. Do you mind if I ask your age?

17. Are you single, married, or divorced? Children?
18. Point out the category that applies to your family income—Under \$10,000; \$10,000-\$20,000; \$20,000-\$30,000; \$30,000-\$50,000; Over \$50,000?

After the ESL Program

Impressions and Choices

1. What has happened to you since you entered college classes?
2. How much time was there between ending your ESL program and enrolling at the community college?
3. Did you decide to attend college before or after you completed the ESL program?
4. What motivated you to continue on to the college level after mastering the English language? What is the major reason you enrolled in college?
5. Did you receive encouragement from your family? Friends?
6. How did you choose this community college?
7. Have you declared a major or chosen a course of study? Has it changed? How did you decide what to study?
8. Have you earned a degree or certificate?
9. What are some of your short-term goals? Long-term goals?
10. What do you remember about your first day attending community college classes? What was it like?
11. How many quarters have you attended this community college?
12. Have you stopped during certain quarters, or have you been enrolled continuously?
13. If you have stopped, what were your reasons for doing so? Has stopping made the completion of your degree or certificate more difficult?
14. Do you attend classes part- or full-time?
15. Do you work? If so, do you work part- or full-time?
16. Describe the connection between work and education? How did you manage work and go to school at the same time? Was economics a big factor in the pursuit of education?
17. Is your family supportive of your enrollment? In what ways do they support you?

18. Would you describe the role of education in your family? Did your mother support you more than your father? Father more than mother? Both equally supported you? Was there any difference between mother and father in their support? How do they feel about education in general?
19. Is education the main path to success? What is the essence of becoming a success?
20. What are your priorities in achieving your goal? What is on the front and back burner? How did you manage your time and energy?
21. Do you share with your family your educational activities?
22. What do you think are the benefits of education to yourself and your family? What was the arrangement in your family? Patriarchal or matriarchal?
23. Have you seen any changes in your siblings as far as attitude toward education as a result of your education?
24. What courses have you particularly liked at the community college? For what reasons? What courses have you not liked? For what reasons?
25. What are the largest obstacles that you have faced outside of school and the family that impact your college enrollment?

Psychosocial

26. Did the social nature of education help you to socialize?
27. What are some of the obstacles on campus that have caused problems for you?
28. Was there anything in the larger community that was positive that made you feel good? Did you or do you have a mentor?
29. What books have influenced you? What music influenced you?
30. Did the 1960s movement have an impact on you? Did the fact that there was a civil rights movement have an impact on you? The anti-war movement? President Johnson's Great Society and the movement to abolish poverty?

Outcomes and Projections

31. How do or did you feel about your ability to succeed at the community college? Are you positive or negative, upbeat or downbeat about your ability to succeed?
32. Suppose I was considering starting college classes at this community college. What advice would you give me or what would you tell me about the college, about studying, about how to succeed, etc.? Do you have special study methods that you have developed? What are they? Give me input and advice.
33. Do you think special programs or services should be created to help people who come from an ESL background? If so, what should those services be?

34. What have been the most frustrating of your college experiences so far? What have been the most satisfying of your college experiences?
35. Do or did you participate in student activities? If so, which ones?
36. Describe for me what kind of student you are.
37. Have there been faculty or staff that have been particularly helpful to you? How would you describe the faculty you have had as instructors? Were your instructors positive in approach? Did they offer plenty of encouragement?
38. Do you spend time talking to faculty or staff on a regular basis after or outside of class? How would you characterize your relationship with your instructors at this community college?
39. May I contact your advisor or other faculty members to ask them about their experience with you as a student?
40. Describe your relationship to other students and staff. Have you made friends on campus?
41. Describe any student support services like tutoring or counseling that you have used. How have they been beneficial to you? Do you have suggestions for how they might be improved?
42. If I were in class with you, what would I see? What would the dynamics and interaction be like? If I followed you through a typical day, what would I see you doing? What experiences would I observe you having?
43. Why are you succeeding when so many ESL students do not succeed in college?
44. What is your definition of "success?" What experiences made you successful?
45. What is your opinion of your educational experience here?
46. Would you say that you identify with this community college and that you are loyal to it as an institution?
47. Have you changed as a result of your experience at this community college? in other words, if I knew you previous to your enrollment, and I know you now, would I notice any difference in you?
48. Do you "see" things differently now that you have attended a community college?
49. If you want to continue on to a four-year college to earn a B.A. degree, could you describe what steps you will take?
50. Do you feel you will be better off than your parents? To what extent does this motivate you?

51. What do you think the job market will be like when you finish with your program? What changes do you see for yourself in the future?
52. What do you think other Hispanic ESL students can learn from your success at this community college?
53. What have I not asked that I should have asked? What have I left out? Do you have anything to add?

Appendix D

Interview Transcript: Emiliano
12/24/95

JB: *Thank you for letting me interview you, and the first question is, where were you born?*

ED: Mexico.

JB: *Where in Mexico?*

ED: In a border town.

JB: *How many people were there in your family as you grew up?*

ED: Including my parents? Six.

JB: *Was your whole family from Mexico?*

ED: Yes.

JB: *Have other members of your family attended college?*

ED: Yes, actually all my brothers have gone to college.

JB: *How many brothers do you have?*

ED: Three. One is already working for Novell. Which is my oldest brother. It's a computer company.

JB: *Where did you go to school in Mexico?*

ED: I went to an American school that, right after I guess I was, like, 5 years old. My parents moved to a place where there is an American colony. And they had an American school there so they taught you English and Spanish, well they tried, at the same time. It was kind of tough. You had half of your classes in English, half in Spanish. That was kindergarten through twelfth grade.

JB: *Did your brothers go to school there also?*

ED: Yes, two of them finished there and (brother) and myself moved over here before we were able to finish.

JB: *By 'finish,' they went to twelfth grade?*

ED: Yes.

JB: *When you came here, what grade did you go to?*

ED: I went into . . . What grade was it? . . . Because they wanted to jump me one. I left eighth grade over there. No, seventh, so I went in here at eighth grade.

JB: *When you went to elementary school, were the desks all in a row at that school?*

ED: Yeah.

JB: *Were they bolted to the floor?*

ED: No.

JB: *Tell me what you remember about your elementary school experience.*

ED: Academically or sports-wise?

JB: *Whatever you want.*

ED: I was very active. They kept you busy all the way from eight o'clock in the morning to about six o'clock in the evening. You went to actual classes from eight to about three, and from three to about six, you were in some sort of sport. I was personally very good at basketball, so we were usually in basketball practice. Let's see, it was tough. It wasn't an easy school. The teachers were pretty well educated. Most of them had gone to universities here. Because they had to have Spanish and English at the same time. The other half of the teachers were graduated from universities in Mexico. So you mixed them together and you got pretty good discipline. Another thing you might want to know is that it was a Mormon school, so religion was stressed pretty hard.

JB: *So did you grow up speaking, . . . what was your first language?*

ED: Spanish.

JB: *How old were you when you learned English?*

ED: They started teaching me at five. When I actually started using it more frequently, I was probably 8 years old.

JB: *What was your experience in junior high?*

ED: Junior high, that's eighth grade? First it was really tough. My English wasn't doing that well. There was a lot of racism coming in because I think I was one of three Spanish guys in the whole school.

JB: *Where was that? In what town?*

ED: That was here in a small town. But it wasn't terrible either. You could feel racism, but you just brushed it off and kept going. There were enough people who were open, and you could have your friends and get them to support you and stuff like that.

JB: *But you were one of three from Mexico?*

ED: One was born here, from Spanish descent, and the other was from Mexico also. It was just because our English wasn't that good at the time, so people at that age make fun of you and it affects you quite a bit. Classes were hard because sometimes you didn't understand your teacher. If you wanted help sometimes they couldn't communicate with you, so it was kind of tough at first.

JB: *How far did you go? After that school where did you go?*

ED: After that school, I really didn't like it here so I decided to go to south. That was probably about ninth grade. There it was better because there were a lot more Spanish-speaking people. But the schools, the public schools weren't very good. You could basically get away with not studying and not doing much. So that didn't work, so then I went for home studies. I came back and decided to go home studies because I didn't like the way schools were being run because I didn't learn a thing over there. So I came back and took on home studies. I can't remember the name of the lady that did it, but she taught me for 2 years.

JB: *Would she come into your home?*

ED: No, we usually met at the library. We used to meet at the library, and she would go through the material. It was three hours a day. After that I decided to get my GED. I felt ready for it. So I went through CCC. At that time it was a branch office in town. I took the GED test and passed it. After that because I was raised Mormon, and I was 18 or 19 years old at the time and that's when you go on what's called a mission. And you go teach people about your church and stuff for 2 years. So I went and came back after two years and went to CCC.

JB: *My next question is to describe your high school experience for me, but your saying that you were home taught?*

ED: Yeah, basically, I only went to junior high and then home studies.

JB: *Can you give me the most unpleasant or traumatic experience in either junior high or any of your schooling?*

ED: Probably when I first came up. I think it's a mixture of everything, not understanding the language so I couldn't communicate. I was in sports and stuff, but the opponent team was usually very rude because here was this Hispanic kid beating them. There was a lot of racist comments going back and forth. All this turned into something I really didn't want to be a part of. I started dropping out of sports and things like that, and that's when I decided now I'm going to try something else. It was dramatic because at that age I was very active. I was into sports and that totally turned it around. I wasn't into sports. I avoided going to school as much as I could.

JB: *How old were you then?*

ED: Thirteen.

JB: *Tell me one of your most exhilarating experiences?*

ED: I guess that would be sports. Because then I got into basketball, and the one thing that nobody could beat me or call me names or anything, because they just couldn't do it, was in basketball. Because nobody could beat me. I used to beat my coach. So that was because in Mexico we used to work out so hard in basketball. That was the sport. Coming over here, the kids were nothing compared to what we were used to playing. And so that was really good because that did give me a lot of friends and a lot of acceptance after the kids here saw that particular area.

JB: *Do you remember any particular teacher that you liked, or coach that left an impression in your mind?*

ED: No, not really, because I was very distant when it comes to the classroom because I didn't understand everything, so I would sit in the back and read the question five times before I would even try to answer it. No I don't really remember. In the south there was a coach I sort of remember. He was Hawaiian. He was very big at making the kids he felt were really good at something but were holding back for whatever reasons, maybe they had family problems or whatever, and he pushed them really hard. He did that with me when I got there. He just made me do twice as much as the next person. He was good.

JB: *When you came here, were you ever enrolled in English as a Second Language?*

ED: No.

JB: *You just picked it up in school.*

ED: Yeah, just kept going at it.

JB: *At the community college, how old were you when you went to the community college?*

ED: I was 21 or 22. I think I was 22.

JB: *How did you get interested in the community college? Was it Cedar Community College?*

ED: It was CCC. I come from a family where education is everything. My oldest brother had already graduated from a major university. It was just, you go to school. How else are you going to get anywhere? Yeah, my parents didn't get to go to college, so they made sure that we were heading towards that education.

JB: *So your parents encouraged you.*

ED: Oh yeah, oh yeah.

JB: *Was there more encouragement from your father or your mother?*

ED: My mother.

JB: *More from your mother.*

ED: That was probably because she went further on in school. My dad I think finished what would be the equivalent of junior high. Where my mom, I think, she started college, but she had to drop out. She got a job worked at a bank, so her education was Okay, especially for those years. High school was considered a good education. So yeah, she was the one who kept pushing us to go to school. Probably the other side that pushed us a lot into education was church. We always, even in church in Mexico, had to go to what was called seminary at seven o'clock in the morning, five days a week. That was kind of your Bible study. So education was pushed quite a bit. You just grew up with it.

JB: *Did you use your GED preparation? Did that prompt you on to college when you got your GED?*

ED: Yeah, because the lady who was helping me with that said, 'If you pass this, you're passing something that! I can't remember what the ratio was, but she said that a lot of high school students couldn't pass it. So she said, "If you pass this test; you're ready to jump into college and keep going.' So yeah, passing that test was something that said, 'Go ahead.'

JB: *Do you mind if I ask your age?*

ED: I'm 27, just turned 27 on the 21st.

JB: *Are you single, married, or divorced?*

ED: Just got married. Two weeks ago.

JB: *Do you work?*

ED: Yeah, I'm working through school. I'm working for the technical support at the university.

JB: *I've been down in that lab, the Macintosh lab and used it. It's been a lifesaver at times. I needed something really fast and ran down there and used the computers so I could show it to my professor. It's wonderful that they have that available. Is that work-study?*

ED: That's work-study. I could switch it over to normal work, but I still have some work-study left.

JB: *What has happened to you since you entered college classes? You went to CCC. Did you graduate from CCC? What did you graduate in? What certificate or degree?*

ED: It was an associate degree with emphasis in computer science.

JB: *Did you decide your major right in the beginning or have you changed your major while attending CCC?*

ED: No, I started with computer science and finished with it. A lot of it has to do with my oldest brother being a computer engineer.

JB: *Where did he go to school?*

ED: Four years at a university.

JB: *What motivated you to continue at the college level?*

ED: Probably seeing what's happening out there with jobs, the job market. You look at it and there's nothing out there for high school people. Even with your bachelor's, you're starting to see that. What used to be a high school degree, now your bachelor's degree is starting to get you there. So just seeing what's out there; you need it. Now even your small jobs sometimes you need a piece of paper to show you can do something.

- JB: *What would you say is the major reason you decided to go college? You told me a few things, but if you had to pick one what would be the major reason you decided to go to college?*
- ED: Probably, the example my older brother set. He came out with a very good career. He's doing really well, so I think that had a lot to do with it, seeing that you just don't go and waste money that you can actually get something out of it.
- JB: *That was your oldest brother. Where are you?*
- ED: The youngest.
- JB: *You're the youngest. So all four brothers went to college.*
- ED: The other two are still trying to finish.
- JB: *Did you receive encouragement from your family?*
- ED: Yes.
- JB: *And how about your friends?*
- ED: All my friends have gone to college. I think most of them, even the ones I started with, are still in college. Many of them have started with me at this university.
- JB: *Was the reason for choosing Cedar Community College because it was right here in this area?*
- ED: Yeah, that and that it was affordable.
- JB: *Did you earn a degree at Cedar Community College?*
- ED: Right, a 2-year degree.
- JB: *What are some of your short-term goals?*
- ED: Academically? How short are we talking about?
- JB: *The next question is what are your long-term goals, and it sounds like your long-term includes the university.*
- ED: Right, and short-term is simply . . . right now I guess would be to get into the professional school program. I've already applied and everything.
- JB: *What is the professional school?*
- ED: That's your professional school, if you don't make it you can't get your bachelor's degree. You have to make it. I'm at the university right now, the university itself. The university has its own college. In order to get into the college of engineering, I have to apply to the professional school of engineering. That depends on your GPA, what classes you've taken, and basically that's it. The classes you've taken and what kinds of grades you've got; that's what gets you in.
- JB: *You've applied to the professional school?*
- ED: I've just applied.

JB: *When will they let you know?*

ED: I think by spring.

JB: *So the professional school program is at the university?*

ED: Right.

JB: *What about your long-term goals?*

ED: Graduate, and either work for Hewlett-Packard or Novell.

JB: *What do you remember about your first day at Cedar Community College? What was it like?*

ED: Nervous, I hadn't been to college before. I didn't know my way around, and I really didn't know how it was taught. You see on TV how the teachers are way down there, a tiny thing moving around. If you get it, you get it, and if you don't you don't. So I was pretty nervous with that, but then, I had my first class after orientation of course. We could actually see the teacher so it got pretty relaxed.

JB: *Did you like it?*

ED: Oh, yeah.

JB: *How many quarters did you go to Cedar Community College?*

ED: You know, now that I remember it, I did change majors, but it's not really changing because it was really like a minor thing I started working in a software analyst program. I started with that and computer science but eventually dropped the software analyst.

JB: *Have you stopped certain quarters or did you enroll continuously?*

ED: I only stopped for summers.

JB: *Why did you stop during the summer?*

ED: Because I wanted to take a break, but also I wanted to work.

JB: *Do you think stopping made the completion of your degree or certificate more difficult?*

ED: I think it was O.K. I think it helped in a lot of ways.

JB: *Did you attend classes part-time or full-time?*

ED: Full-time.

JB: *And now at the university, are you still full-time?*

ED: Still full-time.

JB: *What do you do at your job at the university?*

ED: We repair computers, both hardware and software for the campus.

JB: *At CCC did you work?*

ED: Yeah, I worked at the lab.

JB: *At the computer lab? How many hours did you work when you were at CCC?*

ED: About 20.

JB: *How many hours do you work now at the university?*

ED: What I ended up doing at the university is I skipped a term, and I'm working full-time now during the break because they give us a month. So I'm able to make up all the hours I would have worked during the term this month, but now, going back, I'll probably work 18 hours.

JB: *But right now during the break you're working full-time. Did you manage going to school and working at the same time? Are you able to manage with your school work, doing both?*

ED: I can if the hours stay at ten. If they go beyond ten now . . . At CCC the twenty was fine because your work loads are a little lighter. At the university, more than ten would break me.

JB: *Was economics a big factor in the pursuit of education?*

ED: Yes.

JB: *Was your family helping you economically or were you doing it yourself?*

ED: I was basically, when I was at CCC, I was living at home so I didn't have rent and food expenses and then I had financial aid and work.

JB: *Is education the main path to success?*

ED: Yes.

JB: *What is the essence of becoming a success? How do you define success?*

ED: Being happy with what you're doing and being able to support your family. By that, I mean at least having the necessities. Being able to function socially at a comfortable level.

JB: *What are your priorities in achieving your goal?*

ED: School comes first. Class comes first, then marriage, then probably work.

JB: *How do you manage your time and energy?*

ED: Probably 80% is school. Probably 10% is doing homework and stuff. Probably 10% is religion.

JB: *Do you talk to your family about your educational activities?*

ED: Yes, quite a bit, whether it's a good talk or a bad talk.

JB: *What do you think are the benefits of education to yourself and your family?*

ED: I think you are able to expand your learning abilities. You are able to do the things you want to do. You're able to have the things you want and you're able to take care of your family.

JB: *Was your father the head of the family?*

ED: Yes.

JB: *Have you seen any changes in your brothers as a result of your education or do you think you have received all the encouragement from your brothers?*

ED: No, because I think the one who started was the oldest, but then after that I went. Then [brother] was in, but he didn't do too well. Then I came back and [brother] wasn't even interested in it. After about a year, I was in school then and I had been talking to him and had been talking about school. He had dropped out of high school, so that year he got his GED and moved over here and started going to college. I think he saw that we were getting somewhere and he wasn't.

JB: *So then you were an influence even though you were the youngest. What classes have you particularly liked at the community college?*

ED: Probably computer science and also the Native American culture classes.

JB: *Were there any courses that you didn't like?*

ED: Speech.

JB: *Why not?*

ED: I don't know. I had been talking to people forever because at church you have to give talks, and I had been 2 years on my mission where you have to talk to people constantly. But in class it was totally different because you could tell nobody was interested in what you were saying, so it was just a matter of oh, I have to do this so I didn't like it.

JB: *What were the largest obstacles that you have faced?*

ED: Probably language, language was still . . . I understood quite a bit, but there were still a lot of times I didn't catch something. Other than that, when I first started, I wasn't sure whether I was going to make it or not because I didn't feel completely prepared as far as the language.

JB: *Did the social nature of education help you to socialize?*

ED: Yeah. Especially math class. We used to spend three days out of the week a good six to seven hours working on math.

JB: *Were there any obstacles on campus that caused problems for you? I'm talking about the community college.*

ED: Yeah, there were a couple of classes that were that way. I think they were sociology classes because we always touched on religion and things like that, race included. The teacher didn't have a good handle on how things were handled, and usually people ended up saying things that just shouldn't be said

there. As far as I was concerned, I was there to learn, not hear someone else's opinion. But other than that, all the other classes were so mechanical. I had a really good time. Besides that also friends used to tell me what classes not to take.

JB: *That was in class, no racism as far as you personally?*

ED: Oh, no. I know of people that way, but I learned to shut them out and I don't have to talk to them. The way I've learned to deal with it, I guess, is if they're not in my way of succeeding, I don't have to pay attention to them. I knew that they were that way, but it didn't matter because they weren't giving me the grade; they weren't opening doors for me to get anywhere. The teachers were fine with me.

JB: *What about in the community? Was there any racism in the community, the larger community?*

ED: There's a lot of racism.

JB: *How do you get around that?*

ED: Same way, I don't deal with people that I know are that way. I make friends with those that are not.

JB: *Was there anything in the larger community that was positive that made you feel good?*

ED: Yeah, just like there's bad, there's good. There was a lot of people that helped me get through everything, from church to friends. We would go out and we'd play basketball and stuff like that. They were just friends who weren't racist or anything, so we could go out and have a good time.

JB: *Did you have a mentor at the community college? Was there someone you really admired or wanted to be like?*

ED: Other than probably one teacher, a computer science teacher, other than that no, because I was at math at the same level not much lower than the other people.

JB: *Were there any books that influenced you throughout your community college education? Books or music, music is my next question.*

ED: Books for education would be the Native American books I read. We learned a lot about what the Spanish did to the Indians, all that. I just learned how important it was to educate yourself about all cultures, not just your own culture.

JB: *Music?*

ED: Music, not really, music has always been something I just turned on and worked out to. I can't have music and study, so it's just been a pastime.

JB: *Did the 1960s movement have an impact on you? Did you ever think about the civil rights movement?*

ED: I know about it. I learned about it, but I guess because I wasn't there I don't really feel what they went through. When you see it on film and stuff, it kind of makes you sick that people had to go through that, but I think you only get the concepts; you don't get the feel of the importance.

JB: *What about the anti-war movement? Did that affect you at all?*

ED: It depends which one. Some I agree with, some I don't. The Vietnam War: I totally agreed towards ending the war. They should have listened to the people. There are other wars that you just have to go to. Also, you can get into why are there wars; a lot of it is economical.

JB: *President Johnson's Great Society had a movement to abolish poverty. Did you ever think of that?*

ED: Not really, no. I guess because I always thought the idea is great, but I don't think society is ready to do that because there is always somebody who wants more than you, and you're going to fall right back to where we are. There's always going to be your poverty people and your rich people.

JB: *How do you feel, or how did you feel, about your ability to succeed at the community college?*

ED: In the beginning, I wasn't too sure. Probably, after the first year I was there; I was sure I would. I think I'm going through the same thing at the university. During my first term, I wasn't sure I was going to make it through my classes, but I passed them. I think I learned what the system is and how to get through it.

JB: *Are you positive or negative, upbeat or downbeat about your ability to succeed?*

ED: I think I'm getting upbeat. When I first started, during my first term, I was pretty negative, but now I'm sure I'll make it.

JB: *And you're saying you had a similar experience at CCC?*

ED: Right.

JB: *Suppose I was considering starting college classes at this community college. What advice would you give me or what would you tell me about the college?*

ED: First thing is relax. Don't get nervous because you are doing something new. Talk to your teachers. If you don't understand something, raise your hand. That's what they're there for. Use all the resources that are available for learning: the learning center, your friends. Friends are usually the best because they are with you going through it.

JB: *Those are all good tips on how to succeed, also. Do you have any special study methods that you have developed?*

ED: No, actually I'm still working on mine. Here at CCC it required studying but not as intense as over there. I'm starting to try to develop a way to do that which is study constantly with half hour breaks. Here, if I had a free day, I could take half the day and do what I wanted. There, if I have a free day, I have to study all day and take maybe an hour off. So, I think I'm still working on my studying.

JB: *Do you think special programs or services should be created to help people who come from an ESL background? If so, what should those services be?*

ED: I think so, yeah. I was lucky that I started in Mexico learning English. I saw a lot of the Spanish guys that started here without any English trying to keep up in classes. They could do the work. Taking a test was a killer for them because they

didn't understand it. I think the more help they can get with the language part of it, the better it is and the farther they can go.

JB: *What have been the most frustrating of your college experiences so far?*

ED: Money, not having any money, even when they give you financial aid and stuff, they know exactly how much you are going to need. So you are constantly not being able to do anything other than go to school. Other than that, the other things are just part of college, dealing with classes. If you're on financial aid and you drop a class, you have to find a way to make it up, stuff like that.

JB: *What have been the most satisfying of your college experiences?*

ED: Graduating, getting through a class that was really tough, understanding a concept, all those things were satisfying.

JB: *Do you participate in student activities?*

ED: At first I tried, yeah. I started in the International Organization, but that required a lot of my time.

JB: *Was that at CCC?*

ED: CCC. It required a lot of time and so I just dropped out.

JB: *Describe what kind of student you are.*

ED: B+. I could say really studious but I'm not. I study when the class requires it, but a studious person studies whether the class is hard or not. So I guess I'm the kind of student that if the class requires a certain amount of study or activity I'll do it. I usually go with what my classes require. I'm usually a B+ student.

JB: *Have there been faculty or staff at the community college that have been particularly helpful to you?*

ED: There's a math teacher; he was very helpful, and the other one was my favorite teacher. Let's see, gray hair . . . [teacher], he even helped during the tests. He would sit down with you and give you credit, but he made you suffer through it for about an hour first.

JB: *There aren't many teachers who would do that. How would you describe the faculty you had as instructors? Were they positive in their approach?*

ED: They were positive. They were friendly.

JB: *Did they offer you encouragement?*

ED: Yes, they did. Some more than others. Some were more professional about it than others. Usually the lab instructors were not very professional. But the actual teachers were very good.

JB: *Did you spend time talking to faculty or staff on a regular basis after or outside of class?*

ED: Yeah, quite a bit. I used to go to all those teachers I just mentioned. I'd see them once or twice after class in one form or another.

JB: *How would you characterize your relationship with your instructors at this community college?*

ED: I think it was friendly.

JB: *May I contact faculty or advisors to ask them about their experience with you as a student? Okay. Describe your relationship to other students and staff at Cedar Community College, in other words anybody that you had contact with.*

ED: Usually they were pretty friendly because they were going through the same problems you were. They were usually just as stressed or as happy depending on the situation.

JB: *Did you have friends on campus at CCC?*

ED: Oh, yeah.

JB: *Were student support services like tutoring beneficial to you? Do you have any suggestions for how they might be improved?*

ED: Very definitely benefited me. As far as how can they be improved, just get more of them. Maybe offer more quality time for people because a lot of times I had friends go looking for someone to help them and they couldn't find them.

JB: *If I were in a class with you, what would I see? If I followed you through a typical day, what would I see you doing? What experiences would I observe you having?*

ED: At CCC?

JB: *At CCC, or now at the university?*

ED: One thing that has changed, which is interesting, at the university, I sit in the front, not in the back or the middle anymore. I sit in the front. I get as much in my notes from what their saying and what is on the board. You would probably find me in between classes talking to friends. Afterwards, I would get out of my classes, go home, eat, and sit down with my book depending on which classes are the next day, and in the night time, I would probably watch a little TV.

JB: *Why are you succeeding in college?*

ED: Language, It's at the point where I can function better, whereas a lot of ESL students still don't understand it that well, and that always builds a wall between the teacher and yourself. The teacher can also get frustrated when the student can't understand something.

JB: *What experiences made you successful?*

ED: From other people it would be to see what they did to succeed. There was my brother. I saw how he made it, not big, but he's coming along. As far as myself, just being where I'm at right now. I haven't had to go work for a fast food place or anything like that because of where I am now and being able to get a job in the computer area. So that helps.

JB: *What is your opinion of your educational experience at CCC and at the university?*

ED: Very helpful. CCC was sort of a step to get to the university, which has helped. It just helped prepare me a little better for a bigger step, and the university has helped prepare me for the next step of going into the real world.

JB: *Would you say that you identify with this community college and that you are loyal to Cedar Community College as an institution?*

ED: Yeah.

JB: *Have you changed as a result of your experience at this community college? In other words, if I knew you previous to your enrollment, and I know you now, would I notice any difference in you?*

ED: Probably I am able to make friends more quickly. Now I can sit in the classroom and turn to anybody and talk about anything. So I guess socially it's helped.

JB: *Did you lay out a plan before going to the university? Did you say, "These are the steps I'm going to follow?"*

ED: Yeah, they weren't specific steps because I didn't know what I was going to do, but even on a personal level, I knew I was going to get married before I left, so it was going to happen either during my attendance at the university or afterwards.

JB: *What kind of steps did you plan to go to a 4-year college?*

ED: College-wise I was going to finish here, take the summer and go 2 or 3 years over there, mainly three because I've got to give myself room for dropping classes. And because I'm not able to go quite full-time, I gave myself 3 years over there, and plus I wanted to get a minor also, which may push it up to 4 years, but so far it looks like 3 years. As far as college, I didn't really plan it because I didn't know what was required and whether I was going to be in the professional school or not.

JB: *What will your minor be?*

ED: Right now it's graphics design, but I'm going to switch it over to a new one called multi-media. It's making the video games and things like that, where the other one is more like advertising.

JB: *Do you feel that you will be better off than your parents?*

ED: Probably, yes, they were very limited. When they came, they were very limited because of language and what they could do. But, they didn't have so much education. So probably I will be better off.

JB: *To what extent does this motivate you?*

ED: It definitely doesn't let me drop out. It's not an option.

JB: *What do you think the job market will be like when you finish with your program?*

ED: Very competitive. Jobs are . . . lots of companies are closing down which puts a lot of educated people out of work. I think there will be a lot of competition, but sometimes I think there's a job out there so it's just a matter of searching.

JB: *What changes do you see for yourself in the future?*

ED: Not very many, just a matter of maybe getting used to being married, getting used to a new job, but nothing other than that. The career that I picked is basically going to steer the rest of my life. So I don't think it's going to change much except having to produce for the company instead of for college.

JB: *So you think that's an extension of college: producing for the company instead of for college? What do you think other Hispanic ESL students can learn from your success at the community college?*

ED: I would tell them not to give up, to put a lot of emphasis on learning the language, and not to take it lightly because that's what opens their doors. Anybody can learn a career, but if you have the obstacle of language, the career isn't going to come. So learn the language and stay put.

JB: *What have I not asked that I should have asked? What have I left out? Do you have anything to add?*

ED: Not really. I think you covered it pretty well.

JB: Thank you for the interview.

Appendix E

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
STATE OF OREGON

PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS: The State of Oregon takes great pride in its rich diversity of cultures and in the impressive and invaluable contribution made by its citizenry to the State's programs, prosperity and well-being, and

WHEREAS: Hispanics are an outstanding example of an actively involved and civically responsible community, whose members participate in every aspect of our lives; and

WHEREAS: Increased cultural awareness and broader understanding of the Hispanic community is a first step toward improved overall conditions; and

WHEREAS: Hispanics add immeasurably to Oregon's quality of life not only through responsible participation but also by sharing with all citizens aspects of their cultural heritage and historical legacy; and

WHEREAS: Oregon welcomes the contributions and full participation of the Hispanic community in every aspect of its residents' life.

NOW,
THEREFORE, I, John A. Kitzhaber, Governor of the State of Oregon, hereby proclaim September 15 - October 15, 1995, as

HISPANIC HERITAGE MONTH

in Oregon and encourage all citizens to join in this observance.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I hereunto set my hand and cause the Great Seal of the State of Oregon to be affixed. Done at the Capitol in the City of Salem and the State of Oregon, on this day, September 14, 1995.



Handwritten signature of John A. Kitzhaber.

John A. Kitzhaber, Governor

Handwritten signature of Phil Keisling.

Phil Keisling, Secretary of State

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR STATE OF OREGON



PROCLAMATION

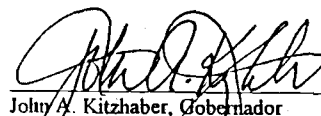
- SIENDO QUE:** El Estado de Oregon se enorgullese de sus ricas y diversas culturas y de las contribuciones impresionantes e inestimables hechas por nuestros ciudadanos hacia la prosperidad y bienestar del estado; y
- SIENDO QUE:** Los Hispanos de Oregon son un ejemplo sobresaliente de un pueblo con responsabilidad cívica y activamente involucrado en la comunidad, cuyos miembros participan en todo aspecto de la vida moderna; y
- SIENDO QUE:** Aumentar el conocimiento cultural y comprensión de la población Hispana, es el primer paso para mejorar las condiciones de vida para todos; y
- SIENDO QUE:** Los Hispanos enriquecen la calidad de vida en Oregon, no solo con su participación responsable, sino que también con el compartimiento en los aspectos de su cultura y su historia con todos los ciudadanos; y
- SIENDO QUE:** El estado de Oregon se enorgullese por las contribuciones y participación de los Hispanos en todo aspecto de la vida de sus ciudadanos.
- AHORA, POR ESTAS RAZONES,** Yo, John A. Kitzhaber, Gobernador del Estado de Oregon, proclamo el 15 de septiembre-15 de octubre, 1995 como


MES DE HERENCIA HISPANA

en Oregon y les hago una invitación a unirse conmigo al observar esta proclamación.

EN PRESENCIA DE TESTIGOS, asento el Gran Sello del Estado de Oregon, Ejecutado en la Capital, la Ciudad de Salem, Estado de Oregon, este día 14 de septiembre, 1995.




John A. Kitzhaber, Gobernador


Phil Keisling, Secretario del Estado