## THE SOUTHERN IMMIGRANT ACADEMIC ADAPTATION STUDY

# BEING WELL AND DOING WELL: THE HEALTH AND ACADEMIC EXPERIENCES OF LATINO HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA 

## Preliminary School Report

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## SUMMARY

This preliminary school report focuses on the health and academic experiences of Latino high school students in North Carolina who were enrolled in $9^{\text {th }}$ grade during the 2005-06 academic year. In this report, we provide an overview of the individual and family characteristics of Latino youth in the schools. We then discuss key issues affecting Latino youth -- school aspirations, challenges to school success, and factors promoting school success.

- Most Latino students in North Carolina are the children of immigrants and have either a personal migration experience or knowledge of migration through the experiences of their parents. A large majority of the students (70\%) are foreign born, with over half (54\%) from Mexico.
- Both foreign and U.S.-born students are highly motivated to achieve. They and their parents have high aspirations for their future academic endeavors. Nearly $65 \%$ of both foreign and U.S.-born students aspire to a 4-year college degree or more. However, most (55\%) do not expect to actually achieve their aspirations.
- Several factors hinder students’ educational advancement. These include:
o School Climate: While the majority of students felt connected to their schools, $13 \%$ of U.S.-born and $10 \%$ of foreign-born students did not feel connected. These disconnected students were disproportionately students with low educational expectations. Almost a fifth (17\%) of students with low educational expectations did not feel connected to the school. Students mentioned a lack of personal connection to adults in their schools and, as a reason for their lack of connection, mentioned unfair treatment by adults in the school.
o Family Economic Hardship: Over one third (35\%) of the students indicated that one or more financial stressors detracted from their academic progress. U.S.-born Latino students experienced more financial hardships than foreign-born students, suggesting that these economic hardships were not merely a consequence of families undergoing economic adjustments as they transitioned into a new country.
o Family Obligations: Both foreign and U.S.-born students took on adult roles early in life to help their parents run their households. For $15 \%$ of foreign-born students and $21 \%$ of U.S.-born students, these family obligations made it hard for them to study. At the same time, a sense of family obligation provided some students with the motivation to work hard in school and potentially achieve good grades.
o Perceived Discrimination: Students' perceptions of discrimination and experiences with discrimination varied by nativity and country of origin. Students from Central and South America were the most concerned with
discrimination, but students from Mexico were the most likely to experience discrimination. Students from Mexico were also the most likely to report experiencing at least one beneficial act based on their race/ethnicity within the two week period. These positive experiences can help to counter some of the potentially harmful effects of discrimination.
- Though Latino students face critical challenges to their success in school, other factors facilitated their academic success. These include:
o Ethnic Community: Both foreign-born and U.S.-born students have a strong sense of ethnic identity. The vast majority of students (85\%) were proud of their heritage. This ethnic connection helped students develop a strong sense of self-worth, fostered a sense of community, and provided educational support. While proud of their heritage, many students (especially those born in the U.S.) were also adopting an American identity. Rather than choosing to identify solely with their country of origin, they identified as American or with a hyphenated-American group such as Hispanic-American.
o Family Support: The majority of foreign and U.S.-born students reported strong positive connections with their families. These ties served as motivational supports for academic and personal achievement, especially among foreign-born students. Diverging acculturation experiences between U.S.-born students and their foreign-born parents weakened the family ties of U.S.-born students.
o Personal Health: Over two-thirds of all students reported having good to excellent physical health. The majority of students also showed signs of positive mental health. However, it is troubling that approximately 40\% of students showed significant symptoms of depression.
o Teacher Support: The vast majority of both U.S.-born and foreign-born students (90\%) were satisfied with the connections they have made with adults in their schools. Students indicated that teachers made school interesting for them and helped them overcome educational as well as personal struggles.

To improve the academic achievement of Latino youth in North Carolina, the factors hindering students' success must be addressed and the factors promoting students' success must be nurtured. The recommendations outlined at the end of the report suggest ways that schools can work with Latino youth, their families, and their communities to facilitate the educational progress of Latino youth and help them achieve their dreams.

## PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The 1990s were marked by a dispersal of immigrants, especially Latino immigrants, to new areas in the United States. Among these, North Carolina ranked first in the growth of new immigrant and Latino families. The influx of Hispanic ${ }^{1}$ children to North Carolina and other new receiving communities has had a profound impact on their educational systems and is of enormous public policy significance. This study is the first populationbased study of the daily acculturation and academic experiences of Latino youth in North Carolina.

Latin American and Caribbean immigrants (56\% of the 430,000 foreign-born residents of NC) have dominated the new migration stream to North Carolina. As Latinos, many of them have lived in NC for under 5 years (39\%), speak little to no English (40\%), live below the federal poverty level (25\%), and are not U.S. citizens (55\%) (U.S. Census 2000). Lacking an established infrastructure for serving multilingual and multicultural populations, North Carolina and other states with emerging immigrant communities face many challenges in incorporating them.

The Southern Immigrant Academic Adaptation Study (SIAA) builds on the work of an earlier study, the Los Angeles Social Identification and Academic Adaptation and utilizes comparable and well-tested data collection techniques. The five main objectives of SIAA are as follows:
(1) Determine the extent to which the daily acculturation experiences of Latino immigrant youth in North Carolina vary by psychosocial factors (e.g., gender, family values, school orientations, and work orientations);
(2) Compare and contrast the daily acculturation experiences of immigrant youth in a new receiving community (North Carolina) with the acculturation experiences of immigrant youth in a traditional receiving community (Los Angeles, CA).
(3) Examine the association between daily acculturation experiences and the mental well-being of immigrant youth in North Carolina;
(4) Evaluate the association between daily acculturation experiences and the academic engagement and performance of Latino immigrant youth in North Carolina; and
(5) Determine to what extent the demographic composition and institutional and social resources available in new vs. traditional receiving communities affect the daily acculturation experiences of Latino immigrant youth, their mental wellbeing, and their academic performance.

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## METHODS

Through the SIAA study, data have been collected on 239 Latino $9^{\text {th }}$ grade students in North Carolina. The sources of data include the students themselves, the parents' of the students, the students' schools, members of the wider community, and students' academic transcripts. We have chosen to focus on $9^{\text {th }}$ grade because it is a critical stage in the development of youth. Moreover, many of the challenges of acculturation are expected to affect youth as they transition between middle and high school.

This report provides preliminary findings to the school systems that assisted us. ${ }^{2}$ The findings are based on an unweighted sample of 239 students. ${ }^{3}$ All data were collected between September 2006 and April 2007. Because schools and students participating in this study were randomly selected, results can be generalized to all $9^{\text {th }}$ grade Latino youth enrolled in high schools in North Carolina during the 2006-2007 academic year.

To ensure economic variation in the communities in which Latino youth live, high schools with at least 24 Latino students enrolled in $9^{\text {th }}$ grade in 2000 were stratified into two groups-urban and rural. Urban high schools were defined as high schools serving counties where over $50 \%$ of the population was living inside an urbanized area or urban cluster. Rural high schools were defined as serving counties where $50 \%$ or less of the population lived in an urbanized area or urban cluster. Four high schools from the urban stratum and five high schools from the rural stratum were selected using a probability proportional to the number of $9^{\text {th }}$ grade Latino students in each county. After receiving active consent from parents, all students in the school who self-identified as Hispanic or Latino were recruited. All students received a $\$ 15$ thank-you gift for their participation in the study. Our response rate was 48 percent. ${ }^{4}$

The students in the study completed a baseline questionnaire, a take-home questionnaire, and 14 daily diary checklists. The two questionnaires gathered information regarding the students’ immigration histories, socioeconomic backgrounds, language use, family relationships, cultural and ethnic identifications, educational attitudes, and physical and mental health. The daily diary checklists were used to study how students adapt to various challenges and stressors in their everyday lives. Table 1 provides a summary of the content covered by each data source.

[^1]Table 1. Content of Student Questionnaires and Daily Diary

## In-School and Take Home Questionnaires

(1) Immigrant history
(2) Socioeconomic background
(3) Language use
(4) Family identification and obligations
(5) Cultural and ethnic identification
(6) Educational attitudes
(7) Rejection sensitivity
(8) Perceived discrimination
(9) Mental health

## Daily Diary

(1) Negative events and stressors
(2) Time spent on school, work, and family activities
(3) Academic engagement
(4) Feelings and moods
(5) Role fulfillment

In addition to completing questionnaires and daily diaries, eighteen students and their primary caregivers (mostly mothers) completed in-depth personal interviews. In-depth personal interviews were conducted with 2 students (a boy and girl) from each school. The mothers of these students were also interviewed. Since the purpose of the interviews was to gather contextual information about the immigrant experience, third generation students (defined as both the parent and child being U.S. born) were not selected for these in-depth interviews. All participants in these interviews received an additional \$15 thank-you gift.

## OVERVIEW OF STUDY PARTICIPANTS

Most students in our study have direct ties to migration either through personal experience or from the experiences of their parents. A large majority of the students ( $70 \%$ ) in our study were foreign born (Table 2). Over half (54\%) of the foreign-born students were of Mexican origin and nearly two-thirds (64\%) reported coming to the U.S. by the age of 12. Most of the U.S.-born students (89\%) were of the second generation, which means the child was born in the U.S. and one or both parents were foreign born. Only $11 \%$ of the U.S.-born students ( $3 \%$ of the total sample) were of the third generation or beyond (i.e. the child and both parents were born in the U.S).

| Table 2. Selected Student Participant Characteristics | $\% /$ Mean | N |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Student Characteristics | $46 \%$ | 239 |
| Boys interviewed | $54 \%$ | 239 |
| Girls interviewed | 15 yrs | 237 |
| Average age of youth (mean) | $70 \%$ | 239 |
| Foreign Born | $54 \%$ | 167 |
| $\quad$ Mexico | $33 \%$ | 167 |
| $\quad$ Central America/Carribean | $13 \%$ | 167 |
| $\quad$ South America |  |  |
| Age at arrival (foreign born) | $64 \%$ | 167 |
| $\quad 12$ years old or younger | $36 \%$ | 167 |
| $\quad$ 13 years old or older | $30 \%$ | 239 |
| U.S. Born | $89 \%$ | 72 |
| $\quad$ Second generation | $11 \%$ | 72 |
| $\quad$ Third+ generation |  |  |
| Family Characteristics | $57 \%$ | 232 |
| Youth lived with two biological parents | $63 \%$ | 224 |
| Students who have lived apart from one or both parents | 4 | 232 |
| Average household size (mean) | $48 \%$ | 223 |
| One or both parents has attained a high school degree or more | $60 \%$ | 210 |
| Both parents are employed |  |  |
| Language Characteristics | $16 \%$ | 221 |
| English primary home language | $59 \%$ | 220 |
| English spoken in the home | $42 \%$ | 224 |
| Students speak/understand English very well | $37 \%$ | 224 |
| Students read/write English very well | $69 \%$ | 212 |
| Students speak/understand other language very well | $47 \%$ | 212 |
| Students read/write other language very well |  |  |

Most students (57\%) lived with both biological parents, but nearly two-thirds of the students reported having lived apart from one or both parents at least once during their lives. Separation from parents is a common consequence of migration and can place significant strain on family relations as well as child development.

The parents in our sample had relatively low levels of education. Less than half (48\%) of the students had at least one parent with a high school degree or more. These low levels of education made it particularly difficult for parents to help their children with homework. Despite these low levels of education, or possibly due to these low levels of education, both parents (60\%) were likely to work. Due to the time constraints they create, these work demands can further hamper parents' efforts to help with homework.

While less than a fifth of students (16\%) reported English as the primary language spoken in the home, more than half (59\%) reported that English was spoken in the home. Fortytwo percent of students reported speaking and understanding English very well, but only 37\% reported reading and writing English very well. This discrepancy in ability levels is likely due to differences between conversational language ability and academic language ability. Previous research has found that the actual amount of time needed to reach academic English language proficiency varies by the age of migration to the U.S. Students who enter the educational system at ages 8-11 are the fastest to progress needing 2-5 years, while those who enter at ages 12-15 may need as many as 6-8 years (Collier, 1987; Thomas and Collier 2001).

A majority (69\%) of the students reported speaking and understanding a language other than English (typically Spanish) very well. Fewer (47\%) reported being able to read and write very well in that language. The results suggest that students may be stuck between the two languages. Students were more comfortable speaking and understanding Spanish rather than English (69\% vs. 59\%), but less than half were comfortable reading and writing in either language. Previous research shows that students who are proficient bilinguals actually perform better academically than monolingual students (Feliciano 2001; White and Kaufman 1997), but in the SIAA study these students are limited bilinguals. They struggle in both languages and have no strong language foundation from which to build. This poses a challenge for educators who cannot presume students are simply struggling due to a language barrier. More than mere translation is needed. Students are struggling because they lack academic comprehension in both languages.

## SCHOOL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS

Both students and parents place great value on current and future educational progress. The high standards parents set for their children's school performance reflect this value. Over half (52\%) of students agreed that their parents would be disappointed if they were not one of the best students in class. Students often set even higher academic standards for themselves. Fifty-seven percent of students said it was important for them to be one of the best students in class, and $87 \%$ said that it was important for them to get good grades.

Given the high educational standards parents and students have, it is not surprising that both have high aspirations for the student's future education. Figure 1 shows the academic aspirations of students by nativity status.

Figure 1. Student Academic Aspirations by Nativity Status


The vast majority of foreign-born (61\%) and U.S.-born (69\%) students aspire to achieve a 4-year college degree or more. However, there is a bimodal aspiration pattern. Foreign-born students are both more likely than U.S.-born students to aspire to only a high school degree ( $21 \%$ vs. $13 \%$ ) and more likely to aspire to a graduate degree ( $37 \%$ vs. 32\%). This duality in aspirations may reflect the dual educational attainment pattern of foreign-born students observed in previous research (White and Kaufman 1997). Foreign-born students are more likely to drop out of school, but those who graduate are more likely than U.S.-born students to continue on to post-secondary education.

While parents and students have high academic standards and aspirations, many do not actually believe that their educational goals will come to fruition. Figure 2 demonstrates how the expectations of students diverge from student and parent aspirations.

Figure 2. Comparsion of Student and Parent Academic Aspirations to Student Academic Expectations


Over a third of students (35\%) want to attain a professional degree, but only a fifth (20\%) actually expect to attain such a degree. More telling is the difference between students’ aspirations and expectations. One out of five (21\%) students aspires to finish some or graduate from high school, but almost two out of every five (37\%) expect that this is the most they can achieve although they aspire to higher levels of education.

The quotes below illustrate why some students and parents do not believe they can actually achieve their aspirations.

## Quotation 1

Well, I want to go to college, but you know my mom says that we don't have papers. It makes me like not want to go anymore. (...) I don't talk to the teachers about it. Just one time, my 7th grade math teacher was like, 'you need to go to college' and I said, 'I'll try'. (...) honestly, I don't think I’ll finish high school.

## Quotation 2

R: Ay, as a mother I hope the best for my son. And because of all the poverty that I have lived, and my husband-the family he came from-we come from poor [families], I as a mother, I want many things for my son. I would like him to study something good, but I don't know if he can do it. I.: But, have you thought about college, or? R: Yes, but it costs a lot, and I don't know if we can help him. I don't know, I don't know. [starts crying]. I don't know how far he can go.

## Quotation 3

Well as far as she, as far as she wants. Where she feels that-because as a mother, I would like my daughter to go as far as she could, and if she can't, (...) We as Hispanics, almost don't. You just go as far as the ninth grade-number nine-I think and that's it. And if she wants to study, well, money talks, right? Also here in order to get ahead, because if she wants to here, what are you going to do? Because as Hispanics, we can't do anything.

These quotes highlight two types of educational obstacles parents and students face. The first two quotes tap into structural barriers experienced by families due to tuition costs or documentation requirements that preclude their children from attending college. In some cases, a lack of information contributes to these structural barriers when parents who are eligible for financial aid are unaware of its existence. In other cases, as suggested by quotation 3, social marginalization and explicit restrictions on access to college and financial aid for foreign-born youth (even those who grow up in the U.S. and graduate from high school in the U.S.) create substantial obstacles. The mother in the last case believes that Hispanic youth have fewer prospects than others and feels powerless to do anything about it. While educators have resources to help parents overcome structural barriers such as information about financial aid, helping them overcome social barriers and the perception of discrimination is far more challenging.

## SCHOOL MOTIVATION

Students are largely motivated to do well in school because they view education as an avenue to success. They define success not only in terms of their own futures but also in terms of their families' futures. Nearly two-thirds of students (63\%) said that it is very important for them to do well for the sake of their family. Consequently, students are talking to their parents about their educational experiences and future plans. Sixty-two percent of students report talking to their parents frequently or almost always about the classes they are taking. In addition, $65 \%$ frequently or almost always discuss their future educational plans and $62 \%$ discuss their future job plans with their parents. Schools can build upon these strong ties between students and their families. Given these connections, schools can work with parents to motivate students and to engage them and their parents in academic life.

Figure 3. Beliefs about the Value of School by Nativity Status


Although all students are highly motivated to achieve, many U.S.-born students do not believe that school is useful right now. Instead, they believe that school is only useful for the future (Figure 3). Foreign-born students are more likely than U.S.-born students to believe that school is useful now and in the future. Moreover, they believe that being good at school is intrinsically important. The vast majority of both foreign-born and U.S.-born students believe that good grades today will help them get a job, and that college is necessary for what they want to do in their future. These data suggest that
U.S.-born Latino students (mostly in the second generation) are less able to connect their current educational experience to both their present and future well-being.

This disconnect between current educational experiences and future economic well-being partially reflects their personal assessments of future job prospects. In addition, it reflects their concerns about understanding what they are learning in school. Over a third of students (36\%) worry that they may not fully understand the content of their classes. Furthermore, only $40 \%$ of students classify themselves as very good students. The quotes below demonstrate some of the frustrations students have encountered in learning the content of their coursework.

## Quotation 1

My teacher's Ms. [ $X$ ], but in some of the math she has it's difficult for me to understand and sometimes I don’t get it. And my friends don't talk too, they're quiet too, and they sometimes don't get their work either.

## Quotation 2

Math class, I've never liked math, it's the hardest. All the friends that I ask, what they didn't pass was math. It's hard I think for Hispanics.

## Quotation 3

(...) From there we go to school, all of our friends hang out talking until the bell rings to go into class and from there first block begins with World History, and that one is hard for me. Because that class has a lot of history, you know? And the worst part is that it's the United States and all that and it's really hard for me.

These quotes also illustrate that students are frustrated about their ability to master their school work but do not always ask for help from the teacher. Consequently, students can become disillusioned and believe that they lack an innate ability. This is a challenge schools and teachers must address in order to fully engage all students.

## CHALLENGES TO SCHOOL SUCCESS

As noted, students have high aspirations for their educational futures but are unsure of whether they will be able to achieve those aspirations. Educational challenges that the SIAA study has identified include issues relating to school climate, family financial stressors, family obligations, and feelings of social isolation. The next few sections will explore these challenges.

## School Climate

Educational research finds that students perform better academically if they feel connected to and are valued members of their schools. While the vast majority of Latino students feel positively about their school and their role in it, a small but important percentage does not. Based on four questions related to student feelings about their school (i.e. I feel a part of my school, I am happy at my school, I belong at my school, and I feel close to my school) a categorical scale was created to indicate students' sense of belonging to and identification with their schools. Figure 4 displays these results by nativity status.

Figure 4. School Belonging and Identification by Nativity Status


The majority of both foreign and U.S.-born students indicate that their sense of belonging to and identification with their school is satisfactory. Many actually indicate that they have an excellent sense of belonging to and identification with their school. However, $13 \%$ of foreign-born students and $10 \%$ of U.S.-born students express a poor sense of belonging to the school. Figure 5 shows how a sense of belonging to and identification with school can affect students' academic expectations.

Figure 5. School Belonging and Identification by Student Expectations


Students who have more positive feelings about their schools also have higher educational aspirations, whereas students with more negative feelings towards their schools have lower academic expectations. Almost a fifth (17\%) of students who expect to achieve less than a 4-year degree express a poor sense of belonging to their schools. In contrast, fewer than $10 \%$ of students who expect to earn a 4 -year college degree or more feel negatively towards their schools.

The adult role models in a school play a pivotal role in creating a welcoming and supportive school climate. For some students, their lack of identification with their schools may be related to their limited interactions with adults in the school. For instance, $11 \%$ of students reported that they almost never or only once in awhile talk with adults at school about their future educational plans. One in five (18\%) students reported almost never or only once in awhile talking to adults at school about enrolling in honors courses. The quotes below illustrate why some students hesitate to seek advice from adults at their schools.

## Quotation 1

R: like, me and my friends talk, you know, about okay they want to go to college, do you want to go? Yeah I want to go but you know, I might not be able to go after all. So...it's only with them that I talk, I don't talk to the teachers about it. (...).
I: so why do you think you don't talk to your teachers about it?
R: I mean, I don't know! It's just 'cause, we don't have like that relationship. Yeah.

Some students fail to interact with adults at school because they do not believe the adults value or respect their work. Seventeen percent of students disagree or strongly disagree that adults at school value them as members of the school, while a fifth of students (20\%) do not feel adults at school value their contributions to the school. The following quotes demonstrate how some students feel teachers can unfairly stereotype them based on racial or ethnic characteristics.

## Quotation 1

Let's see, the teachers really are good, but there's one teacher who I don't know, I don't know how to say it, he’s really...I don't know, I classify him as racist because he's always staring at us. Like one day, I was looking for the bathrooms and he was going to send me to the office because he said I was cutting class, and it wasn't true. I was looking for the bathroom. (...) And he sent me to the office because he said that I was skipping, it wasn't true, I was with another friend (...), and he sent the two of us to the office. There they didn't do anything, we told them that we had been looking for the bathroom and that solved the whole problem.

## Quotation 2

He’s white. It’s like, I don't know, he’s just really racist, I say because, yeah, it's just that, he calls on people, but only the ones that he wants. He only calls on white people not on (...) black people, or Hispanics. He asks questions but he only calls on, the majority of the time he calls on one girl (...) who's white. Yeah, I don't know what's up with this man, it's like he's really racist.

Although the vast majority of students are content with their school environment, it is important for schools to recognize the feelings of social isolation that some students express. Through personal and educational encouragement, teachers, principals, and guidance counselors at schools can begin to build relationships with these students that will improve their educational prospects.

## Family Economic Hardship

Family economic hardships can deprive students of both the physical and mental supports that they need to succeed in school. These hardships can also make it difficult for parents, students, and schools to connect. Over one-third (35\%) of Latino students have experienced one or more economic hardships within the past 12 months. Figure 6 provides details about these economic hardships by nativity status.

Figure 6. Family Economic Hardship in the Past 12 Months by Nativity Status


For all students, food insecurity is a sizeable problem. Twenty-four percent of foreignborn and $20 \%$ of U.S.-born students have experienced occasions where the family did not believe there would be enough food to last until the next payday. Students experiencing hunger or poor nourishment will not be able to focus on school or perform at their best. Additionally, a substantial percent of Latino students ( $25 \%$ for U.S. born and $16 \%$ for foreign born) have gone without any phone service, including home and cell, at some point during the past year. This poses a challenge for schools when trying to contact parents or for parents when trying to contact schools. Students who lack phone services will also lack computer services that schools are increasingly relying on for homework assignments and communication between teachers and parents. Finally, $8 \%$ of foreignborn and $12 \%$ of U.S.-born students experience weeks where basic services such as water, gas, and/or electricity have been cut off. A home without electricity or heat is a difficult place to study.

These economic hardships also create an unstable home environment for students. Approximately $15 \%$ of both U.S. and foreign-born students have had occasions where the family was short on rent. Furthermore, one percent of both foreign and U.S.-born students were actually evicted from their homes at some point in the past 12 months. These students face the prospect of having to move to a new home and possibly a new school. Moreover, these frequent changes in residence can make it difficult to form permanent attachments and to develop social support systems needed to excel.

A particularly important finding in Figure 6 is that U.S.-born students actually face more economic hardships than foreign-born students in all categories except food concerns. These data suggest that economic hardships are not merely a consequence of families undergoing economic adjustments as they first transition into a new country. Instead, economic hardships continue to persist over time and can even become more burdensome as families transition from one generation to the next.

The following two student quotes illustrate how difficult it can be for parents to meet both the economic demands of the family and the personal demands of their children.

## Quotation 1

I: And what do your parents do to help you when you bring home something from school that you don't understand completely?
R: That I don't understand? They help me. They help me but like, we basically don't see each other because my mom is out and my dad is working. He leaves at six in the morning to go to work and he comes home at five or six or sometimes not until ten o'clock at night, he goes really far, you know what I mean? And my mom comes home at eleven pm so I have to get myself ready for school.

## Quotation 2

My experience? I don't know. My experience is that here we are just getting by, we almost never see our families, that's really it.

As a result of economic hardships, some students seek employment to help the family. Thirteen percent of students report having a job and $10 \%$ of those students report using the money they earn to help support their families. These additional work responsibilities may teach students important skills, but they also detract from students' study time and can increase their stress. The quote below illustrates how one student uses his earnings to help his family buy basic necessities for the household.

## Quotation 1

Well I buy clothes, um, sometimes if there's enough I help pay the bills.
(...). Then, there was a time when I bought things for the house, like soap for washing, things for the body, deodorants, I bought those. (...) I help with the bills when I can because there are times when the money really stretches thin.

## Family Obligations

In addition to working outside of the home, many students take on adult roles within the home and help their parents run the household. Students in our survey reported several family obligations that pose a challenge to academic success. Figures 7 and 8 present the percentage of students who responded "frequently" or "almost always" to questions about family demands placed on them.

Both foreign and U.S.-born students have family obligations, but U.S.-born students report more. A quarter (24\%) of foreign-born students and $40 \%$ of U.S.-born students are expected to help take care of family members (most likely younger children). Similar percentages are expected to spend their free time helping with household chores ( $42 \% \mathrm{vs}$. 31\%, respectively). About 15\% of both U.S.-born and foreign-born students also help their parents organize the family's finances.

Figure 7. Family Obligations by Nativity Status


These family obligations can have both positive and negative consequences for students’ educational outcomes. A sense of family obligation can help motivate students to work hard in school. However, as reported in Figure 7, family obligations can also create distractions at home that make it hard to study. About 15\% of both U.S. and foreign-born students report that their family responsibilities get in the way of school.

Figure 8 shows how family obligations differ by gender. It demonstrates that both males and females are expected to help with family responsibilities, but that there are some gender specific roles. Compared to boys, girls more often take care of family members ( $35 \%$ vs. $21 \%$ ) and spend free time helping around the house ( $30 \%$ vs. $27 \%$ ). Boys more often help their parents organize the family finances ( $16 \%$ vs. $13 \%$ ).

Figure 8. Family Obligations by Gender


Our results suggest that the effect of family obligations on school also varies by gender. Boys are more likely to report that family responsibilities get in the way of their homework ( $15 \%$ vs. $13 \%$ ), while girls are more likely to report that distractions at home make it difficult for them to study there ( $18 \%$ vs. $15 \%$ ). The quotes below illustrate how students incorporate family demands into their daily routines and how these demands can interfere with school.

## Quotation 1

I wake up in the morning and I have to get my brother ready for school and then I have to wait for him to get on the bus then I get on the bus and just go to school and then after school I just get home, take care of him until my parents get home, make sure he does his homework and when my mom gets here I help take care of this kid, my brothers, and she cooks.

## Quotation 2

With one, my counselor, (...) he's a really good guy and he helps me, he was helping me pass and everything, but I haven't been able to stay after, how do you say it, to do make up tests because of having to take care of my brother and I don't have anyone to give me a ride home or take me there, because my mom doesn't drive, just my dad.

## Perceived Discrimination

Both experienced discrimination and perceived discrimination make students feel socially marginalized and reduce their sense of self-worth. Students who experience discrimination are not likely to see their own value to society and consequently struggle to find their place.

Latino students in North Carolina believe that racial discrimination is a significant factor in their everyday lives. Based on previous research (Mendoza-Denton et al. 2002), we developed a measure to determine the perceived likelihood of discrimination. Students responded to four hypothetical situations (e.g., the teacher will not select me because of my race, or the store clerk is suspicious of me because of my race) and ranked the likelihood of these events occurring with a 5-point Likert scale. Responses to these questions were summed and then classified as low, moderate, or high.

Figure 9. Perceived Likelihood of Discrimination by Country of Birth


In comparison to students born in Mexico, Central America, or South America, students born in the U.S. are the least likely to be concerned about discrimination, but discrimination is still a concern (Figure 9). Although the majority of U.S- born students rank the likelihood of discrimination in our hypothetical scenarios as low, almost a fifth (17\%) think the likelihood is high. A fifth (19\%) of students born in Mexico also think the likelihood of discrimination is high. Moreover, few report a low likelihood of discrimination. They are much more inclined to say the likelihood of discrimination is at
least moderate (53\%). Students from Central and South America are equally pessimistic. Fifty to sixty percent indicate that the likelihood of discrimination is moderate to high.

When looking at discrimination experienced in the past two weeks, differences by nativity and country of origin are also sizable. Students from Mexico are the most likely of all groups (29\%) to report having experienced at least one discriminatory act within the two week period that they kept a daily diary (Figure 10). Students from Central America experience similar levels of discrimination (25\%). Students from the U.S. report fewer experiences with discrimination, though the percent is still relatively high (19\%). Students from South America report the least discrimination (8\%).

Figure 10. Experienced Discrimination in the Past Two Weeks by Country of Birth


When talking about discrimination, students made the following comments:

## Quotation 1

"There's still a lot of like white people and they say a lot of racist things. Like, if it's a Mexican or something and they drop their stuff they'll be like 'wetback can you please get it?'

## Quotation 2

mmm, I don't know. Just that there are racist people who come and say one thing or another...they come and say that you are Mexicana.

## Quotation 3

I get along with white people and black. But there are, the majority of Americans think that all Hispanics are Mexican and that bothers me, when they say that. They say bad things but in Spanish, because there are people who teach them to say things in Spanish so that they can do that.

It is also important to recognize that discrimination occurs among Latinos from different ethnic backgrounds as illustrated in the following quote.

## Quotation 1

Well it started in $8^{\text {th }}$ grade. At first it got me so mad, 'cause like, I don't know, my cousin didn't go to school and then [her] boyfriend like called her on the pay phone like "I don't know how to use the pay phone" and [I told her] "I never used one" and then my friend was like "oh 'cause [all of you] en Guatemala you didn’t have pay phones, y'all couldn’t afford pay phones." I got so mad, and they called me Guato.

Many students struggle to develop coping mechanisms to protect themselves from the negative feelings of discrimination. Consequently, discrimination can lower the student's self-esteem, educational ambitions, and in some instances can result in counterproductive behavior as seen in the quote below.

## Quotation 1

R: (...) they were saying that the Mexicans were stupid and don't know anything. They don't know how to do anything right and I don't, I told them to calm down, I didn't want to have problems. And one of them spit in my face and I started to hit him and, nothing more, we fought (...)
I: and when they said those things and when he spit on you how did you feel?
R: I felt bad. I wanted to cry but I held it in. And it's better that I fought, it got rid of my anger. Yeah, I was able to get out my anger.

While many students report feeling marginalized because of their race or ethnicity, they also report positive experiences where someone extended extra help or support to them because of their race or ethnicity. Foreign-born students are the most likely to report these positive experiences. Over $40 \%$ of students from Mexico, Central America, and South America report experiencing beneficial treatment. U.S.-born students are the least likely (23\%) to report experiencing at least one beneficial act based on their race/ethnicity within the two week period that they kept a daily diary (Figure 11).

Figure 11. Experienced Positive Racial Treatment in the Past Two Weeks by Country of Birth


## FACTORS PROMOTING SCHOOL SUCCESS

While the Latino students in our study face several challenges to academic success, they also have several support mechanisms to help them overcome these challenges. The SIAA study identified four main supportive resources for students including their ethnic community, their families, their personal health, and their teachers. The section below examines each of these support systems in more detail.

## Ethnic Community

The students in our study, both foreign and U.S.-born, have a strong sense of ethnic identity (Figure 12). Almost two-thirds (63\%) of foreign-born students and over a quarter (28\%) of U.S.-born students identify with a single ethnic group. The most common ethnic groups cited were Mexican and Honduran.

However, many students were beginning to blend their ethnic and American identities. About a third of both the foreign and U.S.-born students identify with a pan-ethnic identity such as Latino or Hispanic. Another 40\% of U.S.-born students selected a hyphenated-American identity such as Mexican-American or Hispanic-American. Only one student, who was U.S.-born, identified as American and chose no ethnic label.

Figure 12. Ethnic Identity by Nativity Status


A strong ethnic identity can be a valuable resource for students and can help students buttress their self-esteem in the face of social marginalization and discrimination. The vast majority of students (85\%) strongly agree that they have a lot of ethnic pride, and $86 \%$ say that they are happy to be members of their ethnic groups. The following quotes illustrate what ethnicity means to students and how their ethnic connections help them adjust to life in the U.S.

## Quotation 1

I: so, what kind of connection do you feel to Mexico and to being Mexican even though you were born here?
R: I, I really like the culture, the people...um...I don't know, I just like the, it's interesting to me and the fact that there's a lot that come over here to help their families over there. That's what my parents did, they came over here so they could help their parents.
I: and so, what does it mean to you to be Mexican-American, what you said just now...?
R: what it means to me is that I have more opportunities than they did, I have more doors open for me than they did.

## Quotation 2

I: of the two that you said, Mexican and Hispanic, which one describes you best?
R: well I’d say Hispanic, but really, you shouldn't deny your country, as a Mexican. So I like both.

## Quotation 3

I: and what kinds of things do you do you have in common with the other Hispanic kids?
R: that we don't speak very good English [laughs]. I don’t know how but we help each other with that. And we go, we almost always get there through ESL. Almost all my friends are in ESLI, they don't know much, and I don't know why but they ask me for help, as if I knew. And what else...they're all the same age as me, fourteen or fifteen, and they all miss their countries.

## Family Support

Immigrant populations often rely on strong family ties to endure the challenges posed by migration (Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch 1995). Over time, though, these ties can weaken due to diverging acculturation influences on family members (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). We observe this among students in the SIAA study. Although both U.S. and foreign-born students strongly identify with their families and rely on their families for guidance and support, U.S.-born students do so to a lesser extent. Figure 13 displays the percent of students by nativity status who strongly agree (on a 5-point Likert scale) with several indicators of family identity and support.

Figure 13. Family Identity Indicators by Nativity Status


More than half of U.S.-born students and more than two-thirds of foreign-born students strongly agree with each of the family identity measures. They feel valued; they feel respected; and they have a strong sense of belonging. However, this sense of family identity varies somewhat by nativity status. A little over half (54\%) of U.S.-born students report that their families are important to the way that they feel about themselves, but nearly three quarters (72\%) of foreign-born students report the same feeling. A greater percent of foreign-born students than U.S.-born students are also more likely to feel that their parents value them as a member of the family ( $83 \%$ vs. $69 \%$ respectively). Variations in acculturation experiences between family members may account for some of these differences.

The following student quotes illustrates how students are positively influenced by the sacrifices their parents have made for them by coming to the U.S.

## Quotation 1

They [her parents] tell me that I should stay in school that, so that I can have a better future. So that when I'm grown up I can work, have a good job and not have things be the way they are for them

## Quotation 2

Sometimes when I don't get a good grade or something, they [his parents] get on me for it and they tell me how it used to be back in their day in Mexico. And see they never went to school, my dad got to $2^{\text {nd }}$ grade and my mom got to $6^{\text {th }}$ grade and they just had to leave school to help their parents, so I try my best.

The influence of familial sacrifice can be limited over time, as parents find it more difficult to provide educational supports.

## Quotation 1

I: do you ever ask your parents about stuff for school?
R: not really 'cause they don't understand English that well and they don't understand the material. I used to when I was little but not anymore.

## Quotation 2

Yes, when I go to the school, there are interpreters and there is someone that can help me, but while I'm at the school. But then when they get home, no. And in the house, when we're at home, there's no one to help them. Just me. And with the eldest we had problems because the eldest didn't have anyone to help him and the middle one has the older one to help him. But the eldest didn't have anyone to help him and he said to me, ay, mami, look, help me, tell me what it says here, what does it say? But well since I didn't go to school I didn't know what it said and I don't know, I don't know very much, oh, I don't know how to help him. So we cried together at the table doing the homework. Because he cried because he couldn't do it and I wanted him to do it, and he couldn't do it. So we cried together at the table because I couldn't help him and I didn't understand and now that he's older and now it's a little more. And he helps the middle one.

This last quote illustrates that while parents face challenges in helping their children, they still make helping them a priority. Families pool all of their resources, as seen with the reliance on siblings, to help each other progress.

## Personal Health

Poor physical and mental health can hinder students’ efforts to focus on their academic studies. Students in good health miss school less frequently, can engage in extracurricular activities, and have the energy and capacity to study.

Using a 5-point Likert scale, we asked students to rate their overall health. In addition, using a 20 -item questionnaire called the Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression scale (CES-D), we asked students about whether they had experienced any symptoms of depression in the past week.

Figure 14. General Self-Reported Health by Nativity Status


Despite the many challenges Latino students encounter, the vast majority (65\%) of both foreign and U.S.-born students rank their general health as good to excellent (Figure 14). In addition, the majority (55\%) show no significant symptoms of depression (Figure 15). Given the stressors placed on this population, such as family economic hardships, family obligations, and discrimination, this positive indication of mental well-being demonstrates their resilience.

Figure 15. Shows Symptoms of Depression by Nativity Status


However, the fact that nearly one in three students indicated that their health was fair to poor and $45 \%$ showed significant symptoms of depression is cause for concern. There are clearly unmet health needs among these students. By addressing these needs, we can potentially improve their educational performance. Schools can play an important role in assisting these youth by providing counseling and guidance services that help students to manage stressors and by connecting students with health care resources when needed.

## Teacher Support

In the discussion of school climate, we noted that about $10 \%$ of students felt disconnected from their school and suggested that these students might benefit from developing stronger relationships with adults in their schools. However, the majority of students are content with their school setting and their relationships with adults in their schools. Many teachers, guidance counselors, and others are making personal connections with students and motivating them.

We evaluated students' relationships with adults in their schools using five questions that asked student to report on whether adults at their schools treat students fairly, respect their ideas, respect the work they do, value their contributions, and value the individual student. Answers to these questions were summed and then categorized as poor, satisfactory, and excellent. Figure 16 examines these results by nativity status.

Figure 16. Relationships with Adults in School by Nativity Status


More than $90 \%$ of foreign and U.S.-born students rank their relationships with adults in school as satisfactory or excellent. Foreign-born students are more likely to rate their relationship as excellent than U.S- born students ( $58 \%$ vs. $46 \%$ ). These positive relationships help both foreign and U.S.-born students cope with and overcome unique challenges to their educational success.

The quotes below illustrate how teachers make school interesting for students and can help students overcome educational struggles.

## Quotation 1

Okay, the first teacher I have, the art teacher, she's very young but she's buenagente [good people], she helps us a lot. and then Teacher [ $X$ ], who's always making jokes. Always, I don't know what, he seems really strange to me. Asking questions to think about, but I guess, well he knows a lot and he teaches well. Then the algebra teacher, an older lady, she has really funky things about her but she's also buenagente [good people] [laughs]. She'll be totally calm and then we'll say something and she makes a face like this [makes a strange face] but in general pretty good, she teaches us well. Then the history teacher, he's also buenagente [good people], he helps us and everything and he tells us things in a calm way, I don't know how but he remembers everything! All the dates, how many people died, how many people participated, and he never reads any of it and I don't know how he remembers it all.

## Quotation 2

In second block I had English. That class is really, she never let you, you never rested, you had to write and you never stopped working. I did feel that I learned a lot in that class because the teacher worked really hard, she taught us a lot and if we didn't pay attention she worried and she would start telling us to really try harder and that we could do it. She's a really good teacher, a good teacher. She taught us and we learned things and until everyone had learned it she wouldn't go on.

## Quotation 3

Well I try to ask the teacher. I was scared to ask her [at first] but little by little I came to trust her, she made me more confident, so I would ask her and she would try to help me work through my doubts.

## Quotation 4

Teacher $[X]$ is a good person.. When I don't understand my homework she helps me, with my other classes when I can't do them. Like now I have a project with the teacher I was telling you about and she's helping me do it. Or sometimes she tells us that if we don't understand that we should come by at lunch and she helps us. There's another one named Teacher $[Y]$, he's a good person too, he makes us laugh in his class, he's like an actor. (...)All the teachers, they're all different teachers but they're good people.

Extracurricular activities can also provide students with the opportunity to interact with adults in school and can contribute to students’ social and academic development. Under half (49\%) of foreign-born students and just over half (53\%) of U.S.-born students are participating in some type of extracurricular activity
(Figure 17). The substantial level of participation in extracurricular activities arranged by the school suggests that students are becoming actively involved with their schools despite the language, financial, and transportation barriers that they and their parents encounter.

Figure 17. Extracurricular Participation by Nativity Status


## CONCLUSIONS

This preliminary school report has shown that Latino students, both foreign and U.S.born, are highly motivated to achieve. Students and their parents have high aspirations for their academic futures, but many of them do not actually expect that they will be able to achieve these aspirations.

Concerns about school climate, family economic hardships, family obligations, and perceived discrimination hinder the educational success of Latino youth. They dampen students' motivation and reduce their capacities to function well at school. At the same time, many Latino students are resilient and have support systems in place to minimize the effects of these stressors and threats to their performance in school. A strong ethnic community, family support, good general health, and teacher support help students stay focused and work towards achieving their academic aspirations.

Schools and teachers can play a key role in helping this new immigrant community overcome these educational challenges, expand their support networks, and achieve school success. By following a few recommendations, schools can help Latino students and parents make their academic aspirations a reality.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Use interpreters or bilingual liaisons for all parent-teacher activities to strengthen parents' and students' sense of belonging to the school. Provide parents with information about academic requirements for college, careers, and resources that can support their children's educational success.

SIAA parents indicated that the school can be a valuable resource but that they are not fully aware of all the services schools have to offer. Interpreters at some schools made it easier for parents to get this information, but limits beyond language persist. Several of the parents, for instance, were not aware of college funding opportunities or the types of classes students needed to qualify for college. A bilingual liaison and more parent-teacher activities targeted towards the needs of Latino parents could be used to overcome these information barriers.

Provide Spanish classes for native Spanish speakers to improve academic and language comprehension and make course material more culturally relevant.

Several of the students were limited bilinguals lacking academic comprehension in both Spanish and English. Given the increasing importance of bilingualism in a global economy, students who can read and write in both Spanish and English will have more job opportunities. In addition, continued investments in Spanish will help to ensure that children can fully communicate with their parents and families. Finally, Spanish classes for native speakers will also provide the school with an opportunity to show students that their culture and histories are valued in the U.S. Many students expressed an interest in learning about Latin American history in addition to U.S. history.

Provide tutoring services either before school, after school, or during lunch. Choose a tutoring time that requires fewer transportation burdens on the part of the student.

Many Latino students cannot rely on their parents for help with their homework because their parents have low levels of education, speak limited English, or have work obligations that limit their availability. In schools that offered it, students benefited from tutoring services. Students, however, were not always able to utilize these services due to family obligations or because they did not have any transportation to or from the tutoring services. The challenge for schools is to try and find an optimal time to provide these services.

Create cultural awareness workshops for faculty and staff to provide background information on the challenges Latino students encounter. Generate a discussion among faculty and staff to develop best practices for overcoming these challenges.

Even though most students were positive about their school climate, some felt disconnected. Students did not always feel that schools completely understood them. In particular, they felt discriminated against when adults in the school or students were unaware of differences among Latinos and treated them as if they were a uniform group. For example, students from Peru or Chile have different experiences than students from Mexico, Honduras, or Guatemala. Furthermore, it is important that schools recognize that foreign-born and U.S.-born students face different challenges and have different financial, legal, and social resources. To help teachers and staff better connect to Latino students and to facilitate students’ academic achievement, more information on Latin American cultures and the varieties of experiences among Latino students is needed. Done poorly, cultural awareness can reinforce stereotypes. Done well, these workshops can generate awareness, discussion, the opportunity to share common teaching challenges, and possible solutions to these challenges. These workshops can be used to develop best practices that foster strong relationships with Latino students and parents and that promote academic achievement.

## Actively promote cultural understanding among all students by creating opportunities to learn about and study world histories and by developing opportunities for youth to positively interact with different ethnic and racial groups in their schools.

For the Latino students in North Carolina, discrimination by their peers and others is a significant concern. While schools cannot prevent discrimination, they can use school activities as an opportunity to foster cultural understanding. Schools can create in-class projects and extracurricular activities that allow all students to share information about their cultural backgrounds. Students can also promote diversity within their extracurricular programs by helping to make these programs financially accessible to students and ensuring that lower-income students and students with working parents can attend. The more opportunities students have to interact with persons of different racial groups and to develop shared experiences and shared successes, the less likely discrimination will become.

Develop or expand free and reduced price school lunch and breakfast programs.
Concerns about food scarcity are a significant problem for both U.S. and foreignborn students. Many students cannot count on eating three meals a day. Schools can help alleviate food insecurity by providing free and reduced priced lunch and breakfast services for the low-income students. The key in providing these programs is to make them as stigma free as possible, so that students are not too embarrassed to utilize them.

Pro-actively provide counseling and guidance for Latino youth both in terms of academic development as well as personal development.

Many Latino students have high aspirations but do not know how to make those aspirations a reality. Some have a limited understanding of the U.S. educational system, particularly the post-secondary education system. Because many of these students (and parents) do not know what to ask, schools need to pro-actively provide this information. In addition to academic support, Latino students need emotional and personal guidance. Almost half of the SIAA students experience some symptoms of depression. Guidance counselors, school social workers, teachers, staff, and administrators can all assist these students with their personal development.

## LIMITATIONS

As with any study, there are some limitations to our research that should be noted. First, this study relies on a school-based sample. Therefore, it does not capture youth who migrate to the U.S. and never attend school or youth who drop out of school before ninth grade. Second, the results reported in this study are based on the unweighted data. Although initial analyses suggest that results using the weighted data are equivalent, some changes may occur when the data are weighted. Third, these results are largely descriptive and correlational. As our research continues, more advanced statistical methods will be employed to assess the strength and depth of the thematic trends identified in this paper.

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## NOTES

(1) Please refer all questions regarding this study to the Principal Investigator, Krista M. Perreira.
(2) More information on this study can be found on the web at www.unc.cpc.edu/projects/siaa. As additional publications and data become available, they will be disseminated through this website.
(3) Dr. Perreira also co-directed a study on the migration and health of Latino adolescents. Results of this study are available at www.unc.cpc.edu/projects/lamha.


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ Throughout this report, we will use the words "Latino" and "Hispanic" inter-changeably to describe the population of interest. We recognize that these terms span a variety of cultural groups with different migration histories, cultural traditions, and needs.

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ To protect the confidentiality of participating students, the SIAA project does not release the names of participating schools or school districts.
    ${ }^{3}$ All statistics were re-evaluated using the weighted data. Though percentages varied slightly (0-4 percentage points) from those reported here in some cases, the interpretation of the results remained the same.
    ${ }^{4}$ Many more students wanted to participate but forgot to bring in the consent form signed by their parents.

