

Warming Up and Heating Up:

The Influence of Dual Enrollment on the Socialization and Academic Success of Latino Males at
Community Colleges

A final project submitted to the Faculty of Claremont Graduate University in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Education

by

Hugo Alberto García

Claremont Graduate University
2014

UMI Number: 3668016

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI 3668016

Published by ProQuest LLC (2014). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code



ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

APPROVAL OF THE REVIEW COMMITTEE

This dissertation has been duly read, reviewed, and critiqued by the Committee listed below, which hereby approves the manuscript of Hugo Alberto García as fulfilling the scope and quality requirements for the meriting the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education.

Daryl G. Smith, Chair
Claremont Graduate University
Professor Emerita of Education and Psychology

Linda M. Perkins
Claremont Graduate University
Associate Professor of Education

Scott L. Thomas
Claremont Graduate University
Professor of Education

Daniel G. Solórzano
Visiting Examiner
University of California, Los Angeles
Professor of Education

Abstract

Warming Up and Heating Up:

The Influence of Dual Enrollment on the Socialization and Academic Success of Latino Males at
Community Colleges

By

Hugo Alberto García

Claremont Graduate University: 2014

The academic achievement of Latinos is well below that of Whites and other students of color. Many are not graduating from high school, and schools are failing to adequately prepare those who do graduate to gain admission to our nation's most selective postsecondary institutions. This low academic achievement in the K-12 system propels Latinos to enroll in open admission community colleges resulting in their overrepresentation in two-year institutions. Furthermore, the scant body of literature on dual enrollment programs states that these programs promote postsecondary participation. However, no study has examined the influence of dual enrollment participation on working-class, first-generation, low- to middle-achieving Latino male students on college matriculation, transition, and persistence. By providing a clearer picture of the structured inequalities in the educational pipeline and how dual enrollment can circumvent these artificial educational systems within a Latino student context, policy makers and educators can enhance college participation and completion rates.

There were 26 Latino males interviewed at two community colleges using a qualitative research design. The study utilizes anticipatory socialization, role rehearsal, and Stanton-Salazar's social capital and funds of knowledge to guide my study. Most students in the study described that dual enrollment motivated them to enroll and eased their transition to college after

high school. The majority of students indicated that dual enrollment served to warm-up or heat-up their desire to enroll in college post-high school and increased their expectations to complete college. The study concludes by suggesting that high schools and colleges can help students to transition to college by enculturating students of the types of norms, attitudes, and behaviors needed to be successful in college. Dual enrollment had a warming up effect in that students become motivated to continue to their education post-high school. Furthermore, providing students with the various forms of funds of knowledge to successfully navigate the hierarchical structure of postsecondary institutions can promote matriculation to college and ease the transition from high school to college.

Implications suggest that intervention programs need to develop networks with institutional agents to develop social capital and obtain funds of knowledge to help decode college.

Copyright by Hugo Alberto García 2014
All Rights Reserved

DEDICATION

To my two boys, Alexander and Adrian who inspire me and remind me everyday to be a kid at heart and not take life so seriously.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have been told by many that writing the acknowledgments is the hardest part of the dissertation. I have found that to be true. I would like to first acknowledge my chair, Daryl G. Smith for her support throughout these years. She has illuminated the way on how to be a true scholar and sat me down on various occasions when I needed to hear some candid advice. Linda Perkins who has been a great colleague and mentor. I would have been lost had it not been for her. I would like to thank Scott Thomas for believing in me and allowing me to be a part of the Journal of Higher Education and several research projects. I have learned so much from him. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank Daniel Solórzano for taking the time to serve on my committee as an outside reviewer. I would also acknowledge Cecilia Rios-Aguilar for her support and allowing me to be a part of her research project. I would like to also thank Linda S. Hagedorn for her support of my scholarly pursuits during my time at the University of Southern California (USC). It was my involvement in the TRUCCS Project that planted the seed to pursue my Ph.D. Ricardo Stanton-Salazar has been a great mentor and fellow “barrio boy” from Southeast San Diego through the years. I am grateful that our paths have crossed. Raul Cardoza has been a great supporter throughout my graduate studies. Thank you for mentoring me and allowing me to be a part of your professional circle.

There are various friends and colleagues who support has been so instrumental of the past several years. Jonathan Lew, Marco Antonio Cruz, Rachel Camacho, Loris Fagioli, Nancy Ramirez, Esau Tovar, Lourdes Villarreal, Krissy “Chip” Troung, and Monica Almond. You have all made life as a doctoral student a truly intellectually stimulating experience. Jaime Lester, Jarret Gupta, and Margaret Sallee, former colleagues from my time at USC, have also played a major role in my success as a graduate student and I’m forever indebted to them.

Most importantly, I want to acknowledge my wife, Dr. Angie E. García, whose unwavering support and love has been instrumental in embarking and completing the Ph.D. I would not have been able to complete this long arduous journey without you. Thank you for your love, encouragement, and support.

TABLE OF CONTEXT

Table of Context.....vii
List of Tables.....xiv
List of Tables.....xv

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction.....1
Purpose of the study.....2
Significance of the Problem.....3
Theoretical Rationale.....6
Research Questions.....15
Definition of Terms.....16

CHAPTER TWO

Design of Review of Literature.....19
The Compulsory Education Experience of Latino Students.....19
 Segregation of Schools.....19
 Unqualified Teachers.....21
 Low Teacher Expectations.....22
 Lack of Resources.....22
 Negative Peer Pressure.....23
 Low Tracking.....24
 Advanced Placement and Honors Programs.....25
 Family Backgrounds & Other Pre-College Characteristics.....26
 Parental Involvement.....27

Educational Capital.....	28
Family SES.....	29
Parental Educational Background.....	30
Latino High School Graduation Rates.....	31
The Community College.....	31
Its Critics.....	31
Latinos and the Community College.....	34
Delayed Enrollment after High School.....	34
First-Generation Student Status.....	35
Socioeconomic Status.....	35
Part-Time Enrollment.....	36
The First Semester.....	37
Remediation/Developmental Coursework.....	37
Low Transfer Rates of Latinos in Community College.....	38
Dual Enrollment Programs.....	40
History and Types of Credit-Based Transition Programs.....	40
Advanced Placement.....	41
International Baccalaureate.....	41
Tech Prep.....	42
Dual/Concurrent Enrollment Programs at the Institutional Level.....	42
Dual/Concurrent Enrollment Programs at the State Level	44
Benefits of Participation in Dual Enrollment Programs.....	44
Literature Reviews Regarding Dual Enrollment Programs.....	47

Qualitative Studies Regarding Dual Enrollment Programs.....	48
Quantitative Studies Regarding Dual Enrollment Programs.....	52
Mixed Method Studies Regarding Dual Enrollment Programs.....	58
Who Participates in these Programs?.....	59

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology.....	61
Research Design.....	61
Research Questions.....	62
Protection of Human Subjects.....	62
Instrumentation.....	64
Site Selection.....	64
Recruitment.....	65
Sample.....	65
Instrument/Researcher’s Background.....	66
Procedures.....	67
Data Analysis.....	67
Limitations.....	69
Summary.....	69

CHAPTER FOUR

Introduction of Results.....	70
Descriptive Profile of Participants.....	70
Individual Participant Profiles.....	72
Summary of Individual Participant Profiles.....	84

Research Question One.....	81
Summary of Research Question One.....	97
Research Question Two.....	98
Research Question Two A.....	99
Summary of Research Question Two A.....	110
Research Question Two B.....	111
Summary of Research Question Two B.....	124
Research Question Three.....	126
Summary of Research Question Three.....	137
Research Question Four.....	138
Summary of Research Question Four.....	149
Other Results.....	149
Summary of Chapter Four.....	151

CHAPTER FIVE

Introduction.....	152
Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks.....	152
Research Questions.....	154
Key Findings to Research Questions.....	155
Analytical Category Development.....	159
Analytical Category One.....	160
Analytical Category Two.....	161
Analytical Category Three.....	163

Analytical Category Four.....	164
Analytical Category Five.....	167
Summary of Interpretations of Findings.....	169
Theoretical and Conceptual Development.....	170
Policy Implications.....	174
Future Research.....	180
Conclusion.....	181
REFERENCES.....	183
APPENDICES	
Demographic Questionnaire.....	206
Interview Questionnaire.....	208
IRB Forms.....	210
Email Script.....	212

LIST OF TABLES

Tables

Table 4.1: Summary of Latino Male Socioeconomic Background Demographic Information....	70
Table 4.2: Participant Academic Information.....	81
Table 4.3: Why They Participated in Dual Enrollment.....	84
Table 4.4: Motivation to Enroll Post-High School.....	99
Table 4.5: Themes Regarding Facilitation of Transition from to High School-to-College.....	111
Table 4.6: College Student Identification.....	138

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: A Conceptual Model on Intervention/Transition Programs for First-Generation

Students.....173

Chapter One

Introduction

A college education is more important today than ever before since the United States' economy depends mostly on intellectual capital (Carnevale & Desrochers, 2003; Darling-Hammond, 2006; Fry, 2002; Santos & Santos, 2006). Indeed, Fry (2002) states, "A high school diploma no longer serves as the basic credential for successful employment in the U. S. economy. Only individuals with a college degree can expect to enter the mid-ranges of the labor force, let alone the top" (p. 1). Carnevale and Desrochers (2003) add, "Meeting high educational standards has become a prerequisite for economic growth and social inclusion in the 21st century. Knowledge has become the engine of growth among nations, and individuals need a solid academic foundation in order to meet the increasing skill demands on the job" (p. 2). In addition, graduate degrees, particularly professional and doctoral degrees, are a prerequisite for the most prestigious and influential positions (Fry, 2002). Employees with advanced degrees earn 10 percent more than employees with only a bachelor's degree even when controlling for worker characteristics (Grogger & Trejo, 2002).

A college education is more than a means for upward socioeconomic mobility. It also enables individuals to become more empowered and become active contributors to society. Not only does a college education benefit the individual, it also benefits society as a whole (Bowen, 1977). Individuals who are college educated are less likely to participate in criminal activity and more likely to have healthy lifestyles and participate in civic government. Conversely, as past research has concluded, there is a strong negative correlation between educational attainment and incarceration (Darling-Hammond, 2006; Wald & Losen, 2003). That is, the less education one has, the higher the risk of incarceration and vice versa. Darling-Hammond (2006) states,

“Increased incarceration is a function not only of criminal justice policies but also a lack of access to the education that could lead to literacy, needed skills, and employment. More than half the adult prison population has literacy skills below those required by the labor market” (p. 14). Indeed, the inequalities within the schools serve only to exacerbate the “school-to-prison pipeline” (Darling-Hammond, 2006; Wald & Losen, 2003).

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the experiences of working-class, first-generation, low- to middle-academic achieving Latino male high school students who participated in a dual enrollment program at their local community college. Additionally, I will examine how these experiences influenced their motivation and subsequent enrollment into college post-high school and how their participation in dual enrollment helped them transition to college. Furthermore, I intend to examine if their participation in dual enrollment helped these students to obtain institutional support to *decode the college system* by interacting with *institutional agents* such as college student peers, instructors, and institutional staff who impart social capital and funds of knowledge (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, 2011). Additionally, this study seeks to understand how and when these at-risk Latino male youth transitioned from having non-college student identity to a college student identity. Utilizing a qualitative approach, this study will add to the growing body of literature on dual enrollment programs and provide an understanding of factors that influence Latino student persistence and how institutional agents support the socialization of these students as they transition from high school to college.

There is a limited, but growing body of work, on dual and concurrent enrollment programs and an extant body of work on Latino students. However, there is no study that looks at dual enrollment programs and their impact on first-generation, working-class Latino male

students' decisions to matriculate and transition at the community college and how it facilitated a college student identity. In addition, this study seeks to understand the social and academic socialization influences of dual enrollment participation on Latino males in urban settings.

Significance of the Problem

Due to the structural inequalities and the stratification mechanisms embedded in the American compulsory educational system, Latino academic achievements and higher education participation and completion rates are well below desirable levels and are a major concern (Fry, 2002; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Kozol, 1991; Kozol, 2005; Ornelas and Solórzano, 2004; Yosso and Solórzano, 2006). Many Latinos are not graduating from high school, and our K-12 educational system is failing to adequately prepare those who do graduate to participate and be successful – academically and socially – in postsecondary institutions (Behnke, Piercy, & Diversi, 2004; Hossler, Schmit, & Vesper, 1999; Melguizo, 2007). Indeed, the persistent lack of educational attainment has led scholars to refer to this problem as the Latino educational crisis (Gándara & Contreras, 2009).

Conversely, although Latinos are increasingly gaining entry into higher education (Fry, 2002; Massey, Charles, Lundy, & Fischer, 2003; Fry, 2011), overall data and outcomes are still disappointing. Latinos are well below Whites and other racial groups in college graduation rates (Arbona & Nora, 2007; Fry, 2002; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Timpone & Hauptman, 2004). Arbona and Nora (2007) state that within the age group of 25-29 years of age with at least a bachelor's degree, Latinos (10%) were lower than Blacks and Whites (18% and 30% respectively). Chapa and Schink (2006) state in the year 2000, within the college age range of 18-24, Latinos comprised 42.5% of Californians and 32.9% of high school graduates; however, they only comprised 24.1% of all students enrolled in any kind of postsecondary education.

Furthermore, they disaggregated the data by institutional sector and found that, “Latinos made up only 25.2 percent of students in California community colleges, 23.9 percent of California State University students, and only 12.7 percent of students at the University of California (Chapa & Schink, 2006, p. 41-42). Clearly, the educational attainment of Latinos is well below acceptable levels and they are severely underrepresented at the most selective system.

It is also clear that Latino underrepresentation at the most selective private and flagship public institutions of higher education is a major concern (Carnevale & Rose, 2004). Attending these institutions for an undergraduate education is extremely beneficial because of the “added value” they provide to students and alumni (Bowen & Bok, 1999). For example, Bowen and Bok (1999) state that “Attending a highly rated undergraduate school is helpful, first of all, because of the quality of the education made possible by well-regarded faculty, well-equipped libraries, and laboratories, and the presence of the other high-achieving students” (p. 101). In addition, students who attend these elite institutions are more likely to attend graduate and professional schools (Bowen & Bok, 1999; Carnevale & Rose, 2004). As stated succinctly by Bowen and Bok (1999), “Graduate and professional schools are more likely to prefer candidates who they know have already undergone a competitive screening process and who are thought to have a solid academic grounding, including practice in writing and research” (Bowen & Bok, p. 101). Therefore, one of the primary concerns is the continuous underrepresentation of Latino students at selective four-year colleges and universities.

Research has consistently shown that the majority of Latino students who do enroll in postsecondary institutions matriculate at two-year community colleges over four-year postsecondary institutions (Arbona & Nora, 2007; Cohen & Brawer, 2003; Fry, 2002; Garza, 2006; Laanan, 2001; Ornelas and Solórzano, 2004; Solórzano, Villalpand, and Oseguera, 2005).

Community colleges offer open-admission which allows students who are over the age of eighteen to enroll with or without a high school diploma. These policies, along with the fact that community colleges offer a college education for a fraction of the cost of four-year institutions, are major reasons for the overrepresentation of Latinos as well as other students of color and lower socioeconomic backgrounds (Cohen & Brawer, 2003). Although society should applaud the fact that many Latinos are enrolling at these postsecondary institutions and participating in non-compulsory education, the literature illustrates the drawbacks of enrolling at community colleges (Cohen & Brawer, 2003; Fry, 2002; Laanan, 2001; Pascarella, & Terenzini, 2005; Swail, Cabrera, Lee, & Williams, 2005). Researchers have concluded that many students of color who start at community colleges are less likely to transfer to four-year institutions or earn a baccalaureate degree than students who began their studies at a four-year institution (Cohen & Brawer, 2003; Fry, 2002; Laanan, 2001; Pascarella, & Terenzini, 2005; Swail, Cabrera, Lee, & Williams, 2005).

With the perpetual lack of academic persistence and degree completion in higher education by Latinos, it is paramount that attention be given to this subpopulation if society is to abate this phenomenon. Indeed, Latinos are the fastest growing and largest minority group in the United States. For example, nationally in 2010, Latinos comprised 16.7% (US Census, 2013), while in California, Latinos represented 38.1% of the population (US Census, 2013). By ameliorating the discrepancies in academic achievement and promoting degree attainment in the educational pipeline, educators can improve upward socioeconomic mobility for many low socioeconomic Latinos. Therefore, this study will review the literature on Latino students to better understand what hinders and/or promotes Latino academic achievement in the postsecondary system in which Latinos are overrepresented – the community college. After an

extensive review of the corpus of work on Latino educational attainment, community college, and dual enrollment programs, several themes were developed. They are negative academic high school experiences (low teacher expectations, the re-segregation of urban schools, and negative peer pressure), family backgrounds (low parent expectations and educational backgrounds, and socioeconomic status), along with negative experiences in the community college (delayed entry, remediation, and lack of transfer).

Theoretical Rationale

Attinasi's (1989) seminal work examined how perceptions regarding "getting in" was a process that was developed before (while still in high school) and after (as college students) matriculation in college. He describes how Latino persisters obtained college-going behaviors and attitudes by modeling their behavior after their mentors. Attinasi (1989) found that student participants who persisted in college discussed how high school teachers shared their college-going experience with them, providing "indirect simulation" of what it meant to be college student (p. 258). He referred to this process as "mentoring modeling" which promoted the students' understanding of what college would be like if they enrolled. The indirect simulation via mentor modeling occurred through two-subcategories: formal and informal simulative experiences. Formal indirect simulation occurred when students took college-level courses such as Advanced Placement (AP) and International Baccalaureate (IB) at their high school. Students who took these courses indicated that they were aware of the college-going behaviors and attitudes due to more rigorous academic work and high expectations by the teachers. Informal experiences occurred when teachers would inform them of the expectations college professors would have of them if they continued their education after high school. Thus, students in the indirect simulations formally took college-level courses in high school and informally received

information regarding what the college culture would expect of them. Stanton-Salazar (1997, 2011) suggests that this information would help students in acquiring *funds of knowledge* regarding the college organizational context; it would also inculcate a college-going behavior and attitude.

Indirect simulation was buttressed by direct simulation, which Attinasi (1989) referred to as a “quasi-college-going” experience (p. 259). This *quasi-college student* role would provide direct simulation anytime high school students interact with actors in the college environment or simply being on the college campus observing the behaviors and interactions between actors within that system. Attinasi (1989) further refined this concept by creating a subcategory of direct simulation which he calls “Attending” (p. 259). Attending has two dimensions for which Attinasi refers to as “Attending I” and “Attending II”. Attending I includes going to a college campus and participating in a summer program or attending workshops. In Attending I, the high school student is a “pseudo-student” (p. 259). Attending II is related to college-going while still in high school. This would entail actually being a “quasi-college student” by attending college classes or actually enrolling in a college course.

Attinasi’s seminal work illuminates two very salient processes that enable Latino youth to obtain the attitudes and behaviors before and after college matriculation to transition, persist, and be academically successful in college. They are the importance of being a “quasi-college student” on a college campus while still high school students, and the role that non-parental adults, within the students’ social network, played in increasing the social capital and funds of knowledge to promote college-going behavior and attitudes. Indeed, we can think of “quasi-college student” as *role rehearsal* and *anticipatory socialization* (Merton, 1968; Karp, 2007, 2012). Furthermore, the role non-parental high status adults and peers play is what Stanton-

Salazar (1997, 2011) refers to as *institutional agents*, individuals who provide *social capital* and *funds of knowledge* to promote *enculturation* and enabling the student to *decode the college system*.

Regarding the Mexican American students' prior college-going experiences, Attinasi states, "Expectations resulting from experiences belonging to all categories, save direct simulation, were externally prompted, that is, the impetus for the expectation was something said or done by an individual other than the informant" (p. 261). Clearly, non-parental adults in these youths' lives played a pivotal role in increasing motivation and developing a college-going attitude. Thus, in order to understand the impact of dual enrollment on Latino male participation, I will be utilizing *anticipatory socialization* and *role rehearsal* along with Stanton-Salazar's (1997, 2011) *funds of knowledge and social capital framework* to guide the study and analysis.

Anticipatory socialization and role rehearsal.

Anticipatory socialization.

Dual enrollment allows students to enroll in college classes, which permit students to "role play" before they graduate from high school (Karp, 2007, 2012). In addition, high school students who enroll and take courses with college instructors permits the students to interact and expand their network with college students and staff who possess *insider knowledge* and may act as *institutional agents* (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, 2011) who promote the enculturation process through *anticipatory socialization* (Merton, 1968). Research suggests that dual enrollment programs allow students to "try on" college and presumably illuminate the role of a college student (Karp, 2007, CCRC Working Paper No. 7; Karp 2012). Indeed, research suggests that increasing exposure to college while still in high school enables students to learn college norms and values (Karp, 2012). Merton (1968) defines anticipatory socialization as "the acquisition of

values and orientations found in statuses and groups in which one is not yet engaged but which one is likely to enter” (p. 438-439). Indeed, Attinasi (1989) suggests that anticipatory socialization refers to acquiring the behavior and attitudes of a group in which a student wants to become a member of which can ease the transition into the group once a part of it (p. 266). Thus, anticipatory socialization is appropriate for this study as dual enrollment participants are, theoretically, in a position to acquire the norms, attitudes and behaviors of college students.

Role rehearsal.

Like anticipatory socialization, role rehearsal has been used extensively in the career development literature. Role rehearsal permits individuals to “practice” the role of being in the reference group that one wants to enter by engaging in the behavior and practices that the reference group members partake in prior to full membership (Ebaugh, 1988; Karp, 2007). Unlike anticipatory socialization, where individuals are exposed to the norms and values by observing and being told of the cultural expectations, role rehearsal entails being a part of the system or organization by “doing” to illuminate what are the values and norms of that culture are (Karp, 2007, 2012). In other words, high school students who role-rehearse are “quasi-college students” (Attinasi, 1989), for they have enrolled in college courses that enable them to interact with college instructors and students and practice being college students. This interaction promotes the understanding of norms, values, and expectations prior to full membership (i.e., post-high school matriculation into the college environment). In this active role, high school students’ behaviors are modified and refined through positive and/or negative feedback from current full members of the community college system – instructors, students, counselors, staff, and administration. For example, if a high school student enrolled in a college course does not conform to certain normative expectations or behaviors (i.e., misbehaves, talks out of line, is

disruptive, sleeps in class, etc.) he or she is informed by the college instructor and/or student(s) in the course that such behavior is unacceptable. Furthermore, a high school student may observe the type of dialog and interactions occurring in the college classroom between the instructor and fellow college students and between the peers themselves that illuminates how one is to communicate in order to be successful in this new academic environment. Thus, the dual enrollment student learns that he/she needs to modify his or her behavior and attitude to be more successful once enrolled full-time.

Taken together, the conceptualization of anticipatory socialization and role rehearsal can be understood to promote college-going behavior by enabling high school students to interact with actors in a culture of which they may become part in the future. As Karp (2012) succinctly states:

We can conceive of dual enrolment as an opportunity for anticipatory socialization and role rehearsal. Dual enrollees get ready for college success by learning – before they actually matriculate – *all* aspects of the college role. They acquire the technical demands of how to do college-level work. They also learn normative expectations – the habits, attitudes, and behaviors of successful college students – and discover strategies to enact these expectations successfully by seeing how other people react to their “college tries.”

(p. 23)

Indeed, having prior exposure to a new environment (the college), that requires certain levels of institutional and cultural knowledge and awareness, provides ample opportunities to interact with institutional agents who can provide the social capital and funds of knowledge to properly transition from high school to college seamlessly by demystify the college-going process. Furthermore, exposing a collegiate environment to at-risk youth may promote and develop a

college student identity, which would eventually lead to a college-going mindset and an enculturation to the organization.

Social capital framework & funds of knowledge.

Social Capital Framework.

In sociology, social capital theory is a highly influential theoretical framework (Stanton-Salazar, 2011), which has been widely utilized by education scholars. Stanton-Salazar's social capital framework has been used extensively to study underrepresented working-class students in all sectors of education. Building on the works of Bourdieu's (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986) social reproduction theory, Nan Lin's social capital theory (2001), and his own prior work on *counterstratification* (Stanton-Salazar, 2001), Stanton-Salazar (2011) defines social capital as:

Resources and key forms of institutional support embedded in a multilayered system of social structures – beginning with a fundamental network-analytic structure (i.e., relationships, networks, and associations as social mediums) which, in turn, is embedded in complex and usually hierarchical structures found in formal and complex organizations and institutions. (p. 1083)

Stanton-Salazar's framework is heavily influenced by Bourdieu and Lin because they utilize a critical network-analytical lens for social capital. For example, Bourdieu (1986) defined social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (p. 248). Lin (2001) defines social capital as “investment in social relations with expected returns in the marketplace” (p. 1083, as cited in Stanton-Salazar, 2011). Stanton-Salazar's social capital is most appropriate for this study due to his emphasis on the value of a relationship within hierarchical structures such as educational settings and how that capital can

later be activated and transformed. Here is a simple illustration: If someone gives another person a one-hundred-dollar bill, the bill represents a resource or form of capital which the recipient of the bill can now use to purchase various items or services. In a social network, an individual with high status (or agent) can provide resources or information (like the hundred dollar bill) to a student, who now has *funds of knowledge*, and can use this newly acquired social capital and knowledge to transform this capital and knowledge to socially valued opportunities (i.e., going to college, internships, etc.) and assets (i.e., associate's or bachelor's degrees). Thus, network relationships embedded in multilayered systems can help map (figuratively) the geographical landscape of unfamiliar environments (Attinasi, 1989). For example, Attinasi (1989) found that:

A student's interaction with others is important for his or her persistence in college not simply or primarily because it leads to the sharing of general values and orientations, but because it assists the student in developing specific strategies for negotiating the physical, social, and cognitive/academic geographies. (p. 267)

Thus, Attinasi's work supports the notion that high school students may benefit from interacting with mentors or peers who act as institutional or empowering agents. These agents may be other college students, instructors, counselors, staff, or any individual associated with the community college who can provide *social capital* and the *funds of knowledge* necessary to *decode the college system* which results in increased motivation, and college transition and persistence (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, 2011).

Funds of knowledge.

There are two commonly and highly utilized definitions of funds of knowledge in the education literature. On the hand, there is Moll and colleagues who define Funds of knowledge as “the historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills

essential for household or individual functioning and well-being” (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 2001, p. 133). On the other hand is Stanton-Salazar (1997) who defines funds of knowledge as “*implicit and explicit socialization into institutional discourses* that regulate communication, interaction, and exchange within mainstream institutional spheres” (p. 11, italics in original). Moll et al. take into account the types of knowledge students obtain from their household and community social networks. Since I am not interested in the students’ knowledge they obtained from their household, and because Moll et al. is also more pedagogical (which it is why it has been mostly utilized in K-12), I utilize Ricardo’s definition of funds of knowledge, as I am interested in the knowledge Latino male *acquired* as a result of their participation in dual enrollment. Thus, for the purposes of my study and how dual enrollment provided the social capital and resources to decode the college going system, it is more appropriate to understand what they obtained via dual enrollment and their interactions with institutional agents rather than trying to examine how these students in my study were able to use what knowledge they already possessed during dual enrollment.

Institutional agents are instrumental for all youth since agents’ power lies in their ability to provide or withhold *knowledge* (Sennett and Cobb, 1972, as cited by Stanton-Salazar, 1997). Stanton-Salazar expands on this concept by suggesting that not only do they provide or withhold knowledge, but they also have the power to, “situate youth within resources-rich social networks by actively manipulating the social and institutional forces that determine who shall ‘make it’ and who shall not” (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, p. 11). *Institutional support* is paramount in that it suggests that *funds of knowledge* are important for obtaining the support they need to successfully navigate the hierarchical college system. Stanton-Salazar (1997) defines funds of knowledge as “*implicit and explicit socialization into institutional discourses* that regulate

communication, interaction, and exchange within mainstream institutional spheres” (p. 11, italics in original). There are seven forms of institutionally based *funds of knowledge*. The first is institutionally sanctioned discourses that illuminate the appropriate ways to communicate. Second is academic tasks-specific knowledge, which is essentially subject-area knowledge. The third is organizational/bureaucratic funds of knowledge that is the knowledge or understanding of how the bureaucracy of the organization operates. Fourth is network development, which is the knowledge of how to skillfully network with actors within the system such as gatekeepers and agents; and developing the proper supportive and collegial relationships with academically inclined peers. Fifth, technical funds of knowledge, is possessing time-management, decision-making, computer literacy, test-taking, and study skills necessary for success. Sixth, knowledge of labor and educational markets is the knowledge of how to obtain job and educational opportunities and overcome barriers and meet requisites. The seventh and final fund of knowledge is problem-solving knowledge. That is, “knowing to integrate the first six knowledge forms above for the purposes of solving school-related problems, making sound decisions, and reaching personal or collective goals” (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, p. 12).

I suggest that if a student participates in a dual enrollments program, he or she will develop a *bicultural network orientation* through the *social capital* and *funds of knowledge* obtained via *their anticipatory socialization* and *role rehearsal* of the community college. Stanton-Salazar (1997) states that *network orientation* is the various “perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, and disposition that inform or motivate the choices an individual makes – whether consciously or unconsciously – in recruiting, manipulating, and maintaining various social relationships and entering into various group affiliations in light of the social structural circumstances that either expand or constrain his/her options” (p. 26). Thus, a working-class

student of color's network orientation may encourage or discourage relationship building in systems, such as educational institutions, that have historically underserved individuals from underprivileged communities. A bicultural network orientation is critical to the success of first-generation, working-class, low- to middle-academic achieving Latino males as it “not only assumes a tolerance for operating from a hierarchically subordinate position, but also a penchant for getting agents and gatekeepers to provide institutional resources and support,” or at minimum, “it entails engaging agents in ways that keep them from acting in an exclusionary or discriminatory manner” (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, p. 27).

Research Questions

I will be conducting a study to better understand the experiences and social and academic socialization of first-generation, Latino males in dual enrollment programs. Primary Research Question is:

- *How does dual enrollment influence the social and academic socialization of working-class, first-generation, low- to middle-academic achieving Latino males to matriculate and facilitate the transition from high school to the community colleges?*

The secondary questions are:

- *What role did institutional agents have on the socialization (academic and social) and decoding of the community college system for these Latino males?*
- *Who or what motivated these students to participate in dual enrollment?*
- *When and why did these Latino males develop a college student identity?*

Definition of Terms

At-Risk: A student who is underprepared academically for the curricular demands of higher education (Ferguson, 2000)

Bicultural Network Orientation: “A *consciousness* which facilitates the crossing of cultural borders and the overcoming of institutional barriers, thereby facilitating entree into multiple community and institutional settings where diversified social capital can be generated and converted by way of instrumental actions (i.e., where instrumental social relationships can be formed, and social support and funds of knowledge can be obtained)” (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, p. 25).

Decoding the System: “Entails multiple, simultaneous forms of enlightenment and action: an awareness of what resources and funds of knowledge are needed to achieve within the system at a precise moment in time, while envisioning a different social order, combined with understanding of what structures ultimately need to be dismantled” (Stanton-Salazar, 2011, 1092-1093)

Empowerment Agent: The “Capacity to provide low-status youth with highly valued institutional resources, but also in terms of their commitment to empower youth with a critical consciousness, and with the means to transform themselves, their communities, and society as a whole” (Stanton-Salazar, 2011, 1068)

First-Generation College Student: Students who are the first in their family to attend college.

Funds of Knowledge: “The implicit and explicate socialization into institutional discourses that regulate communication, interaction, and exchange within mainstream institutional spheres” (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, p. 11). There are seven forms of institutionally based funds of knowledge: institutionally sanctioned discourses, academic tasks-specific knowledge,

organizational/bureaucratic funds of knowledge, network development, technical funds of knowledge, knowledge of labor and educational markets, and problem-solving knowledge.

Hispanic /Latino: I will use the U.S. Census definition of Latino. “Hispanic or Latino” refers to a person of Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, South or Central American, or other Spanish culture or origin regardless of race (U.S. Census, 2014).

Institutional Agent: “Individuals who occupy one or more hierarchical positions of relatively high-status and authority” (Stanton-Salazar, 2011, p. 1067). For example, someone in a student’s network who provides highly valued resources and information (e.g., high school course requirements for admission to four-year universities) can serve as an institutional agent.

Institutional Support: “Refers to key resources and forms of social support which function to ensure children and adolescents become effective participants within institutional spheres that control resources and network pathways associated with different forms of empowerment, during adolescence and early adulthood, including school achievement, class mobility, and self-determination. The school system is, of course, the most important of these institutional spheres” (Stanton-Salazar, 2011, p. 1078-1079)

Low- to Middle-Academic Performance: I define low- to middle-academic performing students as those who had less than a 3.0 GPA in high school while in the dual enrollment program.

Social Capital: “Consists of resources and key forms of institutional support embedded in a multilayered system of social structures – beginning with a fundamental network-analytic structure (i.e., relationships, networks, and associations as social mediums) which, in turn, is embedded in complex and usually hierarchical structures found in formal and complex

organizations and institutions (e.g., schools, universities, firms, corporations)” (Stanton-Salazar, 2011, p. 1083-1084)

Socialization: “The process by which young people, engaged with various agents and significant others, learn to negotiate and participate in multiple sociocultural worlds” (Stanton-Salazar, 2011, p. 1069).

Chapter Two

Literature Review

The literature review will be organized in the following manner. I will first review the Latino student experience in U.S. compulsory education system. I will then review the body of literature on community college. I will conclude this chapter with a review of emerging body of literature on credit based acceleration programs and dual enrollment.

The Compulsory Education Experience of Latino Students

The literature suggests that many of the problems of academic performance and degree completion of Latinos in college begin in the K-12 system (Bowen, Kurzweil, & Tobin, 2005; Carnevale and Rose, 2004; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Hagedorn & Fogel, 2002; Timpane & Hauptman, 2004). Therefore, it is prudent to provide an extensive review of the literature that pertains to Latinos in the K-12 system and other pre-college characteristics such as family background, socioeconomic status, types of schools attended, and academic performance. The literature has revealed the following themes.

Segregation of schools.

Many low-income Latino students attend highly segregated schools (Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Kozol, 2005; Orfield, 2001; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009). This segregation phenomenon is deeply embedded in the education system as it has persisted for more than 50 years, since the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. Orfield (2001) suggests that urban low-income students of color are enrolled in schools that are between 90-100% minority. Bowen, Kurzweil, and Tobin (2005) state that schools today are as segregated as schools were prior to 1954. Frankenberg, Lee, and Orfield (2003) succinctly claim that “Latino students are the most segregated minority group, with steadily rising segregation since federal data were first

collected a third of a century ago. Latinos are segregated both by race and poverty, and a pattern of linguistic segregation is also developing” (p. 4).

Segregated schools tend to be concentrated in urban communities and serve predominately low-income students of color and have very little funding (Kozol, 2005; Saenz, 2009; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009). They have a per-pupil spending level that is well below the state and federal average, which explains the severe resource inequalities (Darling-Hammond, 2006; Kozol, 2005). Nationally, during the 2002 academic year, the highest poverty quartile schools, had a per-pupil spending of \$6,383; while schools with the lowest quartile averaged \$7,731 (Bowen, Kurzweil, & Tobin; 2005). In other words, schools in more affluent communities had \$1,348 more funding per student than schools that need more, not less, funding. Ladson-Billings (1994) states: “As the whites and middle-income people of color fled the cities, they not only abandoned the schools to the poor children of color but also took with them the resources, by way of the diminishing tax base” (p. 2). These socioeconomic ideologies by upper- and middle-class communities of keeping their tax base within their communities have hindered the educational opportunities to obtain an equal education to those students in less affluent communities. In addition, these highly affluent and college educated parents have also removed their children, who possess middle-class social and cultural capital, from schools with children who may benefit from interacting with their children. According to Carnevale and Rose (2004), Latinos “make up a higher proportion of those who attend high school with the lowest rates of college attendance, the most widespread incidence of subsidized school lunches, and the least ‘social capital’” (p. 134). It is for this reason that many teachers are underpaid in underserved communities, while teachers in wealthy communities get paid significantly more. Clearly, Latino students are at a disadvantage in their compulsory education compared to their White

counterparts due to the disproportion school funding distribution. This lack of funding affects schools' efforts to recruit and retain quality teachers.

Unqualified teachers.

In addition, these segregated urban schools also have less qualified teachers than schools located in upper- and middle-class communities (Darling-Hammond, 2006; Kozol, 2005). Darling-Hammond (2006) writes that “California’s most segregated minority schools were more than five times as likely to have uncertified teachers than students in predominantly White schools. In some high-minority schools, more than 50% of teachers were inexperienced and unqualified” (p. 15). There is also the issue of high turnover of teachers (Bowen, Kurzweil, & Tobin, 2005; Darling-Hammond, 2006). For example, many do not return to teach after one or two years. Some students will go through three or four teachers in any given academic year (Darling-Hammond, 2006). Bowen, Kurzweil, and Tobin (2005) attest that one-third of all schools that enrolled over 75% students, who received free or reduced lunch had one or more teachers leave during the middle of the academic year (p. 78). Furthermore, Gándara and Contreras (2009) confirm that schools that serve a large minority student population have a majority (88%) of teachers, who score near the very bottom of the teacher-quality index; while schools that are predominately White have only 11% of teachers score at the bottom quartile. Indeed, several studies indicate that there is a correlation between educational outcomes and teacher quality (Goldhaber & Brewer, 1996; Oakes & Saunders, 2004). For example, Goldhaber & Brewer (1996) state, “A teacher with a BA in mathematics, or an MA in mathematics, has a statistically significant *positive* impact on students’ achievement relative to teachers with no advanced degrees or degrees in non-mathematics subjects” (p. 206). Because Latino students attend schools that have the largest class sizes, lowest academic rigor, and the least qualified

teachers (Darling-Hammond, 2006), their academic results demonstrate a marked underperformance of these student in relation to the students in the more affluent school districts.

Low teacher expectations.

Past research indicates a relationship between what teachers expect of students and the students' subsequent educational achievement (Benner & Mistry, 2007; Diamond, Randolph, & Spillane, 2004; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1992). Weinstein (2002) suggests that students are easily influenced by the level of expectations of their teachers. For example, students whose teachers have low expectations will perform at a lower level than they would have otherwise; while teachers with higher expectations of their students can expect their students to rise to that level (Rubie-Davies, 2006). Much of the literature suggests that teachers have very low expectations of Latino students – males in particular (Anderson-Clark, Green, & Henley, 2008; Contreras, 2005; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; McKown & Weinstein, 2008; Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009). These low-academic expectations become a self-fulfilling prophecy for Latino students. In his seminal work, Clark (1965) suggests, “Children who are treated as if they are uneducable almost invariably become uneducable” (p. 128). Ream (2005) refers to the lowering of academic expectations for Latino students by teachers so that they do not make the students feel bad as *negative social capital*. Indeed, this only contributes to the underperformance of Latino students.

Lack of resources.

Schools that are located in low-income communities, which serve a large number of low-income Latino students, tend to have outdated and dilapidated facilities (Solórzano & Ornelas, 2002; Solórzano & Ornelas, 2004; Gándara & Contreras, 2009). Many schools in urban areas lack libraries with sizable book collections, gymnasiums, heating for their classrooms, up-to-date books for their subjects, credentialed teachers, and/or enough text books for students to take

home (Darling-Hammond, 2006). Latinos and students of color are overrepresented in schools that lack resources (Oakes, Mendoza, & Silver, 2004). Gándara and Contreras (2009) state, “The very good schools are attended largely by white, Asian, and middle- and upper-income students, and the very inadequate schools are virtually always overwhelmingly attended by students of color” (p. 92). When student don’t have resources, they inevitably turn to their peers for guidance and support as they navigate their educational pathway.

Negative peer pressure.

There is a large body of literature discussing the positive and negative effects of peers on academic achievement (Epstein & Karweit, 1983; Ferguson, 2001; Friedkin & Thomas, 1997; Gándara, 1995; Kunjufu, 2005). For example, students who associate themselves with other high-achieving peers are more likely to do well academically (D’Amico, 1975; Epstein & Karweit, 1983). However, students who associate themselves with peers, who are performing poorly academically or are at-risk of dropping out of school are also more likely to falter and risk not graduating (Rumberger, 1991; Rumberger & Rodriguez, 2002). The influence of parents competes with the influence of peers, and the results of this competition vary greatly among racial and ethnic groups (Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). Kunjufu (2005) suggests that peers have a greater influence on each other than parents have on their own children. Research conducted by Friedkin and Thomas (1997) concluded that peer environments have a lasting impact on the students’ academic aspirations. For example, empirical studies have concluded that peers can influence course-taking patterns (Field, Frank, Schiller, Riegle-Crumb, & Muller, 2006); academic performance (Dills, 2005; Steinberg, 1996); college enrollment (Jackson, 1990); and cheating behaviors (Carrell, Malmstrom, & West, 2008). The literature suggests that

high academic achievement can be a social liability that results in alienation for academically successful Latino students.

In addition, Latinos do not want to be perceived as acting “White” by doing well academically (Valenzuela, 1999). Although detrimental for their academic futures, many students avoid doing well in school to appease their peers. This is a way to show that they are against the dominant culture or social norm (Gándara, 1995; Valenzuela, 1999). For example, Valenzuela (1999) states, “A chief strategy these scholars have identified involves youth rejecting schooling and underachieving because they correlate academic achievement with ‘acting white,’ and because they infer minimal payoff to effort in schooling” (p. 17). In other words, there is no incentive to try to excel in school as they would be harassed, bullied, or ridiculed by their peers for being perceived as acting White. Similarly, Whitla, Howard, Tuitt, Reddick, and Flanagan (2005) state that “Minority youth who achieve academically in such a culture are often isolated” (p. 134). Clearly, the literature paints a dismal picture for male students of color who attempt to be academically inclined.

Low tracking.

Latino students are tracked into a general and vocational curriculum that does not prepare them for college (Gamoran, 1987; Oakes, 1985; Paul, 2005; Padilla & Gonzales, 2001). Indeed, in a study conducted by Paul (2005) at five urban schools with high levels of low-income and immigrant students, she noted that Asians and White students were overrepresented in algebra 1, while Blacks and Latinos were underrepresented. Specifically, Paul (2005) concludes that Latinos had the lowest percentage of enrollment in eighth-grade algebra I and 1-year algebra I, while Asians had the highest, followed by the White students. It is important to note that algebra is considered a foundational course to a college-prep track (Gamoran, 2009). For example, Paul

(2005) states, “The completion of 3 years of high school mathematics beginning with algebra I is becoming the threshold nationally for admission to competitive college campuses. This is certainly the case for admission to California State University and the University of California” (p. 268).

For Latinos, who are labeled English Language Learners (ELLs), low-tracking is exacerbated. A study conducted by Callahan (2005) indicates that schools and districts confuse poor English skills with a lack of academic aptitude. Thus, many immigrant Latino youth are unjustifiably tracked to low rigor courses. Paul (2005) concluded that ELLs did just as well as their non-ELL peers in physics and math. Furthermore, ELL students in the first year of algebra I outperformed their non-ELL peers. Padilla and Gonzales (2001) concluded that the reason why immigrant Latino youth do better than their non-English learner second- and third-generation Latino American peers is because they have not been exposed to low-expectations or non-academic tracks in their native countries. Indeed, tracking in schools exacerbates socioeconomic inequalities, since ability grouping is rooted in stratification (Gamoran, 1987; Oakes, 1985; Oakes, Gamoran, & Page, 1992). These practices further hamper Latino educational attainment.

Advanced placement and honors programs.

Because of under-qualified teachers, low-tracking, and low-income schools that Latinos attend, there is a limited number of advanced placement (AP) courses available to Latino students (Solórzano & Ornelas, 2002; Solórzano & Ornelas, 2004; Gándara & Contreras, 2009). AP courses are very important to the college admission process, as well as academic success once admitted (Adelman, 1999, 2006; Hagedorn & Fogel, 2002). In a study conducted by Solórzano and Ornelas (2004) found that the top 50 AP schools in California had a low enrollment of Latinos. Although Latinos constitute 38 percent of all high school students in

California, they make up only 16 percent of the students in schools who ranked in the top 50 in AP course offerings. In comparison, Asians and Whites represented 13% and 39%, respectively, of all high school students in California yet comprised 29% and 49% of all students enrolled in the top 50 AP high schools (Solórzano & Ornelas, 2004). Solórzano & Ornelas (2004) conclude that even when Latino students attend multiracial schools with other high achieving students and multiple AP offerings, they are still underrepresented in AP courses. They refer to this phenomenon as “schools within schools” (p. 22). The College Board, responsible for administering the AP exam, is well aware of this dilemma. In their most recent report, the College Board (2012) states that underserved students of color and low-SES students are underrepresented in AP courses, which presents a challenge in altering the educational experiences of these students.

Family Backgrounds and Other Pre-College Characteristics

Although corpus work on Latino parents suggests that some Latino parents may have low academic expectations, there is a large body of literature that contradicts previous research in that Latino parents do not have high educational expectations of their children (Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001; Tang, Dearing, & Weiss, 2011; Valencia & Black, 2002). Indeed, Latino parents do have high academic expectations of their children. For example, Gándara and Contreras (2009) claim that Latino parents wish to help their children achieve higher levels of educational attainment, but lack the necessary cultural and social capital to do so. Much of the previous research that indicated Latino parents do not care about their child’s academic performance may stem from the fact that researchers may have only asked the teachers’ perceptions of Latino parental involvement. Recent empirical work has asked Latino parents what are their educational expectations of their children (Gándara &

Contreras, 2009; Tang, Dearing, & Weiss, 2011). Trevino (2004) conducted a case study of five Mexican families and found they had very high academic expectations of their children. For instance, the families expected their children to graduate from high school and obtain a college education. Thus, it is important to understand that Latino families really do value their children's education; they just might not be in the Euro-American traditional sense (Lopez, 2001).

Parental involvement.

Past studies have indicated that one of the most important predictors of a student obtaining a high school diploma and pursuing and persisting in higher education is parental encouragement (Gándara, 1995; Hossler et al, 1999; Inger, 1992; Jun & Colyar, 2002; Kao and Thompson, 2003; Swail & Perna, 2002). Gándara (1995) suggests that higher levels of student academic achievement are positively correlated with parental involvement. Inger (1992) notes, "There is considerable evidence that parent involvement leads to improved student achievement, better school attendance, and reduced dropout rates, and that these improvements occur regardless of the economic, racial, or cultural background of the family" (p. 1). Unfortunately, Gándara (1995) observes that Latino parents do not participate or get involved in their children's education due to their lack of understanding of the U.S. educational system, challenges of communicating with school staff and teachers, inadequate resources to obtain babysitters or the inability to get to school due to a lack of transportation.

Furthermore, not only are Latino parents not involved in the K-12, they are also not involved once their student enters college. For example, Alexander et al., (2007) suggest, "Hispanic students' parents do not understand the higher education system, which intimidates them and discourages them from participating. As a result, Latino parents are unable to guide

their students through the education process” (p. 179). The low-level of parental involvement and the false assumption by school officials that Latino parents are disinterested in their children’s education lead many school officials in developing negative stereotypes of Latino parents (Fuentes, 2006). This leads to further marginalization of parents, who already feel powerless and intimidated by the American educational system. As stated earlier, it not that Latino parents have low expectations of their children, it is that they may not have the resources to help them navigate the U.S. educational system.

Educational capital.

The literature also suggests that not only do teachers have low academic expectations of Latino students (as stated above), some Latino parents, and non-parental adults within Latino student social networks, may not be able to support Latino students (Swail, et al, 2005) due to their lack of cultural and social capital (Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Gibson, Gándara & Koyama, 2004; Stanton-Salazar, 2011). Past studies indicate that parental educational levels have a significant influence on their expectations for their children’s educational attainment (Arbona and Nora, 2007; Horn & Chen, 1998; Swail, et al, 2005; Warburton, Bugarin, & Nunez, 2001). For example, Swail and his colleagues (2005) found that, “Parental encouragement is pivotal in the development of a predisposition for postsecondary study and, eventual occupational attainment. Expectations signal the level of encouragement that parents will provide. Based on our analysis, Latino parents are less likely to have high postsecondary expectations for their children” (p. 10). Horn, Kojaku, and Carroll (2001) also suggest that as there is a positive correlation between parental levels of education and the rigor of course work taken by their offspring. Again, it is not that Latino parents do not have high academic expectations, but a matter of not having the “capital” to exert influence within the educational

system that thwarts the ability of Latino students to interact with various institutional agents and high-achieving peers that may cultivate a “college-going” identity (Stanton-Salazar, 2011).

Family socioeconomic status.

Many Latinos students must deal with the fact that they come from low socioeconomic backgrounds (Garza, 2006; Kurlaender, 2006; Swail et al., 2005). Kurlaender (2006) concludes that “Low-income students face three major inequalities in higher education: they go to college in fewer instances than others; they complete college at lower rates; they attend four-year colleges generally, and selective schools particularly, with substantially less frequency” (p. 2). Horn, Kojaku, and Carroll (2001) suggest that there is a positive correlation between family income and curricula. As income rises, so too does the rigor in the curriculum. Gladieux (2004) adds that college opportunities are extremely unequal due to the fact that low- to moderate-income students are significantly less likely to attend college than students from middle- and upper-income communities. Indeed, coming from low-SES background greatly diminishes college enrollment and completion. As Levine and Nidiffer (1996) succinctly state:

The primary weakness of both colleges for the poor and financial aid programs is their inability to help poor kids escape from the impoverished conditions in which they grow up...The vast majority of poor young people can't even imagine going to college. By the time many poor kids are sixteen or seventeen years old, either they have already dropped out of school or they lag well behind their peers educationally. (p. 159)

Unfortunately, too many Latinos come from poor economic backgrounds that put them at a disadvantage to graduate from high school let alone pursue a collegiate pathway. The low socioeconomic status of many Latino students prevents them from matriculating at four-year

institutions due to their high cost of attending and instead forces them to enroll in low tuition community colleges.

Parental educational background.

Low-income families are usually headed by parents with low levels of educational attainment (Carnevale & Rose, 2004). Since many Latino students come from low socioeconomic backgrounds, it is not surprising that Latino students have parents who are less educated than their White counterparts and other racial groups (Swail et al., 2005). Swail and his colleagues (2005) state, “Latino students were much less likely to have a parent with an earned educational credential – at any level – than White students. In fact, 42 percent of Latino students had parents whose highest level of education was less than a high school diploma compared to 18.2 percent of White students” (p. 9). In their meta-analysis, Kao and Thompson (2003) found that, “Parental education and family income is probably the best predictor of eventual academic outcomes among youth...Hispanics are most disadvantaged in terms of parental education levels” (p. 431). Furthermore, Pascarella and his colleagues (Pascarella, Pierson, Wolniak, & Terenzini, 2004) found that parental education has a strong influence on the college success of students. Alexander et al. (2006) indicate that the majority of Latino parents have very limited collegiate experience and that immigrant Latino parents have less than an eight-grade educational background. The parents’ lack of college-going knowledge hampers first-generation students as they cannot easily approach their parents for college advice. Students naturally gravitate towards their parents for answers regarding various aspects of their lives. This includes asking questions on how they should approach college and learning to navigate their education pathway. Parents who do not understand the educational system cannot adequately inform their children as to which is the correct path to embark on.

Latino high school graduation rates.

Due to the many issues discussed above, Latinos have the lowest high school graduation rates in relation to African Americans, Asians, and Whites (Chapa & Schink, 2006; Ornelas & Solórzano, 2004; Swail et al., 2005). For example, Swail et al. (2005) claim that of all racial groups, Hispanics are the least likely to obtain a high school diploma or GED. Indeed, the latest NCES data indicate that Latino students have a high school completion rate of 64%, while their White and Black peers have 92% and 85% completion rates respectively (NCES, 2012 Table 8). These low high school completion rates result in low levels of college enrollment. Four-year colleges and universities require high school diplomas and either the ACT or SAT for admission consideration. Because community colleges do not have these requirements, most Latinos matriculate at these open-admission institutions.

The Community College

Because the majority of Latino student, whose entire higher education, begin at the community colleges and that the majority of dual enrollment programs are between high schools and community colleges, I will provide a brief review of: 1) what defines a community college, 2) what critics say about them, and 3) the Latino students' experiences within this sector of higher education.

Its critics.

Community colleges are two-year public institutions offering the associate's degree as the highest degree (American Association of Community Colleges). Cohen and Brawer (2003) define community colleges as, "any institution regionally accredited to award the associate in arts or the associate in science as its highest degree" (p. 5). In California, like many other states, community colleges have open admission policies along with a low cost of attendance. Many

were established to serve the community, in which they are located. Currently there are 109 public community colleges in California and 987 nationwide (American Association of Community Colleges). In addition to offering associate degrees, community colleges also offer certificates, vocational training, and transfer programs with articulation agreements with in-state four-year institutions. The low cost and open admission are major reasons why community colleges are the entry point for a large number of minority and low-socioeconomic students. Because they enroll a diverse pool of students, the community colleges have been referred to as “democratic institutions” and “people’s colleges.”

However, there are several critics of community colleges (Brint & Karabel, 1989; Clark, 1960; Dougherty, 1992). For example, Brint and Karabel (1989) criticize community colleges because, "The very fact of attending a two-year rather than a four-year institution lowers the likelihood that a student will obtain a bachelor's degree" (p. 227). Clark (1960) states that for the majority of students at community colleges, who are of low academic ability, the community college is structured to cool them out and divert them to a vocational curriculum. Clark asserts, “While some students of low promise are successful, for large numbers failure is inevitable and *structured*... It requires that many colleges handle the student who intends to complete college and has been allowed to become involved but whose destiny is to fail” (1960, p. 571, italics in original). Dougherty (1992) adds that dismal educational outcomes of students who enter the community colleges, rather than four-year institutions, should not be attributed to simply to their socioeconomic and educational backgrounds. They suggest when they control for similar characteristics, “We find that baccalaureate aspirants entering the community college are still significantly less likely to realize their hopes. This is an *institutional* effect that cannot be explained by differences in student characteristics” (p. 191-192). Indeed, community colleges

lack of success cannot simply be explained by underprepared students, but by their lack of institutional support and services. Lee and Frank (1990) claim that although two-year institutions may purport to increase postsecondary access to academically and socioeconomically disadvantaged students, the reality is that these institutions may perpetuate social inequalities, rather than enhance social mobility.

In addition, there has been a de-emphasis on the transfer function by community colleges (Wassmer, Moore, and Shulock, 2004). As a result, it is estimated that only about 20% to 25% of all community college students transfer to four-year institutions (Bryant, 2001; Cohen and Brawer, 2003). In California, this is a major concern due to the fact that California community colleges are considered to be a springboard to the University of California and California State University systems. As discussed earlier, students who begin at community colleges are less likely to obtain a bachelor's degree than students who begin at four-year institutions (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; Alexander et al., 2007). For example, Dougherty (1992) states:

Community college entrants drop out considerably more frequently than four-year college students. Personal characteristics play a role in this. Dropout rates are highest for students who are nonwhite, low in social class, or of modest academic aptitude, and the community college has more of these students than do four-year colleges. However, even when we control for these differences, we find that community college students still drop out more frequently. (p. 192)

Clearly community colleges play a critical role in American higher education. Proponents say community colleges provide access, while others claim they perpetuate the inequalities in society by stratifying low socioeconomic students in low tier postsecondary institutions. Indeed, it is a combination of both, institutional lack of support and student lack of understanding of the

institution, that lead to abysmal persistence and graduation rates. Students who enter the community college need to develop a mindset that promotes their self-efficacy and confidence to be successful in hierarchical organizations that does not have the all the necessary resources to ensure they are successful. Community colleges need to ensure that incoming students have the proper tools and provide them with the support they need to ensure a smooth transition from high school to college, which promotes persistence and graduation or transfer to a four-year institution.

Latinos and the Community College

Delayed enrollment after high school.

Much of the literature on transitioning from high school to college indicates that delaying enrollment has negative effects on transferring and earning a degree or credential (Adelman, 1999; 2006; Nora & Crisp, 2009; Gladieux; 2004; Ishanti, 2006). For example, Ishanti (2006) concludes that delaying enrollment has a negative impact on first-generation students' degree attainment. Gladieux (2004) asserts that, "Students who go to college directly after high school and attend full time complete their programs in much higher proportions than other students" (p. 22). In addition, returning to college later in life presents several challenges for Latino students. For example, Schlossberg, Lynch, and Chickering (1989) found the majority of adults who returned to college experienced considerable disruption to their lives, amplified if their background characteristics included being a single parent and/or having considerable family responsibilities. In addition, they state that adult learners, who experience the most difficulty in their transition to college, were less likely to utilize campus services. Unfortunately, the literature suggests that Latinos, who attend community college, are more likely to delay college

matriculation after high school graduation than other racial groups (Nora & Crisp, 2009; Ishanti, 2006).

First-generation student status.

Latinos are also more likely to be first-generation college students (Fry, 2002; Gándara, 1995; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Santos & Santos, 2006; Solórzano, Villalpando, & Oseguera, 2005). That is, Latino college students are usually the first in their immediate families to matriculate into a postsecondary institution. This is critical to degree attainment for Latinos as research studies have found that first-generation students are more likely to dropout than second-generation students (Pike & Kuh, 2005). First-generation students lack the knowledge and/or support systems to navigate the college landscape. In addition, first-generation students are more likely to commute to their college (Kuh, Gonyea, & Palmer, 2001), which minimizes their opportunities to get involved in the college environment.

Socioeconomic status.

One of the factors that lead to an overrepresentation of Latinos in community college is socioeconomic status. As stated earlier, Latino students are more likely than their White counterparts to come from low socioeconomic backgrounds (Kurlaender, 2006). Due to their lack of college exposure and understanding, Latinos are also more likely to go to a two-year college compared to African Americans and Whites with similar socioeconomic backgrounds. In addition, middle- and high-socioeconomic Latinos are disproportionately selecting to enroll in community colleges over four-year institutions (Kurlaender, 2006). This suggests that effects of social and economic class on college selection are less of an influence on Latinos than other racial groups (Kurlaender, 2006).

Furthermore, the low- and moderate-socioeconomic status of many Latinos hinders their college graduation rates. Gladieux (2004) concludes that low-socioeconomic students go on to college, persist, and complete their degrees at lower rates than students from middle- and upper-SES families. Furthermore, Gladieux (2004) bluntly states, “A student from the highest socioeconomic quartile and the lowest test score quartile was as likely to have enrolled in college as a student from the lowest socioeconomic quartile and the highest aptitude quartile. Put more informally, the least bright rich kids have as much chance of going to college as the smartest poor kids” (p. 25). These two notions: (1) that the least bright affluent kids having the same collegiate opportunities as intelligent youth from the least affluent communities, and (2) that middle- and high-status Latino youth under-matching their choice in college, paints a dismal picture for low-status Latinos. In other words, less affluent Latinos are the group who is most likely to have collegiate opportunities and under-match their college campus which perpetuates the high matriculation of Latinos in community college.

Part-time enrollment

Latinos – indeed, the majority of all community college students – are more likely to enroll part-time than students at four-year institutions (Driscoll, 2007; Santos & Santos, 2006). Latino students’ reasons for enrolling part-time are usually due to the fact they need to work to help support family. Pascarella and Terenzini (2005) confirm that full-time enrollment yields better academic results over part-time enrollment. Driscoll (2007) states, “Students who took a full course load of transfer-eligible courses (four or more) in their first semester were far more likely to transfer than other students” (p. 2). A study conducted by Feldman (1993) also found that attending part-time increased the likelihood of dropping out of the community college.

Regrettably, not only do they delay college entry, but Latinos enrolled in community college are also more likely to attend part-time (Fry, 2002).

The first semester.

The first semester at the community college is critical for persistence (Driscoll, 2007). For example, Driscoll (2007) suggests, “Those who do well in their first semester classes and who manage to persist in their education and maintain their high aspirations after the first semester are much more likely to transfer than the majority of students who do not.” (p. 2). Driscoll (2007) claims that students who do well in transfer-level courses during their first semester are more likely to persist and transfer to a four-year institution. A single institution study conducted by Tovar and Simon (2006) found that a disproportionately large number of Latinos are on academic probation after their first semester at the community college. The results of their quantitative research study revealed that Latinos represented 39 percent of all students on probation at the community college, even though they only represented 26 percent of the entire student body. This is largely due to the fact that one-third of all students, who receive low grades in their first semester at the community college, dropped out after their initial semester (Driscoll, 2007). Furthermore, research studies have concluded that Latinos are more likely to drop-out of college, if they perceive they cannot achieve academically based on their low grades (Hu & St. Jesus, 2001; Nora & Cabrera, 1996).

Remediation/developmental coursework.

As stated earlier, Latinos are less likely than their White and Asian peers to take AP or have a college preparation curriculum. This results in many Latinos being placed in remedial/developmental courses once they enroll at community colleges (Brown & Niemi, 2007; Melguizo, 2007). Developmental courses are designed to support incoming students who have

subpar academic preparation and need to strengthen their academic skills in order to enable them to be successful once they enroll in college-level courses (Bailey, Jeong, & Cho, 2010, p. 255). Compared to other racial groups, Latinos have a higher percentage taking remedial courses (Sengupta & Jepsen, 2006). The remediation needs of Latino students are due in large part to the inadequate academic preparation received in high school (Melguizo, 2007). Driscoll, using data from the California Community College Chancellor's Office, found that Latinos were the least likely to be eligible for transfer courses during their first semester due to the high percentage of students that are in need of academic remediation. This is troubling as studies have indicated that an increase in remediation also increases dropout rates (Hoyt, 1999) and lowers the probability of obtaining a baccalaureate degree (Parsad, Lewis, & Greene, 2003). Furthermore, Nora and Crisp (2009) found that Latino students, who delayed enrollment, were more likely to be enrolled in developmental courses.

Low transfer rates of Latinos in community college.

Community colleges are marketed as an entry point to higher education and a bridge to four-year colleges and universities (Kahlenberg, 2004), especially for Latinos (Cohen & Brawer, 2003; Santos & Santos, 2006). Unfortunately, Latinos are less likely than other racial/ethnic groups to transfer from a two-year community college to a four-year institution (Leinbach and Bailey, 2006). For example, Kahlenberg (2004) states that only one in ten community college students eventually receive a bachelor's degree. As stated earlier, some scholars have suggested that the focus of community colleges on vocational education actually hinders transfer by cooling students out and diverting them to terminal two-year degrees and certificates (Brint and Karabel, 1989; Clark, 1960; Dougherty, 1994). Chapa and Schink (2006) conclude that there are three reasons why transfer is low for Latino students: First, four-year institutions are not keeping

pace with community college student enrollments and transfer applicants. Second, the level of competition and difficult transfer process is a disadvantage for low-income students, but an advantage for high-status students. Third, “the system works better for students from families with more highly educated parents” (p. 47). Indeed, having a parent or family member, who understands the higher education landscape, can provide the networks and resources to help student navigate the transfer process. A study conducted by Hagedorn and Lester (2006) found that after three years of community college enrollment, less than 9% of the Latinos in the TRUCCS data were transfer ready. In other words, 9% of the students had enough transfer units and fulfilled the Intersegmental General Education Transfer Curriculum (IGETC) program and the minimum GPA, in order to transfer to a University of California or California State University campus. Ornelas and Solórzano (2004) state that, “In the fall of 1999, approximately one-third of first-time Latina/o freshmen entering college began their postsecondary education in California community colleges. It is estimated that out of every 100 Latina/o California public high school graduates, 32 will begin their postsecondary education in a community college and of these, only 3.4 are likely to transfer to a California four-year public institution” (p. 234). Driscoll (2006) adds that only a quarter of all students return for the spring semester and over two-thirds do not re-enroll after one year. Furthermore, those who did return in the spring semester, “only a slight majority still had as their primary educational goal transferring to a four-year college” (p. 5). Indeed, Latinos are less likely to transfer than other racial or ethnic groups.

The community college and Latino literature collectively paint a sober picture regarding the poor academic achievement of the fastest growing minority group – Latinos. Thus, it is critical to examine programs that increase the educational pipeline of Latino students to postsecondary institutions and abate the high dropout rates of Latinos. Given that Latinos are

more likely to be low-tracked and exposed to under-resourced schools results in the community college being the only viable postsecondary option (Rendon, 1992). Thus, community colleges and high schools need to work together to promote college persistence and completion by decoding the college system and demystifying the pathway to the baccalaureate. One such way is by promoting and expanding dual enrollment programs in order to increase the socialization and academic preparation of Latino students in the sector to which they most likely attend after high school.

Dual Enrollment Programs

With a large body of literature painting a dismal educational picture of Latino students and community college outcomes, I now turn to the scant, but growing, body of literature on dual enrollment programs and their outcomes. I will first review the historical development and types of Credit-based transition programs (CBTPs); then focus on dual enrollment programs, which will include what scholars, practitioners, and policy makers say are benefits and concerns; what empirical studies regarding dual enrollment have concluded; and finally, who participates in these programs.

History and types of credit-based transition programs.

Credit-based transition programs, or accelerated programs, have been in existence for decades. There are several recognized types of CBTPs: 1) Advanced Placement, 2) Dual/Concurrent Enrollment, 3) Tech Prep, 4) International Baccalaureate, and 5) Middle/Early College High Schools. These all share the same goal of providing a more rigorous academic program to high school students; however, they differ in how they are delivered (e.g. on a high school campus vs. college campus or exam vs. credit based); who pays for the program (e.g.

state, federal, or non-governmental organization); and who participates in these programs (high achieving vs. low achieving; low-SES vs. middle-SES vs. high-SES).

Advanced placement.

CBTPs have been part of the U.S. educational system for several decades. The first accelerated program was the Advanced Placement (AP) exam, introduced by the College Board in 1959 (Boswell, 2001; Martinez & Klopott, 2005). The College Board's goal with AP was to increase the academic rigor for students in high school in order to prepare them for college. Today, students who participate in the AP program can choose from 35 courses in 20 different subjects, which culminate in an exam at the conclusion of the course. The score ranges from 1 to 5 with colleges usually accepting scores of 3 or better, which allow students to enter with college credit (Martinez & Klopott, 2005). Because these courses are considered to be rigorous college level work, the grades are based on a 5.0 scale. Thus, letter grades of A, B, and C are considered 5.0, 4.0, and 3.0 respectively. These programs have been important in determining the high school class rank (i.e. valedictorian and salutatorian) and the GPA used for college admission.

AP courses have grown in popularity since the competition for college admissions continues to increase. According to the College Board (2012), in 2009, there were almost 3 million AP exams taken that year. Taking AP courses have been shown to be a strong predictor of college persistence and success (Adelman, 1999, 2006). Indeed, Camara (2003) suggests that students, who take one or more AP exams, are more likely than their non-AP exam-taking peers to complete their bachelor's degree program in four years.

International baccalaureate.

International Baccalaureate (IB) is another type of CBTP offered to high school students. This program was first established in Geneva, Switzerland, by the International Baccalaureate

Organization to prepare students of diplomats across the world (Martinez & Klopott, 2005). Because the emphasis is to prepare students for college by providing an academically rigorous program for juniors and seniors in high school, students are expected to take demanding courses in six academic subjects (arts, experimental sciences, individuals and societies, first or native language, a second or foreign language, and mathematics) and one elective (Martinez & Klopott, 2005). There are a small number of high schools that participate in IB programs nationally. For example, during the 2002-2003 academic year, 2% of all U.S. high schools had an IB program, which resulted in only 165,000 of 13,736,000 or 1.2% of all students taking at least one IB course nationally (Kleiner & Lewis, 2005).

Tech prep.

Tech-Prep programs are a third type of CBTP. Unlike the two CBTPs already discussed, Tech-Prep is a federally funded program via the Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Education Act of 1990 (Martinez & Klopott, 2005). Tech Prep programs are designed to increase the college-going rates of participating students by providing clear curriculum alignment between the K-12 and higher education sectors through 2 + 2 articulation agreements between the high schools and community colleges. The curriculum is composed of academic and vocational courses, culminating in a high diploma and associates degree (Martinez & Klopott, 2005). In addition to articulation agreements between the two higher education sectors, students, who participate in this program, can take advantage of various student services in their high school and college campuses to ensure they are receiving the adequate information regarding high school and college completion.

Dual/concurrent enrollment programs at the institutional level.

The first dual/concurrent enrollment program in the country was established by Syracuse University in 1972 – the Syracuse University Project Advance or SUPA (Fincher-Ford, 1997; Gaines & Wilbur, 1985; Kim, Kirby, & Bragg, 2006). The original intent of this program was to provide a more rigorous curriculum to seniors in the Syracuse area (Kim, Kirby, & Bragg, 2006). Middle College High Schools (MCHS) and Early College High Schools (ECHS) are considered dual enrollment programs. In 1982, La Guardia Community College established the first MCHS program for at-risk students. The 1982 agreement between City University of New York (CUNY) community colleges and local city high schools created the College Now program with the purpose of helping at-risk students. Unlike other programs that looked to enroll high achieving students, this was the first program designed to serve underperforming students of color and low-socioeconomic backgrounds. Since 1999, the program has expanded to include all CUNY colleges and now serves over 200 high schools (Karp & Hughes, 2008; Kim, Kirby, & Bragg, 2006). Today, CUNY’s College Now is the largest dual enrollment program in an urban area (Allen & Dadgar, 2012).

Early College High Schools (ECHS) were created with funding from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation in 2002 (Edmunds, 2012). Hoffman (2003) calls these programs “blended” institutions due to the fact that participating students not only get a glimpse of college but “their high school and college experiences are consciously integrated, both intellectually and socially” (p. 47). Krueger (2006) states that ECHS “Integrate high school and college resources to create an accelerated curriculum and allow students to graduate with a high school diploma and an associates’ degree in four or five years, instead of six” (p. 1). Although ECHS is similar to MCHS in terms of providing early exposure to college and a more rigorous curriculum, the

major difference between the two is that ECHS students earn an associate's degree at the conclusion of their program and not simply a few college credits.

Dual/concurrent enrollment programs at the state level.

Since there are no federal requirements for the establishment of these programs, all dual enrollment programs are implemented at the state level. Minnesota's Postsecondary Enrollment Options (PSEO), established in 1985, is considered the first state supported dual enrollment program (Andrews, 2000; Boswell, 2001; Puyear et al., 2001; Nitzke, 2002). PSEO was designed to allow juniors and seniors in high school the opportunity to enroll in college courses and have the courses paid for by the state of Minnesota (Kim, Kirby, & Bragg, 2006). Other states in the region followed after the success achieved by the PSEO program (Boswell, 2001; Clark, 2001). For example, the state of Washington implemented its Running Start program in 1990 with five community colleges (Washington State Board for Community and Technical Colleges, 2011), and the program has grown immensely over time. For example, in 1993, there were a total of 1,494 FTES, growing 12,689 FTES from 2010-2011. A recent Running Start annual progress report by the State of Washington asserts that the program has reduced the time spent in school and the overall costs to students by \$39,800,000 and to tax payers by \$51,800,000 for a total savings of \$90,600,000 (Washington State Board for Community and Technical Colleges, 2011). Furthermore, a study conducted by Andrews (2004) suggests that Running Start participants have positive outcomes such as having higher GPAs and graduations rates compared to non-participants.

Benefits of participation in dual enrollment programs

Many researchers, policy makers, and administrators, who are familiar with dual enrollment, suggest that there is a plethora of benefits derived by participating in these programs

(Bailey, Hughes & Karp, 2002; Blanco, Prescott & Taylor, 2007; Boswell, 2001; Clark, 2001; Conklin, 2005; Coplin, 2005; Hoffman, 2005; Karp, Calcagno, Hughes, Jeong, & Bailey, 2007; Johnstone & Del Genio, 2001; Kirst & Venezia, 2001). First, many believe that these programs facilitate student transition from high school to college by exposing them early to college. For example, dual enrollment students, who take classes on the college campus, have to go through the matriculation process as other college students and obtain a college ID, which allows them to use all college facilities such as the library and gymnasium. They are able to socialize with college students, which enables them to learn about the college social and academic experience. Therefore, dual enrollment programs provide an anticipatory socialization, demystifying the college going process (Karp, 2012). For example, first-generation students, who do not have family members who attended college, become aware of the organizational norms, attitudes, and behaviors of the college. Students become aware of student clubs and organizations, job opportunities on campus, academic expectations, what a syllabus is, and how to navigate the collegiate social and academic landscape. Second, participants are exposed to higher academic standards that many low-income and students of color would not be exposed to otherwise. As stated earlier, students of color and low-SES students attend highly segregated K-12 schools that lack academic resources with under-qualified teachers. In addition, students are taught by college instructors who hold a master's degree in the relevant subject. Third, the increase in academic rigor while in high school minimizes the need for remediation for entering community college students including Latinos. As previous studies have shown, individuals who take remediation are less likely to persist and complete their degree compared to those, who do not. Fourth, studies have shown that students who participate in dual enrollment demonstrate higher academic and social motivation. Fifth, because they are taking college courses while still in high

school, they earn both (in most cases) college and high school credit. This enables students to complete their college degree faster. This lowers the cost of attendance and overall cost to the student. Finally, in addition to earning college credit, high school students do not have to pay for enrolling in college courses. This dramatically lowers the cost of higher education for families, since students can complete a full year of college at no cost to the students and their families, which minimizes the immense financial burden.

Concerns and issues regarding dual enrollment

There are several concerns regarding the implementation and use of dual enrollment programs (Andrews, 2001; Boswell, 2001; Clark, 2001; Johnstone & Del Genio, 2001; Krueger, 2006; Lerner & Brand, 2006). First, there is the issue of the double-dipping of taxpayer monies (Boswell, 2001). Since taxpayers pay for the FTE for the students' enrollment in both sectors, high school and college, some policymakers are concerned about the double cost for one course. For example, if a student takes an English course at the community college, tax dollars go to both the student's high school and community college. If the student did not participate in dual enrollment, only the high school, where the student is enrolled, would receive the funds. Second, there are those who have concerns regarding the academic rigor of these programs. For example, how rigorous can these programs really be with high school students? Indeed, some believe that having high school students in college classes "dumbs down" the courses. Some ask how "collegiate" are the courses that are located on high school campuses, taught by high school teachers, and composed entirely of high school students? Third, many four-year institutions do not recognize courses taken at community college by high school students. Therefore, students who had hoped that they would earn college credit towards a four-year institution program, are dismayed to find out they have to repeat a course at a four-year institution. Finally, there are

those who are concerned about the lack of rigorous statistical analysis as to whether or not these programs really achieve what supporters claim they do (Speroni, 2011). For example, after conducting an extensive review of all articles on dual enrollment, Karp and Hughes (2008) conclude that, “there are few studies that examine, in a statistically rigorous way, the relationship between dual enrollment participation and subsequent postsecondary outcomes” (p. 16).

Literature reviews regarding dual enrollment programs

Krueger (2006) conducted an extensive review of the growing body of literature on dual enrollment programs. In addition, the author provided more information as to what the differences are among: dual enrollment programs, middle college high schools, and early college high schools. The author then proceeded to discuss some of the benefits and controversies of dual enrollment programs as described by the literature, and he provided examples as to how some states have improved high school graduation and college enrollment rates. Krueger states that there are controversies regarding high school students attending college class, which include the diluting the quality of instruction and limiting access to low-income and low-achieving students to those college courses. The author then provides data on the growth of these programs from the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES). For example, according to NCES, 70% of all high schools nationwide offered courses for dual credit. The majority of these classes were academically focused. In addition, the author suggests that 6% of all students nationwide participate in dual enrollment programs.

Bailey, Hughes, and Karp (2003) conducted a literature review on dual enrollment programs across the country. The authors begin their literature with a discussion of the added benefits of attending college and discuss the difficulties many students have in transitioning to college after high school. After reviewing the large body of literature on the benefits of college attendance

and difficulties of persistence in college, the authors review the historical developments and differences among dual enrollment programs. They suggest that these programs differ in cost, location, course content, instruction, type of instructors, and student participation. Finally, the authors discuss two particular models: the College Now program in Brooklyn and the Youth Options in Wisconsin. The authors conclude that students who participate in these programs benefit from their participation.

Qualitative studies regarding dual enrollment programs

The majority of the studies on dual enrollment have been qualitative (Karp & Hughes, 2008). Many of these qualitative studies have indicated that overall participation has positive effects (Medvide and Blustein, 2010; Karp, 2012; Karp and Hughes, 2008b). For example, a qualitative study on low-income high school students who participated in a dual enrollment program, conducted by Medvide and Blustein (2010), found that 11 of the 12 participants in their interviews indicated that they planned to attend a four-year institution. Six intended to go on to some form of graduate school, and five hoped to earn a doctorate. Furthermore, seven of the 12 students indicated that their dual enrollment experience influenced their career choice, while four stated that participating in math and science courses within dual enrollment influenced their desire to major in engineering or medicine after high school. Overall, the 12 low-income minority students in this study indicated that their experiences were positive. For example, Medvide and Blustein (2010) state:

A theme among these responses was a burgeoning sense of confidence and optimism about the college after completing classes in dual enrollment program based on the development of tangible skills related to time management or organization. Participants also stated that exposure to a college atmosphere helped them to develop a better sense of

the expectations of professors in postsecondary education, including a belief held by two participants that responsible students are the one who succeed academically. (p. 547)

This is significant because there is literature on the locus of control suggests that low-income minority youth believe that they are destined to fail, which inevitably becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Another study by Karp and Hughes (2008b) examined the impact of four types of CBTPs (i.e. middle college high school, dual enrollment, international baccalaureate, and Tech Prep) in five states to develop a conceptual model that could be used to evaluate the outcomes of these programs, with a particular emphasis on middle- and low-achieving students. Sites were selected according to their program's history of providing access to middle- and low-achieving students to their CBTP. They completed 118 interviews with students, faculty, and staff and conducted 61 observations of various student services, classes, and professional development activities. The authors state, "Students have opportunities to gain academic skills, feelings of success and motivation, and learn social and procedural skills at multiple points in their CBTP experiences, and this learning may influence their future programs experiences and ultimate program outcomes" (p. 859). They concluded that these programs do encourage middle and low performing students to enroll in a postsecondary institution after high school.

In order to better understand the perceptions of dual enrollment participants, Lewis (2009) conducted a qualitative study at a single institution. Her guiding questions were 1) What are the initial experiences of dual enrollment students?; 2) How does the dual enrollment experience impact the decision of high schools graduates to attend college?; and 3) What comparisons can previous dual enrollment students make between the college experience they had in high school and the subsequent college experience as a full-time college student? A total

of 21 students participated in this study – 18 females and 3 males; 14 Whites, 3 Blacks, 1 Asian, 1 Hispanic, and 2 multiracial students. The author found that most participants found the college and high school work similar in rigor and had positive experiences in the program. Some students stated that they were more vocal in class once they were full-time students compared to when they were simply dual enrollment students. In terms of how it impacted their decision to attend college, most had already planned to go to a postsecondary institution. Thus, respondents stated that dual enrollment did not really play a major role in their decision to pursue higher education. Finally, students stated that the university professors were more rigorous than their high school teachers and community college instructors, who taught the dual enrollment courses. This represented a significant change from their previous educational experience for the students.

Wilson (2009) conducted a qualitative study in the city of Philadelphia, in order to better understand the experiences of low-income and urban students of color participating in a dual enrollment program. Using human, cultural, and social capital, as well as psychosocial student development theory, the author specifically sought to address the following research questions: 1) What were the experiences of these students?; 2) if participants had different experiences based on the high school attended?; and 3) What were the perceptions that the faculty and administrators regarding the students' experience? With a sample size of 41 (28 students and 12 faculty and staff participants), the author conducted in-depth one-on-one interviews during the 2007-2008 academic year. The author also obtained academic records, student essays, and questionnaires completed at the end of the year. Academic records included transcript information to understand each student's course taking patterns, types of classes taken in high school (AP classes), and how they performed (GPA). The end-of-the-year questionnaire asked students to gauge their perceived gains from their dual enrollment program experience and the

program's strengths and weaknesses. In answering the first research question, the participants stated the experience helped them academically by allowing them to improve their time management and reading/writing skills. For example, 15 students stated they would procrastinate in high school, but once in college they could not wait until the last minute to complete their work. Furthermore, the students understood the importance of asking for help while in college. Another theme that students discussed was how different course material was taught in college as opposed to high school. For example, the students indicated how they enjoyed the lecture style of college, while high school was more work-oriented. A concern students had initially was a lack of sense of belonging. For example, dual enrollment students felt like high school students taking college classes, not college students. However, the lack of belonging abated overtime as the academic year progressed. In answering her second question, students from different high schools had different experiences. For example, the magnet high school students had a better experience than those who attended large urban public schools. Students in the urban magnet schools experienced greater academic support from both their high school and Lewis University. Overall, low-income and marginalized students benefited both academically and socially from their participation in dual enrollment.

Schefers (2012) examined the role of dual enrollment programs in one state by utilizing a multiple case study approach at two community colleges, one university and five high schools for a total number of 32 interviewees. Faculty and staff at eight public institutions participated in this study in order to understand the relationship between the two sections of education – K-12 and higher education – that collaborate in delivering these programs. The author found that when colleges and high schools work together to develop a dual enrollment curriculum, along with strong leadership in both sectors, dual enrollment programs can serve a wider range of

students than those students who have traditionally pursued a postsecondary pathway. However, it did not look at educational outcomes of student participants as it focused primarily on the collaboration between the two sectors of education.

Karp (2012) utilized anticipatory socialization and role rehearsal theoretical frameworks to understand the socialization process high school students participating in dual enrollment programs experience. The framework suggests that, “By ‘trying on’ the role of a college student, dual enrollees benefit from early exposure and practice, coming to feel comfortable in a college environment and ultimately becoming successful once they matriculate” (p. 23). Karp (2012) used qualitative research methodology to answer her research questions. The author interviewed twenty-six dual enrollment students over the course of one semester. Data was collected through a series of semi-structured one-on-one interviews. The results indicate that students learned early on that college students must take responsibility for their own learning. The author states that students ended the semester knowing more about what it takes to be college students, than when they first started. Karp concludes that role rehearsal and anticipatory socialization indeed helped high school students better understand the role of college students on campus and the faculty’s expectations.

Quantitative studies regarding dual enrollment programs.

There are a growing number of empirical studies utilizing advanced statistical analysis on state and national data sets. Karp and Hughes (2008a) conducted a quantitative study that examined the impact of dual enrollment programs in New York City and the state of Florida. After concluding that there were no studies utilizing advanced statistical analysis, the authors used advanced statistical research tools and two large data sets to answer the following questions: (1) What are the short-term effects of participation in a dual enrollment program for

career and technical education (CTE) students as measured by high school graduation and college enrollment rates?; (2) What are the effects of participation in a dual enrollment program on CTE students' initial entry into postsecondary education, such as first-semester grade point average and persistence to the second semester?; (3) What are the long-term effects of participation in dual enrollment for CTE students, as measured by their persistence into the second year of postsecondary education, grade point average, and credit accumulation?; and (4) Does the program effect vary by high school achievement, gender or socioeconomic status? The results indicated that there were consistent positive outcomes for students enrolled in dual enrollment programs. For example, the students enrolled in dual enrollment programs in Florida were significantly more likely to graduate from high school and enroll in a postsecondary institution than their non-participating peers.

Welsh, Brake, and Choi (2005) examined dual credit participation in the state of Kentucky to evaluate how this program increased attendance and diversity in the state's community colleges. The population of this study consisted of all high school students from Kentucky enrolled in dual credit courses at a Kentucky community college system during the fall 2000 and 2001 for a total sample size of 548. The authors disaggregated by race (White, Black, and Other Ethnic); gender; residence (urban or rural); and socioeconomic status, when conducting their analysis. The authors found that the majority of participating students were female (56%) and White (93%). A correlation matrix and a one-way chi-square test indicated there was a growth in dual-credit course taking from Fall 2000 to Fall 2001. In addition, dual credit programs have led to an increase in diversity at the community college in terms of gender, race, and low socioeconomic status. A multivariate multiple regression analysis also concluded that high school academic performance (based on high school GPA) was the most important in

explaining participation and success in dual credit courses. Finally, Black and low-SES students also made gains from Fall 2000 to Fall 2001 in terms of participation in dual credit participation.

Smith (2007) conducted a quantitative study at a single community college campus to better understand the relationship between educational aspirations and dual enrollment participation. Participants (n = 243) of the study were: 59% female and 40% male, 93% White, 19% with parents having a high school diploma, and 18% having at least one parent had a bachelor's degree. In order to examine whether (1) there is a relationship between dual-credit enrollment and higher levels of educational aspirations and (2) if students, who participate in dual enrollment on college campuses, have greater levels of educational aspirations than their peers, who participate in DE programs on high school campuses, the author utilized multiple regression analysis. Results indicate that there was a positive and significant relationship between the educational aspiration and dual-enrollment. Furthermore, Smith found that students, who participated in a dual enrollment program that held classes on a college campus, had higher educational aspirations than those, who attended a dual enrollment program based on a high school campus. For example, participation in a dual enrollment program was a stronger predictor of educational aspirations, than parental education and GPA. However, the author did not disaggregate by race or gender.

Dodge (2012) examined the impact of one dual enrollment program located at Indiana University of Pennsylvania (IUP) serving rural Pennsylvania students. Utilizing descriptive statistics, the author found that 96.2% of IUP dual enrollment participants passed their college courses, which was higher than the dual enrollment state average of 91%. Using t-tests to compare gender academic performance, Dodge found that there was no statistical significance between male and female students in terms of GPA distribution. The average GPAs for both

groups were 3.4 for a B+ average. Finally, the author used a chi-square analysis to investigate the difference in course taking patterns. It was found that females were more likely to take English, math, and science courses than their male counterparts; while males were more likely to take computer literacy based courses. These course-taking patterns are important as the literature suggests that math and English are critical for future college enrollment and persistence (Adelman, 1999, 2006). Although the author disaggregated by gender, she did not disaggregate by race or social class.

Using more advanced statistical analysis, Speroni (2011) utilized regression discontinuity analysis to better understand the effect of dual enrollment on participants in the state of Florida. The three outcomes of interest were: did the student (1) graduate from high school?; (2) enroll in a postsecondary institutions (2- or 4-year)?; and, (3), contingent on enrolling in higher education, obtain an associate's or bachelor's degree? Unlike most previous studies that utilized transcript data, this was a longitudinal study that tracked Florida students from high school to college. Students were tracked from 2001 to 2007, which is the traditional federal timeline definition for graduation rates. The author compared students who barely qualified to participate in Florida's dual enrollment program (3.0 high school GPA and demonstrated a minimum proficiency on the placement exam for college algebra). Overall, results indicated that there was no evidence that participation had an effect on the three outcomes for students who were on the margins – those, who were barely admitted and entered the dual enrollment program, to those who barely failed to participate. However, students who took algebra within dual enrollment were more likely than their non-participant peers to go on to college and earn a college degree.

Swanson (2008) utilized data from the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 (NELS:88); a nationally representative dataset from the National Center for Educational

Statistics' (NCES) Institute for Educational Statistics (IES); and the Postsecondary Educational Transcript Study (PETS:2000) to explore the impact of dual enrollment students in the state of Iowa. Using Tinto's well-known conceptual model of student attrition and Merton's theory of anticipatory socialization in guiding the study, the author concluded that students who participated in dual enrollment programs, were more likely to enroll in college immediately after high school persist to their second year of college, and earn a bachelor's degree, than non-participants.

Like Swanson (2008), An (2009) utilized the NELS:88 national dataset to examine the impact of dual enrollment students. However, An used multinomial logit regression as the statistical techniques to analyze program allocation patterns (using regular high school courses as a reference category) and endogenous switching regression and propensity score matching (using probit models to estimate) to adjust for participant self-selection as DE participation is non-random. By utilizing propensity score matching (PSM), An was able to adjust for the self-selection of students in DE programs. Furthermore, instead of comparing dual enrollment participants to dual enrollment non-participants, he used Advance Placement students as a control group for comparison purposes. Moreover, An found that participation in dual enrollment has a positive impact by decreasing the need for remediation by 27% and increasing the number of credits earned and earning a college degree by 9%. For example, An looked at "the potential benefit dual enrollment would provide were a college-bound student with a traditional high school history, instead, participated in dual enrollment" and "How dual enrollment fares compared to AP programs" (p. 110). He concluded that students who participate do better academically than non-participants by obtaining higher GPAs (C+ vs B-) and were less likely to require remediation. However, An found that although dual enrollment

reduced the need for remediation, it did not eliminate the need for it. As for how AP and dual enrollment participants compared, An found that AP students perform better than their DE peers in college.

An also found that DE benefits both low- and high-SES student participants. He states, “I find that low-income students who participated in dual enrollment earn more college credits than similar students who did not participate in dual enrollment” (p. 141). An found that although dual enrollment does not reduce time to degree for low-income students, it does increase the chances that students will persist and complete their college degree. Furthermore, the author found that high-SES families participate in DE to perpetuate their academic achievement advantage and benefit the most from participating in DE programs. His analysis found that socioeconomic class differences accounted for a small portion of the SES gap in college outcomes. Another finding indicated that students from affluent schools are more likely to enroll in exam-based credit programs such as AP or IB over DE programs, which indicates that there is a prestige hierarchy among CBTPs in terms. That is, families and students from affluent communities prefer to participate in AP over dual enrollment. This study focused on SES and what factors influenced participation in dual enrollment, not necessarily on racial and gender participation of students. However, An found that Whites were outperformed by their Asian American peers in CBTPs, and that Asian Americans and Latino students preferred to participate in exam-based transition programs (AP) over dual enrollment programs. In addition, An found that women are more likely to participate in dual enrollment programs than their male counterparts, which validates previous literature.

A recent study by Allen and Dadgar (2012) evaluated the well-known CUNY program, College Now, to understand its impact on student participants. The sample (n = 22,962)

consisted of first-time freshmen students, who enrolled in any of the 17 CUNY campuses in the Fall of 2009, with a year-and-half of graduating from a New York City public high school. They obtained demographic data on each student from the NYC Department of Education and merged it with College Now/CUNY data to create a dataset rich with information regarding academic and background characteristics. After conducting simple descriptive information, general regression models, and difference-in-difference (DID) approach (a type of quasi-experimental analysis), they concluded that participating in dual enrollment (College Now) resulted in reduced time to degree and higher GPAs once enrolled in college after high school. This study confirms previous studies, both quantitative and qualitative, that participation in dual enrollment has a positive impact on academic achievement. However, this study did not look at any particular racial or social origins group as it looked at all students. Thus, like much of the previous literature, it failed to disaggregate by race, gender, and social origins.

Mixed method studies regarding dual enrollment programs

There are only two-mixed method studies on dual enrollment programs to my knowledge. Bragg and Rudd (2007) begin with review of the literature on vocational and technical education in the United States. They stated that although there is a long history of vocational education, the CTE is a relatively new concept in higher education. They continue by saying that half of all students begin their postsecondary education at a community college. Thus, they suggest that these programs are important to the United States for workforce training. The purpose of this study was to examine student matriculation to two community colleges. The study consisted of a mixed method research design. Results indicated that CTE students scored significantly higher than non-CTE students on the reading section of the ACT test. In addition, CTE students were more likely to be college ready than students who did not participate in the CTE.

Most recently, Blake (2011) utilized a qualitative and quantitative approach to understand how dual enrollment participation helped transition Latino and Black males to community colleges. Study took place at a single urban community college in Southern California. There were a total of 12 participants for the qualitative component and 59 (25 Black and 34 Latino) students for the quantitative approach. A chi-square was used to compare Latino males to Black males in terms of retention and persistence; while a t-test was used to compare the GPAs of both groups. Guided by the conceptual models of college choice, social learning, and social capital, Blake found that Latinos persisted at slightly higher rates than African Americans – 71.8% vs 68.4% respectively. The author also found that there was no statistical difference in terms of GPAs between the two groups of males. Qualitative results indicate that students felt they were treated like adults while participating in dual enrollment. In addition, the program featured African and Latino male speakers who were successful professionals. Participants in the study suggested this was inspirational and motivational. In addition, participants found the college campus as positive and supportive. Finally, students felt a sense of validation as students at the closing award ceremony. Overall, the author suggests that participation in the dual enrollment program was a positive experience for these male students of color. However, the sample size was too small and local context does not allow for generalizations.

Who Participates in these Programs?

As mentioned above, the first dual enrollment program was created to serve high achieving students by providing more rigorous courses on a college campus (Boswell, 2001; Gaines & Wilbur, 1985). However, dual enrollment programs have expanded to include middle and underperforming students (Clark, 2001), which created immense growth throughout the 1990s (Andrews, 2001). Indeed, by 2005, all fifty states had some form of a dual enrollment program

(Bragg, Kim, & Rubin, 2005). However, the majority of students who participate in these programs nationally are predominantly White (80%) and middle-class (Kleiner & Lewis, 2005), while African Americans are still underrepresented in these programs (Museus, Lutovsky, & Colbeck, 2007). Kleiner and Lewis' (2005) study revealed that only 5% of all students, who participated in dual enrollment during the 2002-2003 academic year, were at-risk students. An (2009) concluded that female students were more likely to earn dual credit, than their male counterparts. The state of Washington's Running Start annual report indicates that, of all the participants in their dual enrollment program, 60% were female and 24% were students of color. A recent Institute of Educational Studies on Florida's dual enrollment participants also indicated that the majority of students were women and White (Estacion et al., 2011). In particular, they state that Hispanics and low-SES students were less likely to participate in dual enrollment than AP or IB courses. Speroni (2011) states, "DE students are more likely to be female, White, native English speakers, and from economically advantaged households...than non-DE students" (p. 12). Clearly, the vast majority of students, who participate in these programs, are comprised of students who represent the largest college-going population to begin with – White, middle-class, and female.

Chapter Three: Methodology

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Research Design

The purpose of this study was to explore social and educational factors that may contribute to the social and academic socialization and experiences of at-risk Latino high school students who participated in dual enrollment at community college. Specifically, I sought to examine the impact that dual enrollment had on first-generation Latino male community college students through their anticipatory and eventual socialization (academic and social) into the community college environment. To examine this topic, I conducted a qualitative study utilizing a narrative approach. “Narrative is understood as a spoken or written text giving an account of an event/action or series of events/actions, chronologically connected” (Czarniawska, 2004, p. 18). Narrative research originates from various academic disciplines (Chase, 2005; Creswell, 2007). Chase (2005) states that scholars can use narrative research approach for paradigmatic reasons. Creswell (2007) suggests that these paradigmatic reasons include, “How individuals are enabled and constrained by social resources, socially situated in interactive performances, and how narrators developed interpretations” of those social interactions (p. 55). Miles and Huberman (1994) define a case as, “a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context”. The case is, “in effect, your unit of analysis” (p. 25). The unit of analysis, I have chosen to study are Latino male students who participated in dual enrollment programs, so that I may understand the impact these programs have on Latino males who are first-generation college students. The primary method of data collection was semi-structured interviews, supplemented with a questionnaire to obtain demographic information regarding family and personal background information.

My research study design attempted to answer the following research questions:

Primary Research Question:

- *How does dual enrollment influence the social and academic socialization of working-class, first-generation, low- to middle-academic achieving Latino males to matriculate and facilitate the transition from high school to the community colleges?*

The secondary questions are:

- *What role did institutional agents have on the socialization (academic and social) and decoding of the community college system for these Latino males?*
- *Who or what motivated these students to participate in dual enrollment?*
- *When and why did these Latino males develop a college student identity?*

I selected to interview current community college students rather than those who started at a four-year institution because I want to better understand how dual enrollment participation influenced their decision to enroll at the community college and how it has helped them, if at all, navigate the social and academic community college environment post-high school. Another rationale for selecting community college students rather than those who started at four-year institutions is due to the fact that the majority of Latinos initially embark their postsecondary path at the community college.

Protection of Human Subjects

To ensure with compliance with the institution's research policy, I applied for approval to conduct my study from Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Claremont Graduate University in June 2013. On July 26, 2013, I received an email from a representative of the IRB office informing me that my research study was approved under expedited review. I submitted three amendments to IRB, which were also approved by IRB. In the first amendment, I made minor

changes to the consent form. The second amendment was due to a minor change to my interview protocol. The third and final amendment was for the inclusion of a second campus.

There were minimal risks associated with this study such as asking the participant to talk about his family and academics, which could make them feel uncomfortable. This study required one hour of their time, which may have been an inconvenience. The questions in my interview protocol were not intended to elicit any emotions; however, I realize that discussing issue relating to family and being raised in working-class communities surrounded by gangs might elicit emotional responses or reactions. In addition, I asked questions regarding academic performance, which may have elicited embarrassing emotions. A few of my students got emotional when they recalled personal issues related to drugs and gang violence.

I ensured that all my participants read the consent form and I made them aware of potential risks for their participation. After they read the consent form, I provided them an overview of my study and asked them if they had any questions. In addition, I informed them that if there were any questions they did not want to answer I would skip them and that we could end the interview at any time. The consent form included contact information for me, my faculty advisor/dissertation chair, and Claremont Graduate University's Office of Research and Sponsored Programs.

Because I conducted interviews, I needed to link the participants' questionnaire responses to their interviews, which prohibited me from promising anonymity to the participants. However, I did assure them that I would keep their identities confidential through the use of pseudonyms instead of their actual names. I used pseudonyms in file names and throughout this dissertation, and will for any future publications or presentations that may result from this study. I created a master list of actual names and their given pseudonym for my reference in a password

required computer and kept a printed copy in a locked file cabinet at Claremont Graduate University. At the conclusion of the dissertation, the printed interview transcriptions and any documents with identifying information will be kept in a locked file cabinet for the protection of the participants for seven years.

Instrumentation

I developed a questionnaire and an interview protocol for this study. The questionnaire (see Appendix 1) collected personal information (ethnic background, age, U.S. generational status, parents place of birth, parental educational levels, parents' occupations, and family income) and academic information (how long they have been at the community college, high school and college GPA), and background information on each of the 26 participants in my study. The purpose of the questionnaire was to easily capture information regarding students' background information for which I could review prior to the interview so that I may delve in deeper at the time of the interview.

For the interviews, I developed a protocol (see Appendix 2) that contained a short introduction of the study and thanking them for their participation. The interview questions were developed with guidance from the literature on dual enrollment and the concepts and theoretical frameworks used in this study. The interviews were semi-structured to allow me to explore in more detail certain aspects of what the students were saying in the interviews. Thus, I sought the flexibility to allow the conversation to naturally unfold.

Site Selection

Center Community College and Villa Community College were selected based on the following criteria: 1) They offer a dual enrollment program that enrolls a large number of low- and middle-performing students, 2) serve a large Latino population, and 3) campuses are located

in an urban section of a large metropolitan area. Villa Community College is located in a more affluent section of the region but still maintains a very diverse socioeconomic student body. The college district, for which Center Community College is a member of, is committed to serving their community by offering dual enrollment programs, which has developed a culture of collaboration with the local K-12 school districts. Furthermore, Center Community College and Villa Community College campuses provide service to a large Latino population, enabling me to examine the influence of this program on Latino students. Finally, because the communities in which these two campuses are located are socially and racially diverse, they provide a diverse mix of program and interaction opportunities for students who participated in dual enrollment.

Recruitment

I solicited participation via email addresses provided by Center Community College and Villa Community College. Both colleges keep track of dual enrollment participants by assigning them a college identification number that remains with the students beyond their graduation from high school and provides them with a college email address. Thus, the student ID and email addresses did not change post-high school. Participants were compensated \$10 per interview in the fall 2013 semester and \$20 in the spring 2014 semester as an incentive to participate in the study.

Sample

The study consisted of a purposive sample of 26 participants ($N = 26$) who are first-generation, low- to middle-academic performing in high school, Latino male community college students who participated in any dual enrollment program while in high school. I define low- to middle-academic performing students as those who had less than a 3.0 GPA in high school. For the purposes of comparing high performing with low/middle performing students, I included six

high performing Latino males who met all other criteria (i.e., first-generation college student, working-class, Latino males) to see if their experiences mirrored or differed from my target group. The institutional research offices at Center Community College and Villa Community College sent an email invitation to all Latino male students who participated in the dual enrollment programs to participate in my study with an email script I developed (see Appendix 4). Selection of participants was based on their status as currently enrolled students at the community college who participated in dual enrollment. Like many other community colleges in California, both Center Community College and Villa Community College have a concurrent enrollment program that allows any student from high school to participate. Each campus sent several emails to solicit participation. I followed up with students who contacted me indicating their interest in participating in my study to set up a date and time to meet. Once both parties agreed upon the date and time, we then agreed upon a location for interviews to take place on their campus. All interviews had to be conducted face-to-face as I was paying the students to participate \$10 in the fall semester and \$20 the spring semester.

Instrument/Researcher's Background

In qualitative studies, the researcher is the instrument. I ensured that I did not “go native” and lose my objectivity as a researcher. As a researcher conducting a qualitative study, I understand my biases in researching this population. As a Latino male who attended a community college and participated in a dual enrollment program, I realize that I may bring certain views and beliefs of how academic and social integration into a community college should be conducted. Thus, I was aware of my biases as I collected, analyzed, and interpreted the data.

How the Background of the Researcher Will Affect the Interaction

Due to the fact that I am a Latino male and a former community college student who also participated in a dual enrollment program, I was able to establish a good rapport with all of the participants. A good rapport enabled me to delve deep into their actual feelings regarding their experiences in the dual enrollment program and the impact it had on their academic and social integration to the community college. All students were candid and eager to share their personal experiences with me.

Procedures

The methods I used to collect data included a one-on-one semi-structured interview. The use of semi-structured interviews ensured that the main questions are the same for all informants in the study so that I could code the data during the analysis phase of the study. I meet with every participant once and each one-on-one interview lasted between 30 minutes to 1 hour.

All interviews took place at each participant's home institution to enable students to feel comfortable during the interview. I took detailed notes and audio recorded all one-on-one interview sessions, which enabled me to transcribe all sessions in order to accurately analyze the data at later date. In addition, students were asked to complete a questionnaire prior to the interview. These questions consisted of several closed-ended and open-ended questions, and a demographic section (Appendix 1 and 2).

Data Analysis

I uploaded all questionnaire surveys to Microsoft Excel for analysis to produce descriptive statistics. These statistics included average age, average level of parental education, family income, and years spent at their college. For the interview section, I contracted a professional transcriptionist to transcribe all audio recording of the interviews. Upon receiving

transcriptions, I reviewed transcriptions by listening to audio recordings to ensure accuracy and made corrections when necessary.

Once I made all necessary corrections to transcriptions, I then proceeded to upload raw data transcriptions to the qualitative analysis software NVivo. The interview data were analyzed by coding the themes that emerge from the transcriptions utilizing Patton's (1990) approach to inductive data analysis. I thematically coded the transcriptions and organized the findings using the NVivo software (Bazeley, 2007). I reviewed the transcriptions and field notes often to familiarize myself with the data in order to see the emerging patterns and themes. In addition, written observations will also be included in the data analysis to provide a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) of the facilities, staff, and resources available that students utilize. To establish validity, I coded the data, and the preliminary results were shared with the study participants as a form of member checking (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Indeed, by including several students, it allowed for a variety of perspectives, which provides additional triangulation of information to reduce biased opinions (Patton, 1990).

How I Ensured That The Data is Trustworthy

I triangulated the data to ensure trustworthiness by having more than one subject as a data source (Mathison, 1988). I conducted individual one-on-one interviews and allowed for member-checking by sending out copies of the transcriptions and themes of the data to confirm accuracy. Sandra Mathison (1988) states, "Data triangulation refers simply to using several data sources, the obvious example being the inclusion of more than one individual as a source of data" (p. 14). Lincoln and Guba (2000) write that collecting data from various sources, such as interviews from different perspectives, strengthens trustworthiness. Thus, hearing from several students will increase the overall trustworthiness and generalizability of the findings.

Limitations

There are several limitations to this study. First, the sample comes from a major metropolitan city. These findings may not be applicable to smaller communities. Second, this study only focuses on Latino male students. Thus, the findings of this study may not be generalizable for other racial/ethnic groups or women. I was not able to verify students' high school or college GPAs. Therefore, I relied on students' memory to recall their GPAs.

Section IV: Summary

In this study, I intend to examine the experiences and impact of dual enrollment on first-generation, low- to middle-performing Latino male students' college matriculation and persistence and how dual enrollment may have influenced their college student identity. Using anticipatory socialization and role rehearsal along with Stanton-Salazar's socialization and funds of knowledge framework to guide this study will allow me to use multiple lenses that take into account middle- and low-performing student to better understand how these programs impact Latino students. By conducting a qualitative study, I will be able to add to the scant, but growing, body of literature on dual enrollment. It is my hope the results can inform policy that results in increase access of Latino students in higher education.

The following chapters include results and discussion. Chapter four focuses on the participants' background information, the presentation of interview data obtained during the interview phase of the study to answer the four research questions regarding how dual enrollment influences the social and academic socialization of working-class, first-generation, low- to middle-academic achieving Latino males and encourage matriculation, facilitate the transition from high school to college, and promote persistence.

Chapter Four

Results

As stated in chapter three, the aim of this study was to examine the impact that dual enrollment had on first-generation Latino male students on their socialization into the college environment. Specifically, this study aims to utilize anticipatory socialization and role-rehearsal and how it promoted the development of social capital and obtaining funds of knowledge. Research question 1 and 4 explore how and why these Latino male students elected to participate in dual enrollment and when they developed a college student identity.

Descriptive Profile of Participants

Before presenting the results, I will first profile each individual participant in my study. One of the advantages of utilizing a qualitative research approach is the inclusion of the narrative of individuals who have traditionally been excluded. Thus, I attempt to add a voice to the voiceless. Furthermore, providing a context to each participant allows me to paint a picture of who my participants are to the readers of this study. The presentation of the participants is listed in alphabetical order, and I use pseudonyms that I assigned to each student. A brief summary table 4.1 is presented at the end as a reference. Table 4.1 provides descriptive data regarding the 26 participants in this study including family information, income, U.S. generational status, parental place of birth, student place of birth, and age. Table 4.2 provides academic information regarding the participants' academic performance such as high school and college GPA, the campus they attend, year at institution, major, future educational plans which include transfer ambitions, and where the dual enrollment courses took place (i.e., a college or high school campus). The profiles that follow provide a short description of each participant and include parents' educational levels and occupations.

Table 4.1: *Summary of Latino Male Socioeconomic Background Demographic Information*

Pseudonym	Family Income	U.S. Generational Status	Parents Place of Birth	Student Place of Birth	Age
Adrian	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1 st	Ecuador	USA	18
Alejandro	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1 st	El Salvador	USA	24
Carlos	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1 st	Mexico	USA	22
Cisco	His family income is between \$51,000-\$70,000. He is one of only 2 participants whose family makes more than \$50,000 in my study.	1 st	Mexico	USA	27
David	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1 st	El Salvador	USA	24
Emanuel	He has two brothers and one sister. Family income is between \$31,000 and \$50,000 a year.	1 st	Mexico	Mexico	19
Frank	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1 st	Mexico	USA	19
Felipe	His current family income is between \$71,000-\$99,000. His family income is the highest in my study.	1 st	Mexico	USA	20
Fausto	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1 st	Guatemala	Guatemala	22
Humberto	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1 st	Mexico	USA	24
Isaac	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1 st	Central America	USA	23
Ignacio	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1 st	Mexico	Mexico	20
Javier	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1 st	Ecuador	USA	24
Jesus	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1 st	El Salvador/ Guatemala	USA	22
Joaquín	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1 st	Mexico	USA	22
Juan	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1 st	El Salvador	USA	22
Julian	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1 st	Mexico	USA	29
Kevin	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1 st	Father is Nicaragua & Mother is from Canada	USA	24
Marcos	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1.5	Father was born in Mexico and Mother was born in the USA	USA	22
Marlon	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1 st	Mexico	USA	29
Mike	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1 st	Central America	USA	20
Miguel	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1 st	Mexico	USA	29

Max	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1 st	Mexico	USA	19
Pepe	His family income is between \$31,000-\$50,000. He is one of only three participants whose family makes more than \$30,000 in my study.	1 st	Mexico	USA	22
Rafael	Less than \$30,000 a year.	1 st	Mexico	Mexico	20
Salvador	His family income is between \$31,000-\$50,000. He is one of only three participants whose family makes more than \$30,000 in my study.	1 st	El Salvador	USA	22

Individual Participant Profiles

Adrian. Adrian is an 18-year-old born in the US who identifies as Ecuadorian/Spanish. He is studying at Villa Community College and majoring in psychology. His high school GPA was 2.6 and his college GPA is 1.6. He would like to transfer to either the University of Southern California (USC) or the University of Arizona. He was removed from regular school and sent to a continuation school to makeup units and obtain his high school diploma. Both his parents were born in Ecuador and have less than a high school education. His father is a truck driver and his mother is a stay-at-home mom. He has one sister and two brothers; his family makes less than \$30,000 a year.

Alejandro. Alejandro, who identifies as a Central American, is 24 years old. He is in his first year at Center Community College, majoring in computer information systems. His GPA in high school was 3.4 and he has a 4.0 at Center Community College. Alejandro first attended college at California State University, Long Beach (CSULB) before making his way back to the community college. He was born in the US and his parents were both born in El Salvador. His father has a high school diploma and his mother has less than a high school education. His father is a truck driver, and his mother is a custodian at a local airport. His parents divorced and his father abandoned the family when he was 15 years old. He became the male figure in the family

when his father left. He has 7 siblings, including an older brother sentenced to life in prison. Family makes less than \$30,000 a year.

Carlos. Carlos is a Mexican American student at Center Community College. He is 22 and is in his 3rd year of college. He did poorly in middle school and early on in high school. His high school GPA was 3.1 and his college GPA is 2.9. He began his college career at California State University-Northridge (CSUN), but only completed only one week. He transferred to Center Community College and did one semester and then transferred to CSULB and completed two semesters there. He then transferred to SMC and finally to Center Community College where he felt most comfortable academically and socially. Carlos was born in the US and both of his parents were born in Mexico. Both have less than a high school education. His father is disabled and his mother is a housekeeper. Carlos has an older sister and the family income is less than \$30,000 a year.

Cisco. Cisco is a 27-year-old Mexican American majoring in wastewater treatment at Center Community College. His high school GPA was 2.7, but he has a 3.7 college GPA. He was born in the US but both parents were born in Mexico. He was raised in Compton surrounded by Black and Latino gangs. His mother sent him to a school outside Compton in order to avoid gang confrontations. He is my only participant whose parents both have two-year college degrees. His father is a welder and mother is a manager. His father was not around so his mother raised him. He has two siblings – an older brother and younger brother. His family income is between \$51,000-\$70,000 because of his full-time FedEx job. He is one of only two participants in my study whose family makes more than \$50,000. However, when he was in high school, his family income was much lower.

David. David is a 24 year old who identifies as Salvadoran American and was born in the US. He attends Center Community College, majoring in Environmental Sciences, and has been there for three years. His high school GPA was 3.1 and he has a 2.7 in college. David first attended California State University-Northridge (CSUN) and decided to enroll at Center Community College to save money on classes. He was enrolled at both CSUN and Center Community College at the time of the interviews. Both his parents were born in El Salvador and have less than a high school education. His father recently retired from landscaping and his mother is a housemaid. He grew up in a rough area of South Central Los Angeles where he says he tried to avoid gangs. David's family makes less than \$30,000 a year.

Emanuel. Emanuel is a 19-year-old Mexican student at Villa Community College majoring in nursing. He was born in Mexico and his high school GPA was 2.8. His grandparents in Mexico raised him until he moved to the US with his parents at the age of nine. He had a challenging time socially and academically due to his lack of English skills. He moved to rough area of East LA to live with his parents. Both his parents were born in Mexico and both have less than a high school diploma. His father is a manager at a factory and his mother is unemployed. He has two brothers and one sister. Family income is between \$31,000 and \$50,000 a year – he is one of only two participants in my study whose family makes within this range.

Frank. Frank is a 19-year-old first year student at Villa Community College who is undecided regarding his major. His high school GPA was 1.4 and his college GPA is 2.0. His did poorly in high school due to his gang affiliation and drug use. He grew-up in South Central Los Angeles but was bused out to suburbs for school. He says he wants to transfer to California State University-Northridge (CSUN). He was born in the US but both of his parents were born

in Mexico. His mother has less than a high school education and his father has a high school diploma. His father is a delivery driver and his mother is truck driver. His family household income is less than \$30,000 year.

Felipe. Felipe is a 20-year-old student at Villa Community College majoring in criminal justice. He is in his second year and has maintained a 3.0 GPA at Villa Community College. His high school GPA was 3.5. He was born in the US, but both his parents were born in Mexico. His father went back to Mexico and remarried so he has no relationship with him. He has four sisters and he has been the male figure as he has tried to help his mother. His mother is a sales manager. Felipe was a great soccer player and was being recruited by several colleges. He tore his ACL his junior year in high school and was no longer recruited. His current family income is between \$71,000-\$99,000; his family income is the highest of any of the participants in my study.

Fausto. Fausto is 22 and identifies as Central American. Born in Guatemala, he came to the US at the age of nine. He is majoring in nursing and has a 2.8 GPA. He had a 2.5 GPA high school GPA. Mother died when he was four months old so he was sent to Guatemala by his father to be raised by grandparents. His father worked in landscaping but he has no relationship with him after being sent back to Guatemala, and Fausto saw his father as a stranger when his father brought him back. As a result, he moved in with aunts in South Central Los Angeles surrounded by various gangs. He has been stabbed and had items stolen from him in his neighborhood. He has been at Center Community College for three years. His father has less than a high school education. Family makes less than \$30,000 a year.

Humberto. Humberto is a 24 year old at computer science major at Villa Community College who identifies as Mexican. Humberto had a 2.0 GPA in high school and currently has a

2.1 GPA in college. He flunked out of high school and was sent to a continuation school to complete his GED. He was born in the US but both his parents were born in Mexico. Both his parents have high school diplomas. His father is a janitor and his mother works for the post office. His parents divorced when he was young. He has five siblings and the family income is less than \$30,000 a year.

Isaac. Isaac is a 23-year-old student who identifies as a Native American. He was born in the USA but both parents born in Central America. He is currently majoring in architecture. He had a 3.2 GPA in high school and currently has a 2.9 GPA at Center Community College. Father is a line chef and mother is a stay a home mom. His father has a high school diploma, and his mother has less than a high school education. This is Isaac's first year at Center Community College. He has one brother and two sisters. His family makes less than \$30,000 a year.

Ignacio. Ignacio is a 20-year-old student born in Mexico who came to the United States at the age of 11. Both his parents were also born in Mexico. Had a 2.9 GPA in high school and currently has a 2.5 GPA in college. He is in his first year at Center Community College, majoring in Fashion Design. Both parents are janitors with less than a high school education. Ignacio has five siblings, and the family makes less than \$30,000 a year.

Javier. Javier is 24 at Center Community College who was born here in the US and identifies as Ecuadorean. He is in first semester at Center Community College majoring in visual communication. Both his parents were born in Ecuador. He had a 3.6 high school GPA and has a 1.7 GPA at Center Community College. His father has some high education and his mother has less than a high school education back all in Ecuador. His father is a mechanic and mother works at a warehouse. He was raised near downtown's skid row. His family makes less than \$30,000 a year.

Jesus. Jesus is a 22-year-old Central American student at Center Community College majoring in automotive technologies and engineering. He is in his 3rd year at Center Community College and works full-time for one of the local transit systems. His high school GPA was 2.9 and his college GPA is 3.0. Says he had to deal with the major gang in his neighborhood. He said he was assaulted various times outside of school and around the neighborhood. He was deficient in units, which is why he participated in dual enrollment. He took dual enrollment courses at Center Community College, adult school, and high school. He was born in the United States. His mother was born in El Salvador and his father in Guatemala and both have less than a high school education. His father is a supervisor and his mother is a janitor. He has four siblings, and his family earns less than \$30,000 a year.

Joaquín. Joaquín is a 22-year-old student who was born in the US and identifies as Mexican. He is in his 3rd year at Center Community College and is majoring in psychology. His high school GPA was 2.4 and has a 1.6 in college. He had failed classes, which caused him to be deficient in units to graduate on time, which is why he decided to enroll in DE and make up those units. Both his parents have high school diplomas and were born in Mexico. His father does general labor and his mother is an assembly line worker in a factory. Joaquín grew up in South Central Los Angeles in a gang area near downtown LA. He is undocumented which has made living in the United States difficult. He has a younger sister and family makes less than \$30,000 a year.

Juan. Juan is a 22-year-old student who identifies as Central American. He is majoring in Health Services and is in his 3rd year at Center Community College. His high school GPA was 3.4 and he has a 2.5 GPA at Center Community College. He grew up in a rough area of South Central Los Angeles with various gangs in neighborhood. Juan got in trouble as early as

elementary and got worse in middle school due to all the gangs at his school. He did well enough in high school that he got accepted and enrolled at UC-Santa Cruz after high school. He was born in the US and both his parents were born in El Salvador. Both his parents have less than a high school education. His mother is a housekeeper. His parents divorced when he was a teenager and died several years later. He did not have much of a relationship with his father. He has three siblings, and the family makes less than \$30,000 a year.

Julian. Julian is a 29-year-old Mexican American who was born in the United States. He is in his first academic year at Center Community College, majoring in accounting with plans to transfer to California State University-Dominguez Hills (CSUDH). His high school GPA was 2.5 and he has a 3.0 at Center Community College. He was constantly bullied in middle school and high school. Says he felt hopeless in high school. He grew up in a neighborhood where there were a lot of gangs. Gang members severally beat him at his home from which he still feels traumatized. Both of his parents were born in Mexico, and both have less than a high school education. His father was deported and his mother is unemployed. His family makes less than \$30,000 a year.

Kevin. Kevin is a 24-year-old student at Villa Community College majoring in Music Education. He is a Central American student who was born in the US. His high school GPA was 3.3 and his college GPA is 3.6. Kevin did well academically in high school that he attended Louisiana State University (LSU) majoring in music. He decided to leave LSU and come back to California due to financial concerns and joined the US Marines. After completing his service, he enrolled at West Valley Community College for one semester and then transferred to Villa Community College where he plans to complete his general education. He hopes to transfer to UCLA. His father is Nicaraguan and his mother is Canadian. Both his parents have a high

school diploma. His father is a mechanic and mother is a nurse. His family makes less than \$30,000 a year.

Marcos. Marcos is a 22-year-old student at Villa Community College majoring in bioengineering. He is in his second year and he hopes to transfer to a four-year institution such as UC-Berkeley or UC-San Diego. He was born in the US, as was his mother. His father was born in Mexico and came here at the age of nine. His father joined one of the local gangs as a teenager. Marcos has a 2.3 GPA in college and had less than a 2.5 GPA in high school. Both his parents have less than a high school education. His father is in construction and his mother is retail sales. He has 5 siblings and his family makes less than \$30,000 a year.

Marlon. Marlon is a 29-year-old student at Villa Community College in his first year. He was born in the US and identifies as Mexican American. Marlon is majoring in Psychology, his high school GPA was 2.9, and he has maintained that same 2.9 GPA in college. He hopes to transfer to California State University-Northridge (CSUN), or UCLA. Both his parents were born in Mexico have less than a high school diploma. His father is a truck driver and his mother is a housewife. He has two sisters and family makes less than \$30,000 a year.

Mike. Mike is a 20-year-old Central American student at Villa Community College who is double majoring in Social Psychology and Business Administration. His high school GPA was 2.3 and he has a 3.25 GPA at Villa Community College. He would like to transfer to UC-Berkeley, Stanford, UC-Irvine, or UC-San Diego. He was born in the US while both his parents were born in Central America. His parents separated when he was young and he has no relationship with his father. He has five siblings ranging from six to 19 years of age. With a total of six members in the family, they make less than \$30,000 a year.

Miguel. Miguel is a 29-year-old Mexican American who was born in the US. Both his parents were born in Mexico. He wants to obtain a certificate as an electrician. His high school GPA was 1.6 – he has no college GPA because this was his first semester back in school after nine years away. His father is in construction and mother is a home worker. His family moved from motel to motel as a child. His father abandoned them when he was very young. He began using drugs and alcohol in middle school. He had a child while in high school which forced him to start working after high school. He has been in and out of jail.

Max. Max is a 19-year-old Mexican American student at Center Community College and has been there for two years. He is double majoring in biology and music. His high school GPA was 3.7 and has maintained a 3.9 GPA in college. He plans to transfer to Cornell, Stanford, Syracuse, UCLA, UC-Berkeley, Duke, or Johns Hopkins University, as he would like to attend medical school after he completes his bachelor's degree. He was born in the US but both parents were born in Mexico. Both parents have some high school but neither have a diploma. Father works for the city as a custodian and mother is a stay at home mom. His family makes less than \$30,000 a year.

Pepe. Pepe is a 22-year-old student majoring in Kinesiology at Center Community College. His high school GPA was 3.2 and he has maintained a 3.2 GPA in college. Pepe hopes to transfer to CSULB, California State University-Northridge (CSUN), or California State University – Los Angeles (CSULA). He was born in the US but both his parents were born in Mexico. Pepe identifies as Mexican American. His mother has a two-year college degree and father has a high school diploma. His father is a custodian and mother works as a substitute teacher. He has three siblings, and his family income is between \$51,000-\$70,000. He is one of

only two participants whose family makes more than \$50,000 and has at least one parent with a college education in my study.

Rafael. Rafael is a 20-year-old Mexican student in his first year at Villa Community College majoring in Mathematics and Child development. His high school GPA was 2.5 and his college GPA is 2.0. He was born in Mexico, as were both of his parents. His grandparents raised him until he came to the US at the age of 10 when he joined his parents in Los Angeles. His parents have less than a high school education. His father is a painter and his mother is a stay home mom. He has five siblings and the family makes less than \$30,000 a year. Rafael had to deal with various gang issues in middle and high school.

Salvador. Salvador is 22 and identifies as Salvadorian. He is in his fourth year at Center Community College majoring in nursing. His high school GPA was 2.7 and has a 3.3 GPA in college. Both his parents were born in El Salvador. His father has some high school completed and mother has less than a high school education. His father was not around as Salvador was growing up and his mother is a cook at a local college. His family income is between \$31,000-\$50,000. He is one of only two participants whose family falls within this salary range in my study.

Summary: Background information of participants

The participants in the study share a lot of commonalities from a socioeconomic and academic perspective. In terms of national demographic background, the majority are first generation born in the US. Most (16 out of 26) underperformed (less than a 3.0 GPA) in high school. Although this study was open to all Latino students at these two community college campuses, the students in my sample identify as either Mexican, Mexican-American, or Central American. Also, the majority of the students' families earned less than \$30,000 a year.

Regarding academic background, the vast majority indicated that they are the first in their families to go to college. Most participated in dual enrollments located on college campuses. Their high school GPA average was 2.80 and the college GPA was very similar at 2.77. The average length of time in terms of years enrolled at their community college was almost two years (1.96).

From a vulnerability perspective, the majority were at-risk due to their socioeconomic background and/or academic performance. Many of the students stated they had to deal with gangs and poverty in their communities. In addition, some students indicated they did not feel safe in their neighborhoods or schools. In addition, students indicated their parents were not prepared to help them navigate K-12 or college, as almost all were first-generation Americans (born in the United States but parents born outside the United States) or immigrants (born outside the United States) with no understanding of American compulsory education or higher education. In the following section, I will present the findings from my data to answer the research questions.

Table 4.2: *Academic Information*

Pseudonym	High School GPA	College GPA	Campus	Years in Campus	Major	Transfer Plans	Reverse Transfer	DE in HS or on College Campus?
Adrian	2.6	1.6	VCC	1 st year, 2 nd semester	Psychology	USC or University of Arizona	No	High School
Alejandro	3.4	4.0	CCC	1 st year, 2 nd semester	Computer Information Systems	CSULB	CSULB	College
Carlos	3.1	2.9	CCC	3 rd Year	Undecided	CSULB	CSUN and CSULB	College
Cisco	2.7	3.7	CCC	3 rd Year	Wastewater Treatment	Applied to CSULB and already accepted to CSUDH	No	College
David	3.1	2.7	CCC	3 rd Year	Environmental Sciences	Dual Enrolled Between CSUN and Center Community College	CSUN (Dual Enrolled with Center Community College at time of interview)	College
Emanuel	2.8	Has not completed	VCC	1 st semester	Nursing	Would like to but unsure	No	College

		1 st semester in college yet.						
Frank	1.4	2.0	VCC	1 st year, 2 nd semester	Undecided	CSUN	No	High School
Felipe	3.5	3.0	VCC	2 nd Year	Criminal Justice	CSUN UCI UCR	No	High School
Fausto	2.5	2.8	VCC	4 th Year	Nursing	CSUDH	No	College
Humberto	2.0	2.1	VCC	2 nd Year	Computer Science	USC	No	College
Isaac	3.2	2.9	CCC	1 st year, 2 nd semester	Architecture	Cal Poly San Luis Obispo, Savannah Collage of Art and Design	No	College
Ignacio	2.9	2.5	CCC	1 st year, 2 nd semester	Fashion Design	FIDM	No	College
Javier	3.6	1.7	CCC	First semester.	Visual Communication	Would like to transfer.	No	College
Jesus	2.9	3.0	CCC	3 rd Year	Auto-motive Technologies and Engineering	Caltech	No	College
Joaquín	2.4	1.6	CCC	3 rd Year	Psychology	UCLA, CSUN, CSULB, Stanford	No	College
Juan	3.4	2.5	CCC	3 rd Year	Health Services	Would like transfer	UCSC	College
Julian	2.5	3.0	CCC	1 st year, 2 nd semester	Accounting	CSUDH	No	College
Kevin	3.3	3.6	VCC	1 st year, 2 nd semester	Music Education	UCLA	Louisiana State University	College
Marcos	2.5	2.3	VCC	2 Year	Bioengineering	UC-Berkeley UC-San Diego	No	College
Marlon	2.9	2.9	VCC	1 st year, 2 nd semester	Psychology	CSUN UCLA	No	College
Mike	2.3	3.3	VCC	2 nd Year	Social Psychology and Business Administration	UC-Berkeley UC-San Diego UC-Irvine Stanford	No	High School
Miguel	1.6	Has not completed 1 st semester in college yet.	CCC	1 st semester	Electrician (certificate)	Would like to.	No	College
Max	3.7	3.9	CCC	2 nd Year	Biology and Music	Cornell Stanford Syracuse UCLA UC-Berkeley Duke Johns Hopkins	No	College
Pepe	3.2	3.2	CCC	4 th Year	Kinesiology	CSULB, CSUN, CSULA	No	College
Rafael	2.5	2.0	VCC	1 st year, 2 nd semester	Mathematics and Child Development	Would like to.	No	High School
Salvador	2.7	3.3	CCC	4 th Year	Nursing	Would like to.	No	College

Presentation of Results

Research Question 1: Who or what motivated these first-generation Latino male students to participate in dual enrollment?

This question probes why these Latino males would participate in a program for which the majority of participants nationally are high achieving, non-first-generation, White female students. Data showed that there were seven themes as to why students decided to participate in dual enrollment. The majority of students indicated that there was no single reason why they decided to participate in dual enrollment but several reasons. Some were extrinsically motivated while others were intrinsically motivated. First, several participants indicated they were highly motivated to get a head start on college and get college credit. Second, several students indicated they needed to make-up units to graduate from high school. Third, some students wanted to “try out” college to see what it would be like and decide if it was a path they wanted to pursue after high school. Fourth, participants said they wanted to get out of their high school campus. Fifth, they were influenced to participate by their peers who were going to, already participating or participated in dual enrollment. Sixth, there was influence from counselors to participate in the program. Finally, some experienced extrinsic motivation due to the pressure to participate by family members. Table 4.3 is a data summary table with participant motivational reasons for participation.

Table 4.3: *Data Summary Table for RQ 1: Why They Participated in Dual Enrollment*

Pseudonym	Getting a Head Start/College Credit	Make-Up Units	Wanted to try out College	Get Out of High School	Influence from Friends	Influence from Counselor	Influence from Family
Adrian		X					
Alejandro			X	X			
Carlos	X						
Cisco							X

David	X						
Emanuel	X		X	X	X		
Frank		X					
Felipe	X						
Fausto				X	X		
Humberto		X				X	
Isaac						X	
Ignacio						X	
Javier		X	X				
Jesus	X		X				
Joaquín		X			X		
Juan	X				X		
Julian				X			
Kevin				X			
Marcos		X				X	
Marlon			X		X		
Mike			X				
Miguel	X	X					
Max	X						
Pepe	X	X					
Rafael	X						
Salvador			X				X
N=26	10/26 or 38.4%	8/26 or 34.8%	7/26 or 26.9%	5/26 or 19.2%	5/26 or 19.2%	4/26 or 15.3%	2/26 or 7.7%

Getting a Head Start/ College Credit

When asked why they participated in dual enrollment, surprisingly, as many of these students were missing units due to their poor academic performance, over 1/3 or 38.4% of the students in the study indicated they did so in order to get college credits and get a head start on college. Getting a head start meant experiencing college in anticipation of going to college after high school. This also entailed getting college credit so they would be more advanced once they matriculated full-time. So even though most did not qualify to attend a four-year institution,

many in the study clearly wanted to pursue higher education at the two- or four-year level. For example, Carlos states:

I'm not too sure what grade could we take college classes while we were in high school, but I also did it just because I heard that those college credit was also good for high school. So it was like a two for one type of thing. So that's how I looked at it and I took that opportunity so I would get credit for high school and college as I continue my education. (Carlos)

David was in a very different situation than Carlos or most of the other participants, but he cited a similar motivation. As a student who graduated with honors from his high school, and enrolled at CSUN, David said he participated in dual enrollment because he wanted to get a head start and get college credit.

I figured—from—at the time, from what I knew was that if I got a head start, it would help me in the long run as far as college credits, college knowledge, whatever I needed in order to graduate. And I didn't do that until senior year, so I feel that I did get a good foothold going into college after I graduated. (David)

David's dual enrollment class, which was offered by Center Community College, was located on the USC campus and taught by an instructor from Center Community College. This provided David with a unique collegiate experience that others in my sample did not have. For example, USC provides a very traditional four-year academic setting. However, David still had to go to Center Community College to register for classes, get an ID, and utilize Center Community College campus resources. So although the class was at a major research university, living near Center Community College, he chose to study at the community college rather than the four-year.

Participants' decision to participate in dual enrollment was influenced by their decision to get a head start and get college credits. Again, even if students were not high performing, participants clearly indicated they wanted to get a head start in college. This could be because there are societal pressures to continue to college regardless of high school academic

performance. A few participants did mention that they were discouraged to graduate from high school and not pursue a college education, particularly from family members.

Making-Up Units

Just over a third (34.8%) of the participants indicated that they were short on credits to graduate from high school after failing classes early in their high school career. Once informed about dual enrollment and the possibility of doubling their units per class, many of the students indicated they were motivated to participate in dual enrollment in order to make up units for which they were deficient. Adrian, for example, stated that he was deficient in several units to graduate from high school. When he realized that he would not graduate in time, he decided to participate in dual enrollment. When asked why he participated in dual enrollment Adrian stated:

Because I had eight classes and it was five credits each class...they offered a sign-up of college courses for ten credits and they gave you ten credits for school and I think five credits for college, so in advance. And if I didn't take these classes, I wouldn't have graduated. So it was a help in both college and high school. (Adrian)

Another student, Miguel, says he needed to make up units and wanted college credit as well. When he found out he could make-up 10 high school units and earn four college credits at the same time, he said, *"I thought it was pretty cool. You know, I was excited about it, you know."* He knew it would allow him to make-up classes he failed due to all the truancies he had done early in his high school career. Joaquin indicates that making-up units was his motivation to participate in dual enrollment.

Because many of these students were coming from vulnerable communities, attending urban high schools that provide few resources and motivation to perform academically, in addition to dealing with gangs and various family and personal issues, participants in my study had underperformed in high school. Because of their lower academic performance and

numerous truancies, participants in the study needed to make-up high school units to complete their high school diploma.

Wanted to Try Out College

Just over a quarter (26.9%) of participants in my study mentioned wanting to try out college as a reason for participating in dual enrollment. This theme is about the students' curiosity to see if college was for them and getting a sense of what to expect if they decided to pursue that route. This curiosity was not limited to the few high-achieving students, but included students who were underperforming in high school as well. For example, Felipe is a high achieving student and knew he was going to college someday. Thus, he spoke of his desire to try out a college class. He said:

I'd say the people going into college, I wanted to see first time what it was like in that. In that dual enrollment class, we actually had a professor from Cal State LA. He would go to our campus, and then, it was considered as a seventh period. Once school is in at 3, you would have to go to the seventh period, and it was, I'd say an hour and 30 minutes of class. It was Spanish, advanced Spanish speaking class, and I also had the math analysis class. (Felipe)

So even though the college class Felipe was taking was being offered at his high school, the instructor was from one of the local California State Universities, and the course was being offered by local community colleges and had actual college students, which made it feel like a real college course to him. Emanuel, who had stated earlier that he was influenced by his friends, also stated that another reason why he participated in dual enrollment was to try college out, “*But my summer class, I decided to take that class just to experience, to know what was college like.*” (Emanuel). When I asked Kevin to explain what he meant when he said he wanted to experience and try college out during the interview, he elaborated:

Yeah, try it out. Because like I said before, I didn't know if I was going to go – like a university; I didn't know if I was going to go to university. I don't really know too much about it. It was, my parents never really talked about it, but so that's why I thought after

high school, well, maybe I'll just go to West Valley College, because I had already been there, you know? (Kevin).

Clearly, for Kevin, the main reason why he participated in DE was to “try it out” and experience college first-hand as he was still debating whether or not to continue his education past high school. Felipe wanted to see what college was like and if it was something he wanted to do after high school. When I asked him if dual enrollment helped him decipher what college would be, he says:

Yeah, it actually helped me see what college was going to be like, and the caring of the professors at a college because of the dual enrollment class, it showed me how at college, you're going to be more submerged into the, into the field that you want to study, and that's going to help you choose your major. (Felipe)

So not only did dual enrollment showcase what college would be like, it provided a glimpse as to the ways in which faculty at a college can be supportive and provided insight into possible majors he would be able to choose from.

Students discussed how trying out college before committing themselves financially was beneficial. For instance, they believed they could try it without paying directly out of pocket and make an informed decision as to whether or not it behooves them to continue on and pay for tuition, books, and supplies. In addition, being immersed in a collegiate environment seemed to be appealing. Interacting with college students and faculty provided intellectual curiosity for those who were academically inclined. This theme clearly showcased the fact that Latino males from at-risk backgrounds and first generation truly do want to explore collegiate options. They simply want to validate it and be validated by trying out college before they embark on a very expensive proposition.

Wanted To Get Out of High School

There were several reasons why the students wanted to get out of high school early. These included both positive and negative reasons for which many participants were very clear about. Some students indicated they were good students, but they would get bullied or picked-on by students in their high school or communities surrounding the campus. Participating in dual enrollment allowed them to get off campus and avoid interacting with students who would try to bully them during or after school. For example, Fausto indicated that he was scared of being on his high school campus. He was doing well academically but knew he would have to fight to defend himself from gang members. He said:

In high school, the first, the first year of high school, well I was kind of scared, cause I didn't know what it was going to be like. Ninth grade. Yeah, I was kind of afraid, and I didn't know what to expect. But I started doing well on my classes. But when it got to the second, second year, I was, I don't know what was going on with me, and I didn't start doing bad, but my grades started to go down. Yeah, and that's when, and during that time, I got in a fight in school with a gang member who, I was just defending myself. And yeah, I got in trouble. I got arrested. I got a ticket. And that's when I started realizing that if I stay there, I was not going to high school. So I heard about the early college program. Yeah, and I decided to come here, cause I knew that was going to help me, and I was going to get out of all those problems that I was having in high school.

Fausto knew that he needed to leave his high school campus and immerse himself in a supportive and collegiate environment with academically inclined students. Fausto said that after getting into the fight, he was suspended for two days. In those two days, he said he thought about his future and knew he had to get out of his high school and thought of ways to get out sooner. Fausto said that once he completed the two days suspension, *"The very next day that I went back to school, I went straight to the counselor's office, and I told my counselor, I asked her about the program, and she gave me the application, and I filled it out, and turned it in"*. Students in these vulnerable situations need to consider alternative educational settings to avoid physical confrontations. Several students in my study indicated that they were harassed and bullied continuously starting in junior high. Some dealt with low self-esteem because of it and changing

the school setting from one that resembles prisons to a school that provides a collegiate setting was extremely beneficial for many participants. Julian also indicated that his motivation to participate in dual enrollment was to get as many units as possible in order to graduate sooner and allow him to escape the bullying he was enduring at his South Central Los Angeles high school. Julian stated:

Because they were telling us, well, I think it was my counselor told us that if we could make some of our, like where we could actually, some of the classes here at college would actually make up, you know, for our required classes for our diploma. So I was trying to get everything out of the way fast. That's where, you know, I got overwhelmed myself. (Julian)

Julian dealt with severe bullying in high school. Julian also happens to be the only dual enrollment participant that failed a class, but he was extremely appreciative of the opportunity to get out of school to avoid the harassment and provide him with the glimpse as to what college would be like. The issue of bullying has received much attention in news media due to various mass shooting events that have occurred over the past several years around the country. Latino males reside in neighborhoods with violent crime and attend schools where gang activity is part of their everyday lives. Indeed, gang crime and activity in urban communities of Los Angeles County are something that has been a fixture of those communities for decades and a reality for many of the participants in my study. Thus, dual enrollment has been an escape for them to feel safe and develop a college-going mindset.

However, not all students said they wanted to get out of school early for negative reasons. Several students indicated they simply wanted to shorten their school days to have more free time on their hands during their senior year. For example, Kevin was a good high school student and said that he wanted to relax his senior year:

Well, I went to West Valley Community College while I was a high school student because I wanted to have a, what do you call it, a shortened class schedule as a senior.

Because as a senior, if you have all the classes you need, you don't need to stay there for all six periods. So one of the requirements was, you know, Government and Economics. So I took those classes at West Valley Community College over the summer, before my senior year, so I didn't have to do those classes when I was a senior. So I only have like four classes as a senior, four or five I think. So I got to leave early basically. (Kevin)

Emanuel stated he wanted to get college credit, try out college, but he also wanted to get out of school early: *"It was just like, not friends, but it was just like four, three of us who would go. So we would like get like a 30 minute, we would get out of school 30 minutes earlier to go to college. It was just like four of us who would go. That was my senior year"*. Getting out of school half-an-hour before everyone else was a motivator for Emanuel and his classmates.

Another example of the desire to get out of school early was Alejandro. Alejandro simply wanted to graduate with his friends who were older and not be alone the following academic year. Because Alejandro took AP courses at his high school, many of his peers were seniors when he was a junior. So in order to speed-up his graduation, he enrolled in dual enrollment at Sweet College. He stated:

I wanted to get out of high school early. I wanted to get out by the 11th grade because I did not want to be in that school. Plus, a lot of my friends that I had met, I was taking a lot of advanced class; I was taking a lot of AP classes and a lot of honors classes. Usually you'll run into people who are a grade ahead of you and in that school, they would just put everybody – it doesn't matter what grade you're in. I will be in the same class with 11th graders and 12th graders, like in physics or calculus or trigonometry. It would have that mix. So I grew up with a lot of people that are older than me and I made a lot of friends where everybody that was like, one grade ahead of me. So I wanted to be – I used to hang out with them a lot. I used to go out with them every single day, like me and a group of friends, but they were all older than me. So when it came time to graduate for themselves, I don't want to be left in the whole school year by myself. I'm going to have a whole school year by myself and I thought that sucks. So I took all these college courses at Sweet College so I could finish it up much faster and hopefully I get to graduate sooner than expected. (Alejandro)

However, Alejandro also stated he wanted to get out because of his bad relationship with one of his teachers. For example, when I asked him if there was any other reason for his motivation to enroll in the program he said:

Because my teacher, she really hated me and she was – I hated her back. She was a horrible teacher and I made sure that everybody knew that she was a horrible teacher. Every time she said something wrong, I guess I would correct because she would give false information to the students and she didn't like that. She hated me specifically and I think she was kind of racist too. Like the first month of class, she just kicked me out and told me to never come back. I was like o.k., fine. I went to Sweet, finished the course in like less than a month and I had the rest of the semester by my own, a free period, which was great. (Alejandro)

So even when the main motivation to get out of school was positive, there was still something about the high school that promoted the participation in dual enrollment.

It is clear that the students in the study wanted to get out of their high school campus for various reasons. Some wanted to get out of school to avoid physical confrontations that permeate the schools located within gang territories. These are at times, the untold stories of Latino males in urban Los Angeles. Students have to navigate schools that look like prisons and students that have close ties to the local gangs. Some students, no matter how much they try to avoid confrontations, need to defend themselves. This is not conducive to academic achievement or social integration. Thus, the students in my study choose out of necessity, not choice, to participate in a program that got them off campus, and allowed them to obtain extra units to complete their high school education and avoid being on their high school campus. The students also participated to get out of their high school to simply get out early and relax after a stressful high school career. Regardless, the students were adamant that their desire to get out of high school was a major motivator to participate in dual enrollment.

Influence from Counselors/Teachers and Family/Friends

Various individuals played a role in the decision making process for many of the participants in this study. Prior research has shown that institutional agents (Stanton-Salazar, 2001) have an influence on Latino youth by serving as gatekeepers to valuable information and

resources. The participants in my study have validated this prior research by stating that counselors and teachers at their high schools were influential in providing support.

Counselors and teachers.

Counselors and teachers play a pivotal role on any educational campus as they are gatekeepers to various resources and valuable information. Counselors played a significant role for four participants by providing encouragement and information regarding dual enrollment and creating a college-going mindset. For example, Marcos said he was motivated to participate in dual enrollment for two reasons. First, he wanted to avoid gangs at the high school; second, his counselor encouraged him in order to make-up units he was deficient in. Marcos stated:

Oh, one of the counselors kind of actually persuaded me. And he sounded like he came from a [similar background as well, from, you know, like, gang violence. So, you know, he was convincing and pushing, like, you should do it – because he saw – because I actually passed my CAHSEE [California High School Exit Examination]. For my first exam, I passed my CAHSEE, both of them. And he saw that, so he was like, you know, you're not dumb. You should do this, get so many high school units done and you get experience in college. So, I said yes and did it. (Marcos)

In reference to how the counselor said that Marcos was not dumb and that not only could he get high school units and a college experience, it concerned Marcos's lack of units to graduate due to his underperformance in high school. So when I asked to clarify why he participated in dual enrollment, he responded that it was his lack of units that his counselor encouraged him to participate in dual enrollment. Another student, Carlos, said his homeroom teacher at his high school encouraged him to enroll in dual enrollment:

I enrolled just because, I believe it was a couple of – I don't know if it was my homeroom teacher. In high school, we would call them advisory teachers. They advised us to take advantage of the opportunity that we had from taking classes within the college just because we were across the street. It was very easy and we could do it. (Carlos)

Counselors and teachers have played a major role in informing the students this program exists so that they can make-up high school units, obtain college credits, and gain valuable

collegiate experience if they choose to go beyond high school. But family also seemed to be an extrinsic motivational factor.

Family and friends.

Two participants said their parents/siblings pressured them to participate in dual enrollment. For example, when asked why he participated in dual enrollment when he was underperforming in school, Salvador said he was pressured from his mother “I was kind of forced into that. My mom did the same thing with my sister”. Salvador continued to say that his older sister benefited from her participation in dual enrollment:

Remember, she was like the nerd in the family, getting straight As even in high school. I'm not really sure why she decided to put my sister in a community college. I think she started here in CCC when she was in high school, but she did. Then, once my sister graduated, she was the head of the pack. She had already a lot of college classes like the general ed's. So she got started on her major quickly. I guess my mom decided to do the same thing with me. I remember the first class I took was biology. I got a C in that class. Then I took other classes like speech, astronomy. I think I took like psychology and other classes. (Salvador)

Cisco said he was also influenced by his mother to participate in dual enrollment when I asked him why he participated in the program. He said:

Mainly because my mom was pressuring us a lot to go to school. Even my brother, my younger brother who couldn't even enroll in classes, he would just tag along and we'd do homework and stuff right there in class. She just felt it would get us ready to transition. I'd have an Algebra II class, I think, in my senior year and he'd help me a lot with math classes. Even though he was an engineering teacher, I mean, it was high school math so he could help us out with that. (Cisco)

His mother would take him and his younger to the community college classes she was taking.

That is how his mother found out she could enroll Cisco in college courses through dual enrollment. He states:

She found out about it because they would have an open lab, because in that class at the same time that they would teach the class, they had an open lab. So for the first two hours, it was lecture and for the last two hours it was open lab. And during open lab, he'd help the students, their students from the college, do their drawings or do any kind

of sketches or blueprints that they had to do. And since we were already there he'd let us just ask questions. We'd do our homework for the first two hours and the last two he'd kind of tutor us if we needed it. Not taking away time from the students too, but kind of like jumping back and forth. (Cisco)

This participation of going to a college campus and attending college classes without being a student is what Attinasi (1989) refers to as “direct simulation” and “Attending I”. That is, how a student begins to get exposure to the collegiate environment and becomes aware of the norms, attitudes and behaviors one needs to have in order to be successful once he/she transitions into the new academic environment. That provided anticipatory socialization. Once Cisco enrolled, he became a quasi-student II, as he was actually role-rehearsing how to be a college student.

Friends also played a significant role. For example, 19.2% of the participants indicated that peers played a major influence in their decision to participate in dual enrollment. Research shows that peers play a major influence on student decisions. Thus, it is not surprising that friends have had a major influence on these Latino males. Indeed, of all the individual groups that comprise the social networks of these students, friends were discussed the most as to why they participated in the program. Emanuel, who has also said he participated in dual enrollment because he wanted get a head start in college by obtaining college credit, trying out college to see what it would be like, and his desire to get out of high school early, said it was his peers who had the biggest influence on his decision to enroll in college class. Emanuel states:

It was just a decision that came to me, like my last two classes, my...classes were cause all my friends, my friends influenced me to take some college classes. So when I would get here, I would like, like be like ahead of others, like some credits. Yeah, so like, they, so some of my friends would go there too, so that they influenced me to go. (Emanuel)

Miguel stated that his main reason to participate in dual enrollment was to get a head start in college by gaining the experience and getting college credit; however, he said his friends from high school participating in dual enrollment would make it fun. He states, “*Yeah, and then I told*

myself, well, I'm taking it with friends and so it's probably going to be fun, too. It was a pretty good experience" (Miguel). Based on some of my participants, family and friends have an influence in the motivation of students to participate in, or not, in academic programs. Thus, findings here suggest that both family and friends play a major role in students' decisions to participate and engage in dual enrollment.

Summary: Why They Participated in Dual Enrollment

Students' motivation to enroll in dual enrollment manifested itself in various ways. For many, it was not a single reason, but a variety of reasons. Alejandro succinctly states the complicated and various reasons that motivate students to participate in dual enrollment:

My main focus was still high school. Yeah. I was trying to finish high school and get that over with. I was trying to get a feel for what college is like. A lot of my friends were doing it at that time. It seemed like the smart move to do, especially for people who are trying to get college credit. (Alejandro)

There were various reasons that propelled students to participate in dual enrollment. So did their participation influence their decision to continue on to college after high school? Did dual enrollment help facilitate their transition once enrolled post-high school? These questions will be answered in the next section.

Research Question Two

How did dual enrollment influence the social and academic socialization of working-class, first-generation, low- to middle-academic achieving Latino males to matriculate and facilitate the transition from high school to the community colleges?

This is the main question that asks how dual enrollment participation by first-generation, working-class, Latino males influences them to matriculate and eases the transition to the community college. This is a two part question: first, how did the anticipatory socialization and role-rehearsal experienced in dual enrollment motivate them to enroll in college after completing their high school education; and second, how did it help them transition from high school to college after matriculating? Prior studies have shown that dual enrollment can increase college-going and ease the transition to college for participants by enabling them to role rehearse which provides anticipatory socialization, social capital, and funds of knowledge of these complex organizations; however, no prior study has examined how dual enrollment influences the decision making of at-risk Latino males. These four concepts, anticipatory socialization, role-rehearsal, social capital, and funds of knowledge, are supported by the findings. Several of the student participants indicated how dual enrollment had provided them with the opportunity to immerse themselves in a college for the very first time and interact with several students and faculty on the college campus. This section will be divided into two parts: the presentation of results of part A; followed by the presentation of part B.

RQ 2A: How did their dual enrollment experience motivate them to matriculate in college post-high school?

Similar to research question 1, there are several reasons why they decided to enroll in college. The purpose of this question was (1) to understand how dual enrollment promotes motivation to matriculate in a postsecondary institution after high school, and (2) to examine if other factors (institutional agents, family, peers, self-motivation, etc.) support Latino male students' decisions to enroll in college past high school because dual enrollment demystified college. The results indicate there were seven themes as to why Latino male students were motivated to enroll in college after high school. Below, table 4.5 summarizes the participants' motivational reasons for their post-high school enrollment:

Table 4.4: *Data Summary Table for RQ 2A: Motivation to Enroll Post-High School*

Pseudonym	<i>Demystified College</i>	<i>Family and Friends</i>	<i>Self-Determination</i>	<i>Institutional Agents Role in Motivating Students to Enroll</i>	Future Employment	<i>Academic Performance</i>
Adrian	X			X		X
Alejandro			X		X	
Carlos			X			
Cisco		X		X	X	
David		X	X	X		
Emanuel		X				
Frank		X	X			X
Felipe	X	X				
Fausto	X		X		X	
Humberto	X	X				
Isaac	X		X		X	
Ignacio	X					
Javier	X		X			
Jesus						
Joaquín	X			X		X

Juan	X	X		X		X
Julian		X		X		
Kevin	X	X	X			
Marcos	X					
Marlon	X				X	
Mike		X			X	
Miguel		X		X		
Max		X		X		
Pepe			X			
Rafael				X		
Salvador		X				
N=26	12/26 or 46.2%	12/26 or 46.2%	9/26 or 34.6%	9/26 or 34.6%	6/26 or 23.1%	4/26 or 15.4%

Demystified College

Participation in dual enrollment was a catalyst for several students to continue their education as it served as a way to remove the veil as to what college is about. Twelve of the 26 (46.2%) students mentioned in their interview that they were motivated to enroll in some kind of postsecondary institution after high school. For example, when asked if dual enrollment had an influence in motivating him to enroll at Villa Community College, Marlon states that dual enrollment motivated him to enroll because it showed him that the community college was welcoming and supportive: *“Yes, it did, because it kind of showed that colleges were open to, you know, high school students. So the door was open, pretty much. That’s how I see it”*

(Marlon). When asked if DE motivated him to continue on to college, Felipe said the following:

Oh yeah, absolutely. It actually, it funneled me into college, and it got me ahead in credits. It also, it helped me get the feel that I’m actually going to enjoy college when I get there, because you have, I say a more sophisticated source of professors, and it helped me get the feel as if I was going to pretty much, it was going to help me become professional as a student and as a human being. (Felipe)

Jesus attended two different local community colleges in his dual enrollment. He said that the general academic courses did not appeal to him; however, he became enamored with automotive

and engine repair. Jesus said his exposure to automotive changed his life, had it not been for dual enrollment he said that he would not have enrolled in college after high school:

Yes, it did, it definitely did. It pretty much turned around my life with all this; so not with the GE classes, but it did turn around my life, but then I started seeing differences, because I also enrolled at CCC, and I took automotive there, and it was completely different. It wasn't the same. It differentiates from college to college. EC was less hands-on and more bored, which is okay. Don't get me wrong. (Jesus)

Clearly, demystifying the college going culture was important to participants in my study. They discussed how they know what college would be like, where they needed to go for services, and who they needed to talk to for academic or non-academic support. The participants suggested that understanding the culture of the college was important in demystifying the college. They indicated that knowing the ways to communicate with various actors (i.e., faculty, staff, and students) was essential to their understanding of college and their role as a college student. Not only did it provide a vehicle for which to maneuver into college, but it provided a road map as to how to explore possible majors.

Family and Friends

Tying for first place with the demystified college theme was family and friends. Twelve participants in the study indicated that family and peers had a major role in their decision to continue their education. Some students did indicate that dual enrollment was not the reason for continuing their education. A few students mentioned peers as an influence to enroll in college. For example Max said:

I really didn't have nobody because I already had that in my head. I said to myself, if you don't push yourself to go to college, then you don't need anybody else to tell you to go to college. I've always had that in my head. I'm going to go to college. I don't care how and I don't care how I'm going to pay for it and I don't care when. I'm going to go to college. But to come here specifically I thought about it. I thought about it—it actually was my friends...They wanted to go to Small College [pseudonym] because CCC has a very bad ghetto reputation but when I was looking through the classes, I saw a lot of these classes are just—they are just to get you out quick. They're just get you out quick

and get this stuff done. I wanted to go to Ocean College but I said I have no ride and I don't want to wake up two hours just to get to a seven o'clock class. It doesn't make sense. So the way I see it is, well, let me give CCC a chance. If I don't, then I can just easily move to East River College or Small College. So then I gave CCC a chance and I'm here, two years, and I plan to be here another three years. (Max)

Salvador said in the interview that he was a “goof-off” in school and did just enough to obtain C’s in high school. When asked what motivated him to continue onto college, he states that his mother and the good grades he received in the college courses he took in dual enrollment was his major influence on his decision to enroll in college after high school:

It was just kind of a thing that my mom – well, I kind of liked it because I was getting good grades either way and I knew that eventually after high school, you have to go to college. My mom would always just remind me those classes are going to count and look at your sister, she got ahead in college because she started taking these classes, so it's important. So I kind of got the idea that high school is not really important, but you definitely have to do good in college. Also, I didn't have to get peer pressured into being the goof-off in college where, in high school, everybody's all looking at you, your friends. You're like, you know, this guy's changing or you know.

Felipe said his sister graduating from college helped plant the seed for going to college. He said:

Because I place value, great value on a college degree, mainly because I saw my sister, while I was still in high school, I saw her graduate from with a bachelors degree, and then I see how it could pretty much turn around your life. It's, most people just see it as a piece of paper. I see it as one of the greatest milestones that a small percentage of people could actually accomplish. And then I see my sister was my biggest motivation, cause I attended her graduation that day. That day actually sparked a big flame in my mind. I was like, you know what? I can't wait for the day that my mother goes to my graduation and sees me graduate and walk the stage and get my diploma from a four-year institution, so that that still, when I wake up every morning and come to school, that's what's on my mind, pretty much the, I visualize me graduating, and that's what keeps me motivated.

Mike said he did not plan on going to college. However, he states that having college credits and finances – not wanting to struggle financially in the future – was somewhat of a motivator, he said family was the biggest motivator.

Well, actually there was a time where I considered not, not even attending. But I mean, the mindset, especially coming from a high school, it's a very strong mindset, where if you're not going to college, you're kind of looked at like oh, what's wrong with you? But

it's mostly family, where I know, my parents, at the time, it had only been one parent who graduated from high school, and it was, it was just, you could see the struggle, and it was something that I didn't want to really want to get into. But what the real motivation for me is the fact that I just want to learn more. It's not about degree, or the career. It's mostly about me wanting to expand my education, be able to actually learn these different subjects. (Mike)

Self-Determination

Motivation is a powerful feeling that can promote matriculation and persistence in college. Several studies that utilized Self-Determination Theory (SDT; Deci & Ryan, 1980, 1985, 2000) have concluded that higher levels of self-determination lead to an increased student academic persistence (Deci, et al., 1991), academic motivation (Cokeley, 2003), and school satisfaction (Vallerand, Pelletier, Blais, & Brière, 1993). Guiffrida and colleagues (2013) examined how motivation influences academic outcomes of students enrolled at four-year and two-year colleges and found that students who were intrinsically motivated to enroll in college were more likely to persist and have higher GPAs. According to Ryan and Deci (2000), “extrinsic motivation refers to the performance of an activity in order to attain some separable outcome” (p. 71). In contrast, intrinsic motivation “refers to doing an activity for the inherent satisfaction of the activity itself” (p. 71). The student participants in my study indicated there were intrinsically and extrinsically motivated to go onto college. However, many students indicated they were self-motivated (or intrinsically motivated) to go to college. David said he was motivated to go to college since he was in elementary school: David states:

From as far back that I can remember, I've wanted to go to college since I was in fifth grade. And I had done really well in elementary school, due to my parents, so I remember the whole graduation experience being done with a chapter in my life. Even being a kid, I knew what it was to graduate and experience that. Okay, grades one through five are done, now I'm on to this. And middle school graduation and then high school graduation. My motivation came from now graduating from college and also essentially giving that to my parents. That's my motivation. My need to go to college was to know more about life, to know more about what I really was passionate about. What I wanted to do with myself. (David)

When I asked Frank what motivated or who motivated him to come to college he said:

Well, I guess my mom always like brought up school. You know, she's like, you want to be somebody, you gotta go to school, you know? Like she still does to this day, to my little brother and me. But mainly it was just myself. Like I wanted to be successful so bad, you know, like you know, I just want to like, you know, be successful, you know? Be better than my parents. (Frank)

This was a reoccurring theme for many students in my study. Several discussed how they wanted to make their parents proud and prove to themselves that they can go to college and be successful. This was true for high-, middle-, and low-achieving students in my study.

Institutional Agents Role in Motivating Students to Enroll In College

Cisco discussed the role his business instructor played as instrumental in motivating him to enroll at the community college after high school. When I asked him what motivated him to enroll in college after high school, he said:

I think other teachers here [Center Community College], like another teacher that was at South College that currently works here, she's a business teacher. Even though I'm not taking business, I took her for a business communication class here at CCC but she motivated me. Once I started coming back here I figured I had already taken so many General Eds, I might as well finish what I had started. So she kind of looked through my graduation plan and told me I was only a few steps away. So she motivated me to just finish what I started, you know. (Cisco)

So the college instructor was influential in convincing him to finish what he had started in regards to college credit. Juan said that counselors were important in matriculating to higher education due to their positive and encouraging message that he could succeed in college:

I felt like I had the capacity. I feel like I had the capacity to do it, and I guess that was everything that counselors would tell you, you know, counselors, it's the way to go. So I got that implanted in my head. So I realized, you know, what if I just go to college, instead of, you know, working or whatever. I didn't have any other options, working or anything. That wasn't an option. I figured I'd go to school. I don't really remember my family telling me to go to college, but I guess there was something, like at least like 20, 25 percent involvement there from the family. Oh, go to college. I have one of my sisters telling me that she wanted, really wanted me to go to college. (Juan)

I asked Joaquin if dual enrollment had an influence in motivating him to enroll in college post-high school and he said yes, “*Yeah, definitely. I mean definitely. I mean, it didn’t plant the seed itself. I think it was planted maybe like some time ago, right? But it definitely did nurture it. It definitely did nurture it, and it definitely did give me some motivation to actually go*” (Joaquin).

Joaquin understood that going to college was an ideal that was planted in his mind earlier by peers and teachers, but dual enrollment nurtured the seed that eventually bloomed in college matriculation. Thus, it was a combination of students and teachers influencing his decision to some day go to college, and dual enrollment furthered his motivation to enroll. Kevin, one of the students who first enrolled at a four-year institution, said his band director was a major influence in his decision to enroll in college. He states:

I think a lot of it had to do with my band director. Again, also I think a big part of it was that I was in an AP class. Because you start to hear all your peers mention college and their college applications and stuff like that. And so everyone was talking about getting ready to go apply and everyone was talking about, oh, did you take the SAT? I got this score. Did you take the ACTs? I got this score. And I never – I thought I was just, oh yeah, maybe I’ll just go to West Valley after and just see what it’s like. But everyone kept talking about it and went, oh yeah, I want to apply to UCLA, I want to apply to UC Berkley, I want to apply to like Arizona State. People were just talking about the colleges they were looking into going to. So then I’m, okay, I want to apply somewhere too. So I looked into Louisiana State University and I was talking to my band director about it. And he’s a big motivating factor to me and going out of state for college and applying and doing an audition and so he was a pretty big help in giving me the go ahead. (Kevin)

As a student who was taking AP courses and enrolled in dual enrollment to get out of school early, it was clear he was not influenced to continue onto college by dual enrollment. His band director took the time to provide the information he needed to make a conscious decision to enroll past high school.

Future Employment

Coming from low socioeconomic backgrounds, it is natural that many students in my study wanted to better their lives with better careers. For example, Fausto grew up poor. Even

though he is a US citizen, he spent his youth in Central America with grandparents because his mother died in a car accident so his father sent him to his grandparents. Moving back to the US and not really able to depend on family, he decided he wanted to have a career that would offer him financial stability. So when I asked him what motivated him to go to college, he stated:

My future. I just, I wanted to have, I want to have a career. That's what motivated me, seeing doctors in the hospitals working with the diseased people. And I decided to be a, to major in nursing. That's what motivated me. I just want to be successful in life.
(Fausto).

After seeing his father struggle with various jobs, Isaac stated he wanted a single place of employment that would allow him time off on weekends. He said:

I didn't want to work 20 years, like my dad did, to get weekends off. I wanted to work one job and one job only. I don't want to be where he was. I don't want to be telling my kids, you can do better than me. I want to tell them, like you can do whatever you want, not be like, do better than me, do better than me. (Isaac)

Cisco said he was motivated to enroll in college because he wants a career. He was able to obtain a job at FedEx making good money out of high school but realized he could only go so far.

So FedEx kind of gave me a little more, but then I realized there's no -- I mean, there's a future in that company but there's no really future if you wanted to grow as far as career-wise. That's just a job, you know, that you go in the same day and do the same thing. A career you can grow, you can advance, you can do a lot more for yourself in that. As far as a job you just stick there and four years from now you might still be doing the same thing everyday, doing the same job. And at a career, I feel you learn something that you can use. Maybe it's not even at that same company and another company that might pay you more for it but you learn a lot more. (Cisco)

Clearly, obtaining a good career was important for Latino males in my study to matriculate in college post-high school.

Academic Performance

Students discussed that they did well academically.

Some were doing well in high school and also did well in dual enrollment courses and it seemed to validate their decision to matriculate to college after high school. Indeed, some students, as found in research question 1, wanted to get a head start on college as they knew they were going to college after high school. Frank said he obtained an “easy B” in dual enrollment:

Cause the college, the first one was really easy too. So I was like, all right, like I hope college is like this, you know. Some classes are in college, but not all of them. Yeah, so it was pretty easy. (Frank)

Juan said he did well in his dual enrollment course as he received two B’s and one A. Juan said, “Right, so in robotics I had an A, child development, I got a B, and English 28, I got a B” (Juan) which proved to be a major motivator to enroll in college after high school. These students were already doing well academically, so taking college courses and excelling was a validation that their high school performance would transfer over to college.

Some were doing poorly in H.S. and began to do well in college.

Many of the students in my study indicated they had less than a 3.0 high school GPA. There were some with low grades in high school and even failed courses which is why they enrolled to dual enrollment – to make up units. However, students who did well in dual enrollment, after performing poorly in high school, were encouraged to continue their studies past high school. This motivated them to enroll as they saw they could do well in college courses. Participation in dual enrollment showed them they could excel academically; thus, they were not intimidated by college anymore. When I asked Salvador how many courses he took, he said he took a total of six courses. Since Salvador was an underperforming student academically, I asked him how he did in the college courses. He states he did well: “*It’s funny because like, in high school, I was doing mediocre, but in the college classes, I was doing pretty good. I think the only C I got while I was taking those classes was biology. Then the other*

classes I took were B's" (Salvador). The students who did well in dual enrollment fostered a mind of "si se puede" attitude and promoted their self-confidence. Thus, getting an A or B, regardless if the student did well academically in high school, was a source of validation that college was something academically attainable. Indeed, Salvador's high school GPA was 2.7 while his college GPA stands at 3.3.

Natural Next Step

Because my participants had already attended college as high school students, college was demystified. Because many did well and felt comfortable on the college campus, participants in my study said they knew it was their next step. They felt that it was a natural progression as they knew the college campus, knew faculty, staff, and students; knew where resources were located, and had college credit. For example Fausto, a first generation student from Central America, said he matriculated after high school because he knew the campus and how things worked. He said:

Why did I enroll here? Because I was, I was always, I already knew this college. I already knew how things worked, and I feel comfortable here. That's why I decided to stay in this college. I didn't know what Ocean College looked like, or East River College. So I just decided, I decided to stay here, since I already knew what this college was like. And they have a nursing program that I want to get in. Yeah, that's one of the main reasons I stayed, because of the nursing program they have. (Fausto)

Another student, Ignacio, when asked if taking dual enrollment courses at Center Community College influenced his decision to enroll at Center Community College stated that he enrolled at Center Community College because dual enrollment provided a pathway to what he wanted to do.

Yes, it did. It did because, you know, I knew that that was what I was going to do. Otherwise, if I didn't, you know, I would have started taking my general education, and then I probably wouldn't know what to do, you know, what to do with my life. (Ignacio)

Javier, another student, states that he enrolled at a private college that had his major, industrial design, but costs and travel became an issue. Because of his familiarity with Center Community College, lower costs, and closer to home, Javier decided to transfer to Center Community College. He states:

Oh, I took like two years off. And after those two years, I started going to school in North Hollywood, Art Institute of Hollywood. I was going for my BA on industrial design. But it was getting sort of pricey, and the trip going over there like an hour. So I was like, maybe I should go to CCC better, and you know, just keep on going to school. So that's why I came here. I barely got here last summer. (Javier)

Joaquin said that he matriculated to the community college because he was motivated by the experience of being a college student and knowing the college environment. Joaquin states:

Well, I mean partly because, you know, having the experience of being enrolled in spring, I knew what to expect. So I was like, okay, you know, well I'm just going back to the same old thing. You know, so it's nothing new. I can do this. That, and also because, since I was actually able to complete high school and graduated, I was, you know, that was an incentive to actually start my college career, you know, think about transferring my career, all those things. (Joaquin)

When I pressed Joaquin if there was anything else that dual enrollment helped in influencing his decision to enroll after high school, he said:

Well I guess also, like the variety of subjects that were, that were in the college catalogue. Cause I also, I took, I signed up but I never took it. I signed up for like this computer class, and I was like, oh, that's cool. You know, they don't have computer classes. They do in my high school, but they didn't have like, you know, the one about this specific program or whatnot, you know? And I took a sociology class here when I came, and I was like, oh, sociology sounds interesting. It's interesting. (Joaquin)

Joaquin said that although his peers, who were getting accepted to various four-year postsecondary institutions, dual enrollment motivated him to enroll past high school because he knew the campus well:

It was more, well, you know, senior year started, and then that's when that whole hype about college, you know, starts. You know, you feel pressured. You're doing your acceptance letter. I never did that, but I would see all my friends do it, you know. But then after dual enrollment, I would definitely say that they get motivated to go to college,

because, you know, now I know what college is, you know, and I know that you gotta take, now I know that you have to pay for your books, you know, which was something new. Because before, back then in high school, you know, the books are there for you, and in college you actually have to, you know, you have to, you think more in terms of finance, cause you gotta, you know, buy your notebooks, paper, pen, you know, your backpack or whatever you have to take. Cause I also started going to East River College after my dual enrollment, East River College, and then I'm like, oh, you know, I have to take the bus every day, you know. So more, more thinking about, like you know, what to, you know, how much money I should save. (Joaquin)

For Joaquin dual enrollment provided a vehicle to explore college and understand what it would be like if he decided to continue. Because of his understanding of the process and what to expect, it influenced his decision to enroll.

Summary: *How did their dual enrollment experience motivate them to matriculate in college post-high school?*

Participants in the study confirmed during their interviews that dual enrollment did play a major roll in their decision to matriculate to college after high school. Seventeen of the 26 (65.4%) mentioned that dual enrollment had a direct effect because it demystified college, they performed well in the college courses they took while in dual enrollment, and had earned college credit. Additionally, several of the institutional agents who encouraged them to enroll in college were also met through dual enrollment. So there is also an indirect connection with the theme of “Institutional Agents Role in Motivating Students to Enroll”.

RQ 2B: How did dual enrollment facilitate the transition from high school to the community colleges?

The purpose of this question was to obtain a better understanding of how dual enrollment facilitates the transition from high school to college. The literature suggests that the transition from high school to college has an influence on persistence. Thus, the easier the social and academic transition is, the more likely the students are to persist in college. In this study, the data have shown that dual enrollment did facilitate the transition from high school to college for several reasons. They already knew where to get help, they knew how to interact with various actors within the community college, they developed appropriate study and time management skills necessary to be successful once at the community college, and they knew how to navigate the policies and procedure in place.

Table 4.5: Themes Regarding Facilitation of Transition from to High School-to-College

Pseudonym	Knew what college was going to be like	Knew Campus and Services	Knew norms, attitudes, behaviors	Knew how to communicate with faculty and student	Knew what to do academically	Confidence to do well	Learned the policy and procedures
Adrian	X		X	X			
Alejandro	X		X	X			X
Carlos	X	X		X	X		
Cisco	X	X		X	X	X	X
David	X		X		X	X	
Emanuel						X	
Frank						X	X
Felipe	X		X	X	X		
Fausto	X	X					
Humberto		X					
Isaac				X	X	X	
Ignacio	X		X		X		X
Javier	X	X					
Jesus	X	X	X		X	X	

Joaquín	X		X			X	
Juan	X		X	X			X
Julian	X	X	X	X		X	
Kevin	X	X			X		
Marcos	X	X					X
Marlon	X			X		X	
Mike		X			X		X
Miguel	X		X				
Max		X					
Pepe	X	X					
Rafael			X	X	X		
Salvador	X		X	X	X	X	
N=26	19/26 or 73.1%	12/26 or 46.2%	12/26 or 46.2%	11/26 or 42.3%	11/26 or 42.3%	10/26 or 38.5%	7/26 or 29.9%

Knew What College Was Going to be Like

Seventy-Three percent of the students indicated that they knew what college was going to be like because they had already been on a college campus as students. Indeed, dual enrollment is intended to socialize students into the culture of the campus. The participating students in my study were adamant that dual enrollment was crucial in decoding what college would be like.

For example, when I asked how dual enrollment eased his transition from high school to college, Isaac said that dual enrollment provided a view of what college was like:

It gave me like an actual view of what it is to be in college, way ahead of time, like four years before, you know? That's a big change. I would say it's an easier transition to enrolling in school, and not have to be, you know, getting freshmen, I forget what they call it, freshman something, the first year in college. (Isaac)

When I asked Joaquin the same question, he said the transition was easier because he came to CCC for one class in the spring semester, so he already had an idea of what college would be like, and he did fairly well in the sociology class he took. He said that it was easy to transition from high school to college because it was not challenging. He said: *“Yeah. It was pretty easy, well especially since it was a community college, and it wasn't a Cal State or a university”*

(Joaquin). When asked how learning to navigate college while in high school helped him once he became a full-time college student, Marlon said that college helped him not feel lost:

It helped me in the way that I don't feel like I'm lost. But the only thing is that I just felt like very, very, very, I'm not going to say alone, but more of a, I kind of knew where I was going with that. So there was a sense of orientation or a sense of direction. It helped me out with my, pretty much learning how to relax. It did help me out when; I was already done with work. I can go to school, and already as a college student. I remember my friend and I, Anna, we took the orientation together, and those, those assessment tests, they really helped me out even to Villa Community College, because they took them in consideration. So it does help you out in the long run, you can say. (Marlon)

Dual enrollment provides students in my study with an opportunity to traverse the campus landscape in order to become familiar with it. Students indicated they could not get lost since they had already wandered through the halls and quads. So, having a sense of direction and familiarity eased the transition from a small high school campus to a large community college. But even for students whose dual enrollment courses were offered at their high school campus, dual enrollment proved to be beneficial. For example, Felipe, one of a handful of students who did his dual enrollment classes at his high school, said that even though his classes were at the high school, once he matriculated full-time after high school to Villa Community College, he felt like he had been there before:

*Because I was taking the college courses at my high school, it really didn't give me the feel how college is going to be like. But once I entered my first college class right here at Villa Community College, I felt like as if I had been in that position before. I felt comfortable. I felt like I'd been in this position before, therefore I can extend my relationship with the class, with the professor, and with my learning. So that pretty much, because I took the dual enrollment classes, it helped me get a feeling of how I was going to feel when I got to the Villa Community College. And it was like *deja vu*, like I've seen this before, so I can do it. (Felipe)*

Carlos succinctly stated the obvious when I asked him to reflect back and think how dual enrollment helped him transition from high school to college: “*I believe it has just because it was like an icebreaker from transitioning from high school to an actual college. I got to experience it*

before actually getting there” (Carlos). Melvin stated that dual enrollment is beneficial to all students, regardless of academic preparation, because it allows students to dip their toes in the college waters before you dive in:

It would be beneficial for all students, especially being able to participate and kind of get an outlook on what is to come in the future, because when participating in a dual enrollment program, it's kind of getting a taste. It's getting a sense of what's going to be going on in the future. So you're dipping your toes in the water, and starting to find out, okay, when I get to this point, where this is going to be my life, I need to do this. I need to do that, in order to succeed. So it would definitely be beneficial, whether it would be a high achieving or low achieving student. (Melvin)

I asked Alejandro what was it like for him to be a high school student on a college campus taking college courses with college students and college professors. Alejandro responded:

Well, I mean it's like it gave me a head start to what the future's going to be like. It's kind of something I wanted to do just to get a feel for it because I know I'm going to have to do this eventually. It's better to get my feet in the water rather than just jump inside the pool. Oh yeah, I thought it was great. For one thing, I could finally concentrate on my work. I feel like-minded with the rest of the people because everybody here is focused, everybody here is ready. This is the one place I feel like there won't be no stupid questions. Yeah. It gives a serious tone to the situation. (Alejandro)

So Alejandro was clearly role-rehearsing during his time in dual enrollment. This enabled him to get a feel for the campus and interact with college students who were more studious and academically driven, while having a college ID. The theme here is that dual enrollment allows students to explore their options because they become aware of what college is, what it will be like, and what to expect. Thus, they can make a well-informed decision as to whether or not college truly is for them. Melvin commented that the culture within his high school was that not going to college was frowned upon. So there is pressure to attend college whether or not it is for them. By providing the opportunity to participate in a college class (regardless if it is in a college or high school campus), dual enrollment provides the students with an inexpensive way to explore the college waters.

They Knew the Campus and Where to Go for Services

Knowing the geographical and academic landscape of the campus was salient for many of the students. They knew where Extended Opportunities Programs & Services (EOPS), counseling office, and financial aid were located and utilized them regularly. When I asked Carlos if he could elaborate a bit more on how dual enrollment helped him transition from high school to college, he said, like many of the participants in my study, that it was several things. But he stressed programs and services in the interview:

It helped me a lot in college because I was aware of the whole college life, how it was going to be, how the professor expects a lot from you, how you can ask the professor to let you turn in a late work as opposed to in high school or as when you miss a test or a quiz. In high school, they will probably give you that option of taking it the next day you show up to class. I was also – it also prepared me to know how to find help within the college with all these programs available, as far as EOPS and other resources that were available to us. (Carlos)

David said learning what resources were at his disposal were very important in transitioning from high school to college. When asked how participating in dual enrollment facilitated that transition from high school student to full-time college student, he said that learning where things were facilitated that transition. David said:

So when I had to come and register here, I would say this was the second—I had visited the campus of Northridge before, just to take my entrance placement tests, but I didn't really explore it. When I came here, I did get the campus tour and I got the tour of the facilities and I'm like—I was really surprised. I was like, wow, this is what's open to me. This is—like this campus is here, there's a library. There's advisors, there's, you know, there's office hours. So I was just like, okay, I'm going to take advantage of pretty much all of this. And the experience itself was like, well, I became aware of like what I can do while I was in college. I didn't just have to go to class and maybe then just go home. I could make use of the library. I could make use of office hours and talk to professors with whatever I was struggling with in class. Maybe talk to an advisor about paying for college, what the semester after that is what I would have to do or maybe even after college, what is it that I wanted to do? Which I did and I found it very helpful. (David)

By going to Center Community College to register and participating in orientation as a high school student, and utilizing the facilities to study, he knew what services were available and

where all the services were located. He also realized that he could utilize all the resources, even if he was a high school student, because of dual enrollment. So once he returned as a full-time student, he knew where all the resources were located. Fausto said that knowing the campus very well allowed him to feel comfortable at Center Community College:

Well, I feel comfortable. Yeah, I feel comfortable. I knew where things were at, the library they had. I like the library. The different, I knew where the different buildings were at, and I said to myself, if I go to another college, I'm going to be lost for probably for half a day trying to find my class. And since I already knew this college, I was not going to have a problem with that. (Fausto)

For Fausto, it was very beneficial and important for him to the Center Community College campus. He stated he had no intention of starting anywhere else because of his familiarity with the campus. The theme here was that through dual enrollment, students become familiar with the various buildings and services within the campus, which eased the transition from high school to college. This easing of transition allows students to focus on their academics instead of experiencing anxieties in trying to figure out a new campus. For Latino males who have underperformed in high school, knowing where services, such as financial aid and counseling offices, are located is extremely important to increase retention and persistence.

Knew Norms, Attitudes, and Behaviors

This theme relates to how students become aware of the types of behaviors that are accepted on a college campus and in the classroom. Faculty expect students to conduct themselves in certain ways, learn to communicate, and be prepared for lectures weekly. College students also become socialized early in the ways of communication and interaction between students and faculty, and between students themselves. Alejandro saw this early on in his dual enrollment program. When I asked him if there was anything that he found surprising or that he did not know before participating in dual enrollment, Alejandro said:

Well, just as far as doing everything on your own, like getting up to use the restroom or when you ask a question, you have to be very direct or being respectful of other people or other people's space and time. People are more serious. That's the one thing I definitely noticed. It's the only thing I didn't expect. (Alejandro)

So just the normality of walking in late, leaving during class, or not necessary paying attention was a surprise for him. Fausto said that he learned that he had to develop his time management skills and be self-determined to get things done:

It helped me like to get things done by myself, like you know, like it's on me. No one's gonna be there to like sign a paper for me. Like if I want it, like I have to do it. Like there's no more, like oh, like calling parents for this. Like it's self-responsibility to get, to get your stuff done if you really want them, and that's how it helped me out. Like oh, if I want to go there, I have to do it by myself, cause my mom ain't gonna help me out. Even if I want to, like college won't provide information to her. It's just like that. That's how responsibility it [gave me]. (Fausto)

Isaac said he noticed how students would come and go. The professors would move on even if students were confused regarding a subject or topic. He said:

Well the biggest difference was that nobody really participated, and it wasn't mandatory to participate. And pretty much, if you had no questions about it, they would just move on with the subject even if you were confused. (Isaac)

When I asked him of there was anything else that was different between college classes and high school, he said that professors would seldom take roll and students could simply walk out of class.

Well other than like, you know, nobody taking attendance, and just kind of walking out whenever you wanted and missing class whenever you wanted. Well depending on the college professor, but some of them would take role, some of them wouldn't, and just pretty much that was it. I don't remember too much like of the differences. (Isaac)

Ignacio said that he learned classroom behavior during dual enrollment. When asked what was it like being a high school student in college he states:

It was different. You know, because someone treated you like a college student, you know, you had a little bit more, I don't know if to say freedom, but like liberty, like— I don't know how to say. They didn't have you like they do in high school. Like you have to be with the teacher, and more rules. There was less rules here. Like in high school, they

say, don't, like oh, you can't be like eating in class, or you can't go to the restroom without asking for permission, and things like that. (Ignacio)

When discussing the way students interacted with the professors versus how students interacted with the high school teachers, Juan said:

It's a big difference; actually....I saw a difference there, mostly because the kids who were really immature, you would start noticing everything, because a lot of kids are immature, right? They started doing crazy dumb things. In high school they would throw, you know, paper, you know, do some dumb things. That's one . . . reasons why I switched one of the classes, cause teachers that could not keep control of this. You know, he's a cool teacher. I love his, you know, I love his tactics and everything, but he was not good at, you know, keeping himself in ground. ...But the transition that I saw within high school and in college was, students were quiet, and everything that came out from their mouths was school oriented, or you know, in terms of the topic, right? And in high school, kids would be talking, and about some type of situation at hand, fight, whatever it was. But they wouldn't really pay attention, you know? (Juan)

Student like Juan clearly identified how college students behaved themselves in class and took their courses seriously. The overall arching theme in this section was that students saw first hand how norms, attitudes, and behaviors shape expectations within the college classroom. Students had the autonomy to select courses, to do or not to do their work, and faculty would not slow down the pace to allow students to catch-up. That they would have to take the initiative to persist in college as their success was their onus. By clearly disseminating these cultural values to the dual enrollment Latino males, it inculcated them with a mindset of self-determination and self-efficacy to be successful in college.

They Learned How to Communicate with Faculty and Students

Communication in any organization plays a major role in terms of how one should interact with members within the organization. Many of the students indicated they learned how to communicate with faculty and students when they participated in dual enrollment. They knew how to interact with the faculty. They went to office hours. I asked Alejandro to reflect back to dual enrollment and to compare the difference he saw between high school and college in terms

of the way students would interact with their professors versus high school students interacting with the teachers. Alejandro said:

Huge difference, very huge. High school, I guess by example, would be holding you by the hand and college level will be not at all. You're completely on your own. Just you in a boat of water, nothing else. When a professor talks, he talks like he knows that everybody knows what he's talking about and is a more serious tone. Nobody's there to play around. It's just a more professional environment. (Alejandro)

Similar to the norms, attitudes and behaviors theme, Alejandro found that the communication and interaction between students and faculty was very academic and serious. So he got the message early on how faculty communicated and he needed to ensure that his communication and interaction with the faculty were serious as well. Indeed, Carlos also found that he should not be afraid to communicate with college faculty or students.

I wasn't afraid of talking to people like, even though they were older, different in the cities also as opposed to my high school where the majority was Hispanic. In college, you could have class with a lot of different people. I believe it prepared me for that. (Carlos)

Being able to communicate with classmates is critical in a college environment, as there are group projects and assignments given regularly. Carlos, although a minor at the time, was able to communicate with his older college peers. But it is not simply about communicating; it is also about what to communicate. Isaac also said that he learned how to communicate with college students in dual enrollment:

And interactions with students, like college students, pretty much like talking to them and things like that, and where they came from, like different experiences. And being at a community college I would say is different from a regular college, just because you have people from all age groups. Like my first class, I was surprised to see like 30 and 40 year old people there. I was like, this is college. Like I had an idea of college like all young people. (Isaac)

Clearly, several students in the study indicated that the interactions between the students and the high school teachers were different than the types of academic conversations happening in the

classroom between college students and instructors. This allowed participants in my study to better demystify the ways in which actors within the college organization communicated. By learning the ways in which students and faculty communicated, it allowed students in dual enrollment to easily transition from high school to college.

They Knew What to Do Academically

Students discussed that participating in dual enrollment allowed them to develop various skills necessary to be successful. For example, students discovered that their time management skills and study habits that worked for them in high school were not going to allow them to be successful in college. For example, when asked how learning to navigate the college environment in dual enrollment helped him once in college full-time, David said:

I was able to establish my study habits, which were different from high school. In high school it's kind of an every day kind of thing where you have a repetition of classes and it's a Monday through Friday from eight to three. But then when I got to college, everything kind of changed as far as study habits and my life. You're not in school all day, depending on your units, and I found myself that I wasn't. I had maybe my first semester I had three classes back to back and I found myself with a really empty day after that. And I found that maybe if I would change my study habits to just fill that day and maybe just participate in some extra college activities too. (David)

Carlos also discovered the academic environment was different, and that he needed to stay focused to be successful in college:

Basically the teacher tells you what to do, but there's sort of like a second parent, I would say, because they – if you slack off, they'll probably give you a second chance here and there or they will baby you. That's what I would say as far as the amount of work or the quality of it. But in college, the professor expects more of you because it's higher education. Basically, you have duties. You have no option then to do it if you want to be serious with college...I was more aware of it because I also knew that there's a lot of papers due as far as at least five pages for whatever subject you have. I also knew that there's certain – talking about the papers, there's certain guidelines that you have to do as far as the MLA format and all that. So while I was in high school with the dual program, I was aware of that. I started to pay attention more to the formats because I wanted to come in strong, to know how to do all my work. (Carlos)

The experience in dual enrollment definitely helped Carlos transition from high school to college as he was already socialized into the academic norms, attitudes, and behaviors. He was aware he needed to understand the formatting professors in college wanted and how it was important to start strong in order not to fall behind as the semester progressed because he already experienced it. Isaac said that he learned what he needed to be successfully academically when he was in dual enrollment:

It just lets me know that the classes aren't that hard. As long as you do the work, you pretty much have a class, you have a grade. And it's based on that, just doing the work, and just kind of giving the timelines, like for dates that things are due, and the professors not, not that they don't care, but just kind of have a strict policy on what it is that's due, kind of ensures that we as students, or in my case at least, that we do the work. And the time that you're doing the work, you kind of don't rush it, cause you have to learn it, cause it comes up in the test or the midterm and things like that, and it pretty much makes, to me, it makes me learn while I'm doing the work. It's not like in high school where I kind of just did, jotted down everything, or I would copy from somebody. It was just like, you have to do it, cause in college, not a lot of people, I guess, copy, cause then the tests come around, it's like, you don't know anything. (Isaac)

When I asked Juan if he had ever seen a syllabus before, he said:

It's funny, cause I never actually, I never really paid attention to a syllabus until I, you know, I started, you know, attending these courses and stuff, and . . ., cause in high school, they'd give you a syllabus too. And if anything, they'd make you sign, they'd make your parents sign. I remember that, back in the days. They'd make parents sign it, to be informed that what you're supposed to do. And you know, your parents supposed to know what you're doing, and stuff like that. I mean, they pay attention to all that. You know, and right now, since you know, I took courses in summer, and when I was in high school, paid attention a lot to the syllabuses, cause basically, everything you can find all the information, in terms of dates, examinations, you know, what's going to be assigned in that certain day, or what is going to, what the lectures will be on. It's in the syllabus. (Juan)

In high school, as Juan suggests, the syllabus was something he felt was geared towards parents so they were aware of what their son or daughter was expected to do. Juan found out quickly that his success academically was dependent on his understanding of the course syllabus and what he needed to do throughout the semester. It was not simply a piece of paper for his parents

to sign, but a contract between him and the college professor as to what would be expected. This socialization experience was critical in his transition from high school to college.

This section has highlighted the importance of role-rehearsal for the acquisition of academic and social socialization. As prior research suggests, anticipatory socialization is paramount to inform outside members of the organization what he or she needs to do in order to be successful once a full member of the organization. Latino male participants in my study clearly discussed how all the exposure to college enabled them to decode the college system, which resulted in increasing their confidence.

Developed Confidence

Many of the participants indicated that having been a college student (whether on a college or high school campus) gave them the confidence to transition to college. Confidence is critical for success in any endeavor and college is no exception – particularly for first-generation Latino males. Several students indicated that being aware of what college was going to be like, knowing where services were on campus, and understanding the norms, attitudes, behaviors needed to be successful in college, were major confidence builders. For example, Cisco says:

I feel now I feel more confident with the college campus. I know where to go. I feel a lot more confident with the college life. Like, as far as the community college, you know, like getting to know people and who to talk to if I needed help, how to manage myself in school. Different classes, and stuff, I felt like it helped me a lot. Even now, like if I ever needed something, I knew who to talk to; different counselors. Since they're both in the same district, the school, there's a lot of faculty that they've transferred from over there to over here and vice versa. So it helped me get more in tune with faculty in this school. (Cisco).

Frank adds:

The impact it had on me? I think it would be, you know, helped my confidence, helped me be more knowledgeable about, you know, college itself, just in general, and how the material is going to be, stuff like that. (Frank)

Confidence is important for any student to successfully navigate college. This is even more critical for Latino male students who have traditionally underperformed in college. Because of their participation in dual enrollment, participants in my study suggest that their confidence increased because they felt comfortable in college since they had already “dipped their toe” in the college waters.

Learned the Policies and Procedures of The College

Every organization has policies and procedures that dictate the bureaucracy. Colleges are no exception. There are policies for who can matriculate and procedures on how to matriculate. There are also policies and procedures as to how to enroll in a class and drop if necessary. Understanding policies and procedures is paramount to be successful in any organization. For Latino males, understanding this is exponentially important. Many students in my study stated that because of dual enrollment, they knew how to matriculate and add/drop classes, where to get their ID card, parking permit, and take their placement exams. I asked Cisco if he could think of any other examples of how dual enrollment participation enabled him to successfully navigate policies and procedures now that he was a full-time student:

Well, as far as policies and procedures, since I had a feel for it already when I was in high school, it kind of broke me in as far as things to do. Like I said, trial and error. I've learned when to drop dates if I'm going to drop a class if I don't feel I'm doing so good. I've learned policies too, like how, as far as academic-wise, when to ask for help or if I'm struggling in classes, when to look for study groups and stuff like that. But as far as policies and so forth, yeah, I kind of just winged it, you know. (Cisco)

Several students indicated how they knew they could be added to a waitlist if they wanted to enroll in a full class, or that they could take a course and drop it with a W to avoid receiving a low grade empowered them. Even students who took years in between high school and college remembered the policies and procedures to navigate college. For example, Miguel talked about being away from school for nine years. He has been in and out of jail for the past nine years and

he returned this past semester. I asked him if taking dual enrollment nine year ago had any help in facilitating his re-entry to higher education nine years later.

A bit. Like understanding the whole system of how you have to like register for classes, and get course like section numbers, and like fill out the paperwork and stuff, be more like understanding of how like getting books and, you know what I mean? Making sure you like fill out the proper like, the section numbers and stuff like that. It's basically helped me a bit, you know? It's not so foreign to me so much anymore. (Miguel)

Understanding the rules of any organization is critical for success. The students in my study were successful in navigating the collegiate landscape because they knew what they had to do a non-academically. This also aided their transition from high school to college because, in high school, the school or parents handled all the paper work. High school students are not necessarily aware of the policies and procedures that are in place in compulsory education. However, students who role-rehearsed and were given the anticipatory socialization to obtain funds of knowledge were provided the tools necessary to be successful in college.

Summary: RQ 2B: *How did dual enrollment facilitate the transition from high school to the community colleges?*

Students who participated in dual enrollment indicated that it provided them with the anticipatory socialization to easily transition from high school to college. They knew where to go for various services (i.e., tutoring, financial aid, counseling, etc.), who to talk to within those departments, how to approach faculty and staff, and knew what students programs were available to them. In addition, it allowed them to feel comfortable in the academic and social collegiate environment as they had already “been there” as quasi-students. As Jesus succinctly states regarding his transition to college:

Yes, it does. It helps you navigate through a life and the obstacles. Now when you actually go to college, you'll know what problems you're going to encounter. You know how to counteract them. You know what to do, where to go. You don't have that fear of the unknown, because that's one of the big things. If you've never tried anything out,

what happens if this and that, or I don't know this, or do they like laugh at you, because you're a kid? You're the only kid in the class, all that. Once you come here and you experience that firsthand, you get that out of you. Now you're out. I mean, it's always different, every new class, but once you get the first taste of the first classes, it's almost all the same. You start to see how the environment is. It's not like high school where class starts, and there's still people talking in the back. No. The teacher's talking, you're listening. (Jesus)

Research Question Three

What role did institutional agents have on the socialization (academic and social) and decoding of the community college system for these Latino males?

This question asks who helped decode the system to enable participants to navigate the community college academic and social landscape during their time in dual enrollment. Specifically, I sought to understand if there were any individuals whom Stanton-Salazar refers to as institutional (1997) or empowering agents (2011) who may have provided assistance in decoding the two-year college system. This section will present two dimensions to this question: (1) Who were the institutional agents and what type of information did they disseminate to students? and (2) how that process provided academic and social socialization to help decode the community college system.

The institutional agents

Several students indicated that high school counselors and teachers, along with college instructors and students, were instrumental in helping them decode the system and become properly socialized in their community college. I will divide each institutional agent and described how each provided *funds of knowledge* to decode the college system.

College peers.

Several students indicated that high-achieving high school and college peers helped decode the college system. Students stated how they would ask questions of full-time students and try to understand what to expect, socially and academically, in college. I asked Adrian to whom would he turn to for information and guidance and he named a college student. Specifically, he said that a college peer would provide hints about how to purchase school-related items and prepare for each exam:

Actually, I asked one student, just one. I asked him how a college completely differs from high school. He was telling me basically what I was thinking. He told me that he'd walk

in the first day thinking it was just like high school, like nothing different from high school. He told me that once he started getting the first assignments and he had to buy books for the class and he had to buy Scantrons and all these things and he had to be there for class instead of just skipping. That was like a hint that I shouldn't be just – like I have to buy – my sister also told me that I have to buy books and there's assignments that really, really need to be done. There's studying, not like high school. You have to actually study and you would sit there and read the book. Yeah, I did talk about that. (Adrian)

Alejandro said, when asked about learning to navigate college's policies and procedures, that in addition to his own efforts to gather information, the peer counselor at his high school also helped him as well:

He [high school peer counselor] would give me like the gist of it, like the most important part like how to enroll, where to enroll and what does it mean to enroll. He would tell me – you know, he would check up on us. It was his job to make sure that we were all on the same path. He would tell us about scholarship opportunities and these programs and how to get money and how to finish college fast and where to enroll for other classes and how to cram other classes and what classes to take. (Alejandro)

I asked Alejandro if he would ever go to the college counseling or financial aid office for information. He responded by saying he did not: “*Uh-uh. Everything I had to do as far as my questions, I will always go back to my peer counselor. That's who I feel most comfortable with*” (Alejandro). The peer counselor had developed a good rapport with Alejandro that he preferred to ask college-related questions to a high school peer counselor instead of trained personnel paid by the college. When I asked Emanuel, who is undocumented, who helped provide academic information, he stated:

There was this student who used to play soccer at De La Hoya, and up till today, we still talked. Yesterday we went to play soccer together. So he's been there since high school. He's like been, been like pushing me, like to do good and just do my work, try to get it. He tells me, “Look, if you want to go to class, get the book, go all the way to, read the pages. Like that's what like, will help you out the most, that's what helps you out the most, like reading, doing the work.” Cause yeah, he's just there for me up every day. (Emanuel)

Interestingly, when I asked him who motivated him to enroll in college, Emanuel stated it was

the same former high school student, Armando, who was currently enrolled in college:

Armando, the guy who's been there since high school. Him and, and just not knowing what, what was my future like. Like, so he would be there telling me, "Go to college." You know, like experience, "Like if you don't like it, like go and experience college, and if you don't like it, well like try to do something else." He was just there to like advise me to come to college, and then it was just not knowing what was like, I couldn't do after high school. I didn't have a plan besides college. There was no other plan, like work or something. It was just like, I guess it was college. Yeah, so it was just him, and not having other doors, I guess, to go and explore. (Emanuel)

Because of Emanuel's undocumented status, his future had very few options. This one student, Armando, who was a college student at the community college who had graduated from his high school the year before, provided information to decode how to be successful academically and motivated him to enroll in college once he finished high school. College students' peers have a major influence, as they are close enough in age to relate to high school students but also have the college experience; thus, dual enrollment students tended to legitimize them and put a high value on their message.

But not all peers were college students. Students indicated that even high school students served as institutional agents by providing valuable information and serving as a resource. For example, when I asked Julian about how he learned to navigate the policies and procedures in college while he was in dual enrollment, Julian quickly responded with his high-achieving high school peers who were fellow dual enrollment participants:

Again, those were my buddies that I used to work with in the library. They actually took me through it. I went to them [because] they were very knowledgeable about it. Because you know, that's, cause they were enrolled, they were honors students. Yeah, I was not. They were. (Julian)

When I asked Rafael if there were any students who he talked to in his college course, which was located on his high school campus, he said there was an older student who provided valuable information on how to succeed academically. Rafael states:

It was one, I would talk to him. I would ask for help also...How to do the problem; help with the homework also, with the class work. He was old, like 26, 25. I just asked like, how was college and he told me it was easy. It was easy if you were steady, keep up with your work, communicate with your professor and if he – you were the type of student like, yes, I want to go home and don't study, don't do your homework, it's going to be tough. (Rafael)

Rafael said that college peers motivated him to continue with school and not dropout. Students in my study say there were times when they wanted to drop out of school for various reasons.

Rafael was no exception. He stated that he contemplated dropping out of college to help his family by working full-time. However, the older, non-traditional students seem to provide encouragement to continue. Rafael states:

I always try to talk to the like, older than me like two or three years so they could help me out, like advice. Right now, I just talk to one of the students in my math class. I think he's 23, 24. Even though he's old, he's trying to get his degree and then transfer to another – to make it to his dream, which is, I think, business. That's what he's trying to do. To keep up with school. Like today, he told me I was thinking about dropping out, but I try not to because I'm trying to accomplish my dreams and have a degree and be something in life. (Rafael)

In summary, peers had an influence on students' decisions and motivations. Peers served as institutional agents by providing valuable information regarding the college going process. More importantly, they helped decode the college system by illuminating how to matriculate, study, and persist once in college.

School counselors and teachers.

Counselors and teachers in junior and senior high schools shape the trajectory of students. They can provide or withhold information and act as gatekeepers to courses that provide a solid academic foundation to be successful in college. Fortunately, participants in my study had counselors and teachers who served as institutional agents. Many stated that counselors or teachers saw something in them that propelled them to act in ways that others on campus were not doing. Frank discussed how his high school counselor not only encouraged him to

participate in dual enrollment, but helped prepare all the necessary documentation he needed to enroll in dual enrollment including registration for the college courses. Frank said she was very helpful because she handled all of the paper work and any questions he had, *“I think she mostly did it for us. Yeah, she was very helpful”* (Frank). Frank said the counselor would go out of her way to ensure they had the documentation and information necessary to be successful in dual enrollment. Marcos stated that his counselor encouraged him to enroll in dual enrollment because he believed Marcos was smart and he needed the units to graduate from high school in time. Just like Frank’s case, not only did the high school counselor encourage Marcos to participate in dual enrollment, but the counselor also took care of a lot of the paper work. For example, when I asked him who helped him navigate the college’s policies and procedures while he was in dual enrollment, Marcos said:

In high school there was a special counselor there, because I was still in the independent studies there. And they were just constantly, “Oh, yeah, what classes do you want?” Actually, yeah, they helped me pick out the classes, and she did tell me, like, where to go and what time. And she gave me a list, but that was it. (Marcos)

Rafael discussed how his high school counselor was encouraging: *“Well, she motivated me by telling me it will give you credits and it will look good on your transcript. Since you were good in math, it will be like a good class to take.”* (Rafael). Fausto stated that his counselor helped him navigate college throughout his time in dual enrollment: *“Well, the person who helped me the most was counselor. He was the one that chose how to get into classes, where was this located, where was that at. And yeah, he was the one that helped me the most, get through, through the program”* (Fausto). Fausto also stated how the counselor let him know about various rules and expectations within the college classroom. For instance, that a college syllabus is a contract between the professor and student.

Yeah, they [Michael Dean] told us it was like a contract. Yeah, cause he was the one that

was always telling, telling the students stuff that they didn't know. If students had questions, he would always help them. Yeah, and I think he was the one that told me about the syllabus. It was like a contract with my college teachers.

Fausto states that once he enrolled full-time after high school, he already knew what the teacher expected. Isaac states that his junior high school counselor informed him of dual enrollment and that he encouraged Isaac to participate and provided the necessary support:

Well through my counselor, she actually managed to convince me to go, I was supposed to go to Fremont High School, which was like South LA, and then she convinced me to go to this school which is Middle College, which is a dual enrollment high school, which allows like, I think the first year is all high school classes, but tenth, eleventh, twelfth. You're able to do dual enrollment, high school and college courses...She would do a lot of stuff for the people that were smart. A lot of the smart people were just sixth and seventh graders, kind of like the quiet people. She would take me out to dinners, and Dodgers baseball, and I think they even took us to like a Lakers baseball, Lakers game once, like for all academically superior people. (Isaac)

So it is not only high school counselors who can interject and provided a pathway to college, but also junior high school counselors as well. Counselors and teachers played an important role in promoting the program, going to college, and ensuring they had all the information they needed to be successful in college. For many, it seems like they would not have found out about the program or participated in dual enrollment had it not been for the counselors and teachers at their high schools.

College professors.

Because faculty have a major influence on students, it is not surprising that students in my study indicated that they benefited immensely from their interaction with college professors. Cisco said he took note that even before he participated in dual enrollment, a college instructor, who happened to have a degree in mathematics, would tutor him while his mother was taking CAD classes at the local community college. For instance, when asked if he did well in high

school, he said yes because the professor at the community college would help him get his work done:

Academically? I was doing pretty good because at the time, I believe in my sophomore year; my mom got laid off from one of her jobs so she started going back to school. And she went to South College which is another community college from the district. Since we would have daycare, well, not daycare, but somebody would watch us after high school, she'd take us with her to school. So I started going to tutoring with her. She'd go to class and I'd go to college -- like kind of -- how would it be? It was an auto CAD class where the teacher [college instructor] was also a math major so he'd help me a lot on tutoring me on homework. It was kind of like high school homework so he'd still help me out with it while she was going to school herself. (Cisco)

So, Cisco was a high school student who would go with this mother to the college campus, and, once there, a college instructor took the time to encourage and support him in his high school math homework. This helped Cisco develop an appreciation for college instructors' knowledge of the subject. In addition, he developed the notion that college instructors are there to provide academic support. Other participants in my study reported the same thing. I asked David what were some of the conversations he engaged in with college professors that he believed were beneficial after he became a full-time college student. He said obtaining information on developing good study habits early on and how to deal with finances, such as taking out loans, and dealing with stress was critical to how he would approach college:

I remember, from my experience, was the only one that I would say that I liked and I would say was among the favorite of the three, was the personal development professor who demonstrated how to be an efficient college student. Who said, you know, for example, you know, here are some ways to pay for college. Here are some things to help you with your study habits in college. Here are some of the people that you'll meet in college. And above all of that, maybe here are some examples of real life that you'll also have to handle simultaneously as you're doing all of those. So that really helped us, because if it wasn't for him, if it wasn't for our interactions, I don't know how long it would have taken me to actually know those skills or that knowledge. So this professor had graduated from USC. And he was like, legitimately, "The only thing that I'm struggling in life with right now is paying off my loans and I would say that if you're going to take up some loans". He said this to all of us, you know, "If you're going to take up loans, if you're going to take up financial aid, there's two things that you can do. You can either be a full time student and just take as many units as you can so you can

graduate as fast as you can, or get a job and pay off your loans as you go.” Kind of like a balance. He also said “Buy your textbooks online, they're cheaper there.” He also said “Carpool with friends, saves you money on your commute.” And those are simple things. I would say the more trivial, the more I would say things about life that I learned from him was that at the time, the Virginia Tech shooting was a really big deal and he mentioned to all of us that it was important to keep ourselves mentally stable in life, to step back, relax, take like in stride, enjoy it sometimes. (David)

Being a graduate of USC, an institution well-known and respected in South Central Los Angeles, gave the community college instructor legitimacy when he spoke to the class about these topics.

Felipe said the college faculty were encouraging and supportive. When I asked him if he ever interacted with his instructor, he said:

Yeah, I did, actually. I would stay after class with them and meet up, and then they were actually amazed of the turnout of the class, cause they expected a smaller number of students to enroll in these dual enrollment classes. But he said it was something that he enjoyed coming, because it was, like an extracurricular job for him. When he was done at [...], he would drive down to Franklin, and then he said his first day, he was surprised of the enormous amount of students. It was like around, close to 30 students taking the class. And he said he didn't expect for us to be so focused and so submerged into the class. He said it was as if we were already like college students. (Felipe)

When I asked him to elaborate as to what was discussed with the professors he met in dual enrollment, he said that he wanted to obtain a better understanding of what to expect from professors once he was a full member of the college. In other words, he wanted to have the college instructors to demystify college so that he could transition easier once he made the switch from high school to college:

I was mainly concerned of how other professors at the colleges were going to be like. I wanted to get a feel of what to expect when I got to college, how the classes were structured, the grading system, what was needed to be successful, because most of my high school classes, I don't know if it was different for most students, but I didn't see it as, you needed to work really hard in order to get an A. Most teachers at high schools, you do a half assed job and you could get an A. So I wanted to get a feel of that, how that was going to change in college, and how submerged you have to be in the subject in order to have a good grade in it. That's pretty much what my questions would be for them. They would say that once entering college, it's a whole different ballpark. You have to pretty much stick your nose in the book, and really get a feel of the subject, not just the surface of it. You have to spend, you know, long hours of studying, they say, for a

course of four units, that means you have to spend like an hour per unit at home studying, which would be like four hours extra home study. So they would tell me that you have to pretty much get prepared to work as double as you did in high school, and just stay focused on the, well the [...], he told me to stay focused on the, at the end of the, the light at the end of the tunnel, which is pretty much your degree and all the benefits that come with it, which, that was the greatest advice that I got from that professor. (Felipe)

Max said that when he was a high school student participating in dual enrollment, a college professor provided various insights regarding the college:

I think the one that kind of gave me a wider experience for college was, again, the Humanities professor, Professor Armstrong. She just gave me an insight because I just liked the idea that she went to UCLA. Again, she's a very old woman. She's seen a lot. She's been to a lot of places and she says to this day that if I would have not got in that degree from UCLA, I probably wouldn't have seen half the things that I would have. And to me, that's just an eye-opening experience for me. I think it's because how far education can take you. How far something like that can help you motivate yourself and probably discover new perspectives. And I think she is like one of the main professors here that has helped me because when I applied for the Honors program here, I immediately thought of her. I want her to be my recommendation and she gladly did. And I actually have to email her and tell her that I got in.

The professor was a major motivator for Miguel as she would encourage college-going and provide what Attinasi (1989) refers to as mentor-modeling. Even though by all accounts Miguel had anticipated going to college, the professor not only played a role in reinforcing and validating the notion of going to college, she also demystified what college would be like once he got there and the type of experience he would have. College professors, because of their status in society and within the college campus, have a major influence on students. Their legitimacy due to their educational credentials, can influence the students they work with. Students in my study clearly indicated that college instructors had a positive influence on them by being a source of encouragement and helping to decode the college system.

College service personnel.

Student services are critical in providing non-academic support at many institutions. Students depend on them to ensure they are being advised properly. Students who participated in

my study indicated they utilized various student services to obtain information to decode college. Emanuel, who is undocumented, states that he would go to admissions office to obtain information regarding help navigating college when he was in dual enrollment. Because of his non-legal status, he had to pay for the college courses even though he was a high school student. The counselors at his high school were unaware that undocumented students had to pay, but the college admissions office did:

R: Admissions. I went in last, back then, my summer, when I took the summer classes there was no California Dream Act. So I had to pay for the class out of my pocket. So yeah, but admission led me to, to different offices, like they would just like help me out, tell me like what to do to get the class. Like it was just admissions like the whole time who helped me out. And then my senior year, like I knew like what to do from there. It was mainly admissions who helped me out through the process.

I: So did going to classes in the summer help you navigate East River College when you went back your senior year? You already knew what to do?

R: Yeah, it was much easier, cause I struggled a lot on my summer class, cause I didn't, like I knew how to pay for a class. My counselor told me, oh, like since you're in high school, you don't have to pay for the class. But I had to. Yeah, so I went there, like saying no, I don't have to pay for the class. My [high school] counselor said no. But I knew I had to pay, so yeah, so admissions helped me out. And then 12th grade came, so that was much easier, cause the California Dream Act came, so yeah, free classes, go out there after school, and it was just like going straight to class, cause I knew how to register beforehand to just straight go to class, no admissions, no process. (Emanuel)

Jesus talked about how it was important to him to go to the counseling office at the college campus and speak directly to counselors. He understood that communication was key to obtaining information from staff members at the college. When I asked Jesus who he would turn to for help in learning to navigate college, he said:

It was a counselor. I would talk, "Hey, these are my problems. What can I do? I know I can enroll." It was pretty straightforward. Whatever I asked he told me. They're not really too interactive here. Yeah, but straight answers. Sorry about my language, but no BS. Here's your information. "What else do you want? What do you want to do? What's the problem?" I only went to him twice, and there are different counselors. You just sign up, because it's on a first come, first serve basis up there. (Jesus)

Several of the students indicated that interacting with these agents enables them to decode the college system. Indeed, the college counselor responsible for dual enrollment students stated that he would go over what a syllabus was, how to crash a class, how to get free books, and so on. Joaquin said he was unaware of the possibility of participating in dual enrollment until his counselor informed him of this option and recommended it. He said the counselor provided all the necessary information to motivate him to enroll in dual enrollment. Joaquin states:

She recommended dual enrollment to give me a sort of head start for college, because, you know, the units still count while you do them in high school. So I thought it was a great idea, a smart idea. I was like, damn, if I would have known... I mean, if I was a little bit more like, you know, academically involved in high school, like 10th, 11th, I would have obviously joined it earlier, but I wasn't, so it didn't appeal to me. But I had no idea that I could, you know, go to college and dual enroll. So she broke it down to me. She's like, look, you can take your English and history, whatever, here at the adult school, and you could take, you know, college credits at CCC. So she's, you know, she took out a paper and she said, she wrote down some classes that she suggested that I should take, because in order for high school students to take classes here, you have to have like a counselor from your high schools, like signing off and whatever. So I did that, ended up taking a class here. So that's how I, you know, went from CCC, from high school to CCC. (Joaquin)

Learning how to communicate with counselors proved to be important in obtaining information regarding the decoding of college policies and procedures. Carlos attended CSULB before coming to Center Community College, and he learned how to navigate college through the admissions and financial aid offices. For example, when I asked him who or what helped him navigate the colleges, policies and procedures when he was in dual enrollment, he said, “*I would always ask questions to the personnel at the admissions office or...financial aid*” (Carlos). The Latino students in my study clearly went to and received help from the personal staff. They not only stated that the office staff provided the information they needed, but that they also were very candid and encouraging.

Summary of RQ 3: *What role did institutional agents have on the socialization (academic and social) and decoding of the community college system for these Latino males?*

Various actors within the high schools and colleges served as institutional agents. These individuals included high school and colleges peers, high school teachers and counselors, and college faculty and staff within various departments. Latino male students indicated that institutional agents provided information regarding college-going process and how to be successful once a member of the college community.

Research Question Four

When and why did these Latino males develop a college student identity?

This question probes when and why Latino males in my study developed a college student identity. Data showed there were several themes as to why the participants felt like college students in dual enrollment or once in college after graduating from high school. Results will be presented in the following manner: (1) Why they felt like college students once in college and not in dual enrollment; and (2), why they felt like college students while participating in dual enrollment; and finally, (3), for those who still do not identify as college students, why not?

Table 4.6 is a data summary table with participants' college-identity responses.

Table 4.6: *College Student Identification*

Pseudonym	After Dual Enrollment	During Dual Enrollment	Does Not Identify As A College Student
Adrian	X		
Alejandro	X		
Carlos	X		
Cisco	X		
David	X		
Emanuel			X
Frank	X		
Felipe	X		
Fausto		X	
Humberto		X	
Isaac		X	
Ignacio	X		
Javier	X		
Jesus			X
Joaquín		X	
Juan	X		
Julian		X	
Kevin	X		
Marcos	X		
Marlon	X		
Mike	X		
Miguel	X		

Max	X		
Pepe	X		
Rafael	X		
Salvador	X		
N=26	19/26 or 73.1%	5/26 or 19.2%	2/26 or 7.7%

After Dual Enrollment

An overwhelming majority of students, 73.1%, stated they did not feel like college students until after they graduated from high school and enrolled at the college. There were various reasons why students felt like college students once they matriculated in college post-high school. These reasons include: 1) feeling academically autonomous to select course-work and have no one check-up on them, 2) feeling the academic pressure to succeed in college, 3) enrolling as full-time students in college, and 4) a campus setting that is racially diverse. In addition, some students indicated they felt like a real college student when they had to buy books and pay for classes.

Academic autonomy.

Participants in my study indicated they felt like college students when they could select the courses in which they wanted to enroll. Because there was no prescribed course pattern, as in compulsory education, they believed they were finally college students. For example, when asked when he did he first identified as a college student, David states:

I would say towards the end of my freshman year. I was living out there by myself. I was going to classes. I was taking care of everything myself. I mean, you know, apart from the everyday duties of living by yourself as far as feeding yourself, clothing yourself, doing everything for yourself, everything was taken care of before. You know, you had a responsibility to get to class on your own and no one really forced you to go. So if you didn't go, you weren't in trouble like maybe in high school. So apart from that, when I was taking more rigorous class, let's just say one of my—this math class that I was taking there, I felt like a college student because, you know, here I am in an auditorium seating style full of students taking the same class that I am and like for once I felt like I was in college and, you know, I had to do it. There was no looking back. (David)

Felipe also suggests that, because he graduated from high and was now a full-time college student, he had the ability to select course work in college, which allowed him to feel like a college student:

What makes me feel like a college student is that once you're here, you pretty much make up your own class schedule. You don't do that in high school. You're in your own, your timeframe, as opposed to high school where you have a bell that dismisses you, and then you have a bell to go to, you're going to be tardy for class. Right here, you have to pretty much take control of your own timeframe, and you have to know how to manage your time wisely. If you have breaks in between classes, you have to know, you know, you have time to study, you have time to go eat, and then you have to go to class. Then you get out of class, and then you probably might have another break. So the feeling of time management actually helped, made me feel more like a college student, because you get the sense of, you're on, you're pretty much alone, and you have control of your time. And if you don't use your time wisely, you're not going to be successful in your college career. (Felipe)

Marcos mirrors Felipe's view on course selection. He said he was able to select his classes and get money for them, which made him feel like a college student:

Because I got my financial aid money, I picked out my classes, I enrolled, I met some counselors, and I was basically on my own. I left high school and I said, okay, I'm moving on to something bigger. And that's when I knew, like, you're in college. You're taking your classes. (Marcos)

Mike states that entering college was similar to his high school in terms of academics in that the only difference between the two was the ability to select courses:

So when entering college, it was just, to me it was just another school, another set of courses, except I got to choose my courses. So I guess realistically, it was after the second semester...Of college that I was able, I felt more as a college student, because I felt more empowered when being able to choose my classes, and to structure the education I wanted, instead of having a system chosen for me. (Mike)

When asked when he identified as a college student, Pepe said he felt like a college student when he was finally able to take upper-division courses, “*Well, I think that that feeling came when I started taking like higher division classes, instead of like the ones that I just came into*” (Pepe).

Pepe believed he was finally at college level courses. Salvador said that he kind of felt like a

college student in dual enrollment but it was not until he was able to major in nursing that he felt like a college student:

R: Well, I mean the dual enrollment, I guess I did kind of feel like a college student, kind of had that little feeling that you are a college student, but not really because of my age. People there were much older, so – but I guess I started feeling like a real college student once I got into the nursing program because I was actually already on a certain pathway towards getting an education. Whereas, before that, it's like you're not really oriented towards finishing a program or something.

I: So you felt like a real college student when you got accepted to the RN program?

R: Yeah. Because then I was actually working on a thing that I wanted to be. I guess, for me personally, once you're in a program, you're focuses on school is more directed whereas, when you're just taking general education classes, most college students say they're undecided or they see something that they want to be like, they want to go to a medical school. But then their mind gets drifted and then they end up doing something totally different like an electrician or something like that. I guess it's a matter of just a personal opinion, you know?

Joaquin said that he first realized he was a college student was when he was autonomous to do what he wanted to do and be self-reliant. For example, when I asked him when he felt like a college student, Joaquin responded:

When did I first feel like a college student? I guess realizing when I had to buy a book, realizing that I had to buy books, [scantrons] and all that. It was, let's see. I did feel like it was, like in, when I was in dual enrollment, because what I really did love about dual enrollment was that, you know, you sort of, you get to arrive. They treat you an adult here in college, obviously, you know? And I wasn't being used to being treated as an adult in high school. So I liked the fact that you can get there whenever you want, with like no repercussions, even though your grade does, you know, get affected. But teacher doesn't scream at you or whatnot. I like the fact that you can like go out in the middle of the lecture, and you know, walk around for like five minutes or stretch or whatever, you know? I like the fact that you could take your iPod and listen to it. You know? Well, you couldn't, obviously, you know, but at least in high school, they were like, you know, they'll tell you something, hey, put it away, you know. They'll take it away from you. But in college, they either, you know, they don't tell you anything, or they just, you know, they give you like a small little, how would I say, warning, whatnot. I like that. But first college student? I definitely started understanding what a college student is in dual enrollment, but feeling a college student would probably, would have to be like my first official college semester that I started. That's when I felt like a college student.

Being treated like an adult and being able to come and go as they pleased to class felt to

empowering to him which promoted the idea that he was a college student there even if he was still a high school student. Clearly, students seem to suggest that autonomy influenced their college student identity. This included things as simple as selecting course-work to being able to study at their leisure and to enter or leave a class anytime was as aspect of college life that promoted college student development.

Academic pressure.

In addition, students discussed the pressure of midterms and finals as promoting the feeling of being a real college student.

Adrian states:

Definitely not in the first two, three weeks of college. Not even during the college courses, I didn't feel like a college student. Around midterms, I started feeling like a college student because that's when I started kicking in the gears and actually grabbing a book and sitting there and studying or doing the readings that we had to do for my English class. That's when I started feeling like it's nothing like high school anymore. I have to get in here and read and I have to study and I have to be prepared. I can't sit through a test anymore and sit there like blank. I really dislike that feeling. So once I started noticing that I needed to push myself to pass and turn in assignments, that's when I started feeling like I'm doing my job as a college student, as a freshman. (Adrian)

Rafael said that pressure to thrive academically and actually succeeding promoted his college-identity:

When I passed that, I felt like a college student since I didn't know was going to be the work and how tough it is to pass. Since history class was once a week, so it was really hard to keep up with the work. You had this much amount of work in one class for one week and then you have to do it or else you don't pass. (Rafael)

Participants in my study suggested the pressure to perform academically was an indication that they were college students. Unlike high school where teachers hold their hand throughout the academic year, Latino males in my study indicated that college faculty expected them to be prepared to submit quality work. Indeed, college is a place where there is higher order thinking,

writing, and communication. The expectation to rise to college-level work was something the students in my study stated they wanted to rise to.

Full-time student status.

Several students indicated they felt like college students because they were enrolled full-time with 12 units. This was a major reason why students felt like real college students and helped promote a college student identity. For many participants, the notion of being a college in the traditional sense (full-time, independent, after high school, paying for classes and other college related expenses) is what made them identify as college students. For example, when I asked Carlos when he felt like a college student, he states:

Because I was taking – I was a full-time student and when I was in high school, I was only taking those 2 classes, but full-time – well, full-time student at a college means at least 12 units and that’s when I started with 12 units for my first semester of college. So then I was – I felt like I was truly a college student because I was just focused on coming here Monday through Thursday. Because, I didn’t have Friday classes. (Carlos)

Kevin said he first felt like a college student when he was a full-time student at Louisiana State University, where he was majoring in music:

R: I did. I did there, because it’s a very big college, a big college experience. LSU shirt every day...It’s a different setting, you know. You don’t have as much pride in wearing a Villa Community College shirt as you do in wearing an LSU shirt. I don’t know, it’s different. But I still feel like a college student, you know. I was working now and just going to school and then I joined the military. Then I got out and so now I’m back here. And I didn’t feel like a college student at first last fall. It was still like a transition thing. Then I remember like literally saying to myself, “Man, I actually feel like a college student and it feels great, and I like being a college student.” And that happened last semester.

I: And how did that take place? Was it because you were on campus? Was it because you were a full-time student? Is it because you’re, you know, you’re studying more? What led to that?

R: A big reason why is, well yeah, I was on campus. I was a full-time student. And, you know, I started, now, since you’re asking all those questions about did you do any of these services, well now I’m looking into a lot more services now than when I first went to college as a new enrollment student, maybe because, you know, maybe because I was

naïve, naivety or whatever. But now I'm a veteran student, so things are different. I have to deal with the VA and educational office. I'm getting ready to transfer, so now I'm going to a transfer center – well I did last semester – and was going there. I even went on their trip to check out the campus. They have like this little, every Friday they have this trip that goes to a different college. I meet with my counselor, my veteran's counselors at the VRC all the time, just hang out, talk with them, get an ed plan. So it's different now. But, yeah, I feel like a college student because I was sort of like reverting back into that lifestyle, if you will.

It is evident the vast majority of students who participated in dual enrollment did not identify as college students until they shed their high school status. Reasons for identifying as college students included being a full-time student and being surrounded by college students.

Students also indicated why they did not identify as college students when they participated in dual enrollment. Alejandro said that he started college at CSU-Long Beach, a public four-year university. However, he said he never felt like a college student there due to financial stress:

I: You didn't feel like a student at Long Beach State, a college student?

R: Well, I did, but it just – well, I mean yeah, I guess you could say I did feel like a student there too. It's just financial reasons; I couldn't really concentrate on being the student.

I: Even though you were a university student, a college student, you didn't really feel like a college student because you were so focused on the finances?

R: Yeah. Because I mean, what's the point of going to that school if I'm not going to be able to get a degree. I mean it's hard to focus on being a student if you know you're not going to finish.

I: But when you went to Ocean Community College [pseudonym] –

R: Yeah.

I: – you felt like o.k., I can breathe?

R: Yeah. It was easy, simple, no pressure and they gave me financial aid so I can pay for my classes and it was easy. (Alejandro)

For some students, they could not identify as college students because they knew that even if they had a college ID and were taking college courses at the college campus, they were still high school students. For instance, Ignacio said that knowing that he had to go back to his high school the next day after taking the college course through dual enrollment prohibited him from feeling like a college student:

It happened in the fall, because during the program I was still, you know, with high school students, and because they were talking about, they were still going back to high school and all of that, so I didn't really feel like I was in college then. (Ignacio)

Juan says that even though he attended a four-year residential postsecondary institution, he never felt like a college student because he was stressed financially and lecture courses were large and impersonal:

I was just taking courses. That was just me just trying this new, you know, new thing out. I didn't really feel college until like, till I attended, mostly attended school here at CCC, now that I took my leave of absence. I didn't feel like a student over there. (Juan)

While Juan did not feel like a college student at UC Santa Cruz, he did at the community college because he says that he could concentrate on his academics without trying to deal with finances or becoming distracted by the social scene of a residential four-year institution. Surprising, Juan did not identify as a college student when he was enrolled at UCSC but did when he was a high school student participating in dual enrollment. He said he felt like a college student during dual enrollment but not at UCSC for the following reasons:

I was just taking courses. That was just me just trying this new, you know, new thing out. I didn't really feel college until like, till I attended, mostly attended school here at CCC, now that I took my leave of absence. I didn't feel like a student over there... Yeah, I was, I felt really, I didn't feel like myself. I don't know what happened there. I was going through... I guess so. I was going through some type of depression phase. And um, when I got here, it felt like, I felt like I was doing what I necessarily was doing in high school, you know, like dual enrollment, and I [would] get that mentality, oh, I'm back in, you know, I'm back here in JC. But upon, upon taking, you know, these courses in JC, you started developing yourself, you know, and in terms of, you know, how to study, and how to actually buckle down and, you know, slap yourself when you get distracted.

(Juan)

Interestingly, Humberto was the one student in my study who felt like a college student in dual enrollment but no longer feels like a college student because he is only part-time student. For example, when I asked him if he felt like a college student right now, he responded:

Not necessarily. I feel like I'm taking adult classes again, because I only go to school two times a week really, because I'm only taking one class. I'm taking one math class, because I do work full-time. It's a lot. I work 40 hours a week, so it's really hard to like go school full-time for me, especially because me and my wife, we share a car, and I work pretty far away. I don't feel like a student, because I usually lie. I procrastinated . . . my homework. I still do that until like the last, because homework, I do it every week, so I wait until like Thursday, turn it in on Saturday. I get it done Thursday, Friday, then turn it in on Saturday, but I always turn in my homework. (Humberto)

Students in my study indicated they identified as college students after they graduated from high school. They were finally allowed to be independent, felt the academic pressure to perform, and enrolled in college full-time. Participants also stated they could not identify as college students when they participated in dual enrollment because they knew, in the back of their minds, that they were high school students who still had to take prescribed coursework and had to be on the high school campus the next day. However, there were some participants who felt like college students during their time in dual enrollment.

During Dual Enrollment

One of the goals of dual enrollment is to facilitate the transition from high school to college by providing them the opportunity to engage in scholarly dialog with faculty, staff, and students in a colligate environment. This provides ample opportunities to give students the chance to role-rehearse and be a quasi-student in college, which can help develop a college student identity. There were five students, or 19.2%, who stated they did feel like college students during their time in dual enrollment. Reasons for them feeling like college students

were because they had college IDs, were taking classes at the college, and interacting with college students and faculty. Fausto states:

Yeah, it happened when I, when I started taking the college classes while being in high school. Once I started taking those college classes, that's when I felt like a college student. Yeah, when I started taking the classes is pretty much when I felt like a college student, taking, taking those classes with real college students that graduated from high school already. Doing assignments from my college classes made me feel like a college student, cause I was doing some college work... Getting college credit too.

Humberto he felt like a college student during dual enrollment because he was making up units through dual enrollment and was not enrolled in high school. Thus, he identified more:

I felt like a college student all through high school, because I didn't go to school. Actually I worked from 16 to 18, so I would work during school hours, and then as soon as my friends were out, I'll get off work, so I like had that played out already throughout the year.

Isaac C states that he felt like a college student during 9th grade:

I actually thought about it right now. I had never thought about that. At, I guess ninth grade... There's no difference between ninth grade and now. I mean, the only difference between then and now is, one, I wore a uniform, and two; half my classes were high school. But other than that, it's the same I do now... Because I mean, the freedom that you get and all that stuff, I don't think I ever questioned at what time I identified myself as a college student. It feels the same.

For these five students, they felt like college students because they were in class with a college instructor leading the class and they were surrounded by college students. They realized that when they transitioned from high school to college, the transition was easy because their full-time college experience mirrored their experience as dual enrollment students.

Do Not Identify as a College Student

Surprisingly, there were two students in my study who did not identify as college students. The primary reasons for them not feeling like college students is in large part due to feeling that two-year colleges are not real colleges because they lack dormitories and other amenities and services that four-year institutions offer or lack the academic rigor. For example,

Jesus said he visits his friends at a local university who live in the dorms – without parents around, participate in various activities on campus, and are full-time students. Jesus said because he does not live on campus, but lives with his parents and works, it is hard to identify as a college student:

I: So have you ever felt like a college student? So you've never gone to a four-year, and you've been taking classes.

R: I've been around them [four-year college students], but, don't get me wrong, I go sometimes to see some, just hang out with friends there, [University of California] Riverside. My mom says I act really different, because I matured differently from other kids; not responsibilities. I guess it is responsibilities. I have responsibilities that I put on myself, and that made me change. I still have fun, but to be a college student, what I believe is to let go and enjoy your time, hang out, and not worry about it. Just go to class, hang out after with your friends. You've got dorms. You get away from parents, so you have that freedom. I guess I've never really felt it...I just know that whatever I'm doing right now will help me get in a better place. I still enjoy myself, but that feeling isn't there.

I: But you don't identify as a college student.

R: No, I don't. I'm just a person who's trying to do more in their life. I'm taking classes. I'm a full-time student actually. I don't have that feeling. Maybe I would have it if I went to a four-year college and going full-time. That's what I want to do. (Jesus)

Unlike Jesus who said he needs the traditional four-year residential college environment to feel like a real college student, Emanuel said that he does not feel like a college student because college was too easy academically:

Not really...I expected like more of college. It's pretty much the same as high school. So I feel like, I feel a connection, college and high school, also because like friends from . . . come here. So like, I see them around. Classes are like pretty much the same. It just feels like high school too. (Emanuel)

These two outliers illuminate how students within community colleges can feel like they are not “real” college students. The majority of community colleges are commuter campuses with few services offered by four-year institutions. In addition, there are academically accomplished students coming in from high school who may feel that community colleges are not rigorous

enough for them. This perpetuates the notions that community colleges are no more than high schools 13th and 14th.

Summary: *When and why did these Latino males develop a college student identity?*

In this section, I presented the findings from participants regarding their college-identity formation. Specifically, I sought to examine when and why this took place, which helps answer research question four. The majority of the students in my study indicated they identified as college students after they participated in dual enrollment and enrolled in community college. This was due to three main reasons: 1), they had academic autonomy, 2) felt more academic pressure, and 3) were in school full-time. The reasons they give for not feeling like a college student in dual enrollment was in large part due to still knowing they were high school students and only taking one class at the college. For those participants who did identify as college students while in dual enrollment, they discussed that being immersed in the collegiate environment and being expected to act and perform like a college student promoted college student identity. College-identity formation is complex and varies from student to student. However, the majority in my study felt like college students after high school.

Other Results

There were some unexpected results not associated with the research questions that emerged as them. These are: 1) unrealistic transfer goals, 2), underperformance of some students, and 3), the minimal difference between high school and college-campus dual enrollment experiences.

What Did the Dual Enrollment Not Do

There were unrealistic expectations' among students' transfer goals. Specifically, there was incongruence between the students' GPAs and their target transfer institution. For example, some students indicated they wanted to transfer to highly selective private four-year institutions

such as The University of Southern California and Johns Hopkins or top UC campuses such as Berkeley, Los Angeles, and San Diego; yet they had GPAs lower than a 3.0 at the community college. Thus, students were unaware of the challenges of not maintaining a 3.5 or higher GPA would have on their choice of transfer institutions. Clearly, their participation in dual enrollment was not providing the proper guiding. For instance, Adrian stated he wanted to transfer to the University of Arizona or USC but has a 1.6 GPA in college. His 2.6 high school GPA was higher than his college GPA. Joaquín also has a 1.6 GPA and indicated he hopes to transfer to UCLA or Stanford. Their participation in dual enrollment did not provide the type of information necessary to make realistic choices in terms of target transfer institutions. That said, it seems like dual enrollment did play a role in motivating them to try to go beyond their academic capabilities. That is, students were not deterred that they were underperforming in college. They still stated that their goal was to transfer to a selective four-year institution.

In addition, there were several students that were not doing well academically. Fourteen of the 26 participants had less than a 3.0 GPA. Thus, dual enrollment was not able to help overcome the participants' academic proficiencies as they entered the community college. That said, that is not the purpose of dual enrollment. What it did do is encourage these underperforming students to continue their education and motivated them to attempt college and seek help once on campus.

College campus vs. high school campus dual enrollment.

Participants in my study indicated that their participation in dual enrollment at either the college campus or high school campus were both beneficial. Students who took the dual enrollment course at the college indicated that once they became full-time students had an easier time transitioning to the college environment. Many indicated their familiarity with the campus

layout and knowledge of the various student services made it easier to maneuver through campus. Students who had taken the college course at the high school indicated that they understood the academic expectations of the college faculty and learned to communicate with the college instructor; however, they did not have the same familiarity of the college campus once they set foot on the college campus after they graduated from high school.

Chapter 4 Summary

This study assumed that dual enrollment was an effective way to increase motivation for Latino male students to enroll in college post high and help students transition and persist in college by decoding and demystifying the college going culture and providing funds of knowledge to successfully navigate college. This was based on prior literature.

Students in my study indicated that there were numerous reasons for participating in dual enrollment. Participants stated that counselors, teachers, family and friends in high school played a role in informing participants about the program and encouraged them to participate. Dual enrollment had an influence in promoting the matriculation and easing the transition to college by illuminating what college is, and their knowledge of how to navigate college.

Participants in this study indicated that various individuals in different capacities helped them navigate college. Specifically, institutional agents provided information that helped them decode the college which helped them transition from high school to college. Institutional agents were college students, faculty, and staff who shed light on how to navigate the college landscape.

The majority of students indicated that dual enrollment did not help them develop a college student identity. The process in which participants indicated they developed a college student identity centered on academic autonomy.

Chapter Five

Interpretations and Synthesis of Findings

The purpose of this qualitative study was to better understand the experiences and socialization of Latino males in dual enrollment programs and how their participation and acquisition of *social capital* and *funds of knowledge* through *anticipatory socialization* and *role-rehearsal* promoted their matriculation, and eased their transition, to college. The previous chapter presented the findings of the study. The purpose of this chapter is to interpret and synthesize the findings that were presented in the previous chapter, and discuss how they support and challenge the prior literature presented in chapter two and shed light on new knowledge. In the previous chapter, interview data were analyzed using dual enrollment students as the unit of analysis. Student interviews were conducted and were analyzed to identify emerging themes. During the analysis phase, several themes were identified that answered the research questions posed in this study. Chapter five will present information that builds on the analysis in chapter four. Prior literature and the theoretical frameworks utilized in this study will be used to support results and to provide a lens to explain the findings. I begin this chapter by revisiting the theoretical frameworks guiding the analysis of the data and reintroducing the four research questions asked. I then discuss the study's key findings in relation to the research questions. I then proceed to discuss the analytical categories I identify as a result of the findings. After the research findings and analytical categories have been presented, I provide policy implications and conclude with suggestions for future research.

Conceptual and Theoretical Frameworks

Anticipatory Socialization and Role Rehearsal

Anticipatory socialization and role rehearsal are appropriate for this study as they take into account the ways in which individuals acquire the behavior and practices of the reference

groups they want to belong as a full member. Role rehearsal permits individuals to “practice” the role of being in the reference group that one wants to enter by engaging in the behavior and practices that the reference group members partake in prior to full membership (Ebaugh, 1988). Anticipatory socialization suggests that individuals are exposed to norms and values by observing and being told of cultural expectations; while role rehearsal entails being a part of the system or organization by “doing” to illuminate the values and norms of that culture (Karp, 2007, 2012). Anticipatory socialization and role rehearsal can promote college-going norms, attitudes and behaviors by enabling high school students to interact with individuals within the college to inculcate a college-going mindset.

Social Capital and Funds of Knowledge

Stanton-Salazar’s definition of social capital framework is utilized in this study. Stanton-Salazar (2011) defines social capital as institutional support and resources (i.e., relationships, networks, and associations as social mediums) embedded within hierarchical organizations and institutional systems such as schools and colleges. Stanton-Salazar’s definition of social capital is appropriate for this study due to his emphasis on the value of relationships within hierarchical structures such as educational settings and how that capital can later be activated and transformed.

I also utilize Stanton-Salazar’s definition of Funds of Knowledge. As discussed in chapter one, there are seven forms of institutionally based *funds of knowledge*, which I will briefly restate. The first is institutionally sanctioned discourses that illuminate the appropriate ways to communicate. Second is academic tasks-specific knowledge that is essentially subject-area knowledge. The third is organizational/bureaucratic funds of knowledge, which is the knowledge or understanding of how the bureaucracy of the organization operates. Fourth is

network development, which is the knowledge of how to skillfully network with actors, such as gatekeepers and institutional agents, within the college system and developing proper supportive and collegial relationships with peers who possess high-status social and academic backgrounds. Fifth is technical funds of knowledge which involves the development of time-management, decision-making, computer literacy, test-taking, and study skills necessary for success. Sixth, the knowledge of labor and educational markets is the knowledge of how to obtain job or educational opportunities and overcome barriers and meet requisites. The seventh and final funds of knowledge is problem-solving knowledge; that is, “knowing to integrate the first six knowledge forms above for the purposes of solving school-related problems, making sound decisions, and reaching personal or collective goals” (Stanton-Salazar, 1997, p. 12). The majority of participants were able to obtain various forms of institutional funds of knowledge through their dual enrollment experiences.

The theoretical frameworks guided the following four research questions:

- *How does dual enrollment influence the social and academic socialization of working-class, first-generation, low- to middle-academic achieving Latino males to matriculate and facilitate the transition from high school to the community colleges?*

The secondary questions are:

- *What role did institutional agents have on the socialization (academic and social) and decoding of the community college system for these Latino males?*
- *Who or what motivated these students to participate in dual enrollment?*
- *When and why did these Latino males develop a college student identity?*

Key Findings to Research Questions

I will now provide answers to the research questions posed in the study. The main question will be answered after presenting the question on what motivated the participants to enroll in dual enrollment to maintain a chronological order of sequence of events.

Who or what motivated these students to participate in dual enrollment?

Participants in my study indicated that there were various reasons for their participation in dual enrollment. Students indicated that counselors, teachers, family and friends all played a role in informing participants about the program and encouraged them to participate. Regarding why they enrolled in the program, some participants in my study indicated they wanted to try college out as they either knew they already wanted to go to college and they wanted to get a head start and earn college credits; or they thought about continuing on, but they wanted to get a better sense as to whether college was for them. Some students also indicated they wanted to make-up high school units they were deficient in as a result of their poor academic performance early in their high school careers.

How does dual enrollment influence the social and academic socialization of working-class, first-generation, low- to middle-academic achieving Latino males to matriculate and facilitate the transition from high school to the community colleges?

Dual enrollment did have an influence in promoting the matriculation to college after high school and easing the transition once there. Regarding matriculation, participants in my study suggest their understanding of what college was, and their knowledge of how to navigate college that they gained through dual enrollment, influenced their decision to enroll in college after completing their compulsory education. Students knew that college was going to be academically and socially different than high school, and they embraced that challenge. Participants in my study also indicated they met institutional agents at the college that

encouraged them to continue their education post-high school. This included college students, faculty, and staff. Finally, their performance in dual enrollment was a motivating factor as most of them stated they did well in college classes as high school students.

Regarding how dual enrollment helped students' transition to college, participants indicated that they already knew what to expect in college in terms of academics and involvement because of their experience in dual enrollment. They knew what college services were available to them, where they were located on the college campus, and how to activate these resources. Students had developed a college disposition as they had acquired or understood the norms, attitudes, and behaviors necessary to be successful in college. As Karp (2007, 2012) suggests, understanding and developing the ways in which members of an organization behave and communicate is crucial for individuals who desire to become members of that group. This process is accomplished through anticipatory socialization and role-rehearsal. Thus, for students in my sample, dual enrollment provided an enculturation process that modified their norms, attitudes, and behaviors to help in the transition from high school to college. For example, participants indicated they needed to take college classes more seriously and take good notes. They understood early on that misbehavior in class was not going to be tolerated. Participants indicated they needed to stay on top of their academics from the very beginning of the semester. They also understood the importance of having a positive attitude in class and not being disruptive. These changes occurred during their time in dual enrollment, and they maintained this attitude as they transitioned to college.

Participants also discussed how they knew they needed to focus on their academics early on and not fall behind as the college semester progressed. Participants also indicated they understood the importance of taking advantage of various offices within the college that

provided academic support like tutoring services and staying after class to study at the library. Finally, participants in my study indicated that they learned and understood the college's policies and procedures making it possible to successfully navigate the college bureaucratic landscape once a full member. For instance, students stated they knew the policies for adding and withdrawing classes.

Learning the ways in which individuals communicate is also important in transitioning to college. Dual enrollment provided participants with an understanding of the appropriate ways to communicate with college faculty, staff, and students. Students in my study indicated they interacted with their college peers in different ways than they way they interacted with their high school peers. For example, their college peers tended to be more academically supportive and collegial than their high school peers. Participants also indicated they understood what it took to be successful academically in college.

This understanding of various forms of knowledge is what Stanton-Salazar refers to as funds of knowledge. For example, students knew how to communicate (FOK 1), developed networks with institutional agents and peers that were collegial and supportive (FOK 4), developed technical funds of knowledge (FOK 5), learned to overcome barriers and meet requisites (FOK 6), the organizational and bureaucratic knowledge essential to understanding how the college operates (FOK 3), and developed academic task-specific knowledge which related to their understanding of what was expected of them academically (FOK 2). Thus, the acquisition of social capital and funds of knowledge, via dual enrollment, helped motivate and transition students to college.

What role did institutional agents have on the socialization (academic and social) and decoding of the community college system for these Latino males?

Participants in this study indicated that various individuals in different capacities helped them navigate college while in dual enrollment. Specifically, institutional agents provided information that helped them decode the college which helped them transition from high school to college. For example, institutional agents provided students with information regarding where to go for information, how to drop and add classes, being added to the wait list when classes were full, and how to interact with various actors within the college. Learning to decode the college-going culture and being enculturated into the college social and academic community was imparted by various institutional agents at the high school and college campuses. Institutional agents also provided encouragement for students to participate in dual enrollment and to consider continuing their education beyond high school. College students, faculty, and staff played the role of institutional agents by shedding light on how to navigate the college landscape. Institutional agents were not only found on college campuses, as high school counselors and a few high-achieving high school students also provided invaluable information regarding dual enrollment, how to enroll, and how to navigate the college system once they were enrolled in college classes during dual enrollment while in high school. Thus, participants stated that there were various individuals in their social networks that provided key information and resources to them that made it possible to demystify the college-going system.

When and why did these Latino males develop a college student identity?

The majority of students indicated that dual enrollment did not help them develop a college student identity. For instance, 19 of the 26 participants in my study indicated they developed a college student identity after they matriculated in college, while only a few students reported they identified as college students when they participated in dual enrollment. The process by which participants indicated they developed a college student identity centered on

academic autonomy. That is, they were autonomous to select their own course of action relating to academic matters. In other words, students indicated that their ability to select their courses, elect to attend class or not, and elect to study or not, were the main reasons for the development of their college student identity. This was a change from their high school experience where all courses were prescribed.

Another reason given why they did not identify as college students while in dual enrollment revolved around the fact that they were still high school students. They had understood that, even if they were on a college campus once or twice a week, they were in their high school student status reality five days a week. Thus, for them to shed their high school status and consider themselves as true college students, they needed a rite of passage in the form of high school graduation and then become full-time students at the collegiate level to identify as college students.

Analytic Category Development

After examining the findings based on each of the four research questions, several themes emerged from the data. These themes served as the basis for the development of analytic categories. I named Analytic Category 1: “*Exploring the Collegiate Pathway*” as students indicated they wanted to try college before going full-time to explore whether or not they wanted to continue after high school. I called Analytic Category 2: “*Understanding what college is and what it is not,*” as students indicated they saw what college was truly about and realized the benefit of college on future career paths. Analytic Category 3: “*Recognizing what to do and how to activate resources in college*” as they knew where to go for resources and how to activate those resources. In other words, there is a difference between *knowing* where to go versus *how* to get the help you need once you locate the services. Analytical Category 4: “*Environments*

and roles play an important role in college student identity formation” as college student identity was developed through various forms such as environmental landscapes (high school campus versus a college campus), academic interactions (college student and faculty interactions versus high school student and teacher interactions), and enrollment status (full-time versus part-time). The fifth and final Analytical Category is “*Warming Up and Heating Up*” as students in my study indicated that dual enrollment warmed up the idea of going to college and heated up the idea of going to college for those who were already planning on going to college. The discussion will include prior literature on Latino students along with compulsory and higher education literature.

Analytic Category 1: Exploring the collegiate pathway

Research question one sought to understand why these Latino males participated in dual enrollment. Participants indicated there was a need to demystify college in order to get a sense as to whether or not college was something they wanted to pursue post-high school. Through their participation in dual enrollment, students in my study found they could explore the college environment and get a sense whether or not college was for them. They indicated that dual enrollment illuminated various aspects of college they were not aware of which demystified what college was and was not. These results mirror prior studies finding that dual enrollment provides students with a glimpse of how college would be (Attinasi, 1989; Karp, 2012). Indeed, prior literature suggests that pre-college programs such as Head Start and Advancement Via Individual Determination (AVID) and accelerated programs such as AP and IB that allow students to earn college units and provide students with early college exposure. Like prior studies on dual enrollment, the results in my study support that notion that students were better able to

understand the norms, attitudes, and behaviors and get a sense of what was expected of them if they wanted to continue beyond high school.

Students in my study also indicated they needed to make-up units in order to graduate from high school and believed that earning college credits would be beneficial if they continued to college after high school. Prior literature suggests that earning college credit in high school, such as through AP courses or dual enrollment, improves college matriculation, persistence, and graduation (Adelman, 1999; 2006). While I was not able to study the graduation outcomes of participants within the confines of my study, matriculation and persistence seem to have been promoted by having earned college credit and done well academically in dual enrollment. Indeed, some students stated that having college credits and receiving good grades in the college courses, while in dual enrollment, encouraged them to matriculate and persist because they did not want the college units to go to waste and they had the confidence to continue as many hope to transfer to four-year institutions.

The concern with repeating a high school course in high school is that the student repeating the course is still within the same social and academic environment. That is, the student must attempt to repeat a course surrounded by similar peers which may or may not encourage the student to succeed, and most likely taught by the same teacher that failed the student previously. Thus, if students fail history, they have to repeat it. If they have to repeat it in high school, it has the same academic and social context. If they take that same course in college, not only do they get double the units, they get a new experience and environment that may stimulate and motivate the student to work harder to do well in the course.

Analytic Category 2: Understanding of what college is and is not

Dual enrollment provided a means for motivating students to continue to college beyond high school. As indicated in chapter four, students enrolled in college for various reasons. Dual enrollment helped students demystify college and elucidate what college is and what it is not. The literature (Attinasi, 1989; Karp, 2012; Karp & Hughes, 2008) discusses how prior exposure to actors who are full-members of the reference group can reveal how an organization is organized and the bureaucratic procedures relevant to navigating college. Stanton-Salazar (1997) refers to this understanding of the college campus as organizational/bureaucratic fund of knowledge, which is the knowledge, or understanding, of how the bureaucracy of the organization operates.

In helping demystify college, institutional agents played a major role in the process. For instance, students in my study indicated they were exposed to counselors, instructors, and students on the college campus, or by taking college classes at their high school, which enabled them to obtain information that would provide a clearer picture of what to do once in college full-time. This interaction provided what Stanton-Salazar would refer to as funds of knowledge one, two, four, and five. The first fund of knowledge is institutionally sanctioned discourses that illuminate the appropriate ways to communicate. The second fund of knowledge is academic tasks-specific knowledge that is essentially subject-area knowledge. Fourth is network development, which is the knowledge of how to skillfully network with actors (counselors, instructors, college students, and administrators) within the system and developing proper supportive and collegial relationships with peers who poses high-status academic backgrounds.

The students were able to get a sense of the normative ways in which they were expected to interact with college peers and instructors, which was different than what they had experienced in high school. Dual enrollment allowed participants to also get a sense as to what

level academic rigor to expect. For instance, interaction with faculty by students “reinforce or extend intellectual ethos of the classroom...have positive implications for general cognitive development during college” (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005, p. 189). Students discussed that they needed to take the college classes seriously and not fall behind early in the semester. They indicated they realized that what worked in high school would not necessarily work in college. This finding mirrors prior research that suggests that students who transition from high school to college need to adjust their study habits to overcome the difference in academic expectations between high school and college. This is what Stanton-Salazar (1997) would refer to as funds of knowledge 5, technical funds of knowledge, which is possessing time-management, decision-making, computer literacy, test-taking, and study skills necessary for success. Prior research suggests that study habits need to be recalibrated to match the college instructors’ expectations. Students in my study indicated they would stay on campus and work with other students and have conversations with their instructors to develop those skills back when they were high school students participating in dual enrollment. Stanton-Salazar refers to this as network development funds of knowledge (FOK 4). Many participants indicated they would develop collegial relationships with college students who would provide advice to them to help them understand how to approach college and courses. This promoted a better understanding of the social, organizational, and academic landscape within college. In addition, these relationships nurtured during their participation in dual enrollment helped develop the social capital that is important to expanding their support system within the college.

Analytic Category 3: Recognizing what to do and how to activate resources in college

Many of the participants indicated the socialization experienced through their early college exposure, while in dual enrollment, enabled them to understand how the community

college functioned and what they need to do to successfully navigate this new academic landscape. This early exposure to the college environment provided participants with social capital and funds of knowledge that they would otherwise not had as they first embarked in their collegiate path after high school.

Many participants indicated that various actors in their high schools and the community college were able to provide social capital, and they expanded their social networks with individuals who could provide mentor-modeling (Attinasi, 1989) and access to resources and information (Stanton-Salazar, 1997). Many of these new connections had high-status positions (i.e., counselors, teachers, instructors, and staff) within their institutions. Indeed, many of these institutional and empowering agents provided information that participants in this study regularly accessed for decoding information. The process of decoding the college campus enabled students to understand how they could activate resources by going to institutional agents to obtain information or resources they needed. For instance, some students indicated they approached counselors and faculty to get proper information regarding policies and procedures, financial aid information, and tutoring. As stated earlier, it is one thing for college students to know where services are located, it is something else to know how to activate and utilize these resources. The activation of resources is important because acquiring services and information is critical for students who are struggling or have struggled academically.

Analytical Category 4: Environments and roles play an important role in college student identity formation

Roles are empowering for individuals. Research has shown that students of color often “code-switch” in different environments out of necessity. Students may act one-way at school and completely different at home or in their neighborhoods. Thus, environmental and social

context are important when considering how one will act and how they want to be perceived or viewed. This phenomenon takes shape in various forms and settings. One needs to look no further than entertainers and individuals in leadership roles. Some entertainers are quiet or shy during interviews or in their personal lives; however, when they got on stage, their attitudes change. Their whole persona shifts from that of a quiet individual to one that is loud, confident, and entertaining. It is similar to high school students who participate in dual enrollment. Roles that students play (college student role vs. high school student role) are important in developing a sense of identity. Students play the role of high school students with the norms, attitudes, and behaviors of high school students because they are high school students. Some students may act childish, engage in horseplay, not work, procrastinate, skip class, etc. However, when they are thrust into the college academic world, via dual enrollment, they learn to observe (anticipatory socialization) and then role-rehearse the role of college student in a collegiate environment. They soon understand that what they did in high school (misbehaving or procrastinating) will not be tolerated nor promote success in college. So students recalibrate their ways of being a student to match the college environment by modifying their behavior and attitudes to reflect those of a college student. This is what Attinasi (1989) refers to as mentor-modeling.

The roles that students play manifest themselves through social-academic environments. High school students become more like their college peers, which is likely to cause role confusion (Erickson, 1968), when they go back to their high school campus the rest of the week. Some students may no longer want to be a part of the high school environment as they no longer want to be a high school student but a college one. Thus, it is possible that a de-socialization from high school norms, attitudes, and behaviors begins after the college socialization has begun. This can be a conscious or unconscious process.

High school students who participate in college, via dual enrollment, are also conferred status because they are college students as well. They have a college student identification card that provides them access to various college services within the college campus, take college courses with college faculty, and are expected to perform as college students. There is instant membership to social networks and connections to other students in the college classroom and hallways that would not have been available to them had they not participated in dual enrollment. Professors view and treat the dual enrollment students as college students so there is no academic differentiation between high school dual enrollment students and regular college students. In other words, the academic expectations are the same for high school or college students.

Immediate and transformational process takes place in dual enrollment. The process is similar to going to prison. The incoming inmate quickly understands the norms, attitudes and behaviors within the hierarchal organization. Inmates and correctional officers send a clear message that the new member can no longer act the way he acted in the street. There are codes of conduct and ways of communication with various actors of a prison system. Failure to understand the code of conduct and ways of communication can have negative outcomes. That also holds true in college. How students act and communicate in high school is very different from the ways in which students communicate in college. Students understand that the role they play in college is very different than in high school. So there is a recalibration of norms, attitudes, and behaviors by the campus social and academic environments for which the students rise to the level of expectations. Failure to do so can lead to voluntary or involuntary withdraw from college. Students in my study understood that their participation in college courses, whether on a college or high school campus, required them to act in the role of a college student. They understood early on in the course that their ways of being (norms, attitudes, and behaviors)

in high school needed to be amended in the college setting. Roles do have an important role in developing a college identity and helping facilitate the transition from high school to college and promote persistence. Students in my study indicated that their identity development helped promote their motivation to continue their education and persist in college.

Analytical Category 5: Warming up and heating up

Much of the prior research on community college literature discusses the process of “cooling out” in which these institutions redirect students’ ambitions to transfer or obtain a four-year degree to more modest goals such as two-year associate degrees or certificates (Clark, 1960; Karabel, 1977). Clark (1960) examined a single community college in San Jose where, after observing the community college counselors, found that the campus redirected students to more modest ambitions:

Adverse counseling advice and poor test scores may not shut off his [a student’s] hope of completing college; when this is the case, the deterrent will be encountered in the regular classes. Here the student is divested of expectations, lingering from high school, that he will automatically pass and, hopefully, automatically be transferred. Then, receiving low grades, he is thrown back into the counseling orb, a fourth step in his reorientation and a move justified by his actual accomplishment (Clark, 1960, p. 573).

Karabel (1977) states that community colleges “developed cooling out as a means not only of allocating people to slots in the occupational structure, but also of legitimating the process [and causing] people to blame themselves rather than the system for their ‘failure’” (p. 240). Some scholars have concluded that community college faculty perceptions of low-performing students promote a self-fulfilling prophecy in which students lower their educational attainment expectations (Dougherty, 1994). Indeed, a study conducted by Pascarella and colleagues found that community college students who indicated they wanted to obtain a four-year degree were more likely than their peers who started at a four-year institution to lower their expectations of obtaining a baccalaureate degree (Pascarella, Edison, M., Nora, A., Hagedorn, L.

S., & Terenzini, P.T., 1998). However, one of the key takeaways in which dual enrollment manifested itself with students was the concept of *warming up* (Deil-Amen, 2006). Deil-Amen defines warming up as, “The raising of the student’s initial aspirations after they enroll in a college” (2006, p. 41). There are two types of warming up that can occur (Deil-Amen, 2006). The first is when high school students who are not college-bound are encouraged in high school to warm up to the idea of going to college (Rosenbaum, 2001). The second is when community college students’ expectations (i.e., transferring and obtaining a bachelors degree) are warmed up during college. This dichotomy of warming up high school students in high school or college students in college does not take into account students who are high school students and are warmed up at the college and not the high school. Thus, I introduce a third kind of warming up, high school students who have no plans to attend college but are warmed up by the college or college course they participate in via dual enrollment. Some students in my study indicated they did not intend on going to college or obtaining a college degree. Their participation in dual enrollment led them to better understand what college was and how to successfully navigate the social and academic landscape, which increased their motivation to continue after high school, and warmed up the idea of being a college student and obtaining a college education. Others stated they intended to go to college; however, by participating in dual enrollment, that desire to attend college was amplified. Thus, not only did dual enrollment warm up students to go to college but it also *heated up* the desire to go on to college. None of the participants indicated that dual enrollment cooled out their expectations to continue their education after high school. Institutional agents played a role in both the *warming up* and *heating up* of student aspirations. Counselors at the high school and college campus provided key information and encouragement. College instructors also promoted the warming and heating up of college attendance and degree

expectations. These results also support Deil-Amen's findings regarding community college faculty's role in developing student confidence: "Before students can warm up their aspirations, they must acquire confidence that they belong in college. Over 70 percent...reported that community college faculty were critical in helping them become confident" (p. 55). However, my findings suggest that it is not only college counselors or instructors, college peers also play a role in encouraging and supporting students to warm up to the idea of continuing their education post-high school and decoding the college system. In addition, students need not wait until they matriculate full-time into college for the warming up or heating up process to begin if students participate in an intervention or transition program that can provide first-generation college student the ability to interact with institutional agents at the college who impart funds of knowledge, social capital, encouragement via anticipatory socialization and role rehearsal.

Summary of Interpretation of Findings

College can be a challenging and intimidating environment for new students transitioning from high school to college. There are unknowns regarding how one should act, speak, and interact with members of the college community. Furthermore, having to be autonomous and negotiate new relations and a complex hierarchical organization can be daunting for many individuals. Students in my study indicated that college was not intimidating, and their transition from to college was seamless due to their early exposure to this new academic world through the doors that were opened to them via dual enrollment. My participants had the confidence to take the path less traveled by their Latino male peers and successfully navigate the college waters and they were more prepared socially and academically to transition to college. Indeed, dual enrollment served as a vehicle to allow students to interact with various actors of the community college which warmed up and heated up their desire to matriculate into college post high school.

Students in my study were able to obtain indirect and direct simulation regarding how college was going to be. Students received indirect simulation when they took the college course within their high school, yet obtained direct simulation by taking that same college course at their high school campus but with real college instructors and students. For instance, although they were not able to be on a college campus, their interactions with the college instructor and college students provided information about what life on a college campus would be like. Some college instructors and students informed the dual enrollment participants what college is like and where to obtain information and resources. Those who participated in a dual enrollment at the community college campus received direct simulation. That is, students received a “quasi-college-going” experience (Attinasi, 1989, p. 259). This “quasi-college-going” student role enabled students in my study to obtain the necessary enculturation to successfully transition from high school to college via the anticipatory socialization and role rehearsal they experienced via dual enrollment; and the social capital and funds of knowledge they acquired through the process of being a college student while still in high school.

Theoretical Development

The empirical findings suggest that dual enrollment can alter a student’s social network, and via this network, access to social capital – capital that was not present in the student’s original network – which can ease the transition from high school to college. This is accomplished via various processes. Anticipatory socialization and role-rehearsal play a key role in easing this transition. In both concepts the high school student is not yet a full participant and member of the reference group (i.e., college student). Via a structured intervention program, such as dual enrollment, students are able to enroll and explore the collegiate environment. Thus, programs such as dual enrollment serve as institutional vehicles to allow students to

demystify college and decode the college-going culture before they are full members. This also serves to neutralize the tracking effects embedded in compulsory education and get around the “the gate” to college by obtaining exposure to a more rigorous curriculum and interactions with peers who are already in college, not just college bound. Indeed, AP students in high school are interacting among themselves who are *college bound*, but dual enrollment high school students have the benefit of actually interacting with students who are *already in college*. In addition, interactions with community college students are not bound to two-year college students as four-year college students also enroll in community colleges. For example, there were five students in my study who indicated they reverse transferred from four-year institutions. Thus, it is possible that not only are dual enrollment high school students interacting with community college students, but may also be interacting with students who are currently four-year college students enrolled in a community college courses or reverse transferred to the community college from a four-year institution. This suggests that students may receive information as to what is essential, from both an academic and social perspective, to succeed at all sectors of postsecondary education. The research findings lend themselves to the development of a new conceptual model (see Figure 1).

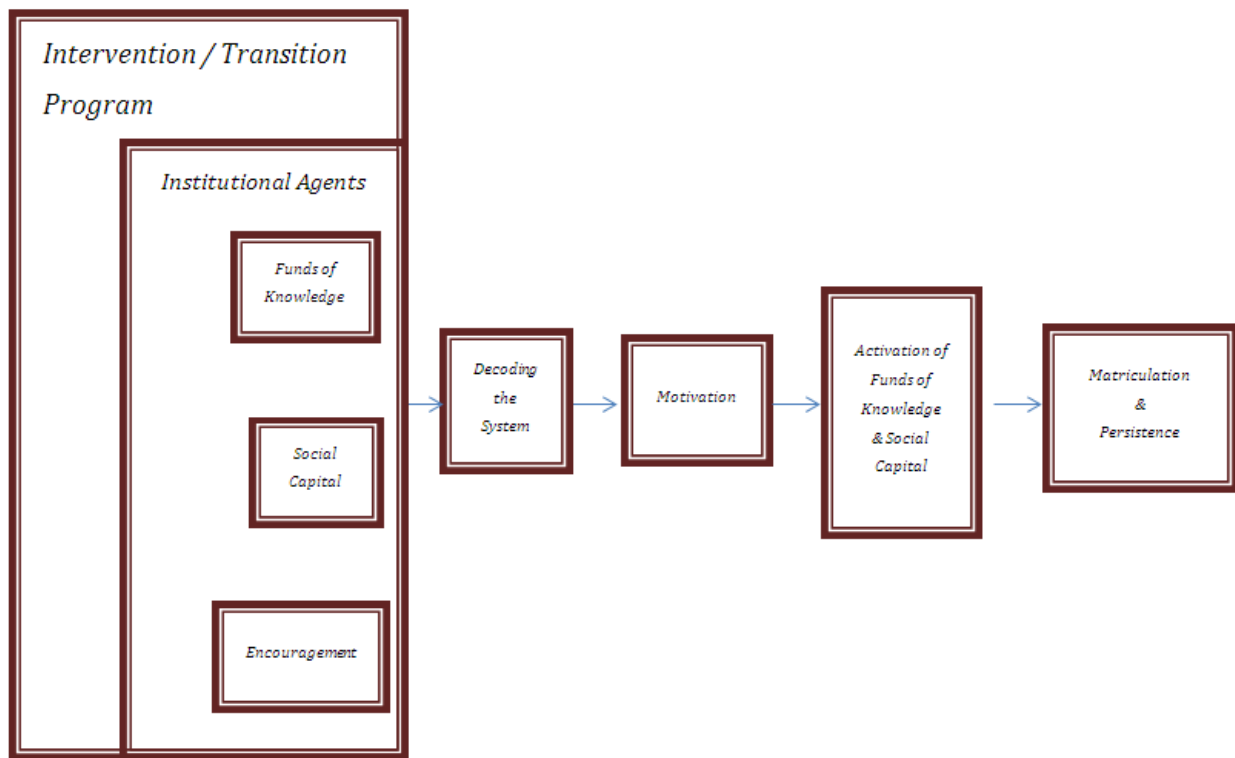
From a theoretical perspective, intervention programs have the ability to redirect students who were not college bound to a postsecondary educational pathway by illuminating (decoding) what is necessary to be successful academically and socially, within a college context. This process begins with interactions with institutional and empowering agents embedded within the college, a complex hierarchical system, who help impart *funds of knowledge* and *social capital*, and provide *encouragement* to continue their education at the college. Indeed, many participants in my study indicated that understanding what college is and learning how to successfully

navigate these complex organizations was a motivating factor to continue to their education after high school. Furthermore, first-generation student interactions with members of the reference group (i.e., college students) and college faculty and staff expanded their networks to include peers and non-parental adults who possess college capital as they are either current college students (peers) or college graduates (faculty and staff). In other words, first-generation students are able to obtain information and resources that enabled them to obtain a clear(er) picture what college was or was not. Having a working knowledge of what college is promotes the demystifying of the collegiate environment. However, obtaining *funds of knowledge* and *social capital* is not sufficient in motivating students who have underperformed academically and come from working-class backgrounds to continue their education post-high school. Students indicated the *encouragement* they received by their newly expanded networks (institutional/empowerment agents at the community college) and family support was influential in their decision to continue their education. Thus, encouragement serves as a buttress to funds of knowledge and social capital to decode college, which sets a foundation to increase motivation and promote college matriculation and persistence. Students in my study also indicated that intrinsic motivation was a major factor in their decision to continue with their education, and much of that intrinsic motivation was developed by their acquisition of funds of knowledge, social capital, and encouragement by members of their social networks, which was directly connected to their involvement in the intervention/transition program (dual enrollment).

Motivation and matriculation means little if there is no persistence. Indeed, many students are motivated to enroll in college after their completion of compulsory education. Unfortunately, persistence and completion rates for first-generation students of color are well below desirable levels. Some students in my study may not have done as well in high school

from an academic standpoint; but their participation in this intervention/transition program seemed to have increased their academic motivation and awareness of the academic support services available to them if they struggled in their course work. Thus, they knew where to go to activate academic and social networks to help them persist in once they become college students. Thus, the activation of funds of knowledge and social capital are important in college persistence. Figure 1 illustrates a conceptual framework that was developed based on the theoretical frameworks guiding this study and results obtained in chapter four.

Figure 1: A Conceptual Model on Intervention/Transition Programs for First-Generation Students



This process of interactions with agents, by way of an intervention program, permits students to obtain funds of knowledge, social capital, and receive encouragement from members of the college environment, which allows for the decoding process occur. This helps shape norms, attitudes and behaviors that can nurture a college-going mindset and increase their motivation to

continue students' education. Indeed, the conceptual model takes into account the importance of actors, who serve as institutional agents, within the high school and college campuses that provide college-going capital via their transmission of funds of knowledge and increasing the social networks embedded in collegiate setting that promotes the encouragement and subsequent decoding of the collegiate system. This early exposure to the formal and informal (Weidman, 1989) academic and social contexts eases the transition process from high school to college.

Implications

This study has examined and discussed how dual enrollment can promote college-going norms, attitudes, and behavior by increasing confidence and motivation and helping students transition from high school to college through anticipatory socialization and role-rehearsal and the acquisition of social capital and funds of knowledge. Participants discussed how dual enrollment enabled them to interact with institutional agents that enabled them to demystify the college-going process, which resulted in decoding the system. The following are recommendations to increase the academic achievement of Latinos in the K-14 educational pipeline in order to increase their participation, persistence, and degree completion in higher education, ameliorate their dropout rates, and how dual enrollment can expedite this process.

Provide high quality instruction.

The literature discussed the issues of under-qualified teachers serving Latino students. Darling-Hammond (2006) found that the most important factor in improving the academic achievement of Latinos – indeed, all students of color – is to provide more highly qualified teachers. She states that numerous studies “have found significant relationships between teachers' preparation, their certification, and student achievement” (p. 16). For example, Strauss and Sawyer (1986) conclude:

...our analysis indicates quite clearly that improving the quality of teachers in the classroom will do more for students who are most educationally at-risk, those prone to fail, than reducing the class size or improving the capital stock by any reasonable margin which would be available to policymakers. (p. 47)

In addition, many teachers in low-income communities have teachers teaching out of their subject. For example, someone without a math degree may teach a math course at the high school. Without high quality teachers in front of the classroom, parents and educators cannot expect to increase the academic achievement of Latinos.

Dual enrollment programs are one way of dealing with this concern since high school students who participate would be exposed to a college curriculum taught by community college instructors who possess, at minimum, master's degrees in their discipline or field. For example, students who take math courses at the community college receive instruction by faculty with a master's degree in math or enroll in a chemistry class and receive instruction from a professor with a master's or doctoral degree. Indeed, unlike high school teachers who primarily have bachelor's degrees and teaching credentials, community college instructors are expected to have at least a master's degree in the subject matter they are teaching. This level of subject mastery by college instructors is difficult to emulate in low-income urban high schools.

Have high academic expectations and college-level curriculum.

High schools, community colleges, and parents need to have high expectations of Latino students throughout the educational pipeline. Not only should schools expect Latinos to graduate from high school, they should also provide an academically rigorous curriculum that will enable them to be competitive in the workforce, gain admission to selective four-year institutions, or if they choose, to start at a community college and be academically prepared to start on transfer-level courses. Research conducted by Hagedorn and Fogel (2002) suggests high school course load may be a better predictor of college enrollment than GPA. By having high academic

expectations and college-prep courses available, schools and parents can expect more Latinos to enroll in college, persist, and earn a baccalaureate degree. Furthermore, Horn, Kojaku, and Carroll (2001) also found that there is a positive correlation between college persistence and completing a rigorous course load during high school.

Dual enrollment programs also help address this concern. For example, all dual enrollment programs provide a college-prep curriculum due to the mere fact they are college courses taught by college instructors in a collegiate setting. Indeed, the Latino students who participated in my study indicate that their participation in dual enrollment introduced them to a collegiate environment that encouraged many of them to pursue higher education by increasing their motivation to continue their education.

Increase student self-esteem.

If we are to improve conditions for Latinos, schools need to find ways to increase Latino students' self-esteem. Unfortunately, the K-12 school system, as it currently is structured, hinders the academic self-esteem of Latinos. In order for Latino students to be successful, they must believe they can be successful academically. Kozol (2005) discusses the negative impact low self-esteem has on student academic achievement:

One of the reasons for these incantations in the schools that serve black and Hispanic children is that it is believed to be the children's loss of willingness "to try," their failure to believe they have the same abilities as do white children in more privileged communities. It is this attribution of a loss of faith in their potential and, as an adaptive consequence, a seeming "will to fail..." (p. 35).

This self-fulfilling prophecy must be reversed if we are to abate the achievement gap. Indeed, based on the results of this study, dual enrollment programs can also help increase academic and school self-esteem by providing avenues for the high school students to participate in an academically nurturing environment. For example, Latino high school students should be

exposed to academically high-achieving Latino college students and other students of color. This inculcates a college-going mindset and increases their social capital as many of these students interact with institutional and empowering agents (Stanton-Salazar, 2011).

Increase Parental Involvement

As stated in the literature review, past studies have indicated that among the most important predictors of a student obtaining a high school diploma and pursuing and persisting in higher education are parental support and encouragement (Hossler et al, 1999; Jun & Colyar, 2002; Kao and Thompson, 2003; Swail & Perna, 2002). If schools are to be effective in abating low high school graduation rates and preparing Latinos to enroll at a postsecondary institution, parental involvement needs to be successfully incorporated by the K-12 system and community colleges. Schools need to provide a variety of services and workshops to inform parents, as well as the rest of the Latino community, about the high school graduation requirements and the college-going process. Swail and Perna (2002) state that, “Parental involvement sends a clear message to the student: ‘This [education] matters, and so do you’” (p. 30). Specifically, colleges and high schools need to work together to provide the “educational capital” to Latino parents who may not have the capital to support their children. Bluntly stated, it is imperative for Latino parents to exert more influence with educators in order for actors within the educational domain to take Latino parents more seriously and provide Latino students with opportunities to interact with institutional agents and a more rigorous curriculum within the entire educational system.

If Latino students are exposed to high academic expectations in the high school and at the community college, while at the same time provided a rigorous curriculum, buttressed by parental involvement every step of the way, Latino students’ participation in higher education can be enhanced. A key component is ensuring Latino students are academically prepared

before they complete high school. Based on the results of this study, dual enrollment can be a conduit for this process. Students were exposed to high academic standards by the college faculty by receiving a rigorous workload compared to their high school curriculum. The Latino students in the study rose to the level of expectation and it provided a confidence that they took with them once they became college students. Indeed, students were able to maintain a nearly identical average high school and college GPA, 2.8 vs. 2.77 respectively.

Provide better counseling.

Counselors in the K-14 system need to inform Latino students and parents about the economic benefits of attending college and obtaining a degree. Indeed, college costs prevent many Latino students from attending a postsecondary institution but counselors need to advise Latino families of all their financial and enrollment options. Many of the students in this study indicated that it was a counselor at their middle school or high school that informed them of dual enrollment. Had it not been for counselors acting as institutional and empowering agents, many of the participants state they would not be enrolled in college. Counselors also encouraged them to apply and believed the students could be successful in a college setting. Furthermore, counselors should be well informed of this option for underperforming students and encourage them to consider participating in dual enrollment to allow them to be in an academically nurturing environment. Many of the students in my study indicated that it was a counselor who informed them about dual enrollment. Therefore, based on results of this study, counselors are the gatekeepers to dual enrollment programs. Students and families were unaware this program existed nor were they aware they could participate in it. Colleges and high school personal need to work collaboratively to ensure all high school students and their families are aware that dual

enrollment programs exists and they are available to all students who may benefit from dual enrollment.

Increase participation in dual enrollment

The literature on dual enrollment has indicated that it does much of the above recommendations – provides quality instruction, high academic expectations, rigorous curriculum, and increases self-efficacy and self-esteem. Through their participation in dual enrollment, Latino high school students are socialized into the college environment that helped motivate them to pursue a college education and eased the transition to college. For example, many Latinos are first-generation college students and being on a college campus allows them to see themselves participating in postsecondary education after high school. Walking around and interacting with college students and faculty can increase academic self-esteem in that if they did well in college, while still high school students, they realized that they should be able to excel in college once a full member after high school. In addition, their participation provided them with anticipatory socialization to more easily transition from high school to college.

Dual enrollment was successful in supporting the majority of students in this study. It allowed students to engage in meaningful interactions with institutional agents, who helped them to demystify college. These institutional agents also increased the students' motivation by informing them of three important elements necessary to increase their chances in decoding the college experience. Dual enrollment was the vehicle to allow students to have a first-hand traditional community college experience, and it provided them with three key elements. First, it helped students obtain various forms of knowledge to decipher and navigate college. Second, it gave participants an opportunity to develop social networks with individuals embedded in the college system, which increased their social capital. Finally, participating in dual enrollment

provided a structured opportunity to interact with members of the college, who in turn offered *college encouragement* through positive feedback from an academic and social standpoint. For example, college faculty gave the high school dual enrollment students positive and constructive comments regarding their academic work and class participation. This was buttressed with positive messages from college peers, who would encourage them to stay in school, go to college, and focus on their academics. Due to such encouragement, many students rose to the level of expectation and did well in the college course, which reinforced the messages that they could be successful in college. The constant encouragement from institutional agents coupled with competitive academic performance only increased the students' motivation to continue their education. Thus, it was not dual enrollment as a program that provided positive outcomes, but the traditional college experience, via anticipatory socialization and role-rehearsal, which seems to have had the positive effects. Thus, intervention programs, such as Puente Program and Upward Bound, can have similar results by providing programming that increases the quality and quantity of interactions with institutional agents. In addition, institutional agents need to be aware that things as simple as college encouragement can have a lasting impression. Thus, intervention programs should consider developing and offering personal development workshops in which faculty and staff are taught how to properly interact with first-generation students. Therefore, these institutional agents can provide information regarding how colleges operate and services available, thus easing students' transition to college. This type of information, hence, gives students funds of knowledge, necessary knowledge to prevent first-generation students from learning it via a "trial and error" method. Students can, then, focus on their studies.

Recommendations for Future Study

Future research on the impact of dual enrollment on Latino students should be disaggregated by gender, since much of the literature on dual enrollment focuses on students collectively. In addition, it is apparent that researchers disaggregate by national origins but do very little disaggregating of Latinos by national origins and gender with community college attainment and degree attainment. Further research on how K-12 and community colleges can partner to increase the level of Latino participation and persistence in higher education by increasing dual enrollment programs participation would be beneficial. Researchers should also examine how the intersectionality of academic versus non-academic courses and whether on-college campus versus high school campus locations matter.

Conclusion

The American educational system is failing Latinos. If the K-16 educational system is to abate the achievement gap of the largest minority group in America, K-12, community colleges, and four-year institutions need to work together to address the needs of this population. Because Latinos continue to underachieve academically, serious consideration on what can be done to ameliorate the underperformance is required. The literature indicates the negative issues Latino students face throughout the educational pipeline. Indeed, I have termed the educational system that many low-SES and students of color receive in compulsory education within the United States as an *artificial educational system*. The notion that students within working class communities obtain a quality education is completely “artificial” as there is nothing “genuinely educational” about it. The literature suggests that dual enrollment programs have the potential to increase the educational attainment of Latino students – including those who are underperforming academically – by addressing various issues that affect this population and minimizing the effects of the “*artificial educational system*” they are products of. Dual

enrollment is an overlooked alternative path that may increase the completion of high school and promote college enrollment in greater numbers for underrepresented students. There is an assumption that dual enrollment, like many accelerated programs, is geared towards only high-achieving students and that they benefit the most from participating in this type of program. Yet, the individuals in this study, who were not all high-achieving students in high school, claimed that they benefited immensely from their participation in the dual enrollment program. Thus, the results of this study seem to indicate that dual enrollment has the potential to benefit more Latino students, underperforming Latino males in particular, by promoting the socialization and understanding of what college is and is not prior to becoming full members of college campus. Indeed, dual enrollment provides a warming up process that counters the common narrative that community colleges function to cool-out students' aspirations.

References

- Adelman, C. (1999). *Answers in the toolbox: Academic intensity, attendance patterns, and bachelor's degree attainment*. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, DC: Office of Educational
- Adelman, C. (2006, February). *The toolbox revisited: Paths to degree completion from high school through college*. U.S. Department of Education. Washington, DC: Office of Vocational and Adult Education.
- Alexander, B., García, V., González, L., Grimes, G., O'Brien, D. (2007). Barriers in the transfer process for Hispanic and Hispanic immigrant students. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*; 6(2) 174-184
- Allen, D. and Dadgar, M. (2012). Does dual enrollment increase students' success in college? Evidence from a quasi-experimental analysis of dual enrollment in New York City. In Hofmann, E. and Voloch, D. (eds.), *Dual Enrollment: Strategies, Outcomes and Lessons for School-College Partnerships*. New Directions for Higher Education, no. 158. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- An, B. P. (2009). *The impact of dual enrollment on college performance and attainment*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin–Madison.
- Anderson-Clark, T., Green, R., & Henley, T. (2008). The relationship between first names and teacher expectations for achievement motivation. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 27, 94–99.
- Andrews, H.A. (2000). Lessons learned from current state and national dual-credit programs. (pp. 31-39) In J.C. Palmer (Ed.), *How Can Community Colleges Create Productive Collaborations with Local Schools?* New Directions for Community

Colleges, No. 111.

Andrews, H. A. (2001). *The dual-credit phenomenon! Challenging secondary school students across 50 states*. Stillwater, OK: New Forums Press.

Andrews H.A. (2004). Dual credit research outcomes for students. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 28(5), 415-422.

Arbona, C. and Nora, A. (2007) The Influence of academic and environmental factors on Hispanic college degree attainment. *Review of Higher Education*, 30(3). 247-269

Attinasi, L. C. Jr. (1998). Getting in: Mexican Americans' perceptions of university attendance and the implications for freshmen year persistence. *Journal of Higher Education*, 60(3), 247-277

Bailey, T., Hughes, K. & Karp, M. (2002). *What role can dual enrollment programs play in easing the transition between high school and postsecondary education?* Washington D.C.: Office of Vocational and Adult Education, U.S. Department of Education. (U.S. Department of Education Publication No. ED-99-CO- 0160).

Bailey, B. and Karp, M. M (2003). *Promoting college access and success: A review of credit-based transition programs*. U.S. Dept. of Ed., Office of Voc. and Adult Ed. Nov. 2003
www.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ovae/pi/cclo/crdbase.doc

Bailey, T., Jeong, D. W., Cho, S.W. (2010). Referral, enrollment, and completion in developmental education sequences in community colleges. *Economics of Education Review*, 29(2), 255-270.

Bazeley, P. (2007). *Qualitative data analysis with NVivo*. London, England: Sage.

Behnke, A. O., Piercy, K. W., & Diversi, M. (2004). Educational and occupational

- aspirations of Latino youth and their parents. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 26, 16-35.
- Benner, A., & Mistry, R. (2007). Congruence of mother and teacher educational expectations and low-income youth's academic competence. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 99(1), 140–153.
- Blake, J. L. (2011). *A program evaluation a high school to community college transition program for African American and Latino males*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, San Diego State University.
- Blanco, C., Prescott, B., & Taylor, N. (2007). *The promise of dual enrollment: Assessing Ohio's early college access policy*. Cincinnati, OH: KnowledgeWorks Foundation. Retrieved from: http://www.kwfdn.org/resource_library/publications/pseo_report.asp
- Boswell, K. (2001). State policy and postsecondary enrollment options: Creating seamless systems. *New Directions for Community Colleges*, 29(1), 7-14.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). Cultural reproduction and social reproduction. In Jerome Karabel and A. H. Halsey (eds.), *Power and Ideology in Education*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 487–511.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. G. Ricardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for sociology of education* (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood Press.
- Bowen, H. R. (1977). *Investment in learning: The individual and social value of American higher education*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Bowen, W. & Bok, D. (1999). *The shape of the river*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Bowen, W. G., Kurzweil, M. A. & Tobin, E. M (2005). *Equity and excellence in American higher education*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.

- Bragg, D., Kim, E., & Rubin, M. (2005). *Academic pathways to college: Policies and practices of the fifty states to reach underserved students*. Downloaded from:
<http://www.nassgap.org/library/ViewBiblio.aspx?aid=1672>
- Bragg, D. D., & Rudd, C. M. (2007). Career pathways, academic performance, and transition to college and careers: The impact of two select Career and Technical Education (CTE) transition programs on student outcomes. *OCCRL In Brief*. Retrieved from:
http://occr1.ed.uiuc.edu/Publications/In_Brief/Brief-Ruud-fall-07.pdf
- Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).
- Brown, R., & Niemi, D. (2007). *Investigating the alignment of high school and community college assessments in California*. San Jose, Calif.: National Center for Public Policy in Higher Education.
- Brint, S. & Karabel, J. (1989). *The diverted dream: Community colleges and the promise of educational opportunity in America, 1900-1985*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bryant, A. N. (2001). *Community college students: Recent findings and trends*. *Community College review*, 29(3), 77-94.
- Callahan, C. M. (2005). Identifying gifted students from underrepresented populations. *Theory Into Practice*, 44, 98–104.
- Camara, W. J. (2003). *College persistence, graduation, and remediation*. New York: The College Board.
- Carnevale, A. P., & Desroches, D. M. (2003). *Standards for what? The economic roots of K-16 reform*. Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service.
- Carnevale, A. P. & Rose, S. J. (2004). Socioeconomic status, race/ethnicity, and selective college

- admissions. In R. D. Kalenberg (ed.) *America's untapped resource: Low-income students in higher education*. 101-156. New York: The Century Foundation Press.
- Carrell, S., Malmstrom, F., & West, J. (2008). Peer effects in academic cheating. *Journal of Human Resources*, 43(1), 2008, 173-207.
- Chapa, J. and Schink, W. (2006). California community colleges: Help or hindrance to Latinos in the higher education pipeline? In C. L. Horn, S. M. Flores, and G. Orfied (eds.). *Latino Educational Opportunity. New Directions for Community Colleges*, 133, 41-50. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Clark, R. W. (2001). *Dual credit: A report of progress and policies that offer high school students college credits*. Executive Summary. Philadelphia: The Pew Charitable Trusts.
- Clark, B.R. (1960). The cooling out function in higher education *The American Journal of Sociology*, 65(6) 569-576.
- Clark, K. (1965). *Dark ghetto: Dilemmas of social power*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Cohen, A. & Brawer, F. (2003). *The American community college*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass
- College Board (2012). *The 8th annual AP report to the nation*. Download on July 9, 2012 from:
<http://media.collegeboard.com/digitalServices/public/pdf/ap/rtn/AP-Report-to-the-Nation.pdf>
- Conklin, K. (2005). Avoiding a collision course: A state policy agenda for increasing high school students' college readiness. *Course Corrections: Experts offer solutions to the college cost crisis*. Lumina Foundation, 20-31. Retrieved from:
https://folio.iupui.edu/bitstream/handle/10244/276/Collegecosts_Oct2005.pdf

- Contreras, F. (2005). Access, achievement, and social capital: Standardized exams and the Latino college-bound population. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 4(3), 197-214.
DOI: 10.1177/1538192705276546
- Coplin, B. (2005). Seven steps: Ways to reduce instructional costs and improve undergraduate and graduate education. *Course Corrections: Experts offer solutions to the college cost crisis*. Lumina Foundation, 60-67. Retrieved from:
https://folio.iupui.edu/bitstream/handle/10244/276/Collegcosts_Oct2005.pdf
- D'Amico, S. (1975). The effects of clique membership upon academic achievement. *Adolescence*, 10, 93-100.
- Darling-Hammond, H. (2006). Securing the right to learn: Policy and practice for powerful teaching and learning. *Educational Researcher*, 35(7), 13-24.
- Deil-Amen, R. (2006). Warming up: The aspirations of community college students. In J. E. Rosenbaum, R. Deil-Amen, and A. E. Person (eds.) *After Admissions: From College Access to College Success*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Diamond, J. B., Randolph, A., & Spillane, J. P. (2004). Teachers' expectations and sense of responsibility for student learning: The importance of race, class, and organizational habitus. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 35(1), 75-98.
- Dills, A. 2005, Does cream-skimming curdle the milk? A study of peer effects. *Economics of Education Review*, 24, 19-28
- Dodge, M. B. (2012). Dual enrollment in a rural environment: a descriptive quantitative study. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 36(3), 220-228.
- Dougherty, K. (1992). Community colleges and baccalaureate attainment. *Journal of Higher Education*, 63(2) 188-214.

- Dougherty, K. (1994). *The Contradictory college: The conflicting origins, impacts, and futures of the community college*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1994.
- Driscoll, A. K. (2007). *Beyond access: How the first semester matters for community college students' aspirations and persistence*. PACE Policy Brief 07-2
- Ebaugh, H. R. F. (1988). *Becoming an ex: The process of role exit*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Edmunds, J. A. (2012). Early colleges: A new model of schooling focusing on college readiness. In Hofmann, E. and Voloch, D. (eds.), *Dual Enrollment: Strategies, Outcomes and Lessons for School-College Partnerships*. New Directions for Higher Education, no. 158, pp. 81-90 San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Epstein, J. & Karweit, N. (1983) *Friends in school: Patterns of selection and influence in secondary schools*. New York: Academic Press.
- Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity, youth, and crisis*. New York: Norton.
- Estacion, A., Cotner, B.A., D'Souza, S., Smith, C.A.S., and Borman, K.M. (2011). *Who enrolls in dual enrollment and other acceleration programs in Florida high schools?* (Issues & Answers Report, REL 2012–No. 119). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, Institute of Education Sciences, National Center for Education Evaluation and Regional Assistance, Regional Educational Laboratory Southeast. Retrieved from <http://ies.ed.gov/ncee/edlabs>.
- Feldman, M. (1993). Factors associated with one-year retention in a community college. *Research in Higher Education*, 34(4), 503-512.
- Ferguson, A. A. (2001). *Bad boys: Public schools in the making of the black masculinity*. Ann Arbor, MI. The University of Michigan Press.

- Ferguson, D. B. (2000). Re-examining at-risk. *Curriculum Administrator*, 36, 79-95.
- Field, S., Frank, K. A., Schiller, K., Riegle-Crumb, C., & Muller, C. (2006). Identifying positions from affiliation networks: preserving the duality of people and events. *Social Networks*, 28, 97-123.
- Fincher-Ford, M. (1997). *High school students earning college credit*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.
- Friedkin, N.E. and Thomas, S.L. (1997). Social positions in schooling. *Sociology of Education*, 70(4) 239- 255.
- Fry, R. (2002). *Latinos in higher education: Many enroll, too few graduate*. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center.
- Fry, R. (2011). *Hispanic college enrollment spikes, narrowing gaps with other groups*. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center.
- Frankenberg, E., Lee, C., & Orfield, G. (2003). A multiracial society with segregated schools: Are we losing the dream. The Civil Rights Project, Harvard University.
- Fuentes, M. A. (2006). Keeping our children in school: We know what works – why aren't we doing it? In J. Castellanos, A. M. Gloria, & M. Kamimura (eds.), *The Latina/o Pathway to the Ph.D: Abriendo Caminos*. 19-36. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing.
- Gaines, B. C. & Wilbur, F. P. (1985). Early instruction in the high school: Syracuse's project advance. *New Directions for Teaching and Learning*, 24, 27-36. DOI: 10.1002/tl.37219852405
- Goldhaber, D. D., & Brewer, D. J. (1996). *Evaluating the effect of teacher degree level on educational performance*. Washington, D.D.: National center for Education Statistics. <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs97/975351.pdf>

- Gamoran, A. (1987). The stratification of high school learning opportunities. *Sociology of Education*, 60, 135-155.
- Gamoran, A. (2009). *Tracking and inequality: New directions for research and practice* (WCER Working Paper No. 2009-6). Madison: University of Wisconsin–Madison, Wisconsin Center for Education Research. Retrieved July 1, 2012 from <http://www.wcer.wisc.edu/publications/workingPapers/papers.php>
- Gándara, P. (1995). *Over the ivy wall: The educational mobility of low-income Chicanos*. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Gándara, P., & Contreras, F. (2009). *The Latino education crisis: The consequences of failed social policies*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Garza, H. (2006). Forward. In J. Castellanos, A. M. Gloria, & M. Kamimura (eds.), *The Latina/o Pathway to the Ph.D: Abriendo Caminos*. xv-xxi. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing.
- Gibson, M. A., Gándara, P., & Koyama, J. P. (2004). *School connection: U.S. Mexican youth, peers, and school achievement*. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.
- Gladieux, L. E. (2004). Low-income students and the affordability of higher education. In R. D. Kahlenberg (ed.), *America's Untapped Resource: Low-Income Students in Higher Education*, 17-58. New York: The Century Foundation Press.
- Grogger, J & Trejo, S. J. (2002). *Falling behind or moving up? The intergenerational progress of Mexican Americans*. San Francisco, CA.
- Gross, J. P. K. (2011). Promoting or perturbing success: The effects of aid on timing to Latino students' first departure from college. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*. DOI: 10.1177/1538192711410243
- Hagedorn, L. S., & Fogel, S. (2002). Making school to college programs work: Academics,

- goals, and aspirations. In W.G. Tierny & L.S. Hagedorn (eds.), *Increasing Access to College*, 15-34. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Hagedorn, L.S. and Lester, J. (2006). Hispanic community college students and the transfer game: Strikes, misses, and grand slam experiences. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*. 30(10) 827-853
- Hoffman, N. (2003). *College credit in high school: Increasing postsecondary credential rates of underrepresented students*. Boston: Jobs for the Future. Retrieved from:
<http://www.jff.org/Documents/collegecreditNH.pdf>
- Hoffman, N. (2005). *Add and subtract: Dual enrollment as a state strategy to increase postsecondary success for underrepresented students*. Boston: Jobs for the Future. Retrieved from: <http://www.jff.org/Documents/Addsubtract.pdf>
- Horn, L., & Chen, X. (1998). *Toward resiliency: At-risk student who make it to college*. Washington, D.C: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement.
- Horn, L., Kojaku, L. K., & Carroll, C. D. (2001). *High school academic curriculum and the persistence path through college: Persistence and transfer behavior of undergraduates three years after entering the 4-year institutions*. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of Education.
- Hossler, D., Schmit, j, & Vesper, N. (1999). *Going to college: How social, economic, and educational factors influence the decisions students make*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Hoyt, J. E. (1999). Remedial education and student attrition. *Community College Review*, 27(2), 51-72.

- Inger, M. (1992). *Increasing the school involvement of Hispanic parents*. ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education.
- Ishanti, T. T. (2006). Studying attrition and degree completion behavior among first-generation college students in the United States. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 77(5), 861-885.
- Jackson, G. A. (1990). Financial aid, college entry, and affirmative action. *American Journal of Education* 98, 523-550.
- Johnstone, D. B. & Del Genio, B. (2001). *College-level learning in high school: Purposes, policies, and practical implications*. Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges and Universities.
- Jun, A. & Colyar, J. (2002). Parental guidance suggested: Family involvement in college preparation programs. In W.G. Tierny & L.S. Hagedorn (eds.), *Increasing Access to College*, 15-34. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Kahlenberg, R. D. (2004). Introduction. In R. D. Kalenberg (ed.) *America's Untapped Resource: Low-Income Students in Higher Education*. 1-16. New York: The Century Foundation Press.
- Karabel, J. (1977). Community college and social stratification: Submerged class conflict in American higher education. In J. Karabel and A. H. Halsey (eds) *In Power and Ideology in Education*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Karp, M.M. (2007). Learning About the Role of College Student Through Dual Enrollment Participation. CCRC Working Paper No. 7. New York: Community College Research Center, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Karp, M. M. (2012). "I don't know, I've never been to college!" Dual enrollment as a college

- readiness strategy. In Hofmann, E. and Voloch, D. (eds.), *Dual Enrollment: Strategies, Outcomes and Lessons for School-College Partnerships*. New Directions for Higher Education, no. 158, pp. 21-28 San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Karp, M. M., Calcagno, J. C., Hughes, K. L., Jeong, D. W., & Bailey, T. R. (2007). *The postsecondary achievement of participants in dual enrollment: An analysis of student outcomes in two states*. St. Paul, MN: University of Minnesota, National Research Center for Career and Technical Education. Retrieved from:
<http://ccrc.tc.columbia.edu/Publication.asp?UID=547>
- Karp, M.M., & Hughes, K. L. (2008). Supporting college transitions through collaborative programming: A conceptual model for guiding policy. *Teachers College Record*, 110(4), 838-866
- Kao, G., & Thompson, J. S. (2003). Racial and ethnic stratification in educational achievement and attainment. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 29, 417-442.
- Kim, J., Kirby, C., & Bragg, D. (2006). *Dual credit: Then and now*. Champaign, IL: Office of Community College Research and Leadership, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Retrieved from:
http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICDocs/data/ericdocs2sql/content_storage_01/0000019b/80/27/fe/fd.pdf
- Kirst, M. W. and Venezia, A. (2001). Bridging the great divide between secondary schools and postsecondary education. *Phi Delta Kappan* (Sept.), pp. 92-97. Retrieved August 12, 2012, from: <http://www.stanford.edu/group/bridgeproject/greatdivide.pdf>.
- Kleiner, B. & Lewis, L. (2005). *Dual enrollment of high school students at postsecondary*

- institutions, 2002-03*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. Retrieved from: <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2005/2005008.pdf>
- Kozol, J. (1991). *Savage inequalities*. New York: Crown Publishing.
- Kozol, J. (2005). *The shame of the nation: The restoration of apartheid schooling in America*. New York: Crown Publishing.
- Krueger, C. (2006). *Dual enrollment: Policy issues confronting state policymakers*. Denver, CO: Education Commission of the States. Retrieved from: <http://www.ecs.org/clearinghouse/67/87/6787.pdf>
- Kuh, G.D., Gonyea, R.M., & Palmer, M. (2001). The disengaged commuter student: Fact or fiction? *Commuter Perspectives*, 27(1), 2-5.
- Kunjufu, J. (2005). *Countering the conspiracy to destroy black boys*. Chicago: African American Images.
- Kurlaender, M. (2006). Choosing community college: Factors affecting Latino college choice. In C. L. Horn, S. M. Flores, and G. Orfield (eds.). *Latino Educational Opportunity*, 7-16. *New Directions for Community College* (133). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Laanan, F.S. (2001). Transfer student adjustment. In F. S. Laanan (ed.). *Transfer students: Trends and issues. New Directions for Community Colleges*, 114, 5-13. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1994). *The Dreamkeepers: Successful teachers of African American Children*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Lee, V., & Frank, F. (1990). Students' characteristics that facilitate transfer from two-year to four-year colleges. *Sociology of Education*, 63, 17-193.
- Leinbach, D. T., & Baily, T. R. (2006). Access and achievement of Hispanics and Hispanic

- immigrants in the city of New York. In C. L. Horn, S. M. Flores, and G. Orfield (eds.). *Latino Educational Opportunity*, 7-16. New Directions for Community College (133). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Lerner, J. B. & Brand, B. (2006). *The college ladder: Linking secondary and postsecondary education for success for all students*. Washington, DC: American Youth Policy Forum.
Retrieved from: <http://hub.mspnet.org/index.cfm/13716>
- Levine, A., and Nidiffer, J. (1996). *Beating the odds: How the poor get to college*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Lewis, T. L. (2009). *Student reflections: The impact of dual enrollment on transitions to a state university*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of South Florida.
- Lin, N. (2001). *Social capital: A theory of social structure and action*. NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Lopez, G. (2001). The value of hard work: Lessons on parent involvement from an (im)migrant household. *Harvard Educational Review*, 71(3), 416–437.
- Martinez, M., & Klopott, S. (2005). *The link between high school reform and college access and success for low-income and minority youth*. Washington, DC: American Youth Policy Forum and Pathways to College Network.
- Massey, D., Charles, C.Z., Lundy, G., Fischer, M.J., (2003). *The Source of the river: The social origins of freshmen at America's selective colleges and universities*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.
- McKown, C., & Weinstein, R. (2008). Teacher expectations, classroom context, and the achievement gap. *Journal of School Psychology*, 46, 235–261.
- Medvide, M. B., & Blustein, D. L. (2010). Exploring the educational and career plans of

- urban minority students in a dual enrollment program. *Journal of Career Development*, 37(2), 541-558. doi:10.1177/0894845309350920
- Melguizo, T. (2007). The dismal reality of the transfer pathway for Latino and African American students in California. *Change Magazine (November-December)*.
- Merton, R. K. (1968). *Social theory and social structure*. New York: Free Press.
- Moll, L., Amanti, C., Neff, D. and Gonzalez, N. (1992). *Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms*. *Theory Into Practice*, XXXI, 2, 132-141.
- Museus, S. D., Lutovsky, B. R., & Colbeck, C. L. (2007). Access and equity in dual enrollment programs: Implications for policy formation. *Higher Education in Review* 4, 1-19.
- Nitzke, J. E. (2002). *A longitudinal study of dual credit enrollment of high school students as an accelerator for degree completion*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Iowa State University.
- Nora, A., & Crisp, G. (2009). Hispanics and higher education: An overview of research, theory, and practice. In J. C. Smart (Ed.) *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research*, 24, (pp. 321-358). Springer Publishing.
- Nora, A. & Cabrera, A. F. (1996). The role of perceptions of prejudice and discrimination on the adjustment of minority student to college. *Journal of Higher Education*, 67 (2), 120-148.
- Oakes, J. (1985). *Keeping track: How schools structure inequality*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Oakes, J., Gamoran, A., & Page, R. N. (1992). Curriculum differentiation: Opportunities, outcomes, and meanings. In P. W. Jackson (Ed.), *Handbook of Research on Curriculum* (pp. 570–608). New York: Macmillan.

- Oakes, J., Mendoza, J., and Silver, D. (2004). *California opportunity indicators: Informing and monitoring California's progress toward equitable college access*. Downloaded on July 10, 2012 from: <http://ucaccord.gseis.ucla.edu/publications/informing-and-monitoring-californias-progress>
- Oakes, J., & Saunders, M. (2004). Education's most basic tools: Access to textbooks and instructional material in California's public schools. *Teachers College Record*, 106(10), 1967-1988.
- Orfield, G. (2001). *Schools more separate: Consequences of a decade of resegregation*. Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project, Harvard University.
- Ornelas, A. and Solórzano, D. G. (2004). Transfer Conditions of Latina/o Community College Students: A Single Institution Case Study. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*. 28(3) 233-248
- Padilla, A. M., & Gonzales, R. (2001). Academic performance of immigrant and U.S.-born Mexican heritage students: Effects of schooling in Mexico and bilingual/English language instruction. *American Educational Research Journal*, 38, 727-742.
- Parsad, B., Lewis, L., & Greene, B. (2003). *Remedial education at degree-granting postsecondary institutions in fall 2000* (NCES 2004-010). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics.
- Pascarella, E. T., Edison, M., Nora, A., Hagedorn, L. S., & Terenzini, P.T., (1998). Does community college versus four-year college attendance influence students' educational plans? *Journal of College Student Development*, 44(3), 179-193.
- Pascarella, E. T., Pierson, C. T., Wolniak, G. C., & Terenzini, P. T. (2004). First-generation

- college students: Additional evidence on college experiences and outcomes. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 75, 249-284.
- Pascarella, E. & Terenzini, P. (2005). *How college affects students: A third decade of research*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Paul, F. G. (2005). Grouping within Algebra I: A structural sieve with powerful effects for Low-income, minority, and immigrant students. *Educational Policy*, 19, 262–282.
- Paulsen, M.B. (2001). The economics of human capital and investment in higher education. In M.B. Paulsen and J.C. Smart (eds.), *The Finance of Higher Education: Theory, Research, Policy, and Practice* (pp. 55–94). New York: Agathon Press.
- Pike, G. R., & Kuh, G. D. (2005). First- and second-generation college students: A comparison of their engagement and intellectual development. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 76, 276-300.
- Puyear, D.E., Thor, L.M., and Mills, K.L. (2001). Concurrent enrollment in Arizona: Encouraging success in high school. In Robertson, P.F., Chapman, B.G., and Gaskin, F. (eds), *Systems for offering concurrent enrollment at high schools and community colleges*. New Directions for Community Colleges, 113, pp 33-41. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Ream, R. (2005). *Uprooting children: Mobility, social capital, and Mexican American underachievement*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing.
- Rendón, L. I. (1992). From the barrio to the academy: Revelations of a Mexican American “scholarship girl.” In L. S. Zwerling, & H. B. London (Eds.), *First generation students: Confronting the cultural issues* (pp. 55-64). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Rosenthal, R., & Jacobson, L. (1992). *Pygmalion in the classroom: Teacher expectations and*

- pupils' intellectual development*. New York: Irvington Publishers.
- Rubie-Davies, C. (2006). Teacher expectations and student self-perceptions: Exploring relationships. *Psychology in the Schools*, 43(5), 537–552.
- Rumberger, R. (1991). Chicano dropouts: A review of the research and policy issues. In R. Valencia (Ed.), *Chicano school failure and success*. New York: Falmer Press, 64-89.
- Rumberger, R.W., & Rodriguez, G. M. (2002). Chicano dropouts: An update of research and policy issues. In R. Valencia (Ed.), *Chicano school failure and success past, present, and future* (2nd ed., pp. 114-146). New York: Routledge.
- Saenz, V. B., & Ponjuan, L. (2009). The vanishing Latino male in higher education. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 8(1), 54-89.
- Santos, A. & Santos, G. E. (2006). Latina/os and community colleges. In J. Castellanos, A. M. Gloria, & M. Kamimura (eds.), *The Latina/o Pathway to the Ph.D: Abriendo Caminos*. 37-54. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing.
- Schefers, O. C. (2012). *Competition and community: Exploring the inter-organizational relationships underlying dual credit programs*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota.
- Schlossberg, N. K., Lynch, A. Q., & Chickering, A. W. (1989). *Improving higher education environments for adults*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Sengupta, R., & Jepsen, C., (2006). California's community college students. *California counts: Population trends and profiles*, 8(2), 1–23.
- Smith, D. (2007). Why expand dual-credit programs? *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 31(5), 371-387.
- Solórzano, D. & Ornelas, A. (2002). A critical race analysis of advance placement classes: A

- case of educational inequality. *Journal of Latinos in Education*, 1, 215-229.
- Solórzano, D., & Ornelas, A. (2004). A critical race analysis of Latina/o African American advanced placement enrollment in public high schools. *High School Journal*, 87(3), 15-26.
- Solórzano, D., Villalpando, O., & Oseguera, L. (2005) Educational inequities and Latina/o undergraduate students in the United States: A critical race analysis of their educational progress. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 4(3), 272-294.
- Speroni, C. (2011). High school dual enrollment programs: Are we fast-tracking students too fast? An NCPR Working Paper. New York, NY: National Center for Postsecondary Research.
- Stanton-Salazar R. D. (1997). A social capital framework for understanding the socialization of racial minority children and youths. *Harvard Education Review*, 67(1), 1-40.
- Stanton-Salazar, R. D. (2001). Manufacturing hope and despair: The school and kin support networks of U.S.-Mexican youth. New York: Teacher College Press
- Stanton-Salazar, R. D. (2011). A social capital framework for the study of institutional agents and their role in the empowerment of low-status students and youth. *Youth and Society*, 43(3), 1066-1109.
- Steinberg, L. (1996). *Beyond the classroom: Why school reform has failed and what parents need to do*. New York: Simon & Schuster
- Steinberg, L., Dornbusch, S, & Brown, B. (1992). Ethnic differences in adolescent achievement: An ecological perspective. *American Psychologist*, 47, 723-729.
- Strauss, R. P., & Sawyer, E.A. (1986). Some new evidence on teacher and student competencies. *Economics of Education Review*, 5(1), 41-48.

- Suárez-Orozco, C. & Suárez-Orozco, M. (2001). *Children of immigration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Swail, W.S. & Perna, L.W. (2002). Pre-College outreach programs. In W.G. Tierny & L.S. Hagedorn (eds.), *Increasing Access to College*, 15-34. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Swail, W. S., Cabrera, A. F., Lee, C., & Williams, A. (2005). *Latino students & the educational pipeline. Part III: Pathways to the bachelor's degree for Latino students*. Washington, DC: Educational Policy Institute and Lumina Foundation for Education.
- Swanson, J. L. (2008). *An analysis of the impact of high school dual enrollment course participation on post-secondary academic success, persistence and degree completion*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. University of Iowa.
- Tang, S., Dearing, E., & Weiss, H. B. (2011). Spanish-speaking Mexican-American families' involvement in school-based activities and their children's literacy: The implications of having teachers who speak Spanish and English. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 26(2), 177-187. DOI: 10.1016/j.bbr.2011.03.031.
- Tovar, E. & Simon, M. A. (2006). Academic probation as a dangerous opportunity: Factors influencing diverse college students' success. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 30(7), 547-564.
- Timpane, P. M., & Hauptman, A. M. (2004). Improving the academic preparation and performance of low-income students in American higher education. In R. D. Kalenberg (ed.) *America's Untapped Resource: Low-Income Students in Higher Education*. 59-100. New York, The Century Foundation Press.
- Trevino, R. (2004). Against all odds: Lessons from parents of migrant high-achievers. In C.

- Salinas & M. E. Franquiz (Eds.), *Scholars in the field: The challenges of migrant education* (pp. 147–161). Charleston, WV: AEL.
- U.S. Census (2012). *Bachelor's degree attainment tops 30 percent for the first time*. Retrieved from: <http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/education/cb12-33.html>
- U.S. Census (2013). The census bureau's population estimates program. Retrieved from: <https://www.census.gov/popest/index.html>
- U.S. Census (2014). *Survey of business owners: Definition of common terms*. Retrieved from: <https://www.census.gov/econ/sbo/definitions.html>
- Valencia, R. R., & Black M. S. (2002). “Mexican Americans don’t value education!” – On the basis of the myth, mythmaking, and debunking. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, 1(2), 81–103. http://dx.doi.org/10.1207/S1532771XJLE0102_2
- Valenzuela, A. (1999). *Subtractive schooling: U.S.-Mexican youth and the politics of caring*. Albany, New York: State University of New York.
- Waits, T., Setzer, J.C., & Lewis, L. (2005). *Dual credit and exam-based courses in U.S. public high schools: 2002-03*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. Retrieved from: <http://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2005009>
- Wald, M., & Losen, D. (2003). *Deconstructing the school-to-prison pipeline*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bas.
- Warburto, E., Bugarin, R., & Nunez, A. (2001). *Bridging the gap: Academic preparation and postsecondary access of first-generation students*. Washington, D.C: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics.

- Wassmer, R., Moore, C., and Shulock, N. (2004). Effect of Racial/Ethnic Composition on Transfer Rates in Community Colleges: Implications for Policy and Practice. *Research in Higher Education*. 45(6) 651-672
- Weidman, J. (1989). Undergraduate socialization: A conceptual approach. In J. Smart (Ed.), *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research* (Vol. 5 289-322). New York: Agathon.
- Weinstein, R. (2002). *Reaching higher*. Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press.
- Welsh, J., Brake, N., & Choi, N. (2005). Student participation and performance in dual-credit courses in a reform environment. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, 29(3), 199-213.
- Venezia, A., Kirst, M. W., & Antonio, A. L. (2003). *Betraying the college dream: How disconnected K-12 and postsecondary education systems undermine student aspirations*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford Institute for Higher Education Research, Bridge Project.
- Whitla, D., Howard, C., Tuitt, F., Reddick, R. & Flanagan, E. (2005). Diversity on campus: Exemplary programs for retaining and supporting students of color. In G. Orfield, P. Marin, and C. L. Horn (eds.), *Higher Education and the Color Line: College Access, Racial Equity, and Social Change*, 131-152. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard Education Press
- Wilson, M. E. (2009). *Struggle and success: The experiences of urban high school seniors participating in a dual enrollment Program*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Yosso, T. and Solórzano, D. (2006). *Leaks in the Chicana and Chicano educational pipeline*.

CRSC Latino Policy and Issues Brief 13. Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center Press.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Demographic Questionnaire

A. Interviewee Information

1. Preferred name: _____
2. Ethnicity: Mexican, Mexican American, Central American, South American, or Other (Please specify):

3. Age: _____
4. Generational status:
 - a) Were you born in the U.S.? (Please specify, Yes or No): _____
 - b) If no, what country were you born in? (Please specify): _____
 - i. At what age did you arrived in the U.S.? _____
 - ii. I don't know _____
 - c) Were your parents born in the U.S.? (Please specify, Yes or No): _____
 - i. If yes, which parent was born in the U.S.? (Please specify): _____

B. School Information

1. How many years have you been at this college?
One year _____
Two years _____
Three years _____
Four years _____
Other _____
2. Major or intended major:

3. College GPA:
 - a. What is your overall college GPA at this point: _____
4. High School GPA:
 - a. What was your overall HS GPA at time of gradation? _____
 - b. Did not attend HS, earned GED instead. (Please check): _____

C. Parent/Family Information

1. What is the highest educational degree earned by either of your parents?
 - a) Father (Please enter a number): _____
 1. Less than High School
 2. Some High School
 3. High School diploma or GED
 4. Two-year college degree
 5. Four-year college degree
 6. Graduate degree (e.g. MA, PhD, etc.)
 - b) Mother (Please enter a number): _____
 1. Less than High School
 2. Some High School
 3. High School diploma or GED
 4. Two-year college degree
 5. Four-year college degree
 6. Graduate degree (e.g. MA, PhD, etc.)
2. What is your parent's occupation? (Please specify job title. If you don't know, please specify job industry):
Father: _____
Mother: _____
3. Do you live in a single or two-parent household? (Please specify): _____
4. How many siblings do you have? (Please specify): _____
5. What is your household's annual income? (Please select one): _____
 - a. Under \$30,000
 - b. \$31,000-50,000
 - c. \$51,000-70,000
 - d. \$71,000-99,000
 - e. \$100,000 and above
 - f. I Don't know

Appendix 2

Interview Questions

Introductory Script for Interview:

I'm going to start the interview now and turn on the recorder. *[Start recording—speak into recorder the interview number, date, time, and location]*

Thank you for being willing to fill out the consent form and questionnaire in advance of this meeting. And thank you again for being willing to take this time to talk with me.

Interview Protocol

Students

1. Tell me about the neighborhood you grew up in and about your family background?
2. What was school like before dual enrollment – academically and socially?
3. Why did you participate in dual enrollment?
4. Who informed you about dual enrollment?
5. Who did you interact or socialize with when you participated in dual enrollment?
6. Who or what helped you navigate the college's policies and procedures while in dual enrollment?
7. What was it like taking classes with college student and faculty on a college campus?
8. What services did you utilize while in dual enrollment?
 - a. Why those services and how did you benefit from using them?
 - b. If not, why not?
9. Who or what motivated you to enroll in college after high school?
10. How has learning to navigate the college environment while in high school helped you in anyway?
11. Do you plan to transfer to a four-year college or university?

12. Looking back how did you see yourself as a student back in high school and how did you see yourself today?
13. When did you first feel like a college student? During dual enrollment or after?
14. Why did you feel like a college student then? How was that process
15. So what impact do you believe dual enrollment have on you?
16. Is there anything else you would like to say?

Appendix 3

Informed Consent Form for “WARMING UP, NOT COOLING DOWN: THE INFLUENCE OF DUAL ENROLLMENT ON THE SOCIALIZATION AND ACADEMIC SUCCESS OF LATINO MALES AT COMMUNITY COLLEGES”

You are being asked to participate in a dissertation research project conducted by Hugo A. García in the School of Educational Studies, Claremont Graduate University (CGU). You are being asked because you have self-identified as Latino male (i.e. Mexican, Mexican American, Central American, and South American) student, who participated in the dual enrollment program partnership between your high school and INSTITUTION NAME, are a first-generation college student, had a low- to middle-academic performance in high school, are enrolled at INSTITUTION NAME after graduating from H.S., and are at least 18 years old.

PURPOSE: The purpose of this study is to learn how participating in the dual enrollment program between your High School and INSTITUTION NAME influenced their academic and personal goals.

PARTICIPATION: You will be asked to complete a demographic questionnaire and one-on-one interview. I expect your participation to take no more than one hour. Demographic questionnaire should take no more than 5 minutes to complete and interview should be between 45-60 minutes. Examples of demographic questions include age, G.P.A and parent’s educational level. Examples of interview questions include: Tell me about the neighborhood you grew up in and about your family background? What was school like before dual enrollment – academically and socially? Why did you participate in dual enrollment? Who or what helped you navigate the college’s policies and procedures while in dual enrollment?

RISKS & BENEFITS: There are minimal risks associated with this study such as asking you to talk about your family and academics can make you feel uncomfortable. This study requires one hour of your time, which may be an inconvenient. No benefits are anticipated to the participant but I expect this research to benefit the field of higher education by providing a deeper understanding on how dual enrollment participation influences Latino male students to continue on to college after high school.

COMPENSATION: You will be paid \$20 for your participation. You are eligible for the \$20 if you complete the interview, even if, you refuse to answer any questions. You are not eligible for the \$20 if you withdraw from the study before the interview is completed.

VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION: Please understand that participation is completely voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will in no way affect your current or future relationship with CGU or INSTITUTION NAME and its faculty, students, or staff. You have the right to withdraw from the research at any time without penalty. You also have the right to refuse to answer any question(s) for any reason, without penalty.

CONFIDENTIALITY: Your individual privacy will be maintained in all publications or presentations resulting from this study. Your name will not be used in the final research document. The audio recording will be deleted once it has been transcribed and the dissertation has been completed. In order to preserve the confidentiality of your responses, I will keep the audio recording in a password-protected personal computer and will not share it with anyone other than the transcriber.

If you have any questions or would like additional information about this research, please contact me at 619-2746-5887 or hgarcia19@gmail.com. You can also contact my research advisor, Daryl G. Smith, PhD at 909-607-8982 or daryl.smith@cgu.edu. The CGU Institutional Review Board, which is administered through the Office of Research and Sponsored Programs (ORSP), has approved this project. You may also contact CGU ORSP at (909) 607-9406 with any questions.

A signed copy of this consent form will be given to you.

I understand the above information and have had all of my questions about participation on this research project answered. I voluntarily consent to participate in this research.

_____ I agree to be audio taped

_____ I do not agree to be audio taped

Signature of Participant _____

Date _____

Printed Name of Participant _____

Email Address: _____

Your email is being requested in order to follow up on any questions that need clarification.

Appendix 4

Hello,

My name is Hugo A. García and I am Ph.D. student at Claremont Graduate University in the School of Educational Studies. I am conducting a dissertation research study to gain a better understanding of the impact of dual enrollment participation by Latino males. I would like to invite you to participate in this study if you participated in the dual enrollment program between your high school and INSTITUTION NAME when you were a high school student. This study will consist of a questionnaire and one-on-one interview, which is expected to last between 45 to 60 minutes. As an incentive for participating, you will receive \$10 cash. In addition, I will provide snacks and drinks during the interview.

If you are interested, you are welcome to ask me any questions at this time or contact me at 619-246-5887 or hgarcia19@gmail.com

Thank you for your time!

Sincerely,
Hugo A. García
Ph.D. Candidate
School of Educational Studies
Claremont Graduate University