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Cultural Schemas as Cultural Capital: The Fuerza and Flexibility of Latino Family Values

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The Fuerza and Flexibility of Latino Family Values

By

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Cultural Schemas as Cultural Capital:
The Fuerza and Flexibility of Latino Family Values

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Abstract

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) play an important role in providing social services to people worldwide, but where NGOs serve immigrants, there can be misunderstandings based on contrasts in the cultural backgrounds between the providers and the clients. This is a concern for the management of Rebound of Whatcom County, an NGO focused on providing support for families facing challenges. Discussions about child discipline and communication indicate that differences go beyond basic English-Spanish language translation, and seem to represent dissimilarities in the conceptualizations of family. The goal here is to identify the conceptual differences in the concept of family and the perceived impacts of these beliefs on use of services.

Interviews, ranging from 30 to 45 minutes in length, were arranged with 5 English-speaking representatives of the NGO and 8 Spanish-speaking clients. They were transcribed and coded using NVivo software in order reveal patterns in the conceptualizations about family between these two groups. Naomi Quinn suggested that humans have the tendency to categorize experiences in schemas, patterns of thinking that are repeated and shared among individuals who share lives. Pierre Bourdieu argued also that economic needs greatly influenced the formation of these schemas; i.e., the social value or cultural capital of these schemas also determined their formation and use.

Discourse analysis revealed that the concept of family for staff meant love, support, safety, and healthy community towards individual success. Clients emphasized home or *casa* as a sacred place, respect, and time with family toward the goal of family unity; the quickest route to success was hard work. These contrasts likely interfere with the exchange of ideas about issues such as good parenting and intergenerational communication. The translation of ideas into Spanish is not enough. Suggestions to improve service delivery included: schemas should be used to tailor the message to the clients especially when the economic benefits are also emphasized, Spanish-speaking leadership also improves the link between Rebound's message and client needs.

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INTRODUCTION

Latino Immigration

Immigration to the USA often triggers in current U.S. citizens intense disagreement, mainly due to concerns about job loss (Correa-Cabrera and Rojas-Arenaza, 2012). Consequently, immigrants encounter various forms of resistance in their struggle to create sustainable livelihoods for themselves and families. The U.S. Census Bureau (2011a, b) estimates that there are about 40 million immigrants, 30% of which arrived from Mexico. Undocumented immigrants are estimated at 11.1 million, 60% of which are of Mexican descent (Passel and Cohn, 2010). Washington State's portion of foreign-born was 6.6% in 1990, 10.4% in 2000, and 13.5% in 2013 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). Undocumented immigrants were estimated to comprise 3.3% of the state's population or 230,000 people in 2012 (Pew Latino Center, 2014).

Mexican illegal migration to the USA since the economic crash of 2008 has been zero or negative, but numbers are increasing from Central America (Massey et al., 2014). In 2014 Central America was (and likely still is) the source for many migrating to the USA from Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras. Much of this movement reflects the impact of U.S. policies in the 1980s that contributed to violence against citizens perpetrated by local regimes (Massey et al., 2014). Many Latino immigrants flee basic economic deprivation and find themselves cut off from vital social networks (Bathum and Ciofu Baumann 2007). Still other women and children are escaping domestic abuse and other forms of violence that often leave them traumatized (Kaltman et al. 2011). This is to say that the needs of Latino immigrants are diverse, serious, and the result of specific and complex socioeconomic contexts. This study focuses on migrant families and their desperate need for contextualized social service solutions (Stein and Guzman 2015; Johnson 2007; Brown and Souto-Manning 2008; Gonzales 2012).

The U.S. Census Bureau (2011a, b) estimates that there are about 40 million immigrants, 30% of which arrived from Mexico. Undocumented immigrants are estimated at 11.1 million, 60% of which are of Mexican descent (Passel and Cohn, 2010). Benefits of family networks for new migrants include

accessibility to family based visas and increased opportunities for employment and credit acquisition (Immigration Policy Center 2013, www.immigrationpolicy.org). Thus, families support each other during the migration process and represent a group that tends to better transition to the U.S. society (Ayón and Naddy 2013). Where family networks have been compromised due to immigration, Latina women in particular have worked to cultivate new support communities (Bathum and Ciofu Baumann 2007). These communities often integrate the support of non-profit organizations as an additional means of strengthening family ties (Marsiglia et al. 2014).

Rebound

Many immigrant families either seek out or are referred to government social service agencies and non-profit social service organizations (NPOs) to gain assistance in restoring and maintaining positive interactions and cohesion among family members after significant life threatening challenges in the move to a new country (Hagan et al. 2012; Marsiglia et al. 2014; Santisteban et al. 2012). The focus here is on a particular social service organization, Rebound of Whatcom County, located in Bellingham, Washington. This NPO provides structures that strengthen ties both within the family and to the greater community. The NPO also helps family members exploit available services that are present in the new setting. These interconnections facilitate better adjustment by these families.

Rebound represents an opportunity to study the specific means by which one NPO provides this support to the Latino community. Rebound's focus is family health, stating their objectives on their web page:

> At Rebound, we work with families who are trying to recover and rebuild after experiencing the devastating effects of trauma. Often trauma-background families are the most susceptible to continue cycles of abuse, neglect and/or poverty, unless there is some type of intervention. We walk alongside kids and families on the road to health and restoration (Rebound 2016).

Rebound initially operated out of Cornwall Church in Bellingham, providing relevant services for families in surrounding communities who struggled with poverty, abuse, divorce and homelessness. In 2002, Rebound gained legal status as a 501(C)3 organization. Rebound's services include educational

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support to children, meeting basic physical needs through collection and distribution of food and clothing, legal support, and family enrichment workshops. This research focuses on the family enrichment course known as the Rebound Roots program (RRP). Families that participate in the RRP meet weekly. This program is designed to help clients access basic resources, educational tools, connect to social networks, and to learn good parenting and other relevant basic life skills.

The management of Rebound initiated the RRP in 2008, but did not anticipate that there would be many clients from Mexico and Central America. They were pleasantly surprised when the earliest participants in the program recognized the utility of the growing social network and proactively recruited additional families with assistance from the Rebound staff. I attended the RRP Spanish-speaking group as a co-participant and volunteer during my initial two years with Rebound, from January 2014 to January 2016. This choice to work with Rebound reflected my fourteen years of experience as a full time employee with NGOs in Peru. I was also motivated by the support of Rebound management to conduct thesis research on how well they were meeting their objectives. During that time, I periodically taught the Spanish-speaking RRP course in the absence of the main facilitator, a U.S. resident from Mexico. This facilitator resigned in February 2014, and I was asked by the Director to co-facilitate this group as a part-time employee along with Jose Lewis, a first generation Mexican-American who had attended the course various times as a client.

Lengthy participation with this group meant that I learned from clients what they valued most about their participation in the program. They attended Rebound in large part to give their children opportunities to interact with English-speaking children as a supplement to the interaction they receive at school. Parents in the RRP also demonstrated an open willingness to consider new parenting strategies such as initiating weekly family gatherings in which there could be emotionally positive interactions that facilitated better communication between parents and children. Parents accepted listening more to their children's point of view and, if necessary, correcting bad behaviors within a model that involved the child's personal growth rather than punishment. This last strategy was particularly novel to the Latino group, and regularly invoked group discussion and individual comments such as, "Nuestros padres

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simplemente nos dijeron, 'así es y así será (Our parents simply told us, 'this is the way it is and how it's going to be)!'" The discussions indicated that parents found Rebound's family strategies strengthened family ties, increased the self-esteem of their offspring and led to more success in the school system.

There still seemed to be room for improvement, however. I observed that Anglo facilitators, including myself, explained and applied the course's concepts differently from native Spanish speakers. I attributed the differences to variation in perceptions and priorities about how families operated. The contexts in which families are built differ between cultures in subtle and sometimes more complex and profound ways. I hypothesized that there might be a communication gap between the Anglo leadership of Rebound and the Latino clients that directly affected the transmission and comprehension of new parenting strategies. By cultural gaps I mean differences in dominant conceptual associations surrounding ideas such as *family* and the differences in sociocultural contexts that influenced the variation of these conceptual associations. I apply the cultural schema theory of Quinn and Strauss (2005) in order to tease apart these issues that may be impeding the discussions about what is best for family health.

A key theoretical focus here will be the concept of "cultural capital" (CC) and how CC is obtained through participation in Rebound's programs. Bourdieusian social theory has proven useful to the analyses of the social service sector, particularly for providing a framework for discussing complex economic relationships between interacting social contexts (Emirbayer and Williams 2005; Fram 2004; Woolford and Curran 2013). Bourdieu's (1986) concept of cultural capital will enrich the understanding of the gap between clients and staff at Rebound.

Cultural capital here refers to "long lasting dispositions of the mind and body" (Bordieu 1986b:48) that are the result of previous investments of the individual and broader society (mainly family) that result in assets useful for successful navigation of dominant social structures, such as educational systems or job markets. Bourdieu's theory is useful as it provides a comprehensive framework upon which to explore and interpret complex webs of social interaction (Emirbayer and Williams 2005; Fram 2004). Specifically, it facilitates discovery of the direct relationships between values and conceptualizations expressed in language, the socioeconomic contexts or *fields* in which those concepts are created, utilized

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and reproduced, and the capital value of language as it is applied strategically within economic fields (Bourdieu 1991).

This study also highlights circumstances in which the cultural family schemas of Rebound's Latino clients that were formed in their cultural contexts of origin benefited them in their new cultural contexts, also acting as cultural capital. In this sense, successful acculturation is not understood as giving up a cultural past, but rather successfully adapting past knowledge and new knowledge to new sociocultural challenges.

Chapter 2 reviews prior ethnographic studies that focus on Latino populations and which relate to the relationship between preexisting cultural frameworks and the process of acculturation within the U.S. Chapter 3 explains cultural schema theory and discusses the utility of that theory for revealing cultural differences in family conceptualization and expressing those differences through sets of associations related to family themes. Chapter 4 addresses the concept of cultural capital in light of Bourdieu's broader social framework and the utility of this theory for interpreting the data in relationship to power structures and socioeconomic utility. Chapter 5 explains methodology. Chapter 6 presents analysis, followed by discussion in chapter 7. Conclusions and final reflections are in Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 2: ACCULTURATION AND LATINO FAMILY VALUES

The Latino population is the largest ethnic minority population in the United States, and it is growing (Gil, Wagner, and Vega 2000; Laden 2001; Lee et al. 2011; Westoff and Marshall 2010). There are more than 50 million Latinos residing in the United States according to the 2010 Census. It is also the fastest growing ethnic population (Holtrop, Smith, and Scott 2015). Latino children, more than half of which were born of immigrant parents, comprise 22% of the population under age 18 (Holtrop, Smith, and Scott 2015). Furthermore, the Latino population is projected to double by the year 2050, bringing the percentage to ¼ of the total US population (Stein and Guzman 2015).

Immigration is a key contributor to this growth (Massey, Durand, and Pren 2016; Westoff and Marshall 2010). Many factors motivate Latino immigration such as responses to violence in parts of Mexico and Guatemala (Alvarado and Massey 2010), the two countries from which the Spanish-speaking group participants of this study originated. The militarization of the boarder has influenced the spread of Mexican immigrants throughout the nation, also decreasing return rates, which has had a positive effect on the growth of undocumented Latinos who remain due to complications of circulation in and out of the country (Massey, Durand, and Pren 2016). Labor demand continues to entice immigration, in spite of falling wages for migrant workers, while border militarization continues to entrap undocumented migrant workers (Esser 2004; Massey, Durand, and Pren 2016; Massey, Durand, and Pren 2014).

Once in the host country, immigrants often encounter unexpected sociocultural barriers to successful integration apart from basic language acquisition. Some of these barriers include gross acts of prejudice as well as more hidden forms of prejudice found in deficit discourses; both of which have shown to contribute significantly to school and occupational failure (Alford 2014; Brown and Souto-Manning 2008). Espinoza and Harold (2007) show that while other immigrant populations such as Asians face similar challenges of language learning, Latino youth have the lowest high-school completion rate. This is evidence that other barriers besides basic language learning exist that diversely affect processes of acculturation (Prieto et. al.2013). My study considers how cultural distance, understood as differences in

cultural schemas, affects acculturation processes of Latino immigrants and considers ways in which nonprofit social service organizations such as Rebound may respond to these multifaceted challenges with greater cultural accuracy.

Johnson (2007) provides a useful definition of acculturation as "changes that result from sustained contact between two distinct cultures reflecting the extent to which individuals learn and adopt the values, behaviors, lifestyles and language of a new culture (1427)." Prieto et. al. (2013) investigated the acculturation processes of Mexican immigrants, emphasizing the market value of decisions made by acculturating individuals. Prieto demonstrates how the basic need to enter new economic structures and the desire for individuals and families to mobilize upward through those structures motivates the acculturation process. Success in acculturation is determined by the successful exchange of various capitals including economic, social, cultural, and symbolic. Prieto's study found direct correlations between the acquisition of various forms of capital and successful acculturation. Prieto used educational level and financial literacy as a measurement of cultural capital. For Prieto, education is considered a capital in that "education is positively correlated to proficiency of the host country's language as well as to the ability of the individual to adjust structurally to the host country's system (294)." In light of this, I would prefer to emphasize language proficiency as the truer measure of cultural capital and education as the medium through which that capital is acquired. My study applies Bourdieu's theory similarly to explain the value of cultural schemas, understood as a form of cultural capital, and the relationship between the acquisition of that capital and the acculturation process.

Leslie D. Gonzales (2012) applied discourse analysis and Bourdieusian theory to uncover how the experiences of Latino women challenge widespread deficit views (views that Latinos or other minority groups lack the cultural knowledge or abilities to succeed in U.S. institutions such as schools). Gonzales also challenges views of acculturation that lean too heavily on assimilation at the loss of preexisting cultural knowledge. She looks at how Latino cultural practices and values such as *consejos* (family wisdom), *disfrutando* (fun times), faith-based routines, compassion, community, selflessness, work ethic,

and close familial relationships, especially with parents, all serve as valid cultural capital useful for achieving success within U.S. fields or contexts.

Most of these values were the result of the intentional investment of parents in the lives of their children to secure success. In 2006, Gonzales (a first generation Latina herself) interviewed thirteen Latina faculty of a public university and began to discover these articulations of Latino cultural capital. She later interviewed three of the earlier participants in more depth based upon findings from her earlier study. The interviews revealed cultural sources of knowledge and family values that mainstream literature has failed to emphasize. My study design is similar to hers in that it applies discourse analysis of interviews and a Bourdieusian application of cultural capital to understand how Latinos navigate successfully in U.S. contexts as minorities.

Acculturation also greatly affects family. Latino immigrant families must adjust parenting strategies to unique sociocultural challenges, such as those associated with acculturation (Power et al. 2015; Santisteban et al. 2012; Basanez et al. 2014; Gil, Wagner, and Vega 2000), family separation (Ornelas et al. 2009) and discrimination (Bermudez et al. 2014; Lorenzo-Blanco and Cortina 2013; Payne and Welch 2010). The critical parenting choices of Latino families are vital to the early socialization processes of their children in areas such as health and behavior management (Cardona, Nicholson, and Fox 2000; Chang and Halgunseth 2015). I chose to focus on literature pertaining to discipline, health, and acculturation since those themes are most central to Rebound and the crux of this study.

While race shows no effect on the correlation between harsh discipline and increases of children externalizing behaviors (Gershoff et al. 2012), harsher discipline has been found to increase with acculturation (Lee and Altschul 2015). In cultural groups where physical punishment is normative, children's perceptions of physical punishment and parental support may influence how they associate those practices, consequently affecting their behavioral response to those practices (Yildirim and Roopnarine 2015).

Concurrently, many studies dealing with Latino parenting practices have highlighted the influence of parental warmth and support on other issues of discipline, child behavior, and child

emotional well-being (Hagan et al. 2012; Henninger and Gross 2016; Hill, Bush, and Roosa 2003; McLoyd and Smith 2002). Maternal warmth and supportive parenting strategies have been shown to positively affect behavioral problems and depressive symptoms among Latinos (Hill, Bush, and Roosa 2003:201). Maternal warmth has also showed a positive association with reducing alcohol abuse and other addictions in Latino adolescents (Mogro-Wilson 2008), and has contributed to educational success in Latino populations (Suizzo et al. 2012).

In the area of corporal punishment, McLoyd and Smith (2002) found that spanking correlated to an increase in behavioral problems where parental emotional support was low. However, where parental emotional support was high, spanking showed no negative effect on child behavior. This pattern was consistant across three racial-ethnic groups, including a Latino sample population. Within the Latino group, however, low levels of parental support had the largest effect on increased behavioral problems. A main conclusion of this study was that the broader context of parenting needs to be taken into account when assesing the effects of physical discipline.

Yildirim and Roopnarine's (2015) study demonstrates an example of the importance of assessing the socioeconomic context of parental strategies, showing that maternal warmth may serve as a "protective factor" to moderate the need for harsher, more aggressive parenting strategies within difficult neighborhoods and communities bearing significant economic challenges. On the flip side, violence among Latino adolescents has been positively associated with corporal punishment where parents demonstrate little affection to their sons (Sheline, Skipper, and Broadhead 1994).

Holtrop, Smith, and Scott (2015) found that greater parental monitoring and skill encouragement correlated to better behavior in a study of 83 Latino immigrant couples. This study proactively sought the participation of fathers in order to fill a gap in studies that focus primarily on Latina mothers. The study also found that increased levels of problem solving and discipline correlated to behavioral problems. The study suggested that the dominant Latino values of *respeto* may be associated with the correlation between problem solving and behavioral problems, since obedience is generally expected over collaboration within this paradigm. This study, as with mine, also hoped to encourage parenting programs

to adopt and adapt culturally specific methodologies for family interventions.

As mentioned, acculturation factors have a unique impact on Latino immigrant families and parenting strategies. For one, delinquency among Mexican-American adolescents has been shown to correlate directly with increased acculturation (Samaniego and Gonzales 1999). Samaniego and Gonzales (1999) analized seven potential mediators between the relationship of acculturation and Mexican-American delinquincy. Their study found that four variables related to acculturation; mainly, family conflict, maternal monitoring, inconsistent discipline, and negative peer hassles. These all showed absolute correlations to delinquency. Cultural identity, perceived discrimination, and maternal acceptance did not show relationships to delinquency among Mexican-American adolescents.

Hill et al. (2003) demonstrated how language preference, understood as a variable of acculturation, moderated the relationship between maternal acceptance and behavioral problems within Latino families. Supportive parenting had a positive effect on child mental health for both sample groups of mothers. The study emphasized the wide variation of sociocultural factors, such as acculturation, ethnicity and community, which influence relationships between parenting strategies and child behavioral outcomes. They mention how Mexican-descent families experience a diversity of acculturation factors, each of which uniquely affects parenting strategies that may have been "imbedded" in the host culture prior to contact with U.S. sociocultural interaction. Consequently, family strategies must adjust and adapt to new situations resulting in new cultural patterns. These unique cultural patterns will have a unique correlation to the meanings of parenting strategies by children and parents. This dynamic forms their main justification for the variation of results between the ethnic groups of their study. They write,

> It is possible that low-acculturated Mexican American parents handle their children with a combination of warmth and hostility and that this style may be adaptive for both parent and child during the acculturation process (201).

Pressure from parents and peers also increases acculturation stress for Latino youth (Basanez et al. 2014). Basanez et al. (2014) take the acculturation gap approach, which suggests that "issues affecting youth are the result of differences between the parents' and children's levels of acculturation (1728)."

Intergenerational conflicts, which are common to most families, are intensified among Latino immigrant families. Acculturation processes have different effects on different members. Acculturation stress can contribute to depression among Latino adolescents, which then contributes to low self-esteem, low educational motivation, drug and alcohol use, and legal trouble. Their study focused on acculturation processes associated with increased psycho-social risk and academic outcomes. The variables specific to acculturation were English-Spanish competency pressures, dating/being out late at night, autonomy, and preferred-culture. Autonomy disagreements had the most significant negative correlation. This correlation is related to traditional family expectations for offspring, in spite of age, to remain physically and emotionally close to family. Consequently, the study suggests that family intervention programs for immigrant families should pay special attention to autonomy conflicts.

Acculturation stress has also been attributed to health issues such as obesity (Melius and Cannonier 2016; Moreno et al. 2016; Power et al. 2015). In order to understand more precise contributors to this dynamic, Power et al. explored relationships between feeding practices and acculturation stress in low-income Latino families. Their study found that first-generation immigrant mothers applied highly directive food parenting practices that included pressuring children to eat more, controlling child food consumption by limiting less-healthy foods, and rewarding positive behavior with food. They also practiced authoritarian parenting strategies and promoted less indulgent feeding habits. Mothers born in the United States, on the other hand, demonstrated less dietary restrictions for reasons of weight control. This indicated that maternal acculturation was positively associated with less weight related food restrictions. They conclude by suggesting that low-income Latino immigrants risk developing indulgent feeding practices that lead to childhood obesity as they acculturate to the United States.

Issues of health in areas of diabetes and child obesity have been shown to be mediated by culturally related family variables (Chang and Halgunseth 2015; Clark et al. 2009). Clark et al. (2009) explored how diabetes self-management of Mexican American adults was motivated by socioeconomic factors. One of their findings revealed that influences from family relationships and Latino neighborhoods increased stress in Mexican American diabetics that inhibited helpful treatments. Social pressures

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encouraged persons with diabetes to engage in traditional celebrations that included behaviors of un-recommended food indulgence. Concurrently, aspects of *familism* helped some Latino diabetics to manage their treatments successfully for the benefit of the family unit.

Chang and Halgunseth (2015) reveled how parenting strategies of Latino families directly affected child behaviors related to obesity. Their study showed direct correlations between accuturation and negative dietary habits. Healtheier eating habits of less acculturated children was associated with higher parental control. As children acculturate, parental control begins to moderate a negative effect on Latino children. They state, "Differences in acculturation status may be explained by past theoretical and empirical findings which suggest that in less acculturated families, parental control may mean something intrinsically different than in families who have had more exposure and time in the United States (451)."

In light of the significant size of the Latino population and the uniqueness of their socioeconomic family needs and family challenges, it is only reasonable that contextualized family interventions and social service structures be created to effectively meet growing needs. Marsiglia et al. (2014) showed that parenting and youth intervention for families of Mexican origin parents increased the practice of positive parenting strategies significantly greater than youth-only interventions and the control group. The intervention was tailored to the cultural characteristics and social contexts of participants and emphasized parent–child relationships, parent-to-parent support, and incorporated Latino cultural norms and values. The positive parenting traits included praise, affection, reward, and privilege. This article stressed the importance of contextualized interventions for Latinos, specifically in light of the significantly influential role of family across a life span and in light of the effects of acculturation on family functioning.

The above studies evidence the direct impact of unique sociocultural challenges related to acculturation that Latino families face as they adjust to new social norms. This highlights the serious effect of acculturation on Latino families and the need for social service organizations to understand the culturally specific needs of Latino clients. My study adds to the literature on the effects of acculturation. This study considers how Latino clients of a non-profit evaluate new cultural knowledge against previous knowledge as a means of strengthening family so that they may experience success upon new

socioeconomic fields. Cultural knowledge will be framed in terms of cultural schemas and the value of

that knowledge will be understood as cultural capital.

CHAPTER 3: CULTURAL CAPITAL, SCHEMAS, AND COMMUNICATION GAPS

This study applies two key theoretical concepts, cultural schema theory and Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital. In the context of this study, culture, in its most minimalized form, refers to people's shared understandings that are the result of shared experiences (Bourdieu 1977; Quinn et al. 2005; Clark et al. 2009; Espinoza-Herold 2007; Varela et al. 2009). More than anything else, culture has to do with shared meanings. The complexities of culture arise from the multiplicity of human experiences within innumerable combinations of social and environmental contexts being processed within biologically diverse human minds. Consequently, the possibilities for humans to conceptually organize their experiences are enormous. Nevertheless, enough similarity exists between human minds and physical environments to account for the phenomenon that we refer to as culture (Quinn 2005). In this light, Quinn (2005) writes:

> Theoretically, this view of culture as shared understandings based on shared experience spans two contemporary subfields of psychological anthropology–cognitive anthropology, in particular that school of cognitive anthropology known as cultural models or cultural schema theory, and psychoanalytic anthropology (3).

Also, according to Quinn, this aspect of culture makes the human pastime of socialization possible. Where shared meaning breaks down, human socialization can become stressed or divided. Furthermore, the degree to which individuals and groups share meaning determines the degree to which they share identity and the basic components for successful communication (Avruch 1998). The question then becomes, how does one get at meaning? Is it possible to pinpoint and compare the components that form the structures of meaning? Schema theory and the analytic methodologies associated with it, offer significant possibilities.

Cultural Schemas

I became aware of cultural schemas through the writings of Claudia Strauss and Naomi Quinn, both contemporary cognitive anthropologists. Quinn defines the schema as a "generic version of (some

part of) the world built up in experience and stored in memory" (Quinn 2005:38). As humans experience the world individually and in social groups, the mind categorizes those experiences along with all of the interrelated words, emotions, and behaviors associated with the experience. The order and priority of those categorizations form schemas. A useful example would be the idea of table manners. Table manners, as a concept, could be seen as a social category for what has taken shape in the mind over time from participation in a wide set of repeated, similar experiences around the kitchen table. The *meaning* of the concept depends on conceptual relationships between the parts of the repeated event.

For example, a child puts his or her elbows on the table, and the father says, 'get your elbows off the table and watch your manners.' In this instance, a conceptual association has just taken place between elbows on the table, the word *manners,* dad getting upset, and whatever else happened during the event. Consequently, a schema begins to form or becomes reinforced in the minds of every individual present at the table. The more frequently those experiences around the table occur and the meaning of the events reinforced, those schemas will be more deeply impressed on the mind. Where the relationship between the concepts and behaviors of the event are shared with others in the broader society, a cultural schema exists (Quinn 2005). An individual or group of individuals that has never gone through those experiences at the table (as millions of people don't even eat at tables, so they cannot put their elbows on them when they eat) cannot share the same conceptual relationships between social expectations related to eating. Consequently, they will not share the same schemas in that area of life.

It is worth mentioning, also, that two individuals that do not share table culture, or similar schemas related to eating, may work together in the same office. In the office they may share experiences and the conceptual relationships between those experiences. These repeated shared experiences will likely result in shared meanings and a shared office culture. When that happens, these individuals may share culture in one aspect of their lives but not in other aspects. People may embody various cultures (Avruch 1998; Quinn et al. 2005). They share some schemas but not others. They also influence each other through interaction. These are some of the complexities of culture that schema theory addresses. The need for a theory that handles these complexities is relevant to this study because the participants within each

focus group share foundational schemas related to family that the other group does not. However, simultaneously, this study evidences some conceptualizations shared across groups that are arguably the result of shared experiences from their mutual participation in Rebound.

The basic principles of cultural schema theory are not new to anthropology. The idea that human groups organize their world in response to shared experience unique to that group is built upon deeply set foundations going back to Franz Boas (Boas and Stocking 1989), whose unparalleled study of language revealed similar phenomena. Lévi-Strauss also approached ethnography sensitive to this prominent human social manifestation. In a section of text where Lévi-Strauss attributes his emphasis on this social dynamic to the accomplishments of Boas, he writes,

> Even then the language continues to mold discourse beyond the consciousness of the individual, imposing on his thought conceptual schemes which are taken as objective categories (Levi-Strauss 1974:19).

In this context Lévi-Strauss highlights Boas' observations that cultural phenomena is similar to linguistic phenomena in its structures and operationalization. Instead of the term *cultural schemas,* however, he applies the term *conceptual schemes,* referring to social categories that are "imposed" on the "thought" of the individual. This imposition of conceptualization on the human mind by the surrounding society is so thorough that these schemes of conceptualization form reality itself.

The categories take on "objective" qualities as if they were as unchangeable or unalterable as Mt. Kilimanjaro. This is to say that, for most individuals, cognitive categories used to organize and understand the world and which are expressed through concepts such as manners, work ethic, or family (as is the focus of this study) can become naturalized to such a degree that the individual is unconscious of the fact that they even exist and function as social categories at all (Strauss 2005). Needless to say, these cognitive tendencies can make inter-cultural communication a challenge at best. It also forms one of many challenges for immigrants migrating to new societies as well as for host societies and the institutional structures within those societies to meet their physical, emotional, and social needs in culturally relevant ways (Johnson 2007).

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Brown and Manning (2008) utilized cultural schema theory in their study that addressed deficit perspectives related to Latino bilingualism in schools. Similar to my study, they are concerned with the sociocultural perspectives of Latinos and the impact of those perspectives on the given social context. They write:

> A sociocultural perspective unites the academic fields of culture and cognition, considering the role of each child's cultural group in learning. As young children interact with more experienced members of their culture, they develop a shared schema and script for expressing their knowledge (Brown & Manning 2008:28).

The emphasis on schemas here is two fold. Firstly, schemas are learned through interaction with other members of their culture, and secondly, the learned schemas are then utilized to express knowledge. If schemas are used to express knowledge, then a researcher should be able to get at them through analyzing expressions of knowledge (Quinn 2005). The way we organize the world in our minds comes out in what we say about the world. Consequently, by analyzing speech one can discover cultural schemas (Quinn 2005; Strauss 2005). This research applies cultural discourse analysis as the primary method for discovering and comparing the cultural schemas of participants. This method will be discussed more thoroughly in the method section of this study.

The usefulness of schema theory to this study is that it provided a comprehensive approach to dealing with socioeconomic relationships to meaning structures. Here the goal is to understand how the socioeconomic positioning of the Latino participants of Rebound affects their perceptions of family benefit. Schema theory addresses more of the "socio" side of the socioeconomic coin, as it reveals influences of social interaction on the *perceptions* of members of the focus groups. The research addresses why Latino families utilize Rebound and discovers what cultural distinctions exist between the leadership of the organization and the Latino beneficiaries.

In order to compare cultural conceptualizations, however, an object of comparison must be established. Here, cultural schemas related to family will function as the objects of comparison. The idea is that the participant's conceptualizations of family are the result of experiences that have taken place within sociocultural family contexts (Quinn 2005; Strauss 2005). The *meaning* of family is formed in

cognition in direct relation to how one has experienced family within society. Cultural schemas represent the organization of these experiences. In a sense, cultural schemas form the object of examination and comparison in this study. Ultimately, by understanding more about the unique meanings of family and the socioeconomic contexts which influence those meanings among Rebound's Latino clientele, we may acquire more accurate knowledge about why Latinos utilize Rebound, and Rebound will be able to engage that segment of their diverse beneficiaries even more thoroughly in order to better meet their culturally specific needs.

Varela et al. express a similar motivation for their study that addresses anxiety among Latino-Americans that occurs as a result of factors associated with assimilation. They write:

> Here, we adopt the designation that culture is ''Shared learned behavior which is transmitted from one generation to another for purposes of individual and societal growth, adjustment, and adaptation; culture is represented externally as artifacts, roles and institutions, and it is represented internally as values, beliefs, attitudes, epistemology, consciousness, and biological functioning.'' (Marsella,1988, pp.8–9). Groups of individuals therefore can be attributed cultural designations based on shared schemas (e.g., a collectivistic orientation) and shared socialization (e.g., controlling parenting). From this perspective, culture based schemas and socialization practices present natural foci for the understanding of the relationship between culture and anxiety. For instance, children's schemas and parent–child interactions can vary widely between European American and Latino groups (Marin & Marin, 1991), and such variability in these areas is likely to shape the manner in which children experience affect, interpret and give meaning to symptoms, and express emotional distress (Varela et al. 2009:609).

Here, Valera et al. recognize similarities in cultural schemas as a legitimate standard by which to designate or categorize individuals into culturally specific groups. If groups of people share similar schemas then those people can be understood to belong to the same social group. Their study couples a group's shared schemas with shared socialization, emphasizing an aspect of schemas that relates to broader social structures that influence them. These structures can include local economies as well as educational, religious, and political structures.

Some particularities concerning how these structures shape schemas and how schemas specifically function to help humans navigate social structures will become more relevant when dealing with cultural capital. The conclusion of the above quote, however, emphasizes the wide variation in cultural schemas between social groups and the significant effect of that variation on the coping mechanisms of individuals as they experience anxiety. Correspondingly, my study demonstrates manners

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in which the same social dynamic of organizing cultural experiences into schemas affects the Latino

participants' perception of felt needs that motivate their involvement in Rebound.

In the context of family therapy, Stein and Guzman investigated how cultural values and

acculturation processes affect prevention and intervention treatments for Latino families. Similar to my

study, theirs frames family values in terms of cultural scripts, though I place much more emphasis on the

operation of the script or schema itself. They write:

> Extending this finding to prevention and intervention effects, values like familism and respeto that are
> cultural scripts pertaining to family functioning and parent–child relationship factors may serve as an
> important facilitator of interventions that target family functioning (Stein and Guzman 2015:284).

Cultural scripts here denote very similar concepts as cultural schemas, as Brown and Manning

also indicate above. Throughout my study, Latino family values are readily expressed using terms such as

trabajo (work), *respeto*, *luchar (to fight)*, and *machismo* (a negative value category). It is important to

note here that this study approaches those values as representations, categorizations, generic expressions,

or mere categories for complex and ever-adapting cultural schemas. The terms themselves form parts of

the schema, but what they *mean* has everything to do with the interrelationship of the terms with their

surrounding contexts and how those terms and surrounding concepts are applied to new social situations.

Also important to note, the schemas from which these terms derive meaning also have conceptual

and interpretive boundaries (such as a language is bound, for the most part, by vocabulary and grammar),

otherwise they would not be comparable or analyzable (Quinn 2005). I believe that one significant

boundary may include the limits of cultural application.

Cultural codes is another term related to cultural schemas (Lareau and Weininger 2003). The

conceptual element that the term *codes* adds is that the set of dominant concepts that comprise a cultural

schema can be restructured or reordered in countless ways to fit the social context in which they are being

applied. In this sense cultural schemas are pliable and adaptable. I believe that this functional feature of

schemas is very important when it comes to acculturation processes. Throughout this study, this dynamic

will be observed in the data and exhausted. Consequently, to understand what an individual *means* by

respect and how that idea functions in a social space is to explore the relationship of that term to other

terms and concepts with consideration to the overarching themes of the narrative and the personal

experiences of the speaker.

Pierre Bourdieu (1991), the social scientist who coined the term cultural capital, also utilized

theoretical concepts related to cultural schemas. Like Lévi-Strauss, however, the terms used to describe

this social phenomenon vary. Sometimes terms like social codes or schemes are applied as in the

following quote from Bourdieu (1991).

> It follows that style, whether it be a matter of poetry as compared with prose or of the diction of a particular (social, sexual or generational) class compared with that of another class, exists only in relation to agents endowed with schemes of perception and appreciation that enable them to constitute it as a set of systematic differences, apprehended syncretically. What circulates on the linguistic market is not 'language' as such, but rather discourses that are stylistically marked both in their production, in so far as each speaker fashions an idiolect from the common language, and in their reception, in so far as each recipient helps to *produce* the message which he perceives and appreciates by bringing to it everything that makes up his singular and colective experience (39).

Typical of Bourdieu, each sentence here is packed with thick and rich theoretical ingredients. One

almost has to grasp the whole of Bourdieu in order to understand any part of him. My interest here is his

use of the phrase *schemes of perception and appreciation.* His key point in the first sentence is that

individuals (agents) interpret *style* (in relation to language) based on *schemes.* These schemes are

cognitive; they represent a function of the human mind. Part of their function (in the context of this quote)

is to enable the individual to *perceive* language styles and *appreciate* them or not. The formation of the

scheme is the result of the individual's formation within a particular social *class* (here, theoretically, I

believe one could just as easily replace *class* with *culture*). In this Bourdieusian sense, social formation is

the formation of social schemes. In the last sentence, one notices Bourdieu's emphasis on *singular and

collective experience.* This emphasizes the individual as well as cultural influences involved in the

formation of schemes, which determine perception.

Where Bourdieu applies the term schemes, I apply the term schemas. I do so because much of my

study ties directly to contemporary schema theory. But as we have seen, the social phenomenon to which

both of these terms point is the same. Where Bourdieu asserts the perception and appreciation of

linguistic styles to the social formation of schemes, my study suggests that the perception of felt needs

being met by the Latino beneficiaries of Rebound are based upon the relationship of their experiences

with Rebound to existing cultural schemas. In like manner, comparable differences between the two focus

groups of this study, as well as the individual participants of each group, are grounded in differences in

cultural schemas revealed, at least in part, through language. Furthermore, according to Bourdieu (1991),

this language has capital value, which brings us to the next section on cultural capital.

Cultural Capital and Rebound

Bourdieu (1986) coined the term cultural capital. In essence the notion refers to the social value of any

culturally acquired object, skill, ability or disposition (Bourdieu 1986; Lareau and Weininger 2003). Just

as a dollar bill possesses capital worth based upon a market value determined by a society, certain

culturally acquired objects, skills, or dispositions also posses socially determined value. As Lareau and

Weininger (2003) put it, "the concept of cultural capital has enabled researches to view culture as a

resource" (567). Bourdieu developed the theory of cultural capital as a way to express a social dynamic

that he witnessed taking place in his research on the French educational system. Essentially, he wanted to

explain why middle class students succeeded in school more readily than lower socioeconomic status

students. He concluded that middle and upper class students learned culturally acquired traits from their

parents, including linguistic habits and other dispositions, which were more compatible with the

sociocultural structures inherent in the French educational system. Consequently, according to Bourdieu,

these students held a cultural upper hand that favored their success. The educational success of these

middle and upper class students ultimately translated into increased opportunities to achieve greater

economic success. In this way, aspects of culture were shown to convert into economic and other forms of

capital, hence the term *cultural capital.* Bourdieu writes:

> The notion of cultural capital initially presented itself to me, in the course of research, as a theoretical
> hypothesis which made it possible to explain the unequal scholastic achievement of children originating
> from the different social classes by relating academic success (Bourdieu 1986b:47).

The inequality between the classes, in Bourdieu's view, was based on students' unequal cultural proficiency that he linked to economic class distinctions. Because the French educational system was predominantly created and controlled by middle and upper economic class individuals, children who were raised or formed according to the dominant social schemes of that social class obtained an advantage in navigating the field of education over children raised in working class environments. This dynamic might be compared to a child who grows up in a household that runs a successful family business. Because the child repeatedly experiences the interactions, communication strategies, language, and other related nuances from parents that are beneficial to running the business, that child, because he or she has learned, practiced, and embodied those same behaviors and cultural codes, will posses a significant advantage to running the business over children who did not grow up in that household.

One study by Graff et al. (De Graaf, De Graaf, and Kraaykamp 2000) revealed a clear relationship between educational success and parents reading to their children in the Netherlands. The reading skills were viewed as parental cultural capital. Essentially, what makes the advantage cultural is that beneficial dispositions or attributes are transmitted socially through education and other social systems, but mainly domestically (Bourdieu 1986b:48). Parents, according to Bourdieu, have the greatest influence on the inculcation of culture. Refferencing this point of Bourdeau's theory, Tzanakis writes:

> In Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction, cultural capital refers to transmissible parental cultural codes and practices capable of securing a return to their holders. Cultural capital embodies the sum total of investments in aesthetic codes, practices and dispositions transmitted to children through the process of family socialisation, or in Bourdieu's term, habitus (Tzanakis 2011:77).

While Tzanakis challenges some researcher's strict application of Bourdieu's theoretical construct and opts for a more flexible and context specific application of cultural capital theory, the above quote highlights the relationship between cultural codes and cultural capital, as well as the point that parents pass these cultural codes or cultural schemas to their children. Another important facet of cultural capital found above, which is relevant to my study, concerns investment. Essentially, parents, more or less intuitively, pass on cultural knowledge that they believe will most benefit their children (Bourdieu 1991; Bourdieu 1986). Likewise, children determine what cultural knowledge will most benefit their own lives

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in a given social context by accepting, rejecting, or transforming (contextualizing) the knowledge

received from parents or elsewhere. In this sense, culture takes on properties of an investment with

expectations of return.

> The accumulation of cultural capital in the embodied state, i.e., in the form of what is called culture, cultivation, *Bildung*, presupposes a process of embodiment, incorporation, which, insofar as it implies a labor of inculcation and assimilation, costs time, time which must be invested personally by the investor (Bourdieu 1986b:48).

The embodied state of cultural capital highlighted above is not the only state of cultural capital;

Bourdieu also refers to an objective state and an institutionalized state. Consequently, there are many

possible approaches to and applications of cultural capital theory. My approach, however, sticks to the

embodied state, focusing specifically on the utility of cultural schemas themselves.

> Cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the embodied state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in the institutionalized state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee (Bourdieu 1986b:47).

If certain cultural dispositions such as fluency in the dominant language, the ability to apply

context appropriate manners or mannerisms, insider knowledge needed to successfully navigate dominant

educational, employment, and other social institutions, and the embodiment of the cultural codes

associated with those dispositions are the result of an investment of time and labor, then individuals

whose parents invest in the inculcation of those dispositions and who themselves learn those cultural

dispositions and skills from infancy have the upper hand over those who must learn them later in life. It

may be presumed then that Latino immigrants and their children must invest more time and resources to

achieve functional levels of cultural fluency within dominant U.S. social and economic environments, or

fields of practice as Bourdieu refers to them.

This dynamic would inherently prolong poverty or lower socioeconomic status for first and

second generation Latinos or until fluency in the dominant culture is achieved, and this apart from the

separate challenges of racial prejudices. These factors add stress to stress when it comes to acculturation

and economic success within U.S. socio economic fields (Varela et al. 2009). In the context of this

premise, fluency in "American culture" would translate into capital benefit, making "American culture," in a broad sense, the unit of cultural capital (Brown and Souto-Manning 2008). Figure 3.1 demonstrates how the negotiation of cultural capitals might play out within the process of acculturation.

Figure 3.1. Field Transition and Cultural Capital of Acculturating Agent

Field Transition & Cultural Capital of Acculturating Agent

Participant/acculturating agent acquires cultural capital beneficial to dominant fields of origin

Participant pursues new economic and social opportunities

The new social environment functions upon distinct dominant social fields

Context appropriate cultural capital including social skills & culturally relevant behaviors are needed to successfully navigate new fields

Agent desires successful participation for self and family within new economic fields

Newly acquired behaviors such as language proficiency & other cultural knowledge that contribute to success in new fields also act as cultural capital

Social practices and behaviors developed within fields of origin that prove beneficial in new fields act as cultural capital

Social practices and cultural traits acquired in fields of origin are more or less beneficial for navigating new economic fields

Acculturating agent invests in opportunities to acquire beneficial skills and behaviors

Acculturating agent discerns that Rebound provides beneficial resources that increase economic & social success in new fields

Agent's investment in Rebound is based on more or less accurate assessment of cultural capital value

Agent applies and practices that which is deemed beneficial

While my personal cross-cultural experiences, observations, and current research support the above premise that "American culture" can be understood as a measure of cultural capital, it is far from representing a comprehensive view of cultural capital, mainly because it fails to recognize the value and function of cultural dispositions acquired in the country of origin that play a substantial role in the socioeconomic achievements of Latino immigrants (Gonzales 2012). In other words, significant aspects of Latino culture function to benefit Latinos upon dominant U.S. fields of practice. Consequently, Latino

cultural dispositions (as with any other culturally acquired disposition) can and should be evaluated as cultural capital (Lareau and Weininger 2003).

My study, which compares the constructs and socioeconomic utility of cultural schemas, reveals evidence consistent with both of the above premises. However, my study contributes significantly to the second premise, offering an amazing window into the rich achievements and heart-wrenching struggles of Latino families, whose strong cultural foundations and values have carried them forward toward their dreams of greater socioeconomic stability.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodology used to discover key aspects of the sociocultural positioning of the Latino clients of Rebound that influenced their participation in Rebound's programs and their sense of felt needs being met. This process involved three key components. First, there needed to be measures of data useful for establishing the sociocultural positioning of the subject group. Second, this study needed to discover the perception of felt needs being met by the Latino group. And third, a theoretical framework through which to articulate the key conceptual relationships between those data needed to be applied.

A mixed methods approach was used that included participant observation, a closed-ended questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, grounded theory analysis and cultural discourse analysis. Of these, the semi-structured interview and discourse analysis proved the most influential methodologies for acquiring relevant data. Research was conducted under IRB approval, and pseudonyms were used to protect participant's identities. As mentioned above, cultural schema theory and Bourdieusian social theory served as the interpretative theoretical framework. Data was assessed against findings from pervious literature and through comparative analysis of the two sample groups.

Participant Observation

Two years before formally beginning formal research, I participated in the Spanish-speaking family group of Rebound. I also served as a volunteer for the organization during that time. During my last six months with Rebound, they employed me as a co-facilitator of the Latino group. This two-and-a-half years of participation allowed me do develop relationships with the leadership of the organization, employees, other volunteers and clients. It also allowed familiarization with formal policies, program processes, organizational structures and social interactions within the organization. The Executive Director of that time, Sharon, was always very open and accommodating to the goals of this research. Early on, I

expressed my desire to conduct my thesis on Rebound, though it took some time to lock down the problem statement and hypothesis.

Sharon and I had a number of conversations about possible angles of a thesis. These conversations significantly shaped the direction of this thesis. Ultimately, I wanted to invest in a study that would greatly benefit the organization. Sharon and other leadership seemed well aware that the Latino group had unique needs that did not align in some significant ways with the initial trajectory of Rebound's programs, and that the needs of Latino clients were significantly unique from those of the English-speaking clients. In general, Rebound leadership observed family strength among Latino participants that was attributed to a stronger Latino value of family and the resilience gained by Latino participants as the result of overcoming the challenges of immigration.

While we had discussed which social factors might have been at play in the Latino client's use of the organization, an in depth study of this kind had not been done to pinpoint specific social influences related to their participation. Nor had studies been done to understand their particular conceptualizations of family. The relationship building and open dialogue with leadership seemed to add depth to the study. Specifically, it contributed to the discovery of a relevant study question, useful to the organization. It also contributed to openness in the interviews which may have increased the quality of answers to personal family questions and the revelation of richer family perceptions. Participation in the Latino family groups allowed deeper familiarization with the program style, RRP course, and its curriculum. I also participated in the full course three times over those years and taught the course twice during my last six months with the organization.

This interactive and consistent level of participant observation (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011) provided a nuanced understanding of the weekly social interaction between the Anglo leadership of Rebound and its Latino clientele. By way of such interaction, family value priorities of the Spanish-speaking group surfaced, as did points of confusion, misinterpretations, and many successful moments of learning and contextualized application new knowledge. These observations guided other methodological choices and interpretations of data.

Sample Group Selection

In order to establish the sociocultural positioning of the subject group, a sample group was selected from among the Latino participants that might best represent the whole. Roughly twenty adults regularly attended the mid-week parenting program. Counsel from my thesis committee and literature revealed that interview data can become extensive and difficult to mange. Consequently, eight participants (n=8) were selected from among the Latino clientele to form the Spanish-speaking sample group. In order to offer points of comparison and contrast, five participants (n=5) were selected from among Rebound's top leadership. Originally, I wanted to include a third group from among the English-speaking clients, but my thesis committee counseled otherwise, suggesting that this choice would complicate the study.

For the Latino sample group, variation in the amount of time spent in the organization was desired. The reason for this was it seemed that participants who had spent a longer amount of time in Rebound's programs would reflect language patterns and cultural family schemas closer to that of the leadership as a result of the influence of the program and acculturation resulting from longer and more repetitive experiences upon U.S. economic fields. It was also believed that gender would significantly influence perception of family and socioeconomic positioning. Ultimately, however, only two males participated. This was mainly due to the fact that the majority of Rebound's Latino clients are female. Time spent in Rebound by the Latino sample group ranged from two months to three years.

From the Anglo leadership sample group, it seemed important to represent top leadership. It seemed that top leadership was likely to have had the greatest influence on the language of the course, including the dominant family schemas represented in the language of the program, and the greatest potential influence upon the Latino participant's conceptualization of family. Thankfully, the former Director who had co-written the course agreed to participate, as did Tyler, the current Director at the time of this study. It was also hypothesized that the Latino group utilized the course for reasons distinct from the initial intent of the creators, and that the felt needs of the Latino group were not necessarily consistent

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with the social needs that the creators of the program originally sought to address during the program's development.

Written Questionnaire

One method of determining the sociocultural positioning and felt needs of the sample groups was through a basic close-ended written questionnaire (Bernard 2006). Each participant was given a written questionnaire following the interview, as it seemed that the contents of the questionnaire might significantly influence the responses of the interviews if given prior. This questionnaire solicited basic demographic information, such as the participant's age, sex, ethnicity, level of education, economic level, etc. (see appendix). However, from the questionnaire, the following three questions (offered in both Spanish and English, with Spanish prioritized) proved most beneficial to the analysis:

1. List your three main reasons for attending Rebound.
2. Please list the three most important family values in order of importance.
3. Please list the three most important ways that Rebound has influenced your family.

The answers to these questions provided continuity to the data that the open-ended questions could not, or might have missed. One does not know and cannot completely control a participant's response to open ended questions (Quinn 1982). The continuity of these questions resulted in some significant comparisons. These questions also contributed to my second goal of determining the perception of felt needs being met. My decision to incorporate these questions was also inspired by the advice of the head of my thesis committee.

Semi-Structured Interview

The bulk of data came from semi-structured interviews. Quinn and Staruss (2005) believe that the semi-structured interview is the most appropriate method for discovering cultural schemas. Quinn (2005) mentions that "interviews can provide a density of clues to cultural understandings that is virtually unattainable in any other way (7)." The goal of Rebound is to strengthen families. Accordingly, data was sought that would reveal conceptualizations of family in relation to the benefits of Rebound. The objective of this was to discover cultural schemas around family values and Rebound; cultural in that they would reflect shared meanings that result from participants sharing similar experiences within similar socioeconomic fields of practice.

As individuals from the two groups learned about and experienced family within culturally, linguistically, nationally, and economically distinct social contexts, their conceptualizations of family, expressed through linguistic schemas, should show similarity within each group and clear distinctions between the two groups. Of course, distinctions would also exist within the groups, as no two individuals share the exact same experiences. Addressing this sociolinguistic dynamic Staruss (2005) writes:

> These topics rely on a certain view of culture, in which in addition to shared, unifying understandings there is also interesting intracultural variation in people's perspectives, people are exposed to multiple discourses, and there is variation in the acceptability of competing views (204).

The intention was to discover the extent to which these sociocultural distinctions, revealed in discourse, affected the Latino participants' unique perceptions and use of Rebound. To achieve this end, a large enough quantity of data was needed to reveal consistent cultural linguistic patterns within the sample groups and between them. Semi-structured interviews allowed participants to speak freely and extensively around the main theme of family, increasing the odds of revealing dominant conceptual relationships. Interviews also needed to reveal the socioeconomic contexts or fields of practice from which these cultural family conceptualizations were formed and in which they functioned. In order to accomplish this, an interview structure was applied that kept discussion around the main theme in such a

way that discourse flowed freely and extensively. Interview questions needed to be specific enough to keep the interviewee talking in depth about family in ways that key values could be expressed in relation to the social context in which those values were employed (Quinn 2005). Simultaneously, questions needed to be open enough to allow participants to reveal meaning relationships and narratives unique to their particular situations (Burck 2005; Quinn 2005; Strauss 2005).

> Qualitative researchers tend to use an interview format as a guide, hence the term 'semi-structured', to ensure that they cover particular areas, but leave room to follow feedback idiosyncratically so as to explore more particular meanings with research participants.

In order to discover meaning structures around common themes, fourteen questions were developed that could suitably extricate relevant conceptual relationships (see appendix). These questions were discussed with the thesis committee before interviewing participants. Obtaining responses to all fourteen questions during each interview was not the obligation. Instead, questions functioned more as a guide. Most important was to have participants talking freely around the core themes, and to have the questions ready should a participant need prompting. Later it was found that most participants did not need prompting. I also learned the importance of being sure in my mind of the type of data needed, and to be able to create questions on the fly that stayed with the flow of conversation while inspiring participants to reveal data useful for answering my thesis.

Participants were approached individually to set up interviews. Most often, I exchanged phone numbers with each participant in order to work out details of time and location. As mentioned, most of the participants were female, so public meeting locations were sought. While meeting in public locations, such as restaurants and coffee shops, proved convenient and socially appropriate, it also created some problems of impracticality, mainly background noise.

Four of the Latino participants represented two husband and wife couples. We met in their homes. Interviews lasted roughly 45 minutes. Only two participants had said all they had to say before that time. All interviews were recorded on a high-quality recording device obtained from WWU. Digital recordings were downloaded onto an iPad app called Dictapad. Using Dictapad, each interview was

transcribed manually. It took between 8 and 10 hours to transcribe 45 minutes of recorded interview from the Latino participants and roughly five hours to transcribe 45 minutes of English speaking data. The first two interviews were completely transcribed before conducting the remaining eleven interviews. This increased efficiency by learning about the serious detriment of background noise, the reality of the time it took to transcribe, which motivated me to stay within the 45-minute timeframe, and I was able to evaluate my interviewing techniques and refine them. Once transcriptions were complete, data was transferred to NVivo software in order to categorize the data for analysis. This is discussed further down.

Discourse Analysis

The weight of data consisted of transcribed discourse. Consequently, discourse analysis methodologies were applied to the organization and interpretation of data. Burck (2005) states that "a basic tenet of discourse analysis is that people use language to construct versions of the social world; that language is not a neutral and transparent medium through which people are able to express themselves, but is constitutive (248)." With this in mind, it was important to connect the language of individuals from the sample groups with broader social contexts in order to grasp the dynamic correlations between language and context, and then measure those correlations against other individuals in order to discover group relationships of ideas and social constructions.

Another valuable theory of language is that just as people use language to construct their world, language is also constructed by the world, or more specifically by the socioeconomic and socio-historical contexts which influence how language functions (Bourdieu 1991). The degree to which language facilitates access to resources or various forms of capital influences the degree to which an aspect of language becomes legitimate or dominant (Bourdieu 1991; Burck 2005). Respectively, these functions of language and their sociocultural relevance to a particular social problem or questions needs to be sifted out by the researcher because most people do not consciously apply language in terms of linguistic legitimacy, dominance, or economic access (Quinn 2005).

Researchers cannot enter a participant's head. Nevertheless, this study needed to consider the family values and unique cultural perceptions that motivated Latino clients to attend Rebound as well as to discover the culturally unique goals they hoped to accomplish through participation in Rebound. Consequently, exploring those relationships as expressed in discourse seemed the most adequate method for such a discovery. Ultimately, I chose a methodology closely related to that of Noami Quinn (2005). Quinn (2005) refers to her analysis of dominant conceptual relationships between groups of words and contexts, or schemas, as a cultural analysis of discourse. She writes, "analysis like this one are accomplished by equating the meaning of cultural objects and events with the worlds that label them (39)."

Quinn (1982) applied a cultural analysis of discourse to an in depth semiotic investigation of the meaning relationships surrounding the use of the term "commitment" in marriage. Through multiple interviews her research revealed that three semiotically related terms of PROMISE, DEDICATION, and ATTACHMENT reoccur within discourses of American marriage. The interrelation of concepts expressed through word symbols and the prominence of repeated ideas around a central theme such as "commitment" in marriage are important components of a cultural analysis of this kind.

The emphasis of key concepts expressed across a range of social experiences within the context of marriage evidenced shared understandings (Quinn 2005:43). Applying a similar method, my study explored the cultural conceptualizations of *family* as it related to Latinos navigating U.S. social fields. While Quinn focused her study on a single meta-cultural concept from a large sample, my investigation focuses on a smaller sample within a very specific social context. My study also found dominant conceptual relationships revolving around the theme of family values and Rebound's benefit to family.

Reenee Singh (2009) also applied a similar discourse analysis of culture in her investigation of "how 'the family' was constructed and talked about in intercultural and intracultural systemic clinical sessions (360)." Similar to the focus of my study, Singh used discourse analysis to qualitatively measure the cultural variation of the concept of family between South Asian families and White British clinicians and families within two family clinics. After transcribing and analyzing eleven videotaped sessions, five

distinct discourses of family conceptualization rose to the surface. From those, she was able to spot patterns unique to particular culture and class distinctions, as well as similarities.

For example, she labeled one of the main discourses "Insider-Outsider." This discourse related to family boundaries and dealt with culturally constructed concepts of social networks. While Singh was quick to forefront the complexities and many variations of family conceptualization even within broader cultural or ethnic categories, she found in her sample that South Asian families were more prone to include grandparents as insiders where Brits tended to speak of grandparents in terms that placed them outside of the nuclear priority. She also mentioned other related cultural conceptualizations, such as the "empty nest" concept that reinforce the "grandparent as outsider" notion among Brits. I also share Singh's belief that qualitative methods such as discourse analysis can be very useful to organizations like Rebound that wish to understand and apply the broader cultural knowledge of their clients.

Brown and Manning (2008) applied a discourse analysis to the study of one particular Latino family who moved from Puerto Rico to the United States as a method for revealing the family's cultural understandings of identity as parents and their children passed through processes of acculturation. Aspects of this acculturation process and the social struggles inherent in it became evident through the navigation of linguistic and cultural boundaries. The study demonstrated how culturally reinforced deficit discourses "contribute to Latino student's failure in terms of school success (25)." They acquired data by recording twenty hours of informal open-ended interviews and participant observation of one family over the course of six months. They applied qualitative data analysis to transcribed interviews and categorized data according to themes. They clued into narratives as revealing culture in everyday talk. They focused on concepts of identity as related to academic success, and demonstrated how Latino parents bought in the deficit discourses of teachers who neglected the value of the students' cultural knowledge, including their first language. Similarly, I acquire cultural conceptualizations, understood as cultural schemas, found in speech through transcribed interviews.

While Brown and Manning focused on deficit discourses, I focus on narratives that discussed family discourses. My study explores manners in which cultural values are expressed through schemas

and how they may function as cultural capital, facilitating the navigate of U.S. fields of practice. Similarly, Brown and Manning recognized the cultural knowledge of Latinos that enabled them to successfully navigate dual language codes.

Coding/NVivo

Once all interviews were transcribed, data was categorized and interpreted. To accomplish this, NVivo (NVivo 2017) coding software was used. NVivo offers a number of functions for classifying, organizing, and viewing large volumes of data. Coding began with a line-by-line coding of the data, focusing on main themes (see figure 4.1). During this process, phrases were highlighted from transcripts that seemed to embody significant conceptualizations, and categorical themes were created according to content. One notices that some statements fit within multiple categories. These inherent themes were compared and contrasted in a fashion consistent with grounded theory, where results of analysis informed further methodologies and data collection (Bryant and Charmaz 2007).

Figure 4.1. Coded Transcript Example

CODED TRANSCRIPT EXAMPLE
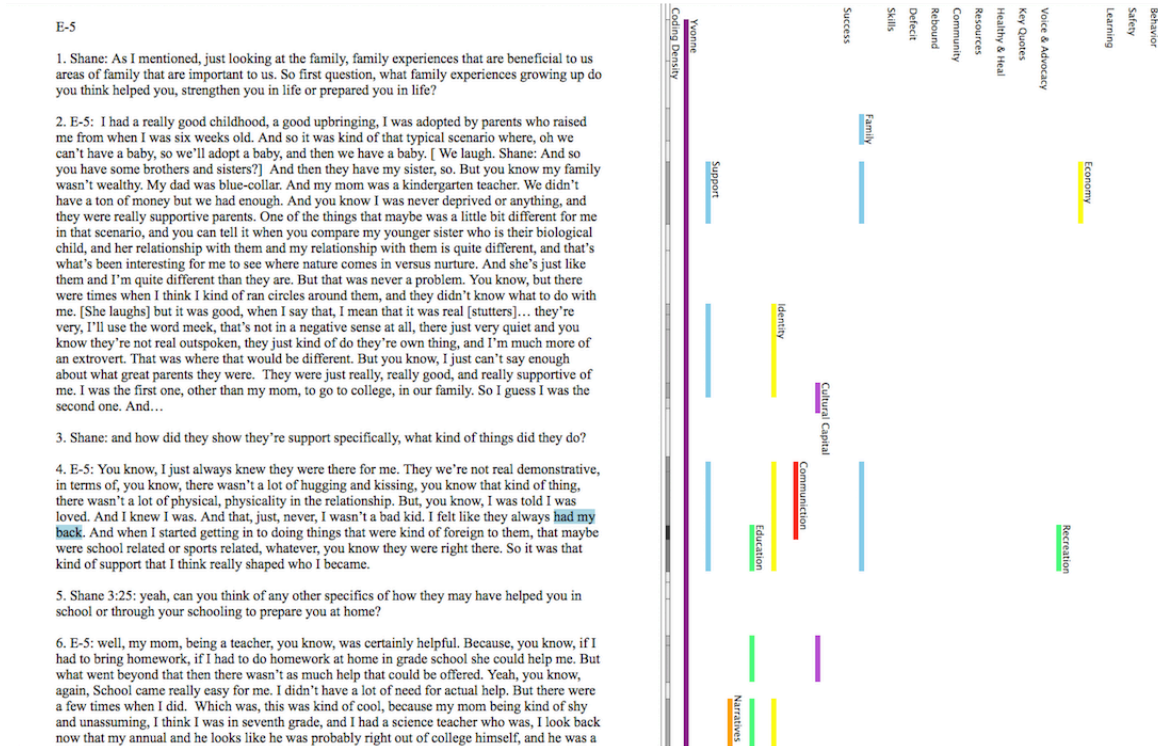
Once transcripts had been coded, categories were also viewable in block charts (see figure 4.2). Many relevant categories surfaced during this process. The next step was to simplify the analytical process by creating three or four broad categories within which I could classify my original categories. For example, three main categories were created of *Cultural Capital*, *Family Values*, and *Benefits of Rebound* for the Latino transcripts. The largest four subcategories for Cultural Capital were *learning, Work, School,* and *Participation of Parents*. One weakness of the categorization process was the ambiguity that existed between family values and Cultural Capital, seeing how this study interprets family values as potential forms of cultural capital. Nevertheless, this process provided one significant way to familiarize myself with the data and highlight key conceptualizations for comparison.

Figure 4.2. Spanish-Speaking Group Categories

<div align="center">

SPANISH-SPEAKING CATEGORIES

</div>
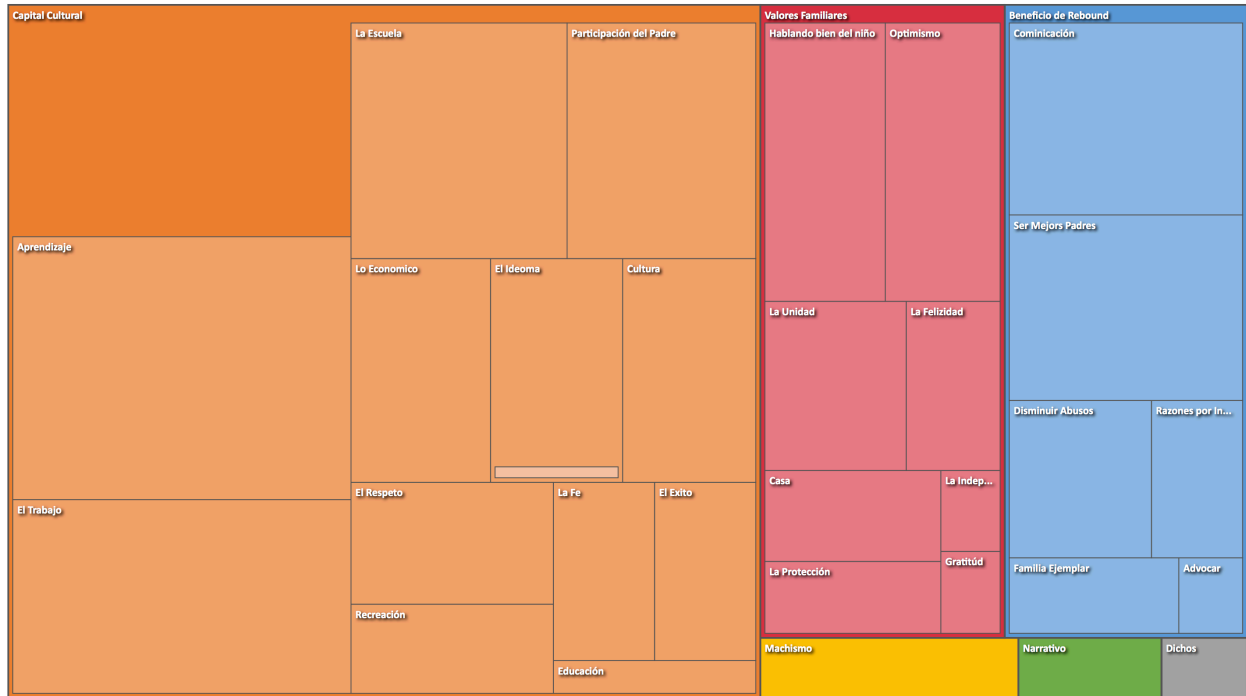
The same categories were not applied to both groups (see figure 4.3). The reasoning for this was simply that cultures categorize the world differently, and each group of transcripts needed to be approached with a clean slate, so to speak. Categories needed to be revealed from within the data, as opposed to fitting data into predetermined categories. Grounded theory, in this sense, is a popular method used for analyzing family conceptualizations. This method was similar to Guardado's (2006) who states that his "interviews were analyzed using standard procedures for analyzing qualitative data, namely inductive approaches, in which the themes and categories emerge from the data rather than being imposed on them prior to collection (56)." During this process, I remained aware of the influence of the subconscious, subjective categorizations of my own worldview on my choices of categorization.

Figure 4.3. English-Speaking Group Categories

<div align="center">ENGLISH-SPEAKING CATEGORIES</div>
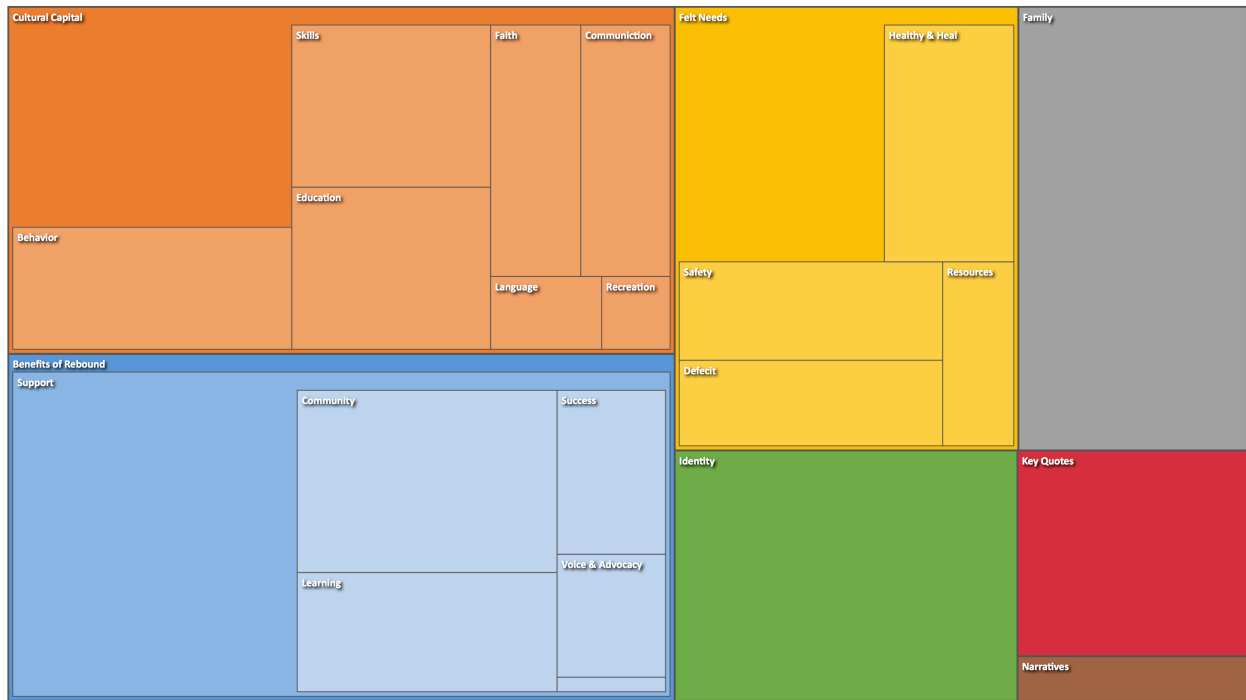
One aspect of the categorization method worth mentioning is that a concept like *support* could be expressed without specifically using the word in the context. For this reason, when coding the text, I created a category for *support* that included utterances where the concept existed but not necessarily the exact word. For example Clara says, "Often times it's a discovery of a truth or, you know, a mentorship relationship that's there for the long haul. And you know that's the other thing too, we really try to provide mentorship for the long hall, it's not just for a season." Providing mentorship in this context is a way to support clients. Consequently, I placed this utterance in the category of *support.*

Another example, this one from the Latino group, comes from Jessica who says, "Gracias a Dios pues. Aquí nació mi hijo. Y gracias a Rebound que me está ayudando también. Como me están dando un poquito de dinero con el bebé. Y con eso estoy viviendo, estoy saliendo. Pues gracias (Thank God. My son was born here. And thanks to Rebound who is also helping me. They're giving me a little bit of

money for the baby. And this is what I'm living on, I'm moving forward. Thank you.)" Again, no direct use of the word for *support,* which would be a derivative of *apoyar (verb) or apoyo (noun),* though she does use the synonymous weaker verb *ayudar* (*to help*). Even if she had not used *ayudar*, this utterance would not have been placed in the *support* category due to the context. Jessica's utterance was placed in the category of *gratidúd (gratitude)* as that concept frequently arose among Latino participants.

Keyword Analysis

Keyword analysis was an important aspect of the overall analysis, even though the initial categories did not rely entirely on keywords. It is no mystery that words reveal meaning. They are used strategically within language communities to describe things, concepts and experiences. Also, the frequency of words (factoring out common conjunctions, prepositions, etc.) may point to the frequency of broader schemas that relay on them, potentially evidencing dominant schemas (Quinn 2005). Consequently, analysis focused on key words as a way to discover schemas. NVivo made this easy because it offered a keyword search function where key words could be searched within one specific document or transcription, or within multiple documents or transcriptions simultaneously. NVivo also created visuals of keyword frequencies such as spreadsheets and clusters as shown in Table 4.1. When a significant keyword occurred within a transcription, the context of the word would be considered in order to explore the word's function by the speaker within the broader context of the interview. Also, an NVivo function was regularly used that allowed comparisons of the frequency of words between participants.

In the analysis, Bourdieusian theory was applied to the boarder context of the word's position to explain potential sociocultural influences on the differing frequencies of uses of certain words and clusters of words or schemas of each participant. Comparisons and contrasts of similar or competing conceptualizations between participants were then made. Lee and Macdonald (2010) applied similar keyword and discourse analysis methodologies in their study of how young people conceptualize physical activity and health. They write:

During the data analysis process, particular attention was paid to the words the rural young people used to label forms of physical activity and the repetition and consistency of their use of certain discourses. This involved identifying patterns of speech and recurring use of words/phrases demonstrating reproduction of hegemonic beliefs around physical activity and health. Following Luke (1996), CDA (cultural discourse analysis) was used to investigate how the young women's reproductions of the healthism discourse were affiliated with differing kinds of cultural capital and social power. CDA allowed for an exploration of how culture, gender and location shaped the young people's conceptions of physical activity and health (Lee & Macdonald 2010:206).

Applying the above methodology, this study revealed patterns of word use that significantly pointed to the existence of shared cultural schemas by each of the sample groups. The social context of the interview discourse in which repeated words were situated allowed for discussion of the sociocultural influence of schema creation and use. These influences are detailed in the following analysis section.

Table 4.1. Spanish Word Frequency

SPANISH WORD FREQUENCY

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage	Similar Words
hijos	5	111	0.87%	hijo, hijos
niño	4	101	0.79%	niño, niños
familias	8	83	0.65%	familia, familias
casas	5	70	0.55%	casa, casas
trabajar	8	69	0.54%	trabajar
ella	4	67	0.53%	ella, ellas
vida	4	65	0.51%	vida, vidas
rebound	7	58	0.45%	rebound
escuela	7	58	0.45%	escuela, escuelas, escuela'

nosotros	8	55	0.43%	nosotros
personas	8	53	0.42%	persona, personas
trabajo	7	42	0.33%	trabajo, trabajos
mamá	4	41	0.32%	mamá, mamás
papá	4	38	0.30%	papá, papás
problemas	9	37	0.29%	problema, problemas
gracias	7	35	0.27%	gracias
sabes	5	34	0.27%	sabe, sabes
ayuda	5	34	0.27%	ayuda
diferentes	10	32	0.25%	diferente, diferentes
dios	4	31	0.24%	dios
dinero	6	30	0.24%	dinero, dineros
niña	4	28	0.22%	niña, niñas
mama	4	27	0.21%	mama, mamas, mama'
gente	5	25	0.20%	gente
verdad	6	24	0.19%	verdad
hija	4	24	0.19%	hija, hijas
inglés	6	22	0.17%	inglés

grandes	7	21	0.16%	grande, grandes

ENGLISH WORD FREQUENCY

Word	Length	Count	Weighted Percentage
children	8	43	1.62%
families	8	33	1.24%
rebound	7	33	1.24%
compass	7	31	1.16%
kids	4	28	1.05%
hope	4	24	0.90%
child	5	23	0.86%
life	4	22	0.83%
support	7	22	0.83%
skills	6	21	0.79%
program	7	20	0.75%
school	6	20	0.75%
relationships	13	18	0.68%
community	9	16	0.60%
group	5	16	0.60%
programs	8	16	0.60%
classes	7	13	0.49%
county	6	13	0.49%

parenting	9	13	0.49%
whatcom	7	13	0.49%
church	6	12	0.45%
help	4	11	0.41%
love	4	11	0.41%
middle	6	11	0.41%
positive	8	11	0.41%
summer	6	11	0.41%
time	4	11	0.41%
abuse	5	10	0.38%
activities	10	10	0.38%
emotional	9	10	0.38%
family	6	10	0.38%
parents	7	10	0.38%
poverty	7	10	0.38%
john	4	9	0.34%
personal	8	9	0.34%
programming	11	9	0.34%
social	6	9	0.34%
students	8	9	0.34%
working	7	9	0.34%
years	5	9	0.34%

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS

The discourse analysis of this chapter reveals how the key findings of this study were discovered, mainly the dominant conceptual associations concerning family in relation to Rebound among and between the two sample groups. These data reveal precise cultural differences and similarities. First, the dominant concepts of *support, love, safe place, and individualism* are highlighted from the English-speaking group. The main goal here was not to address these concepts in depth as individual themes but to spotlight how they interplay conceptually as integrated parts of broader family schemas (Quinn 2005). Analysis of the Spanish-speaking group follows, where *hard work, respect, strength, family unity and learning* are revealed through discourse and point to dominant Latino family schemas. After revealing and comparing schemas from both groups, I demonstrate instances where new cultural knowledge is evaluated and adapted against previous schemas, showing potential mechanisms of acculturation.

English Speaking Family Schema

Support

Within a 45-minute semi-structured interview, a person can say a lot about a theme as broad as *family*. Consequently, many sub-themes arose among this diverse group. This variety created a challenge for choosing reference points around which to begin analysis. After reflecting on the key themes from the coding, however, analysis for the English group centers on the theme of *support*, while analysis for Spanish groups centers on the theme of *learning*. During the first two interviews with the current Director of Rebound and the former Director, it became obvious right away how often they both applied the word *support* in response to questions about how Rebound benefits families and about how their own families benefited them in life.

The use of the word *support* in these contexts was not particularly surprising or noteworthy at the time of the interviews (perhaps because I share a similar schema). And it was not until interviews were

transcribed, coded, and compared that I realized noteworthy patterns in the application of this term by the English-speaking group as well as the absence of the use of similar terminology by the Spanish-speaking group. The differences between the two groups evidence the key premise of this study, mainly that the sociocultural positioning of the participants influences perceptions of family that are reflected in use of terminology. Similarly, among the Spanish-speaking group, the theme of *learning* set the tone for much of the discourse around the relationship of Rebound and family benefit. Details of these conceptual relationships are explored below.

Support and Privilege

This first excerpt dealing with *support* comes from Sharon. Sharon was my first contact to Rebound, and held the role of Executive Director (ED) at that time. Sharon was Rebound's second ED. The first ED had served for one and a half years. Sharon received an interdisciplinary BA from Fairhaven College in Woman's Psychology & Child Development and Education. She earned her MA in Family Studies from the University of British Colombia, and has recently completed a Doctorate in Transformational Leadership from Bakke Graduate University. Over the two years that I had the privilege of observing Sharon's interrelations with the Rebound community, I was most impressed with her dedication to empowering others and her optimistic approach to some of the most difficult family situations and behavioral challenges imaginable. Her actions communicated belief in the potential of all people to overcome life challenges. She also demonstrated confidence in the effectiveness of Rebound's approach.

Sharon co-authored the curriculum used in the Rebound Roots parenting program, and functioned as the primary teacher of the English-speaking parenting group during her directorship and about six months afterwards, during the transition to Tyler's leadership. Consequently, her ideas and involvement have been fundamentally influential to Rebound's participants, both staff and beneficiaries. At the time of my interview, she had handed off the Executive Director role about a year prior to Tyler. Below is

Sharon's first of nine uses of the word *support.* All nine uses are not analyzed; rather, only critical examples are evaluated.

> I've always been very interested in working with both adults and children, particularly people that are ==underprivileged==, that are ==less advantaged==, that need an extra amount of ==support== to make it work. So I originally started at Rebound developing curriculum for a kids program. And that's how I initially got engaged, helping kids learn ==social skills== and apply it ==spiritually== also, to do ==spiritual== exploration and ==social skills== that would help them overcome the challenges that they are currently facing as kids.

In this first statement, one notices the placement of the term *support*. It refers to that which *makes it work* for *underprivileged* and *less-advantaged* individuals. First, the two terms *underprivileged* and *less-advantaged* are marked from the conceptualization of a *privileged* or *advantaged* social class. This likely points to a cultural schema of social classification where one's identity is positioned in relationship to the possession of certain attributes or resources obtained by relatively little or no effort of one's own. From a Bourdieusian framework it is safe to say that these resources would represent those produced or necessary to successfully navigate dominant economic fields (Bourdieu 1991).

While most cultures may hold some notion and verbal expression for a concept such as *privilege*, certain sociocultural groups may utilize the concept more widely than others, expressing it and integrating it with other concepts more frequently. When this happens, a concept likely represents a dominant cultural schema. The idea of privilege, understood as starting the race, so to speak, with a benefit above the rest, may be the result of her participation and practice upon academic and political fields that frequently utilize that term and the social framework it represents. Whatever the cause of Sharon's use of the term, it seems to evidence practice upon fields where that concept and the related and preferred terms used to express that concept hold value.

Individuals like Sharon who demonstrate legitimate and successful experience within her fields of practice may themselves add value to words such as *advantaged* and *privileged* (Bourdieu 1991). Sharon, as a successful agent in her fields of practice, has demonstrated proficiency in the acquisition and use of relevant cultural knowledge. Her possession of various types of capital is evidence of this. Consequently, the cultural schemas that she reflects and the terms and mannerisms she uses to express them become

associated with the cultural values that she embodies (Bourdieu 1991). Other agents who attribute value

to the capitals that Sharon exhibits and who desire to obtain similar capitals may choose to invest in

learning, mimicking, or practicing (as Bourdieu would put it) Sharon's practices. In this way, among

others, cultural schemas are reinforced and reproduced.

Further down in the interview Sharon mentions,

> *Probably the example I had was my dad who is passionate about helping people. I lived pretty much a privileged childhood, not with money but with love and support. And I always had the notion that I wanted to give back, that I wanted to somehow give back to people that didn't have what I have because it was so beneficial for me.*

Here, the unmarked concept of *privileged,* in relation to *childhood,* is measured against the

dominant economic resource of *money*, as are the following concepts of *love* and *support*. In regard to the

unmarked use of *privileged*, Chandler states that 'unmarked forms reflect the naturalization of dominant

cultural values (2004:98).' This is to say that the broadly accepted schema of '*money is privilege'*

becomes the standard by which the idea that *love and support are also privilege* is evaluated. In this case,

the ideal that *emotional love and support is a privilege*, which I believe is more likely to be questioned

across U.S. fields than the idea that *having money is a privilege*, is promoted by Sharon.

Yolanda, another participant of my study, expresses a very similar comparison between economic

capital and the perceived cultural capital of supportive parents. Let me quickly mention that I use the term

perceived cultural capital because culturally transmitted ideals, schemas, skills or behaviors should not be

referred to as cultural capital until they demonstrate value convertible to other capitals on a given

economic field (Bourdieu 1986). Conversely, no cultural schema, behavior, or word choice acts

inherently as cultural capital. Contrariwise, any of them could potentially act as cultural capital on a given

field. What functions on one field does not necessarily function on another. Yolanda says,

> *But you know my family wasn't wealthy. My dad was blue-collar. And my mom was a kindergarten teacher. We didn't have a ton of money but we had enough. And you know I was never deprived or anything, and they were really supportive parents.*

In this excerpt, Yolanda relates the value of *supportive parents* against the culturally dominant capitalistic ideal of being *wealthy* or having a *ton of money*. Like Sharon, the comparison shows up in the same context of *parental support*. I explore Yolanda's more specific perceptions of *support* below. The fact that these two concepts show up in two of the five participants may evidence part of a common cultural schema relating to family values of *support*. This relationship, however, was not frequent enough in this study to draw hard conclusions. But the two instances were similar enough, in my opinion, to draw attention to them. It is also worth noting that three of the eight Spanish-speaking participants also evaluated family values against economic or monetary capital. In the Spanish-speaking examples, though, there are no mentions or uses of a particular word or expression signaling parental *support* as a dominant value. Instead, other schemas unique to these participants' sociocultural contexts are related. Here are three examples from the Spanish-speaking participants:

> **Eleanora:** *Realmente la única experiencia que tenemos como familia es cuando estábamos chicos, nos llevamos a conocer el mar. Era un sueño que teníamos todos como familia. Y nos llevaron. De donde nosotros vivimos es un pueblo muy lejano del mar. Entonces, hicieron un gran esfuerzo ellos, y nos llevaron como familia a conocer el mar. Fue una experiencia maravillosa porque todos deseábamos ir, y lo pasábamos muy bien. No con lujos pero, para nosotros fue el viaje de nuestra vida.*

> **Eleanora:** *Really, the only family experience was when we were small (young), they took us to get to know the ocean. It was a dream that our whole family had. And they took us. The town we lived in was very far from the ocean. So it was a huge effort for them, and they took the whole family to get to know the ocean. It was a marvelous experience because we all wanted to go. We had a very good time. Not with wealth. But for us it was the trip of a lifetime.*

> **Juan:** *Nos echamos a trabajar, y los valores de cómo trabajar y saber respetar a la gente, respetar a la gente. Y también ellos no, no este tener mucho dinero como era muy pobres pues, no tenían cosas pues, dinero para sacar por decir a pasear o llevarnos así a lugares buenos.*

> **Juan:** *We dedicated ourselves to work, and the values of how to work and to know how to respect people, respect people. They also didn't, didn't have much money since they were very poor, they didn't have things you know, money to go out, like, to take a trip, take us to nice places.*

> **Patricia:** *Fui la única mujer que se ... puros hombres. Usé canicas, usé todo lo de hombres. Lo de niñas, no se muñecas, nada de eso. Pero fue mi niñez humilde pero feliz. Y eso quiero que mis hijos sepan. No tenerles bastante riquezas, pero que seamos felices.*

Patricia: I was the only girl, you know [pause], all boys. I used (played) marbles. I used everything that boys did. Girls stuff, dolls, none of that. But my childhood was humble (poor) but happy. And this is what I want my kids to know. It's not about having a lot of wealth (riches), but that we would be happy.

In the first example, Eleanora measures the value of her family experience against *lujos (riches, wealth)*. She says, *"We had a very good time. Not with wealth."* Here, I notice more of an emphasis on the cultural value of *sacrifice* than *support* per se. I see this in her statement; *it was a huge effort,* implying a sacrifice of scarce time and very limited physical resources. She valued the *effort,* which also rings of hard work. There are implications as well of the dominant Latino value of *family unity* in the statement; *it was a dream that our whole family had.* Here, the parents demonstrate sensitivity to the desires of the children. In Juan's statement, the values of *work* and *respect*, which were extremely common among all the Spanish-speaking participants of this study, are evaluated against *money* and *having things.* Patricia measures the value of *family happiness* against *wealth* and the ideal of not being poor. Like Sharon and Yolanda, Eleanora, Juan and Patricia all measure family values against the dominant and over-achingly accepted value of monetary wealth. Bourdieu writes:

> Specialized discourses can derive their efficacy from the hidden correspondence between the structure of the social space within which they are produced- the political field, the religious field, the artistic field, the philosophical field, etc. - and the structure of the field of social classes within which the recipients are situated and in relation to which they interpret the message (Bourdieu 1991:41).

This should not come as a surprise, seeing how all of these participants share an existence and life experiences within societies dominated by capitalistic economic systems. Other life experiences within family and upon other more or less dominant social fields of practice are quite unique, resulting in variation of the organization of cultural schemas and the discourses or language used to express those schemas. So one sees in Sharon's statements relationships between the concepts of *support*, *privilege*, and *monetary wealth*. A couple of other key concepts that appear in the above statements and which I discuss below are *love* and *skills*.

Support as Skill Development

Returning to Sharon's initial statement, in relation to the *support* needed by underprivileged individuals, she twice mentions *social skills* and twice uses words related to *spirituality,* all within a very close context. The regularity of Sharon's use of the word *skills* throughout her interview led me to run a text search on the word *skill* from all of the participants. The findings were noteworthy. Sharon referred to *skills* significantly more than any of the other English-speaking participants.

I attribute the frequency with which Sharon uses *skills* to her social position of educator. As an educator, *skill* development becomes a dominant aspect of Sharon's paradigm for framing the benefits of Rebound for families. *Learning* is Sharon's third most used word, following *Rebound* and *Families.* *Understanding* ranked fourth, *skills* fifth (see table 5.1).

Table 5.1. Skills, Learning, Understanding Word Frequency

English "Skills" Word Frequency

Cindy	Internals\\Interviews	2	0.07%
Sharon	Internals\\Interviews	16	0.51%
Tyler	Internals\\Interviews	4	0.16%
Yolanda	Internals\\Interviews	1	0.03%

English "Learn" Word Frequency

Amber	Internals\\Interviews	2	0.15%
Cindy	Internals\\Interviews	7	0.22%
Sharon	Internals\\Interviews	19	0.59%
Tyler	Internals\\Interviews	1	0.05%
Yolanda	Internals\\Interviews	4	0.14%

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English "Understanding" Word Frequency

📄 Amber	Internals\\Interviews	1	0.13%
📄 Cindy	Internals\\Interviews	1	0.08%
📄 Sharon	Internals\\Interviews	18	1.00%
📄 Tyler	Internals\\Interviews	2	0.13%
📄 Yolanda	Internals\\Interviews	1	0.05%

Again, I believe these frequencies point to Sharon's habitus as educator. Schuer states that 'a person's habitus may be understood as the dispositions inscribed by their trajectory (2003:145).' Sharon's trajectory led her into educational fields. These fields encouraged, if not demanded, the practice of certain field specific language and behaviors. Dispositions, such as those which lend towards efficient study habits or the ability to discern social hierarchies and appropriate modes of communication (schemas) within that field, are *inscribed* onto an individual through repeated practice of these dispositions on that field, since the field itself demands such dispositions for success. The habitus is the embodiment of these learned social dispositions. John B. Thompson states that 'the dispositions produced thereby are also structured in the sense that they unavoidably reflect the social conditions within which they were acquired (Bourdieu 1991:12).' Consequently, Sharon's linguistic preferences may spotlight her participation in educational subcultures and her unique, if not specialized and vital, contribution to Rebound's leadership (Strauss 2005:221). At the same time, Sharon's unique habitus and socio-cultural influence must affect to some degree her perceptions of Rebound's relationship to beneficiaries. For the record, *learning* was also a dominant concept of the Spanish-speaking group. This is discussed in depth later.

The following is another excerpt of Sharon's discourse where *support* and *skills* are linked. Take note of other related concepts that tie Sharon's unique schemas to the more broadly shared schemas of the other English Speaking participants. Strauss (2005) notes that comparing multiple discourses can reveal "clusters of shard associations" which evidence shared cultural schemas. Sharon later says,

> *It gave me a stable identity understanding who I was. Because what was reflected to me was approval and promise and hope. That love helped me see my own potential. And allowed me to develop a new the giftings that I had. Where in an environment where you don't have support and love, I don't think you can develop those skills to their full potential.*

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This statement is thick with word relationships and meaning. Sharon refers here to the influence of her home life. In this context, *support* is related to a space and place in the term *environment.* Below we will see how the term *community* becomes a dominant expression for a similar place or *environment* of *support* in relation to Rebound. Again, as above, *love* is coupled with *support.* Again, gaining *skills* is the primary consequence of the *support.* The *skills* in this context, however, refer specifically to *seeing one's own potential* and *developing giftings (a religious term).* Sharon's commitment to conceptualize others in this way is tied to her identity and family history. Her father treated her according to these criteria, Sharon felt benefited from the environment he created, she wants others to have the opportunity to experience a similar beneficial environment, and so she works to create a similar environment in Rebound. Her father's creation of an *environment,* which provided mainly emotional resources for *skill* development, seems to have benefited Sharon upon certain U.S. fields of education, Christian religion (her father was a minister), and religious nonprofits. As Sharon's skills, mannerisms, language and other more or less obvious dispositions seem to have resulted in the acquisition of other forms of capital, they can and should be discussed theoretically here as types of cultural capital. We might label hers a *cultural capital of support* and define it in terms expressed by Sharon and observed in her interactions.

Later, in the context of the benefits of Rebound, I highlight three more of Sharon's statements:

I think a sense of community and support does more for those families than any curriculum we could teach them. Curriculum is really important, skills are important. But if you don't have a context, if you can't see yourself using the skills they're not going to have any value.

Families coming from abuse or trauma safety is a big issue. And so creating a place where they have something to offer, they have an opinion that counts, they've got information, their story matters. And so I think being in a place where that is drawn out and supported gives them a sense of community, hope, and safety.

When the larger community takes a look and says, 'wow look what we have been missing' because of their interaction with the Latino population. They have so much to offer. So success to me is getting the support and the skills they need to raise healthy children. Those perspectives, and then give back to the greater community. (A more traditional sense of the term *community* is applied here)

These three excerpts, which occur separately, demonstrate very clear conceptual schemas. One notices how similar, if not exact, verbal expressions cluster together. In the instance of this interview, focused on family in relation to Rebound, *support* is not understood apart from ideas such as *community*,

safety, and *skills*. Likewise, *skills* cannot be understood and expressed without conceptual links to the same conceptual clusters or schemas. Within this study, other Anglos share very similar family conceptualizations, while the Latino group shares unique conceptual clusters, but not these.

As evidence of the cultural or shared attribute of the conceptual cluster that Sharon applies above in the context of *support* and *skills*, notice the stark similarities within Tyler's comments around the importance of *connection* for families. The main shared conceptual cluster here includes *family/support/health/& community*.

> *I think a lot of it is just the disconnect. Like we talked about the change to having a supportive family from an unhealthy family, so just a connection to like a healthy community healthy relationships. I don't think it's so much… I think it affects the economical side of things but yeah. So I think that disconnect and family relationships, and also with generational poverty, Not having a connection to means or resources.*

Among the English-speaking group, the word *skills* was paired with *social* only twice. These are found in Sharon's initial statement. No other participant referred to *social skills*. However, other similar parings occurred among the English-speaking group. These include *life skills, family skills, parenting skills, human skills,* and, *survival skills*. Interestingly, none of the Spanish-speaking participants ever utilized a term for *skills* during the interviews. Spanish speakers did not frame parenting, life, or social interaction with the concept of *skills (habilidades)*. Nor did they frame their participation in Rebound in terms of gaining skills. This may evidence an important difference in family conceptualization and differences in preferred modes of learning between the two groups. For one, in Spanish, there is no verb equal to the English word *parenting*. A parent is something you are, not necessarily something you do. It is a noun, not a verb. Consequently, for many Latinos, parenting is not framed in terms of skills, but in expressions of identity. I would add that the validity of that identity is weighed more against the relationship of the parent to other parents than to a relationship to a set of prescribed practices. I believe a couple of Patricia's comments support this interpretation:

La primera vez me dijeron que era como para ser mejores padres, Y decía 'Como?, No hay ningún libro para ser mejores padres.

The first time they told me that it (Rebound) was for being better parents, I said, "What! There's no book on being better parents! (She said this toward the beginning of the interview)

Yo la primera ves que fui así dije, me dijo (nombre de señora), dos horas vas estar de seis a ocho. ¿Qué?! ¿Dos horas voy estar sentada allí?! Y no voy a aprender nada. No hay un libro que habla de la vida como ser mejor padre. Pero ahora que conozco a Rebound, no importa, podría ir tres horas allí.

The first time I went she told me it was going to be two hours, six to eight. 'What! Sitting there for two hours! I'm not going to learn anything. It's not like there's a life book on how to be better parents!' But since I've got to know Rebound, it doesn't matter; I could go for three hours. (She said this toward the end of the interview)

Love

Yolanda connected to Rebound through her church, Cornwall. Cornwall is the same church that had

originally begun the family ministry that later evolved into Rebound. Cornwall continues to regularly

provide dinners for the Thursday night Rebound Roots program. Yolanda had served as a team leader for

those groups, and later volunteered to work with Rebound's summer program, Ray of Hope. Yolanda

mentioned in our interview that she loved her participation so much that she later asked to join the Board

of Directors of Rebound in order to utilize her business skills. She had owned a successful advertising

business for over 20 years. She also graduated from the University of Washington with a BA in

Communications and an emphasis in Advertising. Her participation on the Board began about two years

ago. In August of 2015, she was hired on full-time staff as Development Director. She refers to her

employment as a "dream job" in which she is "really, really happy."

On the written questionnaire, in response to the three most important family values in order of

importance, Yolanda notes her top two family values as 1) *loving unconditionally* and 2) *supporting.* She

qualifies *supporting* with the adverbs *emotionally, mentally, spiritually,* and *physically.* Yolanda only

filled in responses to two of the three spaces designated to that question. She told me afterwards that those

two values basically covered it all. While *supporting* was noted as the second most important value on the

written questionnaire, Yolanda did not apply the word itself with great frequency throughout her

interview. She only used it three times; once as an adjective for parents, once as an adverb for parents and

once as a noun to sum up a section of discourse discussing parental involvement, which I will focus on below.

During her interview, Yolanda significantly applies the term *love*, as do other English-speakers apart from Amber. Nevertheless, of the 38 times that *love* is applied by the English-speaking group, 16 of those times it is used to express enjoyment, such as in the phrase, "I just love Rebound." The remaining 22 uses can arguably be associated to a more significant conceptualization related to a dominant Anglo family schema. The Latino group, on the other hand, does not significantly apply terms related to *love* (amor), with the exception of Patricia.

Table 5.2. Love/Amor Word Frequency

English "Love" Frequency

Amber	Internals\\Interviews	1	0.05%
Cindy	Internals\\Interviews	6	0.14%
Sharon	Internals\\Interviews	14	0.30%
Tyler	Internals\\Interviews	8	0.21%
Yolanda	Internals\\Interviews	9	0.20%

Spanish "Amor" Frequency

Patricia	Internals\\Interviews	4	0.09%
Zanita	Internals\\Interviews	1	0.02%

Also on the written questionnaires, *love* was the number one value for Sharon, coupled with approval. Followed by *learning* as growing and *restoration* as recovering setbacks. Tyler also noted *loving relationship* as his most important family value, followed by *strong faith* and *time together*. *Spending time with kids* was also listed by Patricia (Spanish-speaker) as the third most important way that Rebound has influenced her family, under *listening (#2)* and *tolerance (#1)*. For Cindy, *love* was the second greatest family value, following *trust* and followed by *faith*. Of the five English-speaking

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participants, only Amber did not include *love* on the list of three most important family values. Amber did, however, include *support* as third most important value under *acceptance* and *hope.* Of the eight Spanish-speaking participants, only Patricia listed *love* on the list of three most important family values. In her case, *love* was the second most important value following *respect* and followed by *security*. No Spanish-speakers listed *support*. In summery, *love* occurred in four of the five English-speaking participant's list of the three most important family values, and *support* occurred in two of the five.

The following excerpt shows Yolanda's response to my question, "How did they (parents) show they're support specifically, what kind of things did they do?" This question followed her first chunk of discourse in which parental support was mentioned twice but with no specifics as to how her parents supported. It may be worth noting that Yolanda was adopted at a young age. Along with revealing some specifics, the following passage also sets the stage for a remarkably clear and consistent family narrative that flows through Yolanda's entire interview. I call it the *"I've got your back"* narrative. And it runs across three generations.

> *You know, I just always knew* ==they were there for me==. *They we're not real demonstrative, in terms of, you know, there wasn't a lot of hugging and kissing, you know that kind of thing, there wasn't a lot of physical, physicality in the relationship. But, you know, I was told I was* ==loved==. *And I knew I was. And that, just, never, I wasn't a bad kid. I felt like* ==they always had my back==. *And when I started getting in to doing things that were kind of foreign to them, that maybe were* ==school related or sports related==, *whatever, you know* ==they were right there==. *So it was that kind of* ==support== *that I think really* ==shaped who I became==.

Yolanda tied the important conceptual family value of being loved to her feeling that her parents *"had her back."* She went on in her interview to share an amazing narrative that covered three generations, in which the parents manifested their love by "having their child's back." In two of the instances, the parent's actions resulted in beneficial educational experiences as the parents stood up for their children against school authorities. These expressions of *"love"* motivated behaviors that were socioeconomically beneficial.

This account rings loudly of parental cultural capital, understood as cultural dispositions including linguistic and cognitive skills that are beneficial upon specific fields of practice that get passed

down intergenerationally (De Graaf, De Graaf, and Kraaykamp 2000). Most studies on parental cultural capital demonstrate the degree to which the socioeconomic positioning of parents and certain parental strategies such as reading to children affect their success on the field of education (Lareau and Weininger 2003)(De Graaf et al. 2000)(Tzanakis 2011) (Sullivan 2001). For example, De Graaf demonstrates how parental cultural capital, measured more broadly in that study as parental education and social class, is significantly related to children's school success. Nevertheless, I have attempted here to demonstrate how certain social behaviors, that could be framed in a value statement such as *standing up for what's right,* can and should be understood as cultural capital when such behaviors prove to produce benefit upon a given social field. The difficulty of this emphasis, however, is that the complexities of behavior, with its wide array of influences, contexts, and expressions, makes it difficult to reduce to a conveniently measurable component. "Mother has a bachelor's degree" is a much clear measurement. Or at least seems to be at a superficial level.

Framing Yolanda's narrative in terms of cultural capital adds credence, I believe, to Lareau and Weininger's (2003) study. This study argues the advantages and appropriateness of shifting the focus of Bourdieu's cultural capital theory away from the influence of "high brow" activities and symbolic tokens such as visiting museums or holding educational degrees, to emphasizing the relationship between culturally acquired skills and competencies and the proneness of dominant fields to respond favorably to such skills and competencies. They attribute the methodological rut of measuring superficial "high brow" cultural expressions more to the early influence DiMaggio's work than to Bourdieu's actual articulation of the concept. Though they do not deny the significance of that work. Another significant weakness may be that this emphasis overlooks the more functional social components that motivate or produce cultural manifestations. Lareau and Weininger write,

> Our conception emphasizes micro-interactional processes whereby individuals' strategic use of knowledge, skills, and competence comes into contact with institutionalized standards of evaluation. These specialized skills are transmittable across generations, are subject to monopoly, and may yield advantages or "profits" (Lareau and Weininger 2003:569).

Relevant to Yolanda's case, their study demonstrates how middle-class parents are more likely to apply parental strategies in addressing school-child conflicts that include assertiveness and advocacy for children than lower socio-economic parents. These strategies conform to institutionally sanctioned (though not necessarily formally) communication strategies. Consequently, these strategies more often lead to advantageous results. Such was the case for Yolanda. She faced off a school authority, applying certain learned behavior and language that ultimately led to the positive outcome of her child not receiving a negative mark on her records. The authors stress that in order for this to happen, the institution must socially accept such assertive strategies, otherwise it wouldn't be beneficial on that field. No evidence suggests that the reason for these economic class differences of preferred parenting strategies within classes has anything to do with greater parental involvement of one class over the other. Rather, the differences are related to competing values that motivate different kinds of involvement or parenting strategies.

This point becomes important to the goal of my study. Latino parents, I argue, apply parenting strategies that have been formed upon institutional and social fields of practice that operate under different rules. If you are raised in a society that never allows parents to question the authority of the dominant educational institution, then that parent will never develop the skills and competencies necessary to apply such behavior upon a field that sanctions such interaction. Consequently, parents who apply those unspoken and often hidden cultural rules experience advantages that parents without those skills do not.

Amber

> *Well, it would be a mother and dad and children, and that there would be* love *and* support *demonstrated to each one. Never thought about it much as I was growing up but looking back I think how would I've managed without the* support *of my family? And working with* Rebound *we find a lot of kids are having that problem. For various reasons.*

I noted earlier the frequency of *love* and *support* in the English-speaking list of priority family values, and how Amber was the only English-speaking participant who did not note *love* on her list of top three family values. She was also one of two participants who did note *support*. In the above excerpt, we see both *love* and *support* coupled together. Once again, I believe this evidences a similar conceptual marriage between those two terms in Amber's mind and among all of the other English-speaking participants. I believe Amber emphasizes an *individualistic* priority and an even distribution of *love & support* in her phrase *demonstrated to each one.* At the end of this excerpt, which represents Amber's complete short-but-sweet response, one notices the fluid and natural conceptual shift from ideal family structure to Rebound's benefit to families. Again, I interpret this as evidence that the dominant motivations for Rebound and the conceptualizations of how Rebound is situated within the cultural paradigm of the English-speaking group is an extension of a significantly shared family schema.

Safe Place & Healthy Community

Above, the terms *safety* and *healthy* were also expressed in relation to *place* and *community*, and in the context of *support*. Similar conceptual patterns were common enough among the Anglo group to evidence them as forming part of a broader Anglo family schema. I chose the next excerpt from Tyler's interview due to of the number and distribution of the use of *support* and its relationship to *household* and *place*. Initially in my research I was following Tyler's use of *connect* which did not demonstrate much significance outside of Tyler's interview.

> *And just I think they get a lot from each other knowing that they're not alone in their struggle. Sometimes their kids are that kid in public, or that kid at school. So I feel like they feel supported just by being connected to each other. And then if they do have a major need they can turn to Rebound and ask for that and we can help facilitate something. I think that's it, I think some people come looking for some answers. And have been pretty beat up in their situation and are just looking for help, like how can I manage. Especially single moms you know. 'I'm alone, I didn't grow up in a supportive household, and now I have four kids, but I'm trying to figure out how to manage life.' And there's a sense of desperation. And so I think reaching out and just having a place where they feel supported, where they can leave there kids with people they trust for a night, and just have people invest in them. I think it's a pretty big deal, I think that might be why parents come.*

In the first occurrence, *supported* is used as an adverb to describe an emotional response to being *connected* to *others*. These *others* understand the beneficiary's *struggles*, they can *facilitate* help for *major needs*, and they can provide *answers* to help them *manage* (implying their life outside of Rebound, in a Bourdieusian sense, the dominant fields of practice). In the second occurrence, *supportive* is used as an adjective to describe a *household*. Those who generally participate in Rebound did not *grow up* in a *supportive household*. *Household* holds the connotation of place and people. It is implied that the lack of ideal *household* resulted in the lack of skills or abilities needed to *manage life.* Tyler does not specifically mention skills or abilities in this context, (though he mentions *skills* twice in other parts of the interview, both times pared with *tools)*, but the concept is implied. In the third occurrence, as in the first, *supportive* is paired with the verb *feel,* but this time positioned close to a physical *place* as opposed to a social state of being *connected* with others. In this context, also, the term *invest* is connect to *support* as it was in Tyler's first use of the term. But now, instead of parents supporting a child, it is the people of Rebound (implying leadership and other beneficiaries) who support the beneficiary of Rebound.

The *place* of Rebound fills the gap of a neglected *household.* In this sense, as in Sharon's discourse, I see Rebound's most basic philosophical structure modeled after a cultural family model or schema. And for the purposes of this study, that schema is expected to be more or less similar to the dominant cultural family schema of the Latino group. I believe this study will show that there are significant differences between the two schemas, while at the same time, encompassing areas of similarity.

Apart from Tyler, Yolanda was the only other participant to use related terms for *connect.*

> **Yolanda**: *I think that the first and foremost is that we* ==connect== *with them. You know the families that we serve I think they… they're kind of* ==isolated==. *They are* ==isolated== *because of the issues they have faced. I mean it's not like they're living* ==alone== *and don't have any friends or anything, but they're not in any kind of* ==healthy== ==community==. *And so I think we serve that purpose. Initially I think that is what is attractive to them, and it is also what we want to provide to them. So that* ==connection== *I think is hugely important.*

Yolanda's use of *connect* and the surrounding conceptual relationships are significantly similar to the third excerpt of Tyler's interview that I analyzed above. In Yolanda's statement, *connection* fills a gap

of social *isolation,* specifically *isolation* from a *healthy community.* Tyler mentions that they lack a *supportive household* and a *place where they feel supported.* Where Yolanda applies *isolated,* Tyler applies *alone.* This isolation or loneliness is the result of *issues they face.* Tyler uses *struggles.*

Below are two other passages where Tyler applies the concept *connect.* Very similar word relationships appear that point to a dominant schema, in spite of Tyler's preferred use of *connect* to reveal dominant cultural values. Significant similarities among other English-speaking participants give evidence of a shared cultural schema. Lack of these meaning relationships among the Spanish-speaking group also gives weight to the context specific nature of the schema:

> *And so what drew me was just kind of that passion to make a difference and address real needs, provide a place for families who don't have a place to connect and belong. Community is really important to me, and so for families that feel like they don't have healthy relationships or a place to belong I think that's probably the key thing for me in Rebound, that there is a community that cares about them.*
>
> *I think a lot of it is just the disconnect. Like we talked about the change to having a supportive family from an unhealthy family, so just a connection to like a healthy community healthy relationships. I don't think it's so much... I think it affects the economical side of things but yeah. So I think that disconnect and family relationships, and also with generational poverty, Not having a connection to means or resources.*

A simplification of a cultural schema I see taking shape might look something like the following:

A	loved supported	family member person	is part of a is connected to a	healthy safe secure loving caring	family community place

Below is another excerpt from Tyler where *support* is partnered most closely with *stability* and *security* (in spite of their syntagmatic distance).

> *There was a lot of stability definitely at home, which helped me a little bit. My dad kind of jumped around from job to job, so he didn't have like the most successful career, so maybe not so much as a career model but certainly from a support standpoint. And just kind of that power of positive thinking and confidence. I think that really kind of helped me, you know. I mean they always believed that I could finish my bachelors degree or finish my masters degree and all that. They always believed in me. There's security in that.*

I believe the gist of this proposition is, *home was stable and I felt secure because of parental support.* The experiences that Tyler connects to these terms involve parental behaviors that made him feel capable of achieving his *individual* goals. Here, his goals were educational. They always *believed in him,*

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he says. Higher education and successful career are also linked in this context.

While cultural schemas can be understood as meaning-relationships between words, experiences, and consequent emotions that are shared by a social group, this does not mean that individuals who share cultural schemas always relate them using the same words. Dominant schemas are deeper and more complex than mere word structures. Nevertheless, discourse analysis that applies word frequency methods is still perhaps the best way to spot schemas (Quinn et al. 2005). I mention this because the words *stable* and *secure* that Tyler uses here to relate the perceived *support* of his family are not applied by any of the other English speakers. Nonetheless, the key features of a shared schema are still noticeable; mainly, the idealization of a *safe* place where one's *individual* potential can be discovered and nurtured by one's closest social relations. As we will see below, *healthy* and *safe* are the most common adjectives used to describe this place by the English-speaking group.

This underscores a limitation of relying on word frequency for discovering or measuring the presence of cultural schemas in discourse. While the dominant cultural schema relating to the Spanish-speaking group's perception of family benefit in relation to Rebound does involve *place*, mainly *casa,* it does not apply the same family values or social structures as the English-speaking group to that place. It is a significantly different schema, as will be demonstrated, because it was formed under very different sociohistoric and sociocultural conditions and for navigating unique socioeconomic fields.

Another common thread in Cindy's interview with other English-speaking participants was the emphasis on *place*, with specific relationships to *safety* and *healing*.

> *And then you have like the program directors and you know, that not only is that curriculum structured to provide a* safe place *and an avenue to start discussing those things. And once you open the door that's kind of where* healing *starts to occur. Because if you keep it closed all the time there's no* healing*. And so with the curriculum and the way that we try to operate Roots and Ray of Hope, it's really designed to try and open up people's worlds a little bit, and to know that there's hope. And you don't have to keep continuing to live in these things. And oftentimes it's a discovery of a truth or you know a* mentorship relationship *that's there for the* long haul*. And you know that's the other thing too, we really try to provide* mentorship *for the* long hall *it's* not just for a season*. If a family wants to stay it could be* year round support *for them. And that's what we really try to do.*

The above excerpt is thick, and could be divided into two separate chunks for analysis. But it shows the one context in which the word *support* is used in a similar way to that of other English-speakers, and I wanted to show the distance between that term and the accompanying concepts of *safe place* and *healing*. The first use of *safe place* is in relationship to *discussing those things*. The implication is that when family problems are un-discussed or not talked about the effect on the family or the individual family member will be like illness to the body. The deterrent to *discussion* is a lack of *safety*. In previous social or family environments talking about problems lead to further harm. Consequently, communication gets locked up, metaphorically, behind a *closed door*. For *healing* to occur, an environment needs to be created where the emotional wound can be exposed without further damage being done to the wound. Rebound creates that *place*, and the curriculum allows the healing *discussion* to begin. The emphasis of the discourse then shifts to the benefits of long-term *mentorship relationship*. The phrase *long haul* is applied twice denoting the work or effort involved in this relationship. The concept of *support* is most closely connected in this context to the benefits of long-term relationship.

Cindy applies the term *safe place* three other times during the interview.

> *And again the curriculum is designed so that questions are being asked and the people have a really* <mark>safe place</mark> *to try it, and where they can speak about it.*

> *In Rebound you don't need to go through the State in order to participate in Rebound programming. So I think that it becomes maybe a* <mark>safe place</mark> *where they can be.*

> *It's just, I think Rebound has gotten the reputation that again we are a* <mark>safe place</mark>*, and that we are providing services that maybe they are not providing anywhere else.*

The first of these three excerpts is very similar to the above usage of the phrase, though it comes about two minutes later in the interview. The second two uses are in relation the Latino group's reasons for coming to Rebound. Each of those occurrences is also separated by a couple minutes of discourse. It is interesting to note that the Spanish-speaking participants never refer to Rebound in terms a *safety*. Throughout all of the interviews, words for *safe* and *safety* (*seguro & seguridad*) are only applied one time, and this is in relation to how one participant's son faces problems with *bravery* and *security*. *Secure* and *safe* are the same word in Spanish.

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Y las (problemas) ha enfrentado con mucha valentía y con mucha seguridad*. Esto nos ha enseñado que aún pequeños son fuertes y pueden salir de cualquier problema.*

And he faces problems with great bravery and much security*. This has taught us that even though their small (their children), they're strong and can get through any problem.*

Below shows three other instances where the concept of *safe place* is applied by other English-speaking participants.

Sharon: *Yea, so vetting the people who provide information, so providing* safety *(emphasis),* regardless of your political perspective *I felt our job was to provide a* safe place *for them.*

Yolanda: *I think the fact that they just know that it's a* safe place *for them and they're really cared about.* We don't judge them*. In fact we try to help them.*

Tyler: *Maybe we don't have all the answers, but we at least have some skills and tools that can help them as a parent and a* place *where they can feel* safe *to* express what's going on*, a* place *where they're* not going to feel judged*.*

These statements reveal further characteristics of the *safe place* as being one free from *judgment,* in the sense of negatively categorizing another individual by their beliefs. Sharon's phrase *regardless of your political perspective* and Yolanda's phrase *we don't judge them,* are both contextually close to *safe place* and conceptually close enough to one another to signal a shared cultural schema. Consider Tyler's excerpt. While the exact phrase *safe place* is not utilized, the words appear separately but still maintain a syntagmatic connection. Here also, the *place* as one free of judgment is clearly expressed in the phrase *they're not going to feel judged* and also tied to participant's freedom to *express what's going on*, which runs conceptually parallel to Cindy's phrase *an avenue to start discussing*.

Finally, it is well worth spending time on the concept of *healing* found in Cindy's above quote and applied by her seven times throughout the interview in relation to Rebounds and family benefit. *Healing* represents yet another common conceptual thread among the English-speaking participants which proved to have no conceptual relevance to the Spanish-speaking group. After running a query for all word connected to *health* and *healing* in Spanish i.e. (sanar, sanidad, sano, sana, saludable, and all stem words), a related word surfaced only once (see Table 5.3). It followed the question, "What do you

think you learn from your children?" Contextually, it occurred right along side the above except where *safety (seguridad)* is applied.

English "Heal & Healthy" Word Frequency

Cindy	Internals\\Interviews	7	0.27%
Sharon	Internals\\Interviews	2	0.07%
Tyler	Internals\\Interviews	13	0.56%
Yolanda	Internals\\Interviews	3	0.10%

Spanish "Sano & Salud" Word Frequency

Eleanora & Juan	Internals\\Interviews	1	0.03%

Table 5.3. Healthy/Sano Word Frequency

Esto nos ha enseñado que aun pequeños son fuertes y pueden salir de cualquier problema. Son problemas de salud, no son problemas complicados.

…This taught us that even though they are small, they are strong and can move forward from whatever problem. These are problems of health, not complicated problems.

Right away, one notices in the Spanish-speaking example that the term for *health* (*salud)* is not used figuratively or metaphorically as is commonly used by English speakers. Juan simply uses the word in its unmarked state of physical health. On the other hand, though English-speakers refer to *health* related conceptualizations twenty two times in the context of family and Rebound, they never once apply it in its literal sense. It is only used in contexts of emotional states of being and social space. It is not strange that *health* is not applied literally in this this study since this study does not deal with topics related to physical health. Nevertheless, it does reveal the extent to which topics are conceptualized and expressed differently by cultural communities, even within the same organization. Consequently, when teaching about families in a Latino context, to mention "healthy families" is more likely to connote physical health, where as to English speaking cultures "healthy family" is more likely to conjure up socio-

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emotional ideas. In light of these socially constructed differences of perception, when teaching cross-culturally, understanding schemas becomes vital to culturally relevant transmission of knowledge.

Individualism

Throughout the above discussion I have noted times when an excerpt seemed to promote the dominant value of individualism among the English-speaking group. Various studies have highlighted the individualistic cultural inclinations of European Americans (Park et al. 2015). Greenfield and Quiroz demonstrate a direct relationship between formal education and individualism that suggests a socialized nature of individualism that increases within European American children with age (Greenfield and Quiroz 2013). When Cindy expressed ways in which her family benefited her growing up, she expressed similar values as other English speakers. Specifically, she emphasized the availability of her parents and their investment of time into her *individual* desires and goals. Consider the following excerpts.

> *You know like I said, my experience is so different in so many ways from the families that we do serve. Like not only is it, you know, a single-parent home, but perhaps the dad isn't even present. My dad was very present.*

> *When my parents divorced, they really worked hard to try and get along for my benefit.*
> *She used to take me to church… And so, and she enrolled me in summer camps, and you know Bible camps and that kind of thing. And I appreciate that.*

> *And so my mom was really I believe the reason why my faith is where it's at, because she exposed me at a young age to that. But then also was very willing to put me into you know the Bible camps. And then also it was very stable, Like she was a single mom and struggling, but my home was very stable at the same time. And so she kept me in the same school district, and you know same schools. And so I really developed because of that a really core, quality core group of friends that also were impactful in that sense too because their families were believers and went to church.*

In the first excerpt Cindy mentions the presence of her father. But there is no further mention of specific ways in which he benefited her or invested time to meet her individual needs. There is only mention of his effort invested in *getting along* with Cindy's mother. I feel it worth noting that Cindy's individual benefit is also highlighted. A couple of the Spanish-speaking participants also mentioned their parents' habit of not fighting or yelling in front of them as an expression of value. For the Spanish-speaking participants, however, the action is framed in relation to *respect* and *educación* (manners), as

opposed to individual benefit. We will se this in the Spanish-speaking analysis. When speaking about her mother, Cindy relates a number of specifics. Attending Christian summer camps and church were important to Cindy, as was the stability of remaining in the same school. Cindy appreciated these efforts and attributes her faith, a very important aspect of her identity, to the investment of her mother.

Amber also specifically refers to individual benefit in the context of family support. As with most of the other interviews, I began my analysis around the term *support*. The first use of the term appears 3 minutes into the interview, and comes in response to my question, "How did your family life inside the family benefit or affect your life outside of the family?"

> *Well, I always felt that my family supported me with whatever situation I had to deal with, like in school. It was always a comfort and encouragement to me that whatever happened to me my family would come alongside me and help. And I think as an adult I still felt the same way. There was five of us kids and we were all quite close. Four sisters and one brother.*

Again we see the emphasis of *support* as accommodating Amber's individual needs. This is expressed in the phrase *whatever situation I had to deal with.* While this response might appear very general or generic (particularly to readers who have been raised in a similar sociohistoric or socioeconomic context as Amber), when the response is compared with the Latino group the uniqueness of the responses become more significant. The Spanish-speaking group does not emphasize the individual supportive nature of family benefit, but rather almost unanimously highlights the benefit of family in terms of *learning to work and respect.* Amber also specifically highlights *school*. This is consistent with all of the other English-speaking participants apart from Sharon, who emphasized the emotional aspects of the family benefit in terms of *approval, promise, hope, and love* with the result of *seeing her potential.* As we have seen, Tyler and Yolanda added mention of sports, and Cindy participation is church activities. Also in regard to school, Amber mentions *school* with a greater percentage of frequency than any of the other participants from both the English and Spanish speaking group. Perhaps her many years working specifically in school settings has influenced her unique priorities in relation to Rebound's benefit for families.

Spanish Speaking Family Schema

Trabajo (Hard Work)

I mentioned above that I began my analysis of the Latino interviews around the concept of *learning,* since

that theme proved central to much of the talk around the relationship of Rebound and family benefit. I

begin this section with Enrique and Anarosa, a married couple that I interviewed simultaneously. The

following excerpt comes in response to the question, "What did you learn from your parents, or those who

raised you, what values and lessons do you think help you in life even today?

> **Enrique:** *Más que nada las cosas que aprendí de mi abuela fue rezar. A nosotros le llamamos rezar a orar. A dar gracias siempre por lo que comemos, lo que tenemos por lo que somos. Y tener la fe, la fe en Dios. Otra de las cosas que me enseñaron fuese trabajar en el rancho. Trabajamos en el rancho, pues, un poco de todo. Como es que esté ordeñar la vaca hasta arreglar el tractor. Y ya más adelante pues como tener que buscarle para la escuela Y todo. A mí me enseñaron mucho los mecánicos grandes. Y a los señores ya viejitos ya grandes. Me enseñe a trabajar por medio de ellos. Porque yo me salí a trabajar y estudiar y trabajaba un rato, y como trabajaba un rato en la mañana ya tenerlo yo mi peso mis dos pesos ya era dinero. Yo llegaba con mi abuelo y le daba dinero. Y ella estaba feliz mi abuela. Y así enseñaron a trabajar, y empecé a trabajar lo que es lavando los frenos, verdad, limpiando los frenos y daba todo esto. Y empecé enseñar poco a poco. Con todo yo le estoy hablando, yo tenía ocho años nueve años de vida cuando pasó eso. Y más adelante empecé a trabajar y aprendí a trabajar y darle.*

> **Enrique:** *More than anything I learned how to pray (rezar: a type of praying, mainly repetitive prayers to God, Mary and the Saints. Evangelical Christians do not use this term, they prefer orar) from my grandmother. We call praying (orar) rezar. To always give thanks for what we eat, for what we have, for who we are. And to have faith, faith in God. Another thing they taught me was to work in the ranch. We worked in the ranch, you know, a little bit of everything. It's like from milking the cow to fixing the tractor. And from there, you know, you have to find what you need for school and everything. They taught me a lot about mechanics (on large equipment). The adult men, the older men (emphasized). I learned to work because of them. Because I had to go and work and study. And I was working a little bit, and because I worked for awhile in the morning, I got my one or two pesos, that was money. I'd go to my grandmother and give her some money. And she was happy, my grandmother. And that's how they taught me to work, and I began to work washing breaks, you know, cleaning breaks and I did all of that. And I started to teach (I believe the context more implies learning here, but I cannot be certain) little by little. All of this that I'm talking about, I was like eight or nine when this happened. And later I began to work, and I learned to work and give it my all.*

The most obvious observation from this excerpt is the frequent emphasis on *work*. It is mentioned

ten times within this one response. The family value of hard work is very common among most of the

Spanish-speaking participants of this study and essentially absent from any expression of family values or

benefit emphasized by the English-speaking participants. In Table 5.4, the word frequency charts clearly

demonstrate a more frequent use of words related to *work* by the Latino group.

Spanish "Trabajar (work)" Word Frequency

Anarosa & Enrique	Internals\\Interviews	29	1.27%
Aurelne	Internals\\Interviews	6	0.45%
Eleanora & Juan	Internals\\Interviews	30	1.19%
Jessalyn	Internals\\Interviews	19	1.54%
Patricia	Internals\\Interviews	16	0.72%
Zanita	Internals\\Interviews	37	1.35%

English "Work" Word Frequency

Amber	Internals\\Interviews	11	0.70%
Cindy	Internals\\Interviews	11	0.35%
Sharon	Internals\\Interviews	7	0.21%
Tyler	Internals\\Interviews	3	0.10%
Yolanda	Internals\\Interviews	17	0.45%

Table 5.4. Work/Trabajar Word Frequency

Furthermore, while words related to *work* occur 49 times within the combined English-speaking

interviews as compared to the 137 times from the Latino groups, when reading through the English uses

of the word, I could only categorized 10 of these uses as relating to employment. Only one of those uses

met the context of labor related employment. Other uses of *work* were connected to idiomatic

expressions, such as "*I get to work out all the kinks*" or "*we hope that it can be worked out,*" as meaning

resolved. Another common meaning for *work* in English is related to *function*. An example would be

"*they need support to make it work.*" In Spanish the word *trabajar* would not be used in this context.

Instead, words like *funccionar* (to function) or *pasar* (to happen) would be applied. Other statements such

as "*most of the kids we work with…*" do in fact point to Rebound's relational engagement with clients, but

this is far from meaning *"the children with whom we physically labor alongside,"* which would likely

reflect an accurate interpretation had Ernesto said the same thing in his unique socioeconomic context. On the other hand, practically every mention of *trabajar* by the Latino group refers to employment, and most of those mentions relate in some way to physical labor. This will be demonstrated throughout the Spanish-speaking analysis. The importance of this difference is the extent to which it reveals the socioeconomic influence on word use and meaning.

In order to demonstrate the variation to which I refer, in Table 5.5 I have placed a list of Yolanda's applications of *work*:

It's like a, they go **work** with native Americans. They're not

Reference 2: 0.04% coverage

And I had 11 people **working** for me so it was

Reference 3: 0.02% coverage

of 2013 I went to **work** for a former client. And

Reference 4: 0.04% coverage

It's really great. I love **working** with all of these people

Reference 5: 0.04% coverage

of these people here. And **working** to serve the families that

Reference 6: 0.02% coverage

hugely important. Because, I actually **work** with one of the single

Reference 7: 0.04% coverage

single moms. I have been **working** with her for about a

Reference 8: 0.03% coverage

on the phone yesterday. She **works**, she is really, really into

Reference 9: 0.02% coverage

known for being able to **work** with kids like that. So

Reference 10: 0.02% coverage

about our parenting classes, they **work** together. I think it's successful

Reference 11: 0.02% coverage

5: The parents that we **work** with, they probably weren't parented

Reference 12: 0.03% coverage

and just see if that **works** out.' So that's the business

Reference 13: 0.03% coverage

E-5: I know it **works**. Because we are growing. And

Reference 14: 0.03% coverage

it's a program, just, it **works**. And it works because, I

Reference 15: 0.03% coverage

just, it works. And it **works** because, I think again, because

Reference 16: 0.02% coverage

just us, the people who **work** here, but it's the community

Reference 17: 0.04% coverage

feel really blessed to be **working** here. I really feel that

Table 5.5. Yolanda's use of the term "work"

I find that Yolanda indeed exhibits a strong and serious work ethic throughout her interview, as did some of the other English-speaking participants. Nevertheless, the socioeconomic contexts are still significantly different between the two groups, and I believe my analysis, along with my supporting

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literature will demonstrate that parenting strategies as well as learning strategies are strongly determined by sociocultural influences (Forte 2013).

Right away, in the above excerpt, Enrique paints a very different sociocultural picture than any of the English-speaking participants. Here, a young boy learns labor skills from adult males, he practices those skills before school, and then benefits his family economically from what he earns. When Enrique thinks of family benefit, he thinks of learning labor skills and, as soon as possible, applying those skills in order to return monetary benefit to his family. While Enrique twice refers to school, his surrounding emphasis on *work* leads me to conclude that *school* was not prioritized within his particular socioeconomic context. The socioeconomic pressure to invest in labor over school may the result of an economic field that places greater value on the prior. Consequently, when navigating the benefits of investing time and resources into schooling, the outcomes of that investment are less likely to produce economic benefit than the outcome of investing in labor skills and practice. I know that while living in Peru, I often heard cabdrivers say, "We have the most educated taxi drivers in the world." The implication of that statement is that education does not readily open doors to participation in dominant upper-economic fields within certain areas of Latin America. There is little market for the type of education available to lower socioeconomic classes. So why waist time going to school?

Enrique also stresses that he had learned his skills from elders. In light of Ezpinoza & Herold's (2007) study, it is likely that this fact would have increased the legitimacy of Enrique's skill set within the cultural mindset or shared schemas of the society wherein he acquired and practiced such labor skills. Also, the payment to his grandmother may express a sociocultural expectation of *reciprocity* and *respect* for the *sacred* investment that the elders had made in his life. Espinoza & Herold write:

> Cindy's interaction within her familial and social network is based on reciprocity, and it is constructed around the attitude of respect that this dicho (saying) conveys. It also implies a "sacred" context: the words of elders convey truth and can be trusted for guidance (Espinoza & Herold 2007:268).

While Enrique makes no specific mention of *respect* in the above excerpt, the fact that he attributes his skills and talents to his elders is consistent with common expressions of respect among

Latino men, which will be discussed in the section devoted to the concept of *respect*. This cultural

dynamic is also highlighted in a study conducted by Brena et al. (2012) They write:

> Another cultural value of interest is the value of respect. Researchers have noted that Latino families are characterized by strong age-related hierarchies, as youth are expected to respect their elders in order to have defined family roles and to promote harmony within the family (462).

Enrique's excerpt brings this study to a good place to re-articulate the main premise of this study,

mainly, that cultural schemas can function as cultural capital. This happens in as much as the market of

the economic field in which the cultural schema is applied recognizes the value of the schema. The

discretion of the field sets the market value of the schema. Cultural schemas are revealed through an

individual's choice of words and behaviors (choices which are governed by what Bourdieu would refer to

as habitus). If a particular economic field of labor in Mexico places greater market value on skills that

have been acquired from elders (even over and above knowledge acquired through a state controlled

educational systems), then a cultural schema which expresses the preferred value (in this case knowledge

acquired by elders) will be selected over a competing schema that does not.

Talking about skills acquired by qualified elders acts like a verbal resume. A cultural schema that

includes skills acquired from practice under elders is formed and reinforced within an economic field that

values skills acquired from practice under elders. This demonstrates the circular nature of Bourdeau's

social theory. Essentially, an individual who is raised or whose cultural schemas are formed within and by

socioeconomic and sociocultural structures of a particular society, more specifically within the particular

economic fields within that society of the individual (for there are many competing fields), that individual

will embody those structures, perpetuate them, reinforce them, and consequently reproduce them. Enrique

acquired his value of respect for elders in a culture that values respect for elders, as defined and expressed

in culturally specific ways. Consequently, Enrique's articulation and behavioral expression of those

values fit like a key into the socioeconomic door where those values were formed. But what happens

when Enrique immigrates to a society of different doors?

What happens when Enrique articulates his story with its repeated emphasis on having labor skills

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acquired by elders? For the potential employer listening to Enrique's experience (likely through a translator), those expressions may be interpreted as irrelevant information, unnecessary backstory, a waist of time. If this scenario were to happen, then a cultural schema that functioned as cultural capital on one economic field (its field or origin) would act oppositely on another field. What happens when the new U.S. economic fields operate under different culture schemas of value? What do immigrants and their children need in order to succeed upon new fields? What new cultural schemas would benefit them? What existing cultural schemas hold their value upon new economic fields? To what degree does acculturation relate to schema reevaluation and adaptation?

Next, I look at two excerpts from Anarosa's discourse were she applies the value and disposition of *learning* in direct relation to *work*. In the first excerpt she responds to a restatement of the same question I asked Enrique above. Her answer is separated from Enrique's by about 15 minutes of discourse.

> **Anarosa:** *Yo cuando tuve 15 años, salí de la secundaria y no pude entrar a la prepa porque no tenía mi papel, porque queda deber una materia que es inglés, que no me gustó, no me gustaba inglés. Dije para mí no me importa el inglés. En verdad. Entonces iba haber un examen, pero no lo pasé. Lo hice y no lo pasé. Entonces iba por etapa. Dije no, no lo voy hacer. Y mi hermano me dijo sabes que estoy ==trabajando== en un lado. Y vete a ==trabajar==. Y entra a ==trabajar== de, ¿como sé dice? manejando todo lo de pantalón de jeans. Es el Tommy Hill que se hace allá. Y mi mamá siempre me decía, y ==aprendí== de ella, porque ella ==trabajó== muchos años en taperware, haciendo los muebles, inmuebles, todo eso en una compañía, una empresa. Entonces me decía, Y tú te metas y ==aprendes==, Y si algo te interesa ==aprendes== más, ==aprendes== más. ==Sepas todo== de la compañía. Le digo porque, un pantalón, el etiqueta del pantalón, costuras, preparar, ==aprendí== todo esto. Y llegué hasta ser manager de ahí. Bien chica.*

> **Anarosa:** *When I was 15 years old, I left high school and I couldn't get into prep school because I didn't have my paper (qualification, certification), because I didn't have the English part of the maternal. Because I didn't like, I didn't like English. I told myself, 'English doesn't matter to me.' That's the truth. So there was going to be a test, but I didn't pass. I took it, but didn't pass. So I went in steps. I said no, I'm not going to do this. My brother told me, you know, I'm ==working== over here. Come and ==work==. I started ==working== in, how do you say, taking care of (managing) everything to do with pants and jeans. It's Tommy Hill that they make over there. My mother always told me, and I ==learned== from her, because she ==worked== a lot of years in Tupperware, making furniture, homes, all of this in a company, a business. So she told me, get in there and ==learn==. If something interests you ==learn== more, ==learn== more. ==Know everything== about the company. I'll tell you what, the pair of pants, the tags on the pants, sewing, preparation, I ==learned== it all. I ended up manager over there. Really young.*

Some key similarities that I find between Enrique's and Anarosa's response include the frequent application of words related to *work* and *learn* within close contextual proximity, the prioritization of

work over school, including the parents (guardians') support of such prioritization, recognizing the parents' or elders' active role in passing on beneficial skills, and an emphasis on learning multiple skills as opposed to specialized training. I appreciated the image that Anarosa builds of her mother's persistent challenge to "learn, learn, learn." No doubt these repeated experiences with her mother and others who shared and reinforced the same value instilled attributes and dispositions that have benefited Anarosa in her efforts to succeed in the U.S.. Throughout the Spanish-speaking group section, one will notice the continued mention of *trabajar* (to work) in relation to other dominant conceptualizations such as *respect* and *strength.*

Respect

Patricia is a young mother of five children. She had resided fifteen years in the U.S. and has attended Rebound for three years. Patricia had gone through a divorce and remarried. She experienced domestic violence in her first marriage, which caused her to leave for her safety and the safety of her children. This was the case for three of the six women who I interviewed. In her first marriage, she and her husband would yell and fight in front of the kids. However, these behaviors were in direct opposition to her family experiences growing up where she says, "we never saw our parents fight. If they were angry, they hid it well. We never saw yelling or hitting in my house. Never! And I don't want this in my home either. No yelling no hitting." Patricia's peaceful home environment likely set a standard of family expectations and behaviors. Consequently, she did not accept the parental behaviors of her first marriage as normal or acceptable. Her experiences growing up did not match those of her first abusive marriage.

When I hear Patricia's scenario, I wonder to what extent her habitus, formed in part by multiple positive experiences within a non-conflictive family environment, influenced her decision to seek a less violent atmosphere and secure a more beneficial family atmosphere for herself and her children? In her new marriage, she expresses happiness and a growing sense of unity. She attributes the strength of her current family situation much in part to her investment in Rebound and her family's faith in God.

As with the other Spanish-speaking participants, I began my written analysis around the concept of *learning*. The first statement I analyzed was her response to the question of how the investment of her parents helped her succeed in the U.S.?

> *Patricia: Más que nada mi mamá me, mis padres me enseñaron confianza. Tener confianza en ti mismo y respeto. Ya lo demás viene por sí mismo. Porque si tienes confianza y dices yo puedo, tu lo puedes lograr. Es una confianza que tú lo puedes tener. Y respeto, si tu respetas a los demás o vienes sobre el mismo camino(?), y más que nada a luchar por tus sueños de lo que quieres. Esto nos enseñaron a luchar siempre por nuestros sueños. Nunca quedarte, es como decir' no puedo no puedo. Seguir adelante ¿no? Esto nos enseñaron.*

> *Patricia: More than anything my mom, my parents taught me confidence (trust). Having confidence in yourself and respect. Everything else comes on its own. Because if you have confidence and you say, "I can," then you can achieve (reach it). It is a confidence that you can have it. And respect, if you respect others, or you come over the same path (unsure of meaning), and more than anything, fight for your dreams of what you want. This is what they (parents) taught us, to always fight for our dreams. Never stop put, that's to say, 'I can't. I can't.' Keep moving forward. Yea? This is what they taught us.*

My first observation of this excerpt was Patricia's emphasis on the value of *confidence*. Throughout the entire interview, Patricia expressed and demonstrated, by her tone of voice and mannerisms, the *confidence* that her parents had evidently instilled. In the above excerpt she couples *confidence* with the value of *respect*, a value very common within Latino cultures and which is shared readily among the Latino participants of this study. On the written questionnaire, when asked to list three family values in order of importance, *respect* was first on Patricia's list, followed by *love* and *security*. Also worth noting, *respect* was the number one family value for *all* Latino participants, yet it never found its way to the top three list of any of the English speaking participants.

In my second question to Patricia, knowing that *respect* was a common Latino value and hearing Patricia mention *respect* multiple times without providing detailed context, I asked Patricia how her parents specifically demonstrated *respect*. Below is the first few sentences of her answer:

> *Patricia: En mi casa, no sé si ellos ahora, yo de adulta pienso muchas cosas pero, nunca veíamos que se peleaban. No se, nunca he visto que mis padres se... si estaban enojados creo que lo disimulaban muy bien. Pero nunca vimos gritos y golpes en mi casa. Nunca. Y esto quiero para mis hijos tampoco en el hogar. No gritos no golpes. Si yo y mi esposo peleamos, o si algo, no lo peleamos frente a los niños.*

> *Patricia: In my house, I'm not sure if now they, as an adult I think a lot of things, but we never saw them fight. Don't know, I have never seen my parents…if they were ever mad I think they hid it very well. But we never saw yelling or hitting in my house. Never. And I don't want this in my home either. No yelling no*

hitting. If me and my husband fight, or if something, we don't fight in front of the kids.

Later in her interview I had asked how Rebound benefited her family. I chose to discuss Patricia's

response, which focused on yelling since she evaluates the benefit of new parenting strategies against a

different aspect of Latino family schemas. It may be worth noting that Patricia focused on the topic of

yelling more than any of the other Latino participants. Where Aurelne emphasized aspects of *familism* as

motivation for new parenting strategies, Patricia evaluates new parenting strategies against *respect*. I

demonstrate this below. First, however, one notices above that Patricia's parents set an ideal example. She

has not mentioned which specific strategies her parents utilized to accomplish their ideal behavior, apart

from possibly hiding negative behavior. But, in another part of her interview she spends significant time

describing the abusive nature of her first marriage and the negative consequences of that behavior. She

describes some of the bad parenting habits that were formed during that time, which included yelling in

front of the kids. A significant motivation for attending Rebound seems to be to change the negative

habits acquired in her bad marriage and return to the ideal that her parents exhibited.

> **Patricia:** *Fuimos a Rebound y enseñaron muchas cosas, aprender a tener tolerancia. Tener paciencia, porque en verdad no tenía paciencia. Yo gritaba. A mis hijos yo les gritaba. Sentía que si yo gritaba ellos sintieron felices, pero vi que era algo de violencia doméstica sobreviviendo. También ellos les ayudaba. Y también otra cosa que nos acercamos mas a Dios.*

> **Patricia:** *We went to Rebound and they taught a lot of things, to learn to have tolerance. To have patience. Because truth is I didn't have patience. I would yell. I yelled at my kids. I thought if I yelled at them they'd feel happy, but I saw it was a kind of domestic violence living on (surviving). They also helped them (the kids). And another thing is that we drew closer to God.*

> **Patricia:** *A veces que digo 'hoy no voy a ir.' Ellos dicen, 'ay mami vamos.' Hay que aprender algo. Esto también ha ayudado también a ellos, a no gritar. Todo bastante. Mi vida ha cambiado bastante. Para bien. Gracias a Rebound. Y también nos acercamos a Dios también, hay que darle la bendición a Dios también.*

> **Patricia:** *Sometimes I'd say 'I'm not going today.' They'd say, 'C'mon mom, let's go.' There's always something to learn. This also helped them, to not yell. All a lot, my life has changed a lot. For the good. Thanks to Rebound. And also we have drawn closer to God also, you have to give the blessing to God also.*

> **Patricia:** *Es parte de mi vida Rebound es como que ahora ya me enseñaron muchas cosas, como hay que tenerles tiempo a los niños cuando están enojados, antes no sabía esto. Solo les gritaba y les decía siéntense, sentaban, y si no pues, en la casa mando yo, y mando yo, y soy tu mamá. Y ahora no, Rebound me ha enseñado que hay que respetar a los niños también. Ellos tienen voz y voto. Hay que dedicarles tiempo pues también, hay que enseñar las formas, no gritando. Como los colores como dicen, como el reinicio. Nos enseñan muchas cosas. Y quiero seguir aprendiendo más.*

> **Patricia:** *It's part of my life, Rebound. It's like now they've taught me a lot of things, like you should give the kids time when they get mad. Before, I didn't know this. I would just yell at them and tell them to sit*

down. They sat down. And if not, in the house I dictate, I dictate, I'm the mom. But not now, Rebound taught me that you have to respect children as well. They have a voice and a vote. You also have to dedicate time to them, you have to teach them ways, not yelling. Like the colors (a teaching device) say, and the restart. They teach us a lot of things. I want to keep learning more.

In the first excerpt she refers to her need of tolerance and patience, but more importantly she ties her behavior to the domestic violence of her past relationship. She also refers to the positive influence of her religious faith, which has become central to her new marriage. In the second excerpt she refers to the motivation of the children who inspire her to attend the midweek class when she is not quite feeling up to it. She again attributes the positive changes that she is experiencing in her family life to what she learns in Rebound and to her faith. Finally, in the third excerpt, Patricia reveals evidence for a key hypothesis of this study, mainly, that new parenting practices and the dominant U.S. schemas that surround them, are evaluated against existing cultural schemas, and, conversely, existing schemas are reevaluated and readjusted in response and in relationship to the dominant schemas of new U.S. fields.

One of her motivations above is almost identical to Zanita, where her initial attitude toward parenting related to dictating behavior through ridged hierarchy. "*En la casa mando yo…yo soy tu mama (In this house I say what to do….I am your mother)."* Then she contrasts that behavior to Rebound's teaching of *respect* for children. I believe I can say with almost absolute certainty that Rebound does not emphasize "*respecting*" children in the Latino sense. Let me re-qualify this statement, because Rebound actually does peripherally promote this connection by empowering Latinos to teach the course (when possible) and contextualize it to their clients. They do, however, emphasize the list that follows Patricia's emphasis of *respect,* specifically giving kids voice, dedicating specific time to them, applying a behavioral color system which allows kids to adjust behaviors and be restored before consequences are applied, etc. But Rebound does not frame this around an expressed value of *respecting* kids. And certainly *respecting* children does not mean the same thing in the Latino mind and cultural context as it means to the Anglo mind and middle-class context.

Below are two other excerpts where *respect* occupies a key place in the articulation of important family contributions. Both of these represent responses to the question, "What values did you learn from

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you parents which help you today?" One notices key conceptual components of *learning, work, and respect,* which likely form part of a dominant Latino family schema.

> **Juan:** *Para mi fue, esta así mas o menos lo mismo, un poquito diferente. Porque mis papas también eran de provincia, sea las provincias fuera de una ciudad grande, y ellos segaron la ella, y lo que este da mi papa y mi mama, lo que de ellos me* ==enseñaron== *a trabajar también. Nos hechamos a* ==trabajar==, *y este y los valores de cómo* ==trabajar== *y saber* ==respetar== *a la gente,* ==respetar== *a la gente.*

> **Jessalyn:** *Si ellos pues me* ==enseñaron== *lo que es la* ==educación==. *Más como* ==respetar== *a las personas. Y es lo que me* ==enseñaron== *Y uno* ==trabaja== *ahí. Como bueno nosotros como yo soy de Guatemala, Como ellos siempre, bueno mi papá es agricultor Y mi mamá también* ==trabaja== *así como* ==trabajando== *en ropas así de otras personas. A eso me* ==enseñaron== *Y eso también* ==trabaje== *allá.*

Familism (family unity)

To begin to consider potential expressions of familism that may significantly influence the dominant family schema of the Spanish-speaking group, I begin with a couple of excerpts from Aurelne. She answers the question, "What do you consider an ideal family?"

> **Aurelne:** *Que* ==respeten==, *que ayuden, que sean* ==felices== *no odian no rencor no juzgan las personas yo les enseñó ésto, que sean útiles dejan de buscar de decir porque preguntarse tal vez a personas que tienen un mal día digo.*

> **Aurelne:** *La familia ideal, no hay nadie perfecto, no existe nadie perfecto, verdad? Pero, no se, tener a mis hijas, ver a mis hijas* ==felices==, *como sea, para que sean* ==felices==. *Que me visitan. De ves en cuando les digo. No todos los días. Que me visitan de ves en cuando. Y regreso, que me llamen. Que siempre me llaman y comuniquen conmigo. Aun si tengan cuarenta años, esto* ==seria lo ideal para mi==.

> **Aurelne:** *The ideal family, nobody's perfect, a perfect person doesn;t exist, true? But, I don't know, have my daughters, see my daughters happy, in whatever way, so that they could be happy. That they would visit me. Once in awhile, I tell them. Not every day. That they'd visit me one in awhile. When I return (to Mexico), that they'd call me and communicate with me. Even when I'm forty years old. This would be ideal for me.*

In the first statement, Aurelne responds in list form to the question, 'What do you desire for your family, what do you hope for them?' The very prominent Latino value of *respect* is first on the list, followed by a number of concisely stated values, including the emotional state of *happiness*. There is no context in the first statement, however, around the concept of happiness that offers insight into the ideologies that motivate this emotional state. But in the second statement, Aurelne provides contextual insight. Here, happiness is contextually tied to steady familial interaction. The family is *visiting* and

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seeing each other and *making phone calls*. They are *connected,* as Tyler would put it. They are experiencing *healthy communication,* as Rebound's curriculum reinforces over and over. As a consequence, they are *happy.* A relatively strong thread of *happiness* is also found in Patricia's interview.

> **Patricia:** *Pues yo crecí con puros hombres. Fue mi vida* feliz *para mi. Yo tuve una niñez* feliz*. Creo que fui la única mujer. Eso que mi hermana nació, pero esta chiquita ya. Fue la única mujer que se ... puros hombres. Usé canicas, usé todo lo de hombres. Lo de niñas, no se muñecas, nada de eso. Pero fue mi niñez humilde pero* feliz*. Y eso quiero que mis hijos se, no tenerles bastante riquezas. Pero que seamos* felices*.*

> **Patricia:** *I grew up with all men. My life was* happy*. I had a* happy *childhood. Since I was the only girl. Since then my sister was born, but she's small still. I was the only girl that...all men. I wore what the men wore. Girl's stuff, I don;t know aything about dolls, nothing about that. My childhood was humble but* happy*. This is what I want for my kids, not that they have a lot of riches, but that they'd be* happy*.*

In Patricia's statement as well, I note nuances of close familial interaction, specifically non-conflictive, well-integrated relationship with brothers. The emotional benefit of this familial interaction, expressed in the word *feliz,* is evaluated against the dominant capitalistic value of physical wealth. I believe that the details of both Aurelne's and Patricia's discourses reflect a significant effect of class and culture on perceptions and expressions of emotion (Eisenberg 1999:269). It is likely as well that these articulations point to the strong Latino value of *familism*.

> Mexican children learned to fit into the family; they learned what behaviors to tolerate of siblings, to share with them, and to not "disrupt" the family environment. In this manner, families were household-centered rather than child-centered. "Success" then for these families is rooted in familism, having to do with "the relationship between parents and children that involves notions about success, ideas about good jobs, and opinions about what is attainable at what cost (Villenas and Deyhle 1999:424).

Another example of familism from my interviews comes form Eleanora.

> **Eleanora:** *Gracias a Dios nuestra hija se graduó de la Western. Ella es* un ejemplo que tenemos *un orgullo de decir ya con la primera ya* lo logramos *(estaba muy feliz)! Ahora estamos* trabajando *con los dos mas pequeños.*

> **Eleanora:** *Thank God our daughter graduated from Western. She is* an example that we have*, a source of pride, to say of our first that* we did it*! Now we are* working *with the two smaller ones.*

When transcribing this part of the interview I took note of Eleanora's heightened emotional response to the topic of the educational achievement of her daughter. I did not notice a relationship to

familism until later analysis. But returning to the passage, a couple of details jumped out at me. First, Eleanora uses the grammatical first-person-plural (we), as inclusive of the entire family in this achievement. Her specific statement *lo logramos (we achieved it!)* also point to familism as does the heightened happy emotion that accompanied the exclamation. There is a clear statement of family *orgullo* (pride) in the *ejemplo* (example) the daughter sets for the family. The shared participation of the family is reciprocated with shared glory and felt joy. Economic reciprocation was not expressed. Finally, the last statement *now we are working with the younger ones* points to a significant conceptual particularity from the English-speaking emphasis. Instead of parents *supporting* children for individual success, parents are *working/laboring* with children in order to strengthen family unity.

Learning New Parenting Strategies

The next excerpt reveals the strong value of learning in the context of learning new parenting strategies within Rebound.

> **Anarosa:** *Nosotros ==aprendemos== más porque nunca, nunca terminamos de ==aprender== a ser padres. Y más ahorita que nosotros tenemos tres. Vamos a clases y ==aprendemos== mucho para no tratar de mal tratarlos. Porque casi todo tipo de latinos con un golpe a un niño ya estás satisfecho. Porque no hacen caso. Y yo creo que eso es fantástico para nosotros. Rebound nos ha ayudado mucho. Más a mi. La verdad, yo era una persona, una que no tenía paciencia, y yo la verdad les daba (Anarosa).*

> **Anarosa:** *We ==learn== more because we never, never stop ==learning== as parents. Even more, we have three (children) now. We go to class and ==learn== a lot about how not to treat them poorly. Because almost every kind of Latino, a smack to the kid and you're satisfied. Because they don't do what they're told. And I think this is fantastic for us (referring to what is learned at Rebound). Rebound has helped us greatly. More for me. In truth, I was a person, someone that didn't have patience. And I, in truth, let 'em have it (physically disciplined the kids).*

I focus on this excerpt because it specifically relates to Rebound and highlights some of the struggle of adapting to new social expectations. It also demonstrates how this strong value of *learning* is applied upon the U.S. field of Rebound. I would frame Anarosa's concept of learning as a disposition similar to that which she expressed above, where, in the Jean industry, her mother taught her how to pinpoint every critical aspect of her new environment, and master all of the skills needed for success. I see Anarosa applying this same practical value of *learning* to her family life, in order to successfully raise

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children in the U.S.. She wants the best for her family and her kids, and invests in Rebound as an authoritative setting in which to learn the skills to achieve that end. Sharon, in her interview, mentioned something insightful related to the theme of first-generation Latino forms of child discipline.

> **Sharon:** *The parental approach for Latinos is often physical, and in this environment, in our environment in the States, physical violence is going to get your kids a new home. Ok. So I saw a lot of families that had, where the method of discipline in Mexico, the way it was done, is not acceptable here. So when the kids came to school with bruises they immediately attracted attention.*

This statement demonstrates how parenting strategies in one context, such as forms of discipline, may not function within new sociocultural fields. Consequently, adjusting behavior to meet the expectations of new fields is vital to sociocultural success. Adjusting cultural schemas which motivate behavior may form a significant part of behavioral adjustments. The next excerpt comes from Aurelne's discourse and directly relates to her participation in Rebound. The following excerpt also revolves around the value of learning. I believe it also ties to familism in aspect to strengthening family bonds through new strategies of communication.

> **Aurelne:** *Y así hemos aprendido mucho personalmente pienso que sí hemos aprendido mucho. La forma de (pausa) ahora pienso mas en las cosas primera de seguir de hablar de (hesitation) gritar (she laughs, we both laugh).*
>
> **Aurelne**: *We have learned a lot. Personally I think we have learned a lot. The way to...now I think more about things before I speak...yell.*

In this excerpt Aurelne refers to a particular behavioral change inspired by her participation in Rebound. Specifically, she mentions her effort to stop yelling at the kids, which includes thinking before speaking. In Rebound, Aurelne evaluates new parenting strategies. I want to make very clear that this study does not associate *yelling* with familism. On the contrary, there is clear evidence within the interviews that more subtle communication strategies are ideal among both the Latino and Anglo groups. The point is that because these strategies are promoted by a foreign organization, in many ways they are presented in unfamiliar packaging (tied to culturally distant schemas). But to her benefit, her evaluation occurs within an interactive classroom environment of peers, many of whom share her cultural schemas. In this environment, new values can be assessed and repackaged. There is no evidence in this excerpt that

Aurelne evaluates the communication strategy of not yelling against values associated with familism, but further down I believe she very clearly expresses this evaluation. Before considering that excerpt, however, I want compare Aurelne's excerpt with a section of Zanita's discourse that points to her evaluation of the same communication strategy of not yelling.

> **Zanita:** *Pero si la mamas (enfatizado) no los escuchamos o no escuchamos de las reglas de las, de Rebound, que puedes aplicar en la casa. te peleas hasta golpes y sales hasta 'esto no va a ayudar a mi.' Y no. Yo empecé a aplicar eso, y mas también del ayuda de mi novio, él dice, 'no les grites, no les grites.' Escúchalos. Espérate a calmar...es lo que tu quieres para todos. Hablarles. Pero gritarles como diciendo aquí mando yo, no es que mando, si pues, pero ¿que hace ellos? No van estar contigo, y tu no les va a ganar con gritos (Zanita).*

> **Zanita:** *But the mothers (emphasized), we don't listen to them (the children), or we don't listen to Rebound's rules that you can apply at home. You fight until your hitting and you keep going until, "this isn't going to help me." And no! I started to apply this, and also with the help of my boyfriend, he says, "don't yell at them, don't yell at them." Listen to them. Wait till you calm down. It's what you want for everyone. Talk to them. But yelling at them, as to say, 'here I rule,' not that I rule but...what are they going to do? They're not going to be with you. You're not going to win them by yelling.*

One detail that Zanita mentions is that mothers don't listen to their kids. In the context of this excerpt she is referring to Latino mothers, including herself. While it rings of an overstatement, my personal observations and participation in the class would affirm that listening to children, as Rebound defines it, does not represent a dominant cultural practice for most of the lower socioeconomic status Latino mothers that attend Rebound. I believe the reasons are also tied to competing values of *familism* and *respect*. Listening to kids in the context of Rebound means giving kids voice, letting them speak into family decision making, adjusting parenting strategies to their specific personalities, desires, and needs. This emphasis rings strongly of the Anglo cultural schema of parents *supporting* children through encouraging *independence*.

While this emphasis may bump up against Latino family schemas, within the new U.S. social contexts, Latino mothers demonstrate openness to evaluating and practicing new strategies, particularly strategies that ultimately benefit their kids. But this reevaluation does not happen in isolation of existing schemas. In fact, it cannot. Zanita alludes to the fact that family tensions can escalate even to the point of physical abuse (*golpes*). The boyfriend helps reinforce her efforts not to yell. The motivations for

continuing the efforts needed to change come at the end. She speaks for the boyfriend saying, *this is what you want for all.* I believe "everyone" is implied in the context. This is for the good of all.

She later evaluates her efforts against dominant Latino sociocultural expressions of machismo. This becomes clearer in light of her broader narrative. But she doesn't value machismo, she had suffered under it, and when her actions remind her of this negative cultural reality, it motivates her to change. The point being, her evaluations of Rebound's ideology and methodology and any reformation of schemas or acculturation that is taking place as a result of her experiences in Rebound, are happening in juxtaposition with existing cultural schemas.

Following that evaluation, and still speaking in the voice of the boyfriend, she makes two similar statement: *1) They are not going to be with you 2) You are not going to gain them by yelling.* These statements reveal her ideology that children remain with mom, which is a key aspect of familism. Fear of family disunity is a real possibility in the U.S., and she hopes Rebound's program just may help keep family together.

Returning to Aurelne's interview, these next two final excerpts reveal similar relationships between reevaluated parental communication strategies gained from Rebound and familial motivations. In the first response Aurelne is sharing about benefits from Rebound that she has seen in her family.

> **Aurelne:** *Más* ==comunicación== *nos* ==han enseñado== *a* ==comunicarnos==*, mejor dar nos más espacio, y* ==escucharnos unos a otros==*.*

> **Aurelne:** *More* ==communication==*. They've* ==taught us== *to* ==communicate==*. Better to give us more space, and listen to one another.*

> **Aurelne:** *Y este, pues, ni modo, no pude ir. me quede. Y ahí fue como comenzó y estaban muy, muy, muy, eran diferentes. De nada las niñas que venían como las dejé y eran diferentes. Y si nos ayudaba todo eso, nos ayudaba Rebound. Para* ==comunicarnos==*,* ==para que entiendan que somos un equipo==*. Sólo somos* ==los tres== *y si no nos* ==trabajamos== ==mutua== *nunca, nunca vamos a salir adelante.*

> **Aurelne:** *I couldn't go (back to Mexico) so I stayed. And this is how it started, and they were very, very, very different. They weren't the children that I knew when I left them here, they were different. And they helped us in all this, Rebound helped us. To* ==communicate==*, to* ==understand that we are a team==*. There is just* ==the three of us== *and if we don't* ==work== ==together==*, we're never, never going to move forward.*

The first excerpt is fairly basic; Aurelne emphasizes communication in relation to *giving more space* and *listening to one another.* The second excerpt comes in the context of her earlier family situation where she could not return to Mexico because of the kids. The kids had changed since when she had left them in the U.S. (most likely with family) four years before. As a result of these changes, she needed to remain in the U.S. against her expressed desire to return to Mexico. It was at this time that she became connected to Rebound. In this context, about 7 minutes separated from the previous excerpt, she mentions *communication* in relation to *Rebound* again; this time with some details revealing cultural values connected to her perceived benefits of this communication. She applies the metaphor of the team. Of course team implies unity with a purpose. Then she stresses the unity with the statement *we are just us three.* Following that, like Eleanora above, Aurelne emphasizes their need to *work, labor, trabajar* in order to *salir adelant* (continue forward). Again, I see Aurelne applying uniquely Latino schemas in her use of *trabajar* and emphasis of parent-child unity. In this way she learns new parenting strategies against previous, already accepted family values. This leads us into the main theme of acculturation.

Readjusting Schemas and Acculturation

Zanita was born in Mexico and has resided in the United States for 12 years. She has four children, and like a number of the other participants, she pursued citizenship in the United States in order to flee domestic abuse and provide more beneficial opportunities for her and her family. She has been attending Rebound for two years. Her number one expressed reason for attending Rebound is to have better relations with her children. She also desires that her children learn to follow rules and understand consequences for their actions. She appreciates that Rebound is educational as well as fun. When asked to give her top three family values in order of importance on the written questionnaire, she only listed two: respect and educación. Here, educación needs to be understood in the Latino context of manners and behaviors that are learned in the home and conducive to family unity and strength, as opposed to formal education or schooling. Concerning the Latino conceptualization of educación is concerned, Espinoza &

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Herold (2007) write:

> Educación is a broader concept about personal development in Latino culture than the limited sense of formal intellectual development and academic learning that the equivalent concept "education" in the English language conveys. Guadalupe Valdés (1996) speaks about this distinction in which Latino/Mexicano parents—particularly mothers, who take the primary role in raising children, consider la educación de los hijos in a much broader sense. Educación in the Latino family includes manners, moral values, and rules of conduct, in addition to aspirations and expectations for the future. Funds of knowledge—based in cultural experience—are rooted in and operate synchronically with this broader concept of learning and social development in the Latino world (262).

In relation to the ways in which Rebound has influenced her family, she states that Rebound has helped her to listen to her children as well as respect them. She says that Rebound has inspired her to rededicate herself as a mother. As with other Latino participants, I began my analysis around Zanita's expressions of *learning*. This initial excerpt shows Zanita's very first response to my first question, which inquired about the past influences of her parents during her childhood that help her in life today.

> ***Zanita:*** *Es que mi papá me enseñó a trabajar desde el campo hasta el comercio. Siempre tuvimos tienda, como una marqueta, una tienda de barrotes. Y siempre, siempre nos enseñó a trabajar desde la mañana si hasta que hacía noche. Si hubiera fiesta o no hubiera fiesta, que fuera día festivo trabajábamos. Y pues creo que es algo, una costumbre que adoptamos los hijos. Y ya nos hemos hizo obligación, simplemente también fuimos creciendo y toda esa fue la forma de enseñarnos a luchar en la vida. Si todo ya aunque fuera trabajo pesado las mujeres ahí estábamos. Y pues los hombres pues no, no creo que se quejen porque nosotros casi hicimos lo mismo que ellos.*

> *It's like my dad taught me to work from the field to the market place. We always had a shop, like a little market, a barrotes (iron bars) shop. And always, always he taught us to work from morning to night. If there was a party or there wasn't a party, we worked on festive days (holidays). So yea, I think it was something, a custom (habit) that us kids adopted. And he made it an obligation for us. Basically, also as we grew up, and all of this was the way to teach us to fight in life. And even though it was heavy labor, the women, there we were. And yea, the men, you know, I don't think they complained because we practically did as much as they did.*

Again, one notices the strong emphasis on *work,* and more specifically work related to hard labor. I appreciate the detailed glimpse Zanita offers into the daily experiences surrounding her work ethic. In her account, work takes priority over all other life activities; it was morning to night and even during holidays. She specifically mentions how the kids became accustomed to this heavy laborious lifestyle. And while Zanita alludes to the benefit of learning to *fight in life* (a dominant shared metaphor within the Latino group) through enduring the hardships of labor, below we will see the tension that Zanita experiences as her awareness grows of the value of other types of family investments, such as spending

recreational time together as a family. It is also interesting how Zanita measures the value of her work as a female against the more dominant cultural expectation of male labor.

We also see here a strong culture of learning through observation and practice above the preferred literary and theoretical methods of formal education. This difference in practice and family acquired skills and values contributes to disadvantages for working class immigrants who find themselves needing to navigate fields that are modeled after formal educational systems where emphasis is placed on conceptualizing and applying theoretical concepts over mimicking lived out behaviors (Ansell 2005). This aspect of preferred cultural learning styles is important for organizations like Rebound who offer classes or workshops for first generation working class Latino immigrants. Another example of learning through repetition and observation of older siblings is found in this statement:

> *A sembrar. El dos de los primeros ya nos ha enseñado si el hermano grande ya sabe nos iba diciendo ya como, ya los demás ya demás años ya saben como sembrar, como fertilizar.*
>
> *Seeding. The two older ones taught us. If the older brother knows, he kept telling us how. And the others, the other ages now know how to seed, how to fertilize.*

Another important observation in the first excerpt has to do with the interplay between cultural schemas and economic fields of practice, in this case, agricultural labor and petty market exchange of goods within a small town of Mexico. The values of enduring long hours of hard work, fighting in life, and learning through observation and participation are consistent with the demands of the economic field. Both the cultural schemas and the economic fields of practice reinforce one another. The schemas and the fields are interrelated products of one another and extensions of one another. The societies that create and implement the economic structures do so based upon shared values and expectations. These shared value structures and related symbolic meaning associations, such as *fighting* in relation to hard labor*,* are reinforced through shared usage and observed functions upon the field. Being strong like a man, and fighting, and learning through observation and mimicking, and suffering like the forever crucified Christ of Latino Catholicism affords many working class Latinos the motivation necessary to make it through the day, and complete personal and social expectations. When such is the case, those values and practices

have acted as cultural capital upon that field. But when an agent switches fields, the benefits of culturally

acquired skills and values become less predictable and potentially less effective upon fields which were

created and which function by different sociocultural rules and schemas.

Once Zanita resides in the United States she relies on values, habits, and skills acquired in

Mexico. Any new skills, knowledge and learning habits, as well as the cultural schemas which dominate

and motivate new social fields, must me learned.

> *Pues ya cuando yo me miré sola con tres hijos aquí lo que me ayudó fue la fuerza la forma que nos enseñó mi papá a trabajar. Si mi papá no me hubiera enseñado a manejar los carros, a trabajar en el capo hubiera sido un poquito más débil para mi, y más difícil sobrevivir en Estados Unidos.*
>
> *When I found myself alone here with three kids, what helped me was the strength, the way my dad taught us to work. If my dad wouldn't have taught me to drive a car, to work in the field, it would have been a little more weak for mi, more difficult to survive in the United States.*

In the above statement Zanita relates the *work* ethic that she had learned from her father to the

strength needed to *survive* in the United States as a single mother and immigrant. She specifically

mentions the skills of driving a car and laboring in the field as ones that benefited her and her children

within the United States. If these culturally acquired skills helped benefit Zanita upon US economic

fields, then they could be considered a type of cultural capital in my paradigm. Nevertheless, seeing that

driving a car, which may have been a less common and more valuable skill in her original economic

context, is quite common in the United States and of less value, and agricultural farming labor is not a

middle class economic field, those cultural capitals have less relative economic value.

But what fascinates me are the more ambiguous, less simple to measure, more hidden, culturally

acquired dispositions which form cultural schemas and which may prove to have greater value in certain

contexts than the more obvious culturally acquired skills of driving a car, field labor, reading, or

whatever. In the above statement, as in other chunks of discourse throughout this study, I believe we tap

onto one of these schemas expressed in the semiotic relationships between *strength, weakness, survival,*

and the immediate context. I believe that the dominant conceptual relationships that form this schema are

applied strategically and creatively by Zanita in new social contexts in ways that result in repeated

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economic and social benefits. As long as the schema proves useful, it will be reinforced, reapplied,

manifested in discourse and consequently passed on to others who participate in discourses that relate or

integrate similar schemas to social contexts.

Another example apart from the one in front of us would be a group of Latino mothers discussing

raising children as we find often in Rebound. One mother experiences perceived success with a family

problem. Let's say her child was not completing homework, so the mother shares that she sat down and

had a long talk with the child, which resulted in the child's completion of homework the following night.

During the discussion between mothers, the parent, through discourse, applies associations between her

successful parenting strategy and concepts from the dominant schema. New concepts and associations,

perhaps learned from Rebound, are also integrated. When this happens, the validity of the schema is

confirmed by the positive social outcome and the schema is conversely reproduced and perpetuated. The

same dynamic is happening here. Zanita attributes success in the United States through discourse, which

applies dominant cultural schemas. As long as she perceives a relationship between the schema and the

benefit, there is no motivation to reconsider the schema. But when parenting strategies fail to produce

desired results, schemas may be reevaluated.

> *En México hay, bueno yo pienso en todo lugares, hombres que también y hombres machistas. Y mi papá era hombre machista. Mi papá nunca nos, aunque vivíamos siempre en la misma casa, nunca nos enseñó... Nos trabajamos nos enseñó a trabajar, pero nunca nos enseñó el amor de familia. Nunca nos enseñó la reunión familiar.*
>
> *In Mexico there's, well I think in every place, men that also, and machista men. And my dad was machista. My dad never (to us), even though we lived in the same house, he never taught us…we worked, he taught us to work, but he never taught us the love of a family. He never taught us about getting together as a family (lit. family reunions).*

In the above excerpt one notices an evaluation of new parenting practices, in this case the *reunion*

familiar (family reunion or meeting), referring to Rebound's strongly emphasized practice of regular

family time together. The purpose of regular family meetings is to clarify family expectations, discuss felt

needs, get to know the unique character of each family member, allow each family member to speak into

family decisions, and to have fun together. Zanita associates this practice as an expression of *family love*.

As mentioned earlier, *love* was not a dominant family schema among the Latino participants of this study

as it was among the English-speaking participants. Nevertheless, Zanita highlights family love in relation to the benefits of family reunions, and evaluates those benefits against some negative experiences with her father, which are associated with the Latino concept of *machismo.*

In the surrounding context of this excerpt, Zanita mentions specific abusive behaviors of her father, such as locking the children out of the house if they went out to participate in community activities, or putting soap in the special bean soup (Pozole) and detergent on the buñuelos just to ruin them, and consequently ruin the Christmas holiday. She also evaluates the benefit of learning *family love* against the earlier stated benefits of learning to work. I believe this represents a good example of where new social schemas are evaluated against previous schemas, and possibly adjusted based upon culturally appropriate motivations such as the strong work ethic and the negativities of machismo. Both of which are already socially accepted and cognitively constructed in dominant schemas.

The logic behind the reevaluation of existing schemas might look something like this, "I learned to *work,* which was good, but I did not learn *family love* (newly associated with family reunions) which, like a strong *work ethic,* is also good." The benefit of a new concept is being weighed against the already accepted benefit of an existing concept. On the flip side, "*Machismo* is bad, because of *machismo* my father did not teach *family love*, therefor the lack of this *love* (newly experienced in context with new cultural schemas which Rebound reinforces) is the result of *machismo.*" Again, the new schemas can only be evaluated against existing ones, and they can only achieve meaning in relation to previous meaning structures. Consequently, as far as learning is concerned in the context of acculturation, the greater the degree that a new concept can be related to previously existing conceptualizations or schemas, the greater the degree of meaning and consequent acceptance of the new schemas.

> *No música, no fiesta, no podíamos invitar a alguien a la casa, una familia, nunca una familia estuvo visitando la casa de nosotros para festejar navidad. Y es lo que dije a mi mama. Allí faltaste tu. Le dije, si tu hubieras dicho, ¿sabes que? ¡No!, son mis hijos y tienen que vivir la vida como eso. Sea tu te ha educado de una forma y los hijos tienen que... tienen que vivir. No puede ser porque a ti no te dejaban... porque a ti te golpeaban, no podemos dejar los hijos también igual.*

> *No Music, no parties (festivities, holidays, birthdays, community celebrations, etc.), we couldn't invite anyone to the house. One family, not one family ever visited our house to celebrate Christmas. And this is what I told my mom. That's where you blew it. I told her, if you would have said, 'you know what? No! These are my kids and they need to live this life. It's like, you've been raised (educated) one way and the*

kids have to…have to live. It can't be just because they didn't let you…because they hit you, we can't let the kids go through the same.

In this excerpt Zanita taps into a narrative which emphasizes the negative parenting strategies of her parents and reveals a motivation to change strategies, mainly that the *kids need to live this life*. She also reveals her awareness of the power and influence of past habits in inhibiting the fruition of new strategies, mainly in the idea that what our parents did to us we do to them. This is expressed in the statement, *because they hit you, we can't let our children go through the same.* The following excerpt expresses this idea even more clearly.

Y yo les digo a mis hijos, yo también trate de criarlos así. Yo no festejaba navidades con mis hijos. O sea, si regalos y eso, pero solos en la casa. O sea nunca me junté con familia. Y aurita con mi novio, 'no mija', dice 'yo nada mas fue mi mama y mi hermana, somos bien pobres' dice 'pero nosotros si siempre hacemos un pozole con mi mama', dice 'siempre soltamos con alguna familia.' Ya mis hijos como que se sentían raros, pero lo empezamos hacer. Y mi niña dice que aurita le encanta la navidad. Y a veces él dice, 'vamos este domingo, descansé, vamos a comer con los niños a la calle.' Y mi papa nunca salía con mi mama. Es algo difícil de entender. Pero que le queda adentro, y despúes tu vas haciendo lo mismo con tus hijos. Sin querer. Pero lo haces. Mmhmm (en afirmación).

I tell my kids, I also tried to raise them this way. I didn't celebrate Christmases with my kids. I mean, there were presents and all that, but alone in the house. I mean, I never got together with family. But now with my boyfriend, 'no sweetheart,' he says, 'I didn't have any more than my sister, we were really poor,' he says, 'but we always made pozole with my mom,' he says, 'we always went out with family.' And my kids, though they felt weird, but we started to do that. And now my daughter says she loves Christmas. And sometimes he (boyfriend) says, let's go this Sunday, took off work (lit. rested), let's go eat out (lit. in the street) with the kids.' And my dad never went out with my mom. It's a hard thing to understand. But it stays inside, and later you go doing the same with your kids. Without wanting to. But you do it. Yep.

Here, Zanita reveals her past habits of repeating the same negatively perceived behaviors as her parents. She is transparent about her perceived parental shortcomings and shares some of the motivations and inspirations for reevaluating and readjusting previous parenting strategies. First, she identifies with the practice of her father who downplayed Christmas, specifically by staying disengaged with others, *alone in the house.* She also mentions his practice of not *going out* with her mother. Zanita then expresses the motivation from her boyfriend to consider alternative behaviors. The boyfriend reasons that, even though his family was *poor,* they still engaged in social activities.

Here, the practices of making holiday food and *going out* are measured against poverty. This may evidence the justification of Zanita's father of denying certain social activities for economic reasons.

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When economy is tight, going out and making certain foods can stress the family economy. Working day

and night is a surer way, within the working class paradigm, to secure economy. Other activities may

have been seen as a threat to the family economy, resulting in behaviors and parenting practices that

sabotaged competing activities. Until a social activity is conceptualized as having value, either

economically or socially (Bourdieu blurs those lines), individuals may resist change. But as Zanita

continues to navigate her social environment, she becomes convinced of the value of implementing

strategic parenting changes such as *going out*. This resulted in a positive emotional response from one of

her children. Zanita emphasizes her value of the *happiness* of her children a little further down, where the

fighting analogy is again applied, tying the expression closely to a dominant schema.

> *Mi mamá siempre fue muy buena pues como todas las mamás, buenas en el hogar, buenas para cocinar, buenas para todo en la casa. Pero yo le digo a mi mamá, ¿porque no luchaste por tu felicidad?*

> *My mom was always very good, you know, like all moms, they're good in the home, good at cooking, good for everything in the house. But I tell my mom, why didn't you fight for your happiness?*

In the next excerpt I believe one sees an example of how a less dominate family value is justified

in light of its association with culturally established values. One notices tension between traditional

mother roles expressed above with Zanita's current parenting reality and her chosen approach to it.

> *Y yo fue quien decía a mi mama, no. No. Le decía que, yo soy tu hija, yo soy como tu, trabajadora y luchista, y soy de las que no necesito ningún hombre, yo puedo trabajar en mantener todo la casa, si se puedo. Pero si un hombre va estar conmigo es porque vamos estar así. Vamos a trabajar juntos, vamos a poner dinero juntos para la casa. Pero no. Él trabaja, y yo en la casa, le dije que ¡no!*

> *I was the one who said "no" to my mom. !No! I told her, 'I'm your daughter, hard worker and fighter, and I'm the kind who doesn't need any man. I can work and maintain the house, yes I can. But if a man's going to be with me it's because we're going to be like this. We're going to work together, we're going to put down the money together, for the house. But no! Him working, me in the house…I told him, no!*

In the first part of this excerpt, *hard worker* and *fighter* are tied semantically as Zanita identifies

with the strengths of her mother and in so doing shows *respect*. Zanita pushes back strongly, however, on

the traditional family paradigm of mother dependence on father by linking the idea in question to the

culturally unquestionable. She applies the culturally accepted value of *hard worker* associated with *fighter*

to the underlying, more culturally questionable practice of single parenting. One also notices the application of the *si se puede* phrase as a motivator for maintaining the house without a man. As her statement transitions into the possibility of having a man, she associates her *work* ethic to the newly introduced concept of *juntos (together),* understood as sharing parental or conjugal responsibilities. I believe that *junto* is part of the more dominant family schema but more usually related to family unity than to gender roles. The following excerpt builds on the idea of the man and the woman working together (*juntos).* In the next excerpt Zanita augments the concept by introducing the term *igual* (equal), consequently adding the nuance of equality to the schema.

> *Le digo ustedes son bien ==trabajadores== como mi mama, como somos todos bien ==trabajadores== como mi mama porque mi papa nos ==enseño== a ==trabajar== bien. Pero no tienes que ==trabajar== para el hombre. ==Trabajen== para que estén ==juntos==, es una balanza, van estar ==juntos== y no vas a dejar él porque ==trabaja== en mana (¿ slang), y él te golpea, y el te manda. No. ==Igual==. Me hablas ==igual==, te hablo ==igual==.*
>
> *I tell them that they are good ==workers== like my mom, just like we're all good ==workers== like my mom, because my dad ==taught us== to work well. But you don't have to ==work== for a man. They ==work== to be ==together==. It's a balance. You're going to be ==together== and you don't leave him because he ==works== 'en mana', and he hits you, and he bosses you around. No! ==Equal==. You talk to me ==equal==, I talk to you ==equal==.*

Again, Zanita sets the stage here with a statement that ties nicely into accepted values and related, well-grounded schemas before introducing less dominant Latino ideas, which she finds valuable to her immediate context and applicable in light of her specific life trajectory. The dominant cultural schemas of hard work and learning from elders are tied to newer social schemas of gender family role equality. I regard to the cognitive strategy of associating topics such as conjugal equality with hard work as we find above,

> When the speaker gives evidence to support a position, they assume that this kind of evidence can be trusted. When they discuss one topic in connection with another, without any explanation for the connection, they **take for granted the cultural models** explain the connection (Quinn 2005:208).

In Zanita's new context and influenced by past experiences, Zanita evaluates the utility of the concept of *juntos* in relation to *equality* in gender marital roles. Her cognition moves from the familiar word association to the dominant word choice of the new field, *igual.* The concept of equality in conjugal

relationships may be more dominant in certain middle-class American societies as experienced in Bellingham. I would say with some confidence that Rebound leans towards and promotes the value of conjugal equality by stressing equal voice and equal participation in family relationships. Zanita finds value and relevance in these ideas and applies them to her life, specifically through the reworking of schemas as we see in this study. She then transmits these schemas to her children who, in them, hear the ringings of their Latino heritage fused with language and conceptualizations prominent in their U.S. cultural frameworks. I believe this points to an example of the cognitive process of acculturation for Zanita as well as cultural reproduction as schemas are passed to the next generation. The degree to which these newer schema reconstructions become disseminated and shared by broader groups will determine the degree to which they should be considered cultural.

Eleanora and Juan

Eleanora and Juan are first generation Mexican immigrants and parents of three children. The couple was introduced to Rebound from a Latino friend who had been attending the program for years. This same gentleman who invited them also co-facilitated the Latino Family Roots program with me for two semesters. Eleanora and Juan have lived in the U.S. for over 20 years, first in the Los Angeles area of California and now in Bellingham, Washington. They moved from California primarily due to problems that their daughter, oldest of the siblings, had been experiencing in School. They had only good things to say about Bellingham, however, which contrasted starkly to their former experiences in Los Angeles. The difficult family decision to uproot and replant in an unfamiliar State proved to be a good one, it seems, as their struggling daughter, in this new social environment, eventually grew to become the academic pride of the family. I choose to focus on this central family narrative as it offers another complimentary angle for considering the readjustment of cultural schemas in response to the social demands of acculturating to new social and economic fields of practice.

La educación que nosotros nos dieron académicamente no es muy avanzado. Pero la preparación que nos dieron como familia es que siempre debemos de luchar por nuestras ideales, y de superar, no conformar de

donde estamos, sino que debemos de formar una meta y llegar a ella. Pero siempre respetando los derechos de los demás personas.

The educación that they gave us wasn't very academically advanced. But the preparation that they gave us as a family is that we should always fight for our ideals, and overcome, not conform to where we are (currently), rather, we should set a goal and get there. But always respecting the rights of other people.

I have already dealt with the above excerpt above, noting very similar patters of logic and use of terms that evidenced a shared cultural schema between the two Latino participants. I repeat the excerpt here only to set the conceptual context for the wonderful family story that follows. In my analysis of this story, I once again highlight the importance of the schemas and how they function in framing the meaning and significance of particular family events in culturally relative terms, contributing to processes of acculturation. By culturally relative terms I mean that the significance of the event for the individual agents is relative to the value of culturally constructed concepts used to frame the event, understood in this analysis as cultural schemas. These schemas, once again, seem to be reevaluated and freshly applied or adapted to shifting social contexts, which operate within the dynamic structures of new socioeconomic fields. Old schemas are applied to new social structures, ultimately resulting in a broadening of the schemas or even the creation of new ones.

I believe this process reveals cognitive mechanisms responsible for both social reproduction and acculturation; social reproduction in that the value of previous schemas or social frameworks are validated by their continued utility in social situations and consequently reapplied by consecutive generations, and acculturation in that previous schemas are readjusted or even fused with new schemas which represent dominant conceptual components of new socioeconomic fields.

The following excerpt represents Juan's initial response to my question concerning what he learned from his parents that has helped him in life.

Juan: Porque mis papas también eran de provincia, sea las provincias fuera de una ciudad grande. Y ellos segaron la ella, y lo que este da mi papa y mi mama, lo que de ellos me enseñaron a trabajar también. Nos echamos a trabajar, y este y los valores de cómo trabajar y saber respetar a la gente, respetar a la gente. Y también ellos no, no este tener mucho dinero como eran muy pobres pues, no tenían cosas pues, dinero para sacar por decir a pasear o llevarnos así a lugares buenos.

Juan: Because my parents were also from the province, I mean the provinces outside of the big city. They harvested there, and what my mom and dad gave, from them, they also taught me to work. We'd put ourselves to work, and the values of working and knowing how to respect people, respect people. And them also (perhaps referring to parents). And they also didn't have much money since they were really poor, they didn't have things, you know, money to go out, that's to say, take us to nice places.

This response reveals some conceptual relationships between the values of *work* and *respect* and the economic field of Mexican rural agriculture. I believe that the cultural schemas revealed here also act as a framework of interpretation for following events. Eleanora's response to the same question brings out other details related to the value of *respect*. She says,

Eleanora: A nosotros también como lo inculcaron el respeto era si llegaba a otra casa donde no era la tuya tenías que tocar y pedir permiso para entrar. Si era una persona mayor tienes que saludarle de mano y decir 'con permiso' siempre. No podíamos agarrar una cosa que no era de nosotros porque decía si la persona no les invita a ustedes no pueden tocar la comida aunque haiga mucha. Si...era respetar la casa donde llevamos. Y respetar a nuestra mayores. Respetar sobre todos a ellos como padres. Pero yo creo que ellos también nos respetaban como hijos.

Eleanora: They also instilled respect in us. It's like if you were going to a house that's not yours, you have to knock and ask permission to go in. If it was an older person you have to greet them with a handshake and say 'may I' always. We couldn't grab something that wasn't ours because they'd say if the person doesn't invite you, you can't touch the food, even if there's a lot of it. Yes...it was about respecting the house where we were. And respecting our elders. Respecting all of them as if they were our parents. But I think they also respected us as children.

Here, one notices a number of very specific cultural norms that are semiotically connected to the term *respect*. We see expected behaviors associated with elders and table manners. All of those expectations, along with, no doubt, many more unspoken ones, are all tightly bunched into one convenient word, *respeto*. Other individuals who have grown up in societies that share the same experiential and conceptual relationships between the word *respeto* and these cultural behaviors and expectations only have to hear the word in a given context to be reminded of all the implied details. I only have to give a certain look at my daughters at the dinner table to communicate my desire for them to act a certain way, and I usually have very little need to explain the expectations due to years of repeated associations between my look or simply telling them to watch their manners and the behaviors associated with them. In Latino societies, these expectations are unique to their contexts. Their schemas are unique. As far as respect for elders is concerned, Ezpinoza & Herold write:

In traditional Mexican families, age grading is valued. Elders accumulate wisdom and numerous years of labor for the benefit of the family, which is repaid by the respect given to them because of their age (Becerra 1988). Thus, particular role expectations are based on age, and these dictate the interactions and relationships in response to family maintenance and survival (Espinoza & Herold 2007:268).

But what happens when different cultures interact? What happens when the friends of Eleanora and Juan's children come over who do not share the same cultural schemas or cultural interpretations of *respeto, educación,* or *manners*? This was, in fact, the context surrounding this part of Eleanora's interview. She was concerned and bothered by how her children's friends regularly failed to show respect. What struggles do Eleanora and Juan's children face themselves when they receive one set of value relationships at home and another, sometimes, conflicting set at the homes of their friends or in other social environments? In relation to these unique challenges faced by immigrant families, Gill and Wagner write,

> In the models presented, the traditional values of family and parental respect constitute important protective factors. However, deteriorating social environments challenge the family, as well as the traditional familistic values of immigrants and the stressors associated with adapting to these environments (Gill Wagner 2000:455).

Gill and Wagner go on to mention some of the relationships that they discovered between the acculturation process and the stress caused by acculturation for children of Mexican immigrants. The study revealed that the stress of acculturation becomes lower as actual acculturation is achieved. This finding seems to reveal what would be expected. Learning anything new that has economic or social benefits is characteristically stressful, but once a thing is learned one no longer has the stress of learning it. Another finding in their study is that the acculturation process reduces the commitment to the family values of parents, which, in a significant amount of cases is demonstrated to relate to forms of deviance. They write:

> Among Latino adolescents born in the U.S., increased acculturation reduces acculturation stress. Thus, for this group, acculturation is paramount in reducing acculturation conflicts. However, acculturation among U.S.-born Latinos also reduces traditional values of familism and parental respect, and the inverse relations between these values and disposition to deviance are stronger for this group than for the immigrant group (Gill Wagner 2000:454).

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This study did not focus on second generation Latinos, but it did give the opportunity for the participants to share their perspectives of their children's successes and struggles. The story shared by Eleanora and Juan is particularly interesting in that it offers such a fantastic peek into the felt success of one immigrant family's investment in their child's education. In relation to schemas functioning as cultural capital upon economic fields of practice, there are also some noteworthy observations. This next excerpts share the heart of the family narrative.

> *Eleanora: Recuerdo que en el principio llegamos sin trabajo ninguno de los dos llegamos a una casa mucha mas pequeña que esta. Pero estábamos unidos todos como familia. Entonces nos invitaron a trabajar en el blueberry. Y nos fuimos a trabajar en la blueberry. Y entonces mi hija decía, voy a ganar mucho dinero, porque quiero comprar este, quiero comprar el otro. Tenía muchos sueños como lo que iba a ganar.*
>
> *Eleanora: I remember in the beginning we arrived without any work at all. The two of us had a house much smaller than this one. But we were united all of us as a family. So they asked us to work in the blueberry fields. And we went to work in the blueberry. And so my daughter says, I'm going to make a lot of money because I want to buy this, I want to buy that. She had a lot of dreams about what she was going to make.*

Eleanora set the stage for her daughter's story by sharing about their initial employment in Bellingham working the blueberry fields. The daughter, fifteen years old at the time, is very open, even enthusiastic, about the possibility of making money in the blueberry fields as well. While the parents are open to supporting their daughter's decision, and while they certainly have the experience in that field of labor to invest in their daughter's success in that particular labor market, the parents later reveal that they had other hopes for their daughter. Consequently, instead of implementing parenting strategies and social logics that would secure their daughter's success in agricultural economic fields, as they might have done had agricultural labor been the only accessible economy open to her, they implemented strategies that would dissuade her from physical labor and push her toward greater economic possibilities. One notices this more clearly below.

Eleanora: Principalmente nosotros como padres anhelamos que ellos hagan una carrera universitaria o al colegio a lo menos. Que no se queden también mas con lo que es la primaria o la prepa o la high school. Sino que ellos aspiren a algo mejor, algo diferente que nosotros. Nosotros les ponemos ejemplo nuestras vidas decirles que nosotros no estamos con una preparación, es porque no tuvimos esta oportunidad. No tuvimos el dinero para pagar la escuela que se les requiera en México. Entonces ellos aquí tienen esa linche, esa oportunidad de que toda la educación es gratis, solo es que ellos quieran superarse. Gracias a Dios Nuestra hija se graduó de la Western. Ella es un ejemplo que tenemos un orgullo de decir ya con la primera ya lo logramos (estaba muy feliz). Ahora estamos trabajando con los dos mas pequeños. Que acabo de traer ahorita esta en la high school, ya. Entonces tenemos esa meta, esa ilusión de estarnos siempre puchando y puchando, enseñarles de que manera pueden ellos tener una vida diferente a la de nosotros. Nosotros no es que tengamos una mala vida (enfatizaba esto) ¿Verdad? Porque nuestra vida nos gusta. Pero no podemos darles digamos cosas que no podemos darles, como lujos o algo. Pero si se preparan ellos, pueden tener una vida un poco mas diferente. Mas cómoda.

Eleanora: Most importantly as parents we encourage that they have a university career or college. And that they wouldn't just settle for prep school or high school. They would aspire for something better, something different than us. We give them an example in our lives, tell them that we were not prepared because we didn't have the opportunity. We didn't have the money to pay for the school that they required in Mexico. But here you have opportunity because schooling is free, they just have to overcome. And thank God our daughter graduated from Western. She's an example that we have. The pride of saying that our first we achieved our goal. Now we are working with the two smaller ones. The one I just brought home is in high school now. So we have this goal, this hope that we would keep talking and talking, teaching them the way that they can have a different life than the one we had. We, not like we had a bad life. Right? Because we like our life. But we can't give them let's say things that we can give them, like expensive things for something. If they prepare themselves, they can have a life a little different. More comfortable.

In this excerpt, Eleanora reflects upon past economic possibilities in Mexico related to education. She emphasizes the lack of educational opportunities in Mexico resulting from the lack of sufficient income. The implication is that academic education is for the rich in her particular Mexican context. In the U.S., on the other hand, she discerns a different reality, a distinct socio-educational structure, so to speak, where more advantageous educational and economic opportunities are open to her children because education is less dependent on the possession of economic capital in order to participate. The children have a chance. What is needed, she determines, is determination. The children only have to *superarse (overcome)*.

Now, the main task of the parents is to determine *what* has to be overcome and *how*. So they reach into their cultural tool bag. They grab hold of past experiences, time tested sayings, and shared family values. But the context is new. They must adapt old culture to new demands and family goals. It is a bit of trial and error. The final outcome will determine the utility of the strategy. In the above discourse,

Latino values are at work. One notices *optimism (optimism)* in the belief that the children can overcome,

trabajo (work) as the parents "work with the smaller ones," *perseverancia (perseverance)* as the parents

"keep talking and talking," *learning from elders* as the parents "teach them" and "give an example in their

lives," and *familism* as they perceive the efforts as jointly achieved and the rewards jointly shared. In

contrast to strong individualism, the strength of the broader familial social structure is considered.

Concerning a similar emphasis within their study, Harwood and Miller write,

> In contrast to the individualism of Anglo-American culture, traditional Puerto Rican (Latino) culture is commonly described as sociocentric, thus emphasizing interpersonal obligations, personal dignity, and respect for others (Harwood & Miller 1991:585).

The same cultural values and the schemas that frame those values and which have proven useful

upon agricultural economic fields of practice are now showing their strength and utility by encouraging a

new generation to invest in U.S. middle-class economic possibilities. But these efforts of adapting Latino

values to dominant U.S. economic fields do not come cheap. There is a cost. While Eleanora and Juan

aspire for their children to experience "something better," "a different life" they are compelled to add,

"not that we had a bad life. Right?"

> **Eleanora:** *Ella tenía quince años. Si. Entonces comparar la diferencia en trabajar un mes en el sol, aguantando hambre, rasguños, tierra y todo. Y cuando agarra tu dinero dice, y por tan poquito dinero trabajé todo este tiempo haciéndose trabajo tan pesado...Le decía, y bueno hija aquí esta la diferencia, o te preparas o...o te preparas y tienes la o oportunidad de trabajar en una ofician con aire acondicionado. O muestra(¿) la vida que te espera, trabajar en el campo, trabajar en los McDonalds, no es que sea un trabajo malo, no lo es, pero es un trabajo muy pesado. Entonces le dije, tu puedes decidir (enfatizado). Aurita estas en un tiempo donde tu puedes decidir que quieres hacer en tu vida.*

> **Eleanora:** *She was fifteen years old. Yea. So, comparing the difference in working one month in the sun, dealing with hunger, scratches, dirt and everything. And when you grab your money you say, 'for such a small amount of money I worked all this time doing such hard work?' I told her, 'well daughter, here is the difference, or you get prepared (educationally)...or you get prepared and have the opportunity to work in a office with air-conditioning. Or this is the life that awaits you, working in the field, working at MacDonalds. It's not bad work, it's not, but it's very hard work. So I told her 'you decide (emphasized).' Not you're at a time that you can decide what you're going to do in your life.*

Here, conceptual relationships between *work,* principally work associated with hard physical

labor, are applied in full force with the goal of dissuading the daughter from pursuing or settling for a

labor filled and economically poor future. Eleanora's socioeconomic positioning and sociohistoric background seems to influences her use of cultural schemas and parenting strategies. One strategy she applies is to emphasize the negative aspects of labor such as the "hunger, scratches, and dirt" involved in such work while glamorizing physical benefits of a career that land one in an "air-conditioned" office. The key to this comfortable office is educational preparation. Once again, as in the previous excerpt, evidence of the tension created by not wanting to wholly devalue parent's cultural past can be found in the statement, "It's not bad work, it's not, but it's very hard work."

> *Puede decir allí ella se puso a investigar becas, se puso a investigar universidades quería irse, y se preparó dice "nunca mas vuelvo a trabajar en cosechando blueberry! (estaba bien entusiasmada y feliz) 'No es que sea malo dice, pero ese trabajo no es para mi'. Entonces ella se graduó muy pequeña, muy chica de la universidad. Ella cumplió 21 años cuando cumplió la universidad. Porque le trabajó duro. Y yo pienso que fue una experiencia grande y hermosa porque no nos costó tanto trabajo estar sobre ella y como tras ella, y apura le al escuela.*

> *You could say that's when she started looking for scholarships, she started looking for universities she wanted to go to, and she prepared herself and said, 'I'm never working in the blueberry field again!' (Eleanora was really excited and happy saying this, Juan also smiled big) 'Not that it's bad,' she said, 'but this work isn't for me.' So she graduated really young (small), really young from the university. She was 21 when she finished the university. Because she worked hard. And I think it was a great experience and beautiful because it didn't cost us that much work to be over her and behind her, and to hurry her along in school.*

For Eleanora and Juan, the success of the blueberry experience for their daughter wasn't that it taught her how to work hard for her money, but that it discouraged her from considering a labor-intensive economic future. Nevertheless, she does not dare throw her highest value of hard work out the window; instead she attributes the success of her daughter specifically to that core Latino value. I wonder if this is not an instance of a mechanism of acculturation where a dominant concept becomes re-contextualized, a cultural schema readjusted to fit the field. In other words, this schema has functioned as a conceptual framework and motivator of behaviors that have led to success upon U.S. economic fields.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

Evident in this study is that the parenting strategies and family values that Rebound promotes are an extension of the cultural family schemas of the creators and influential leadership of the organization. These cultural schemas differ from those of Rebound's Latino clients to the extent that the sociocultural contexts in which the schemas were formed and utilized differ. The main goals of this study were to pinpoint specific differences in family conceptualization between the two sample groups, explore the socioeconomic influences which shaped those differences, and discover evidence of acculturation by the Latino group as they evaluate the utility of new family concepts against previous family conceptualizations.

This study focused on family, specifically the gaps in family conceptualizations between clients and servers within Rebound. Here, it was hypothesized that the Latino beneficiaries of Rebound utilize the organization's programs in order to acquire and adapt new cultural capitals to effectively navigate U.S. socioeconomic fields in which they participate as minorities; and that the perceived benefits of Rebound by the Latino clientele would directly correlate to the degree to which Rebound's programs appeal to pre-existing family value schemas. Concurrently, adjustments that are made to family conceptualizations in this process can be viewed as mechanisms of acculturation. In regards to the utility of reframed family schemas, one limitation of the study design was its exploratory nature, which only dealt with perceived benefits. Further study would have to confirm clear relationships between the acquisition of new cultural knowledge and socioeconomic benefit. This study did, however, evidence clear differences in cultural schemas and specific mechanisms of acculturation.

The following four major findings affirmed the hypothesis:

1) Cultural schemas shared significant similarities within both sample groups.

2) Cultural schemas revealed significant differences between both sample groups.

3) Socioeconomic and other cultural factors strongly influenced the formation and function of cultural schemas.

4) Evaluating and adjusting new cultural schemas against previous cultural schemas through social discourse was evidenced within the Latino group, which may reveal a specific mechanism of acculturation.

Schema Similarities and Differences

Two dominant schemas rose to the surface in this study, one from each sample group. Within each group, participants demonstrated significant conceptual consistency in the relationship of terms and ideas related to family. Data from the English-speaking group revealed consistent patterns of conceptual interplay between the concepts of: *support, love, hope, relationship, community, safety, health, security, and community.* These specific terms, or other related synonymous terms, were regularly clustered together in contexts where the clearest statements of family in relationship to Rebound in various degrees by all of the English-speaking participants. Conversely, the Latino participants did not apply these same, or even similar, conceptual relationships within their interview discourses.

Interestingly, within this study, the Latino group never once applied terms for *community*, *support* or *hope*. Only one Latino client applied the term *love* significantly, which I briefly touch on below. Also, terms for *safety* and *health* were never applied to family conceptualization. The idea of relating family to a *healthy* or *safe place/environment/community,* dominant to the Anglo schema, was never expressed by the Latino participants. Nevertheless, sharing quality family time with children, growing in successful communication strategies, and practicing less aggressive parenting strategies (emphasized in Rebound's parenting program) were all valued by the Latino clients. But these values, or parenting strategies, were evaluated and expressed in terms of *strength, respect*, and *educación* as opposed to *safety*, emotional *health*, and *love*.

Within the Latino group the consistent conceptual reliance on terms such as *learning, teaching, hard work, respect,* and *casa (house/home)* revealed a dominant Latino family schema. Expressions or

"dichos" such as *seguir adelante* or *salir adelante* (continue forward) and *si se puede* (you can do it!) when speaking of motivation for future achievement was also common. These expressions may be compared or contrasted with the dominant Anglo American reliance on the concept of *hope* in conceptualizing future possibilities. Also, the idea of the need *to fight (luchar)* for ideals and dreams was significant among the Latino group. Where an Anglo-American family member might be consoled with the phrase, "Don't lose hope, everything is going to be alright," the Latino consolation might sound like, "No te preocupes, sigas adelante, tienes que luchar por tus sueños (Don't worry, push forward, you have to fight for your dreams)."

While the Latino group significantly applied terms for *respect* (26 times) within general assertions of family value, the English-speaking group only mentioned *respect* twice, once by Tyler within a general assertion of family value and once by Sharon in mention of how Latino children risk losing respect for their parents as they acculturate to American norms. As highlighted in the analysis, strong attitudes of *teaching* and *learning* dominated the Latino group's family conceptualization in the context of Rebound. Terms related to learning and teaching comprised .713% of combined discourse coverage as opposed to .264% of English coverage, and this is taking into account that Sharon's usage of terms related to learning and teaching significantly increased the overall Anglo percentage.

The family value of hard work was very common among most of the Spanish-speaking participants and was essentially absent from any expression of family values or benefit emphasized by the English-speaking participants. Below, the word frequency charts (Table 6.1) clearly demonstrate a more frequent use of words related to *work* by the Latino group.

Spanish "Trabajar (work)" Word Frequency

Anarosa & Enrique	Internals\\Interviews	29	1.27%
Aurelne	Internals\\Interviews	6	0.45%
Eleanora & Juan	Internals\\Interviews	30	1.19%
Jessalyn	Internals\\Interviews	19	1.54%
Patricia	Internals\\Interviews	16	0.72%
Zanita	Internals\\Interviews	37	1.35%

English "Work" Word Frequency

Amber	Internals\\Interviews	11	0.70%
Cindy	Internals\\Interviews	11	0.35%
Sharon	Internals\\Interviews	7	0.21%
Tyler	Internals\\Interviews	3	0.10%
Yolanda	Internals\\Interviews	17	0.45%

Table 6.1. Work/Trabajar Word Frequency

While words related to *work* occur 49 times (.36% total coverage) within the combined English-speaking interviews as compared to the 137 times (1.26% total coverage) from the Latino group, when reading through the English uses of the word, I could only categorized 10 of the English uses as relating to employment. Only one of those uses met the context of labor related employment. Other uses of *work* were connected to idiomatic expressions, such as "*I get to work out all the kinks*" or "*we hope that it can be worked out,*" as meaning *resolved*. Another common meaning for *work* in English is related to *function.* An example would be "*they need support to make it work.*" In Spanish the word *trabajar* would not be used in this context. Instead, words like *funccionar* (to function) or *pasar* (to happen) would be applied. Other statements such as "*most of the kids we work with…*" do in fact point to Rebound's relational engagement with clients, but this is far from meaning "*the children with whom we physically labor alongside.*"

On the other hand, practically every mention of *trabajar* by the Latino group refers to employment, and most of those mentions relate in some way to physical labor. This was demonstrated

within the Spanish-speaking analysis. The importance of this difference is the extent to which it reveals the socioeconomic influence on word use and meaning.

Also, as mentioned in the Analysis, mere word use or frequency of words is not the most important determinant of a conceptual or cultural schema, it is the interdependent relationships of concepts within specific contexts that evidence cognitive patterns of conceptualization (Quinn 2005). If an individual repeatedly relies on a cluster of conceptualizations and related word use when addressing a theme or social context, then those terms would evidence a conceptual schema. Where those same terms can be shown to relate shared meanings across a community of individuals, then those shared conceptualizations can be understood as a cultural schema. The words and concepts I have mentioned above are evidence of cultural schemas in that all or most of the participants of the groups relied significantly on those specific terms when relating family in the context of Rebound. Below, I have placed one excerpt from each participant to demonstrate the regularity and shared-ness of these patterns.

> **Tyler:** I think the root of an ideal family is security and love and secure relationships. That no matter what happens in your family, you still love each other and care for each other, and that your kids and your wife and spouse can have security in that.

In this example the terms *family*, *security* and *love* interrelate to express the meaning of an ideal family. These concepts are shared with others in the Anglo group and point to a shared cultural family schema.

> **Sharon:** Because what was reflected to me was approval and promise and hope that love helped me see my own potential. And allowed me to develop a new the giftings that I had. Where in an environment where you don't have support and love, I don't think you can develop those skills to their full potential.

Here we notice the application of *support*, *love* and *hope*. Sharon also applied *skills* regularly throughout her interview, and here also applies *approval*, *promise*, *potential* etc. But these were not frequent enough within her discourse, nor did these concepts appear in other participants discourse with any regular frequency. So while they may reveal a personal family conceptual schema, there was no

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evidence that they were shared with other Anglo participants. From this statement, only *hope*, *love* and

support were shared significantly among other Anglo participants, pointing to a cultural schema.

>**Amber:** Well, it would be a mother and dad and children, and that there would be love and support demonstrated to each one. Never thought about it much as I was growing up but looking back I think how would I've managed without the support of my family?'

In this excerpt from Amber we notice the clustering of *love*, *support* and *family*, pointing to a

shared cultural schema.

>**Cindy:** And I would say that an ideal family would just be that, whether there's one parent or two parents or grandparents or whatever, that they are just able to recognize maybe where they have issues, that they willing to grow in that. And that they can, just where there's love, where love is present, that's an ideal family. If there's a willingness to maybe change from a past experience or a past model that's been set for them. Where they can move forward and have hope for your family. You know it just looks so different, and it doesn't have to be, you can have a happy family without a mom and a dad (said with mock seriousness) you know, and the very strict structure that we seem to have had in decades past (she laughs). It just looks so different. It can be a single mom. It could be a single dad. Just doing their best trying to raise their child. As long as there's love there.

Again, here in Cindy's excerpt we notice the application of the shared concepts of *love*, *hope* and

family. Cindy's unique family experience may have influenced her emphasis on flexibility of family

parenting roles. But she focuses on *love* as the core and stable component. This finding also supports

Quinn's (1982) findings of the central role of *love* in the dominant Anglo-American schema of marriage.

>**Yolanda:** You know, I just always knew they were there for me. They we're not real demonstrative, in terms of, you know, there wasn't a lot of hugging and kissing, you know that kind of thing, there wasn't a lot of physical, physicality in the relationship. But, you know, I was told I was loved. And I knew I was. And that, just, never, I wasn't a bad kid. I felt like they always had my back. And when I started getting in to doing things that were kind of foreign to them, that maybe were school related or sports related, whatever, you know they were right there. So it was that kind of support that I think really shaped who I became.

Here we see a significantly close relationship between *love* and *support*, along with a number of

fantastic specific experiences that Yolanda ties conceptually to those core concepts. So, an Anglo child

must at least have *support* and *love*. The specific experiences may vary, some parents show affection,

others "Have their child's back," but only if these behaviors can be interpreted as *love* and *support* will

the Anglo child feel some sense of "ideal family."

Within the Latino group one notices unique conceptual clusters very different from those of the

Anglo group:

> **Patricia:** Más que nada mi mamá me, mis padres me enseñaron confianza. Tener confianza en ti mismo y respeto. Ya lo demás viene por sí mismo. Porque si tienes confianza algo y dices yo puedo, tu lo puedes lograr. Es una confianza que tú lo puedes tener. Y respeto, si tu respetas a los demás O vienes sobre el mismo camino Y más que nada a luchar por tus sueños de lo que quieres. Esto nos enseñaron a luchar siempre por nuestros sueños. Nunca quedarte, es como decir' no puedo no puedo. Seguir adelante ¿no? Esto nos enseñaron.

Here, there is no mention of *love*, *support*, *hope* or *safety*. Rather, the dominant concepts include

teaching, *respect*, *fighting* for dreams, and *moving forward*. Patricia repeatedly applied the concept of

confidence as well as the *"tu lo puedes"* saying.

> **Jessalyn:** Si ellos pues me enseñaron lo que es la educación. Más como respetar a las personas. Y es lo que me enseñaron Y uno trabaja ahí. Como bueno nosotros como yo soy de Guatemala, Como ellos siempre, bueno mi papá es agricultor Y mi mamá también trabaja así como trabajando en ropas así de otras personas. A eso me enseñaron. Y eso también trabaje allá.

Again, the conceptual cluster around the theme of family, including *teaching*, *respect, work* and

educación is clear. The following excerpts reveal similar sets of shared conceptual clusters.

> **Enrique:** Y así enseñaron a trabajar, y empecé a trabajar lo que es lavando los fierros, verdad, limpiando los frenos y daba todo esto. Y empecé enseñar poco a poco. Con todo yo le estoy hablando, yo tenía ocho años nueve años de vida cuando pasó eso. Y más adelante empecé a trabajar y aprendí a trabajar y darle.

> **Anarosa:** A mí me han enseñado mucho ganarse dinero, trabajando en lo que sea, pero trabajar. Mis papás, trabajaron los dos, Y los dos estaban ocupados trabajando, uno llegaba el otro llegaba, entonces uno ve cuando uno llega va a trabajar. Pero siempre mi mamá nos dijo de chiquitos que las cosas cuestan. Si tú quieres unos zapatos, en México es muchísimo dinero. Unos zapatos, 400. Necesitas trabajar.

> **Aurelne:** Que respeten, que ayuden, que sean felices no odian no rencor no juzgan las personas yo les enseñó esto, que sean útiles dejan de buscar de decir porque preguntarse tal vez a personas que tienen un mal día digo.

> **Juan:** Porque mis papas también eran de provincia, sea las provincias fuera de una ciudad grande, y ellos segaron la ella, y lo que este da mi papa y mi mama, lo que de ellos me enseñaron a trabajar también. Nos hechamos a trabajar, y este y los valores de cómo trabajar y saber respetar a la gente, respetar a la gente y también ellos no, no este tener mucho dinero como eran muy pobres.

> **Eleanora:** A nosotros también como lo inculcaron el respeto era si llegaba a otra casa donde no era la tuya tenías que tocar y pedir permiso para entrar. Si era una persona mayor tienes que saludarle de mano y decir 'con permiso' siempre. No podíamos agarrar una cosa que no era de nosotros porque decía si la persona no

les invita a ustedes no pueden tocar la comida aunque haiga mucha. Si...era respetar la casa donde llevamos. Y respetar a nuestra mayores. Respetar sobre todos a ellos como padres. Pero yo creo que ellos también nos respetaban como hijos.

There is not a lot of clustering in Eleanora's excerpt. While Eleanora had plenty of mention of *learning*, *working* and *respect* in the overall context of the interview, she did not apply these concepts in the same immediate context; they were never clustered tightly together. Here, Eleanora does not apply the common word for *learning (aprender),* but she uses the word *inculcar* which carries the same meaning and points to the same conceptual schema. She learned how to respect from her parents. And this excerpt offers many specifics on how that value is lived out in the *casa*.

Casa

The most unexpected finding in this study was the frequency and place of the word *casa* among the Spanish-speaking group. The word *casa/house* was used 70 times among Spanish speakers as compared with 3 times among English speaking group, which never significantly applied the term to a family schema (see table 6.2). Among Latino participants, *casa* was most readily applied in the context of preserving cultural values, including respect, honesty and Spanish-language use.

The term *home* was applied 14 times by English-speakers, 10 of which seemed conceptually significant. The term *hogar* (home) was applied 6 times among the Spanish-speaking group, all of which tied significantly to family conceptualization. I did not find any mention of the significance of the concept of *casa* in previous literature. Nor did this study aim to explore this concept in depth. This finding evidences that *casa* may form a significant place in the Latino family schema and could warrant further research and understanding.

Word tree centered on the word **casa**.

Left branches:

en / En mi:
- conmigo ... hace dos semanas el niño nuevo que tengo
- de la comunicación . Y hacen cosas diferentes que antes
- cómo modelaban estos valores entre vida ? S - 6 :
- muy bien . Pero nunca vimos gritos y golpes

a:
- comida tradicionales de México . Pero teníamos de salirnos
- en la casa Y llegaron unos hombres allá
- es mucha gente . Y a veces llegan personas
- me junté con él . junté y me fui
- música , no fiesta , no podíamos invitar a alguien
- sabes que aquí en la casa llegamos aquí
- voy a pedir un gran favor . Le digo

de:
- aguantaba lo que él hacía . Y me salí
- año teníamos trabajo . Si llovía teníamos trabajo dentro
- aprender letras , números , leer , escribir . La educación viene
- igual . Y ya , todos se casaron , todos fueron
- la escuela ." no es la escuela , la escuela
- no ' si el niño lo mandan mal educado
- Si tienes dieciocho años tu vas a ir

aquí:
- a la casa ... Tenemos lo que hacemos . Pero
- a trabajar , Y yo me quede también allí
- a estudiar cambia su carácter . Y estamos
- aquí en la una cosa , sabes que
- cansada y todo y hacemos una rutina
- dijo , sabes que ¿ quién te enseñó esto ?
- en el aspecto así , le dije , no .

en / Estaba:
- con las otras personas , Y no estaba él
- con mi mamá pues . A mí me alivie
- el hogar , buenas para cocinar , buenas para todo
- entrar . O sea , si llegaba la navidad , y
- mis hermanos pero ellos estaban trabajando también .
- um , Como ellos estaban trabajando Y yo
- la casa . Pero no . Él trabaja y yo
- les decía siéntense , sentaban , y si no pues ,
- listo el más grande Como cortarlo Como guardarlo
- lo que tuviera ella comida , ponía la comida
- no se , depende también en como los educen
- no se quiere estar sentado .¿ Por qué ? Porque
- O sea , si regalos y eso , pero solos
- pero ¿ por que ? Mis amigos tienen su toy
- reglas de las , de Rebound , que puedes aplicar
- también cuando estuve aquí como me siento encerrada
- van a enseñar lo que tu estas enseñando
- ya de eso él me encontró otra vez
- estar viendo una novela o estar haciendo algo , limpiando
- la casa , una familia , nunca una familia estuvo visitando
- la escuela , los deportes , si . Y darles comida , tenerles
- necesito ningún hombre , yo puedo trabajar en mantener todo
- nos enseñó la reunión familiar . Paralela al trabajo y

para:
- a trabajar juntos , vamos a poner dinero juntos
- problemas de otras personas . A veces que regresas
- reunión familiar . Paralela al trabajo y la casa . Llegando
- tocar la comida aunque haiga mucha . Si ... era respetar
- Y trabajé , y alquilé una casa siempre . Y alquilé

otra:
- las mujeres salimos corriendo porque te vas a ir de
- los niños entran como si nada , como si fuera su
- Mi papá nunca nos , aunque vivíamos siempre en la misma
- así como el mío . No iguales , es otra papá
- como lo inculcaron el respeto era si llegaba a
- me salí de la casa otra vez , y busque
- que ellos . Hace que después cuando uno ya viene se
- sin nada y mi hija estaba pensando en Cómo conseguir
- afuera y la gente sabe que eres mecánico , a

tu:
- trae (¿) una vida mas grande . Porque viene los ...
- vas a poder ser mecánico por igual aquí

una:
- llegamos sin trabajo ninguno de los dos llegamos a
- para salir adelante con ello . Y trabajé , y alquilé
- problemas con el , Y salí otra vez A alquilar
- Y él tomó una decisión .¿ Que tal si rentamos

Right branches:

,:
- cosas específicas ? En tu hogar ? 56 . S - 1 : Mira no
- en la escuela , su Xbox , tiene el otro ...' A ellos
- la mama hace de comer la mamá , limpiar la mamá ,
- le dije que no . Si yo lo puedo ayudar , yo
- maíz cacahuate , frijol . Todo el año teníamos trabajo . Si llovía
- no sé si ellos ahora , yo de adulta pienso muchas
- nunca nos enseñó ... Nos trabajamos nos enseñó a trabajar , pero
- pero lo mismo . Y las edades lo mismo . Ahí es
- si se puedo . Pero si un hambre va estar conmigo
- te peleas hasta golpeas y sales hasta ' esto no va
- una familia , nunca una familia estuvo visitando la casa de

y:
- entramos en la puerta por acá , y aquí nada
- no dicen ' con permiso ' o puedo agarrar o nada
- quien esta en la computadora , el teléfono , y andan

," tia hoy es jueves , vamos a ir a volve a .."

.:
- Como no sé todavía cómo es el estado , no se .
- Con el cacahuate también y el maíz . Así que él
- Hay muchos que dicen , mis amigos se fueron dieciocho años .
- La rutina es que sentamos , comemos . Después de eso tenemos
- Llegando la casa , la mama hace de comer la mamá ,
- Nunca Y esto quiero para mis hijos tampoco en el
- O sea nunca me junté con familia . Y aurita con

Pero:
- no . Él trabaja y yo en la casa , le
- yo le digo a mi mamá , porque no luchaste

- Shane 25 : 42): Vale .¿ Qué para ti , que mas esperas

Y:
- es lo que digo a la niña .¿ no ? Te
- ya mi papa dice , sea , y no van a

Yo:
- como tenía mi niño el conmigo a vivir , pero
- se que en verdad uno viene cansado del trabajo

...:
- en la escuela es nada mas de aprender letras , números ,
- Tenemos lo que hacemos . Pero en la casa lo que

- con su familia él , me quedaba ahí ya , Como él

de:
- algún hermano con la comida . Porque allí no nos
- ella . Y él llegó también . A los tres días
- él , Y llegué con sus papás y todo . Y
- nosotros para festejar navidad . Y es lo que dice
- su mamá . Y ya después y y , me dijeron

donde:
- llevamos . Y respetar a nuestra mayores . Respetar sobre todos
- no era la tuya tenías que tocar y pedir
- para no me pueda encontrar . Y ya de eso
- quiera . Si tu no tienes un taller o no

- es la escuela de nosotros primero ." Y salen de la
- gratis para mí ? y yo le digo qué te pasa ?
- limpia tener las cosas que necesita . Cuando yo escucho las
- llegamos aquí a la casa , y entramos en la puerta
- lo que tratamos de hablar siempre son bien a mis
- los enseña a tus hijos cuales son los valores . Pero
- mando yo y mando yo y soy tu mamá . Y
- mucha mas pequeña que esta . Pero estábamos unidos todos como

no:
- hablamos esto .¿ quién te enseñó esto ? No , que no ,
- se festejaba la navidad , mi mama tenía que hacer
- vas hacer esto . Digo aquí vamos a pasar pero

- nomás hola . Tengo mis hermanos pero ellos estaban trabajando también .
- otra vez , y busque otra casa donde para no me
- para vivir solos ?, me dijo esto . Y dije si está
- porque también es como la escuela uno dice , los niños

siempre:
- porque , para realizar mi vida sola , para salir adelante
- Y alquilé la casa y ya después de eso

- te van a ir a buscar .¿ Me arreglas el carro ?

Y:
- buscas algo parecido al papa . Machistas . Y allí es
- dices yuuf y . Le digo bendito sea Dios por
- enfrentes a la vida con esposo sin esposo pero
- llegaron unos hombres allá a la casa Y me
- me pasó cosas terribles .[Shane : lo siento] me quede

si:
- no había el gas y si no había
- platicábamos así que ellos quieren platicar con las

- ya después de eso estuve trabajando y él llegó

- yo no lo siento . No quiero que en la calle ,

of five people . And we lived together at the leader's   ? Or how do you sign up for services ? Or how

past to focus on , so how do you buy a   **house**   for that week , and spent all this time with the

**Table 6.2. House/Casa Word Use Comparison**

Children

The most significant similarity between both sample groups was the emphasis on children. While this

emphasis was not particularly surprising, the almost exact percentage of coverage of terms related to

children (including: child, children, son, sons, daughter, daughters) between the two groups was

surprising; 834% for the Latino group (242 mentions) as compared with .867% for the English group (138

mentions).

Two Unique Schemas

In light of analysis, the following summaries and graphs fairly represent the dominant family schemas of

each sample group in relation to Rebound:

SPANISH-SPEAKING FAMILY SCHEMA

Within the sacred space of *casa,* parents teach their children respect and hard work in order to achieve goals that strengthen family unity.
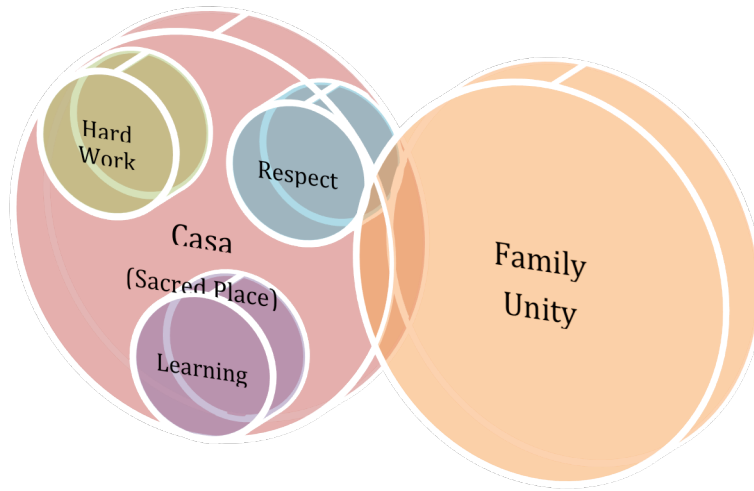
ENGLISH-SPEAKING FAMILY SCHEMA

In order to achieve individual success, children need the support of a safe and healthy community where they can experience love and hope
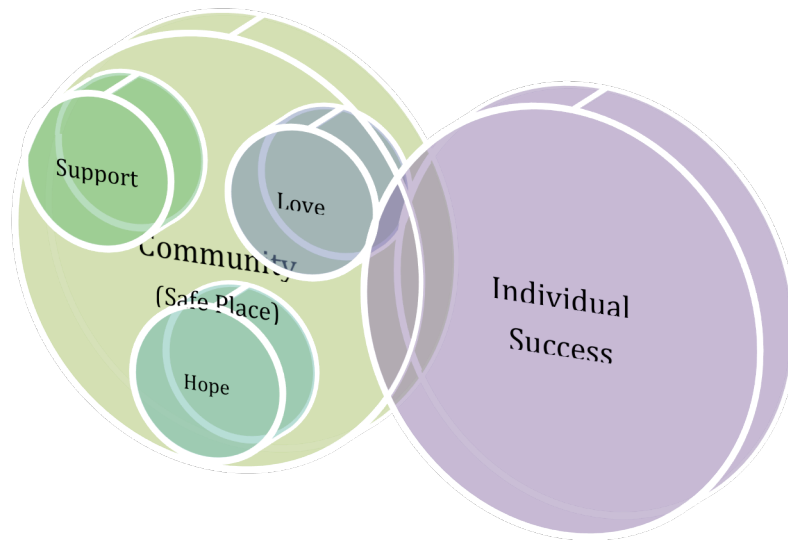
Figure 6.3. Spanish Group and English Group Schemas

Sociocultural Positioning

Throughout the analysis, family value statements were weighed against dominant economic and social structures. Both Sharon and Yolanda, for example, weighed the value of parental support against monetary wealth, and made value judgments relative to broader experiences related to their social positioning. This study also highlighted how individual positioning within a specific community influenced the use of specific terms and family conceptualizations. Sharon, for example, as educator, applied the concepts of skills, learning, and understanding significantly more frequently than other English-speaking participants. Tyler relied heavily on the idea of *connection*. It could be said that his sociocultural positioning as Director, which comes with specific responsibilities and skills of connecting people, along with the value he experienced from that practice, influences his family conceptualization and language used to describe family. Nevertheless, these particular usages all revolved around shared meanings of support, safety, community, etc.

Within the Latino group, values of work, respect, and family time were also evaluated against monetary wealth and labor. In the labor market, physical labor is directly converted into economic capital. So physical labor is experienced and understood as the greatest access to capital. So just as rigorous labor converts to capital, hard work must convert to a good family and school success, or so the social logic would go. Hard work and respect are the dominant experiences of value conversion. Consequently, those values and the language attached to them, extend to other areas of life, influencing cultural schemas.

A similar dynamic of sociocultural influence on word choice and meaning arose in Patricia's application of the term *amor* (love) when speaking of family in relation to Rebound. As mentioned in the analysis, *love* was significantly applied by all English participants, while among the Spanish-speakers, *amor* was only applied significantly by Patricia. While the data of this study is limited, Patricia's application of this term is similar to the leaders of Rebound because they share participation in similar religious communities. These similar communities influence language use and family value associations. Consequently, this affects family schemas that reflect the cognitive structuring of those influences.

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As a result, the religious and faith language of Rebound is attractive to Patricia (and perhaps to most other Latino clientele), which may reinforce the value of her personal family schema. From this we can suspect that client's positioning within religious communities and the integration of language common to those communities influences the perceived benefits and value of the program. In the following statement one notices, in a direct response to the benefits of Rebound, the value of *amor* tied to faith language. The more generally shared Latino cultural schemas of *family unity* and *respect* are also clearly associated in this statement, further evidencing the validity of the above schemas.

> **Patricia:** Conocimos a Dios y todo, el amor a Dios. Nos echo también seguir más unidos como familia (3:55). También a ellos. Nos ha servido mucho. Ahora si los ve son más... No digo que son los mejores niños del mundo pero, pero son más respetuosos, tienen más temor, amor, todo eso. A las personas ahora.

Practical Implications for Rebound

This study revealed that clear cultural gaps exist in family conceptualizations between the leadership of Rebound and its Latino clients, and that these gaps are the result of sociocultural distance between the participants of the groups. Cultural gaps were shown through the different patterns of word association, the unique sociocultural contexts that influenced those associations, and the language used to express them. In light of these findings, below are listed practical implications of these differences for Rebound.

1) Rebound's most basic philosophical structure is strongly influenced by and modeled after the cultural family schemas of the leadership:

Evidence from the interviews revealed that Rebound's basic philosophical structures and the language used to express organizational values, practices, and policies strongly reflect Anglo family schemas. When sharing the goals of Rebound, Anglo participants relied significantly on the Anglo schema addressed above. This language is likely to resonate with Anglo clients and stakeholders who share similar family value associations and related schemas. Conversely, this language may distance the organization from clients or potential clients and stakeholders who share distinct family schemas.

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Entering relationships with stakeholders and clients with awareness of how family values are culturally influenced and expressed through shared language patterns may improve the effectiveness of communication of core organizational values and benefits. Discovering practical methods for discovering the dominant family values of the communities that Rebound serves and who support the organization may increase effectiveness of services and partnership building. Integrating leadership from diverse sociocultural communities may also increase successful intercultural communication.

2) Cultural differences affect teaching and learning:

Differences in cultural family schemas pose a challenge for Latino clients in the learning process, but also make it more difficult for Anglo facilitators to explain these parenting strategies to their Spanish-speaking clients [and likely also to a lesser degree, Anglo clients with different ideas about family. e.g., class differences]. Translating the main points into Spanish is insufficient. The content is based on the culturally distinct family schemas of the creators of the program who were raised in significantly different sociocultural contexts than most of the Latino clientele. Thus, the conceptual relationships used to explain different models of parenting are foreign.

One adjustment by Rebound management is to use prior Latino clients to facilitate the course. Also helpful could be this thesis' research on differences in the family schemas and the sociocultural motivations. The goal here is to improve the cultural exchanges between Rebound educators and the clients that they work to serve.

Similar to the above, understanding the cultural differences between the two groups may improve the teaching and learning processes for both leadership and Latino clients. Dominant family conceptualizations used to explain new knowledge and motivate behavioral change are distinct in various degrees between leadership and clientele. Teaching methods, examples used to explain new concepts, the language of the curriculum, etc. are all culturally influenced and interpreted through cultural paradigms. At the same time, introducing new language and conceptual associations is part of the learning process. Learning new cultural schemas and gaining proficiency in the application of cultural language patterns

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may prove beneficial for mobilization upon certain economic fields of practice (Bourdieu). The more aware leadership and clients are of these cultural dynamics, the more intentionally they can adapt them to teaching and learning processes.

3) Rebound may function as a significant social context of acculturation:

Through interaction, Latino clients may learn new family schemas dominant to American middle-class society, making Rebound a significant social context of acculturation. The degree to which Latino clients adapt and apply new cultural schemas may prove beneficial for some individuals in certain socioeconomic contexts. Conversely, in other contexts the process of acculturation may cause stress due to loss of cultural values or generational distance (Brown & Manning).

Consequently, Rebound may function as a mechanism of acculturation where new conceptual schemas and practices are learned, adapted to previous cultural schemas, and then applied to new situations in order to solve new socioeconomic problems. This study gives evidence to that hypothesis. Sensitivity to the processes and stresses of acculturation that are unique to the Latino clients may help Rebound adjust services to meet the specific sociocultural and psychological challenges caused by acculturation.

4) Cultural schemas may have capital value, and understanding this may help alleviate poverty:

Understanding that cultural schemas can function as cultural capital may be beneficial for both social workers and clients. Poverty alleviation strategies are likely to benefit from greater knowledge of the precise mechanisms of social mobility. Both clients and service providers would likely benefit from more accurate understandings of the social barriers related to language and culture that impede economic mobilization. Applying methodologies that expose felt and true needs with greater cultural accuracy may stimulate the creation of contextualized solutions for meeting those needs. This would lessen the danger of leaning on guesswork and stereotypes in the creation of policy and practice.

5) Weaknesses vs. Benefits of word-to-word translating:

Cultural schema theory reveals that language reflects cognitive conceptual patterns. Such being the case, word-to-word translation of knowledge, either spoken or written, does not accurately convey meaning. If Spanish is a second language for a teacher or translator, it is very likely that ideas will be expressed according to the native cognitive schemas of the teacher. I have observed this dynamic in translated texts, my own teaching and translating, and within the language used by other non-native speakers. Consequently, within teaching/learning contexts, methodologies should be applied that bridge cultural gaps and incorporate and validate the cultural knowledge of the clientele. What may seem like a "wrong" or "out of the blue" answer may in fact reveal a cultural schema that needs to be teased out and integrated into the pool of knowledge in order to achieve contextualized understanding.

6) Empowering Latino voice and leadership:

Empowering Latino voice and leadership has been one of the most observable strengths of Rebound throughout my three years of participation. This practice may contribute strongly to the general positive response to Rebound by their Latino clientele. Rebound has consistently demonstrated eagerness to position Latino clients in contexts of leadership and influence. Concurrently, they have allowed dynamic, interactive communicative processes within their learning/teaching settings and in the adjustment of their curriculum and program styles for their Latino population. Rebound leadership has been extremely accommodating of this study as well, demonstrating a genuine openness to all knowledge and practice that contributes to the wellbeing of Bellingham's growing Latino population.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

This study investigated one non-profit social service organization dedicated to meeting the diverse socioeconomic needs of families within Whatcom County, Washington. It considered how the socio-cultural positioning of the organization's Latino clientele affected their perception of felt needs being met. Here, a cultural discourse analysis of multiple semi-structured interviews revealed clear differences in the cultural perceptions of *family* between two sample groups along with substantial similarities within the groups, implying shared cultural values. The overarching practical objective of this study was to inspire nonprofit social service organizations that work with culturally diverse clients to think in terms of cultural distance between the leadership of their organizations and the clients they serve.

A question posed to organizational leadership by this study is, what strategies are being applied to culturally diverse clients in order to pinpoint legitimate social needs and guide the creation of culturally contextualized solutions? A huge inherent assumption in this question is that cultural perceptions affect client's needs as well as solutions to those needs. This study thoroughly explored that important assumption. The hope was that by understanding gaps in culture, specifically those differences related to the influence of the socioeconomic environments in which worldviews are formed, the language used to express those views, and the conceptual schemas that underlie them, organizations will be able to develop tools capable of pinpointing specific cultural gaps. Understanding specific differences in the conceptualization of key concepts (such as *family* in this case) should increase the success of creating programs that address real and felt needs.

In order to pinpoint culture, this study applied cultural schema theory. Throughout the interviews, this study highlighted the repeated use and reliance by the participants on the interplay of dominant words, concepts, and social logics. While the experiences and interpretations of those experiences varied between each participant, each sample group revealed significantly shared cultural family schemas unique to that group. For the Latino sample group the dominant cultural family schema might read something like the following: Within the sacred space of *casa,* parents *teach* their children *respect* and *hard work* in

order to achieve goals that strengthen *family unity.* On the other hand, the dominant family schema for the English-speaking group might be stated: In order to achieve *individual success*, children need the *support* of a *safe* and *healthy community* where they can experience *love* and *hope*.

Organizations that recognize the function and value of diverse cultural knowledge are more likely to apply that knowledge to programs and teaching strategies. For example, when dealing with a parent who struggles with a questionable parenting strategy, relating a new, more beneficial parenting strategy may prove more affective if the new behavior is framed in terms of already accepted family values, perceptions, and motivations. Teaching new concepts, even when they are translated word-for-word into Spanish, may not apply culturally appropriate schemas. Conversely, when organizational leaders discover the cultural schemas of their clients and the socioeconomic contexts that forged them by getting to know those clients through cultivating relationship and applying appropriate sociocultural methodologies they may significantly increase the chances of true learning and consequent beneficial social behaviors. In short, cultural schemas need to be discovered, understood, and intentionally applied to the creation of policies and practices.

Where schema theory was useful to pinpoint the structures of specific cultural conceptualizations, Bourdieusian social theory helped tie family conceptualizations to broader social influences. It provided a framework to explain the function and social value of the schemas. Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital highlighted the practical utility of cultural knowledge and the function of that knowledge either to facilitate or hinder socio-economic mobility. The degree to which the cultural knowledge of Latino immigrants worked to benefit the individual or group determined the degree to which that knowledge functioned as cultural capital. Understanding the economic and social value of cultural expressions such as schemas as well as the role that cultural schemes play in acculturation and social mobility may provide social service organizations with more precise tools to pinpoint and accurately address the many complex social needs of minority groups, and contribute to more successful poverty elevation.

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WRITTEN QUESTIONNAIRE

Nombre (opcional) _____
Name (optional)

Edad _____
Age

Sexo
Gender

       Hombre   **Mujer**
       Male   Female

Etnicidad _____
Ethnicity

Nivel de educación cumplida
Level of completed education

    Primaria   **Secundaria/Colegio**   **Universidad**
    Middle school   High school   University

Marca el nivel económico de tu familia
Circle your family's estimated economic level

    Bajo   **Mediano**   **Alto**
    Low   Medium   High

$0-$10,999 / $20,000 - $29,999 / $30,000 - $39,999 / $40,000 – $49,999 / $50,000 - $59,999 / $60,000 y ariba
(DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, and Smith 2014)

Salario total de familia (opcional) _____
Combined annual salary (optional)

Lugar de nacimiento _____
Place of birth

Numero de años en Los Estados Unidos _____
Number of years in USA

Numero de Miembros de Familia _____
Number of family members

Religión _____
Religion

¿Por cuanto tiempo has residido en Whatcom County? _____
How long have you lived in Whatcom County?

¿Cuáles programas de Rebound has asistido?
Which Rebound services have you attended?

¿Por cuanto tiempo has asistido a los programas de Rebound? _____
How long have you attended Rebound's programs?

¿Cuales son las tres razones principales por la cual atiendes a Rebound?
List your three main reasons for attending Rebound

   1)

   2)

   3)

¿Cuales son los tres valores familiares mas importantes, en orden de importancia?
 Please list the three most important family values in order of importance.

   1)

   2)

   3)

¿Cuales son las maneras mas importantes que Rebound ha influido a tu familia?
Please list the three most important ways that Rebound has influenced your family.

   1)

   2)

   3)

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS
HISPANIC BENEFICIARIES

1) *¿Porque decidiste participar en Rebound?*
   Why did you decide to participate in Rebound?

2) *¿Que aspecto de Rebound es mas atraído?*
   What aspect of Rebound is most appealing to you?

3) *¿Cuales son tus deseos mas grandes para tu familia?*
   What are your greatest desires for your family?

4) *¿De que maneras te ayuda Rebound lograr tus deseos familiares?*
   In what ways does Rebound help you achieve your desires for our family?

5) *¿Cuales son las causas de problemas familiares?*
   What causes family problems?

6) *¿Cómo respondes a los problemas familiares?*
   How do you respond to family problems?

7) *¿Cómo te ayuda Rebound a resolver problemas familiares?*
   How does Rebound help you resolve family problems?

8) *¿Qué se hace a una familia fuerte?*
   What makes a family strong?

9) *¿En general, cómo ha beneficiado Rebound a tu familia?*
   How has Rebound benefited your family overall?

10) *¿Cómo puede tu participación actual en Rebound afectar el futuro de tu familia?*
    How might your participation in Rebound now affect the future of your family?

11) *¿Cómo podría Rebound mejor equipar a tu familia?*
    How might Rebound better equip your family?

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1) *Why did you decide to participate in Rebound?*

2) *What aspect of Rebound most appeals to you?*

3) *What do you think clients mostly want for their families?*

4) *How does Rebound help clients achieve family goals?*

5) *What causes family problems?*

6) *What are the best ways to Resolve family problems?*

7) *How does Rebound help clients resolve family problems?*

8) *What does a healthy family look like?*

9) *How does Rebound benefit families overall?*

10) *How does Rebound affect the future of families?*

11) *How might Rebound better equip families?*