

2000

A study of attitudes toward child rearing among Latina immigrant mothers

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Master's Projects. 1118.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31979/etd.tu4p-5z2q>

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2000
.L864

A Study of Attitudes Toward Child Rearing Among Latina Immigrant Mothers

by

Beatriz Lopez

A Social Work 298 Special Project

Presented to the Faculty of the College of Social Work

San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Social Work

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May, 2000

Chicano Center
Thesis HVS 2000 .L864

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I. Introduction

This research project was conducted in the Department of Family and Children's Services (DFCS) of the Santa Clara County Social Services Agency (SSA). The agency aims to protect children and preserve families who are at risk, or have been impacted by child abuse, and are in need of services to protect their children. Thirty-seven clients from the Informal Supervision Program and the Resource Centers participated in this program evaluation that consisted of a focus group, personal interviews and questionnaires. The purpose of this study was to explore the ethnic beliefs, and acculturation issues that shape the child rearing practices of Latina immigrant mothers who are participating in the Child Welfare system.

The acculturation process of immigrants often generates changes in family dynamics. Frequently, these changes affect the children that depend from their parents for their well being. In order to respond to the needs of the Latino/a immigrant families who are referred to the Child Welfare system, there needs to be an understanding of their needs and culture. This study will generate information regarding the ethnic beliefs, struggles, and acculturation issues that shape the child rearing practices of immigrant mothers participating in the program.

This study utilized three main techniques to obtain data; ethnographic interviews, a focus group, and questionnaires given to groups of Latina immigrant mothers participating in the informal supervision program and in the parenting classes in the Department of Families and Children Services. The questionnaires provided information regarding specific themes such as acculturation issues, support system, discipline, and parenting concerns. In addition, the interviews and the focus group expanded the themes. Through the participant's narration, the researcher was able to identify terms that were symbolic in their own cultural lens.

According to Green (1999, p. 52), "Language is of special importance since it is the symbolic device by which the flow of experience is acted on".

Hispanics account for the 50% of the caseload in DFSC, but only a 30% of the staff is Hispanic. Due to this discrepancy, the Child Welfare System is seeking for solutions to provide better services to children and families of different backgrounds. Because almost 80% of their participants are court mandated, the data obtained from this study will reflect the child rearing challenges of mostly these mothers who are involved in the Child Welfare system. This study has particular value to agency staff since it will contribute to provide appropriate cultural competent services that address the problems, issues, and concerns of Latina mothers. As a result, the ultimate goal of the DFSC department of protecting the children, can be enhanced.

II. The Context of Services

The Department of Family and Children's Services (DFCS) is part of the Santa Clara County Social Services Agency, which also provides other benefits and services through the following departments: Income Maintenance, Aging and Adult Services, Public Administrator/Public Guardian/Public Conservator, Department of Finance and Administration, and the Employment and Training Program (Santa Clara County Social Services Agency Fact Sheet 1998-1999).

The Department of Family and Children's Services operates under legal authority as defined by Federal Law P.L. 93-247- The Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act in the California Welfare and Institutions Code (WIC) Sections 16500 through 16517- State Child Welfare Services, and WIC Sections 300 through 366 p. Juvenile Dependency.

The mission of the Department of Family and Children Services is:

To protect children from abuse and neglect, promote their healthy development and provide services to families which preserve and strengthen their ability to care for their children. The department is responsible for the prevention, intervention, advocacy, and public education related to the protection of children and their need for consistency in their care and nurturing (Santa Clara County Social Services Agency. Student Intern handbook, 1999-2000, p. 9)

The Department of Family and Children's Services (DFCS) protects children from abuse and neglect, preserves families by strengthening parent's abilities to care for their children, and, when necessary, places children in foster care and adoptive homes (Santa Clara County Social Services. Guide to Services, 1999, p. 10). The department receives child abuse

and neglect reports involving 19,000 children annually and provides Family Preservation services to families and their children, enabling 80% to stay together (Santa Clara County Social Services Agency Fact Sheet 98-99). In 1999 the ethnicity of the children was:

Ethnicity	Percentages
Latino(a)	48.2 %
White	30%
African American	14.5%
Asian/Pacific Islander	6.3%
American Indian	1%

The ethnic breakdown of the 618 agency staff members in 1999 was:

Ethnicity	Percentages
White	50.98 %
Hispanic	25.49%
Asian/Pacific Islander	15.69%
African American	5.88%
Filipino (a)	1.96%

In accomplishing their goals, DFCS operates under several service units such as the Child Abuse Reporting and Investigation, Court Services, Family Maintenance, Family Reunification, Out of Home Care, Family Conference, and the Independent Living Program.

The Informal Supervision program is part of the Juvenile Court Services Bureau. The Welfare and Institutions Code Section 31 provides for Informal Supervision as a service offered to the families of children who are within the jurisdiction of the Court or probably will soon be within that jurisdiction if the child and family do not receive Child Welfare Services. These Child Welfare Services are authorized and provided in accordance with Welfare and Institutions Code Sections 16506 and 16507.3 (State of California Health and Welfare Agency, DSS. Court Services Handbook, 1999, p. 1).

The purpose of the Informal Supervision program is to provide services to prevent families from requiring the need for court intervention. If the family situation is petitionable, but the parent(s) are cooperative and willing to participate with Child Welfare Services for a period up to 90 days, then Informal Supervision services are offered to the family. In addition, parents sign a case plan with measures to carry out such as parenting classes, individual or family counseling, drug testing and drug treatment.

There are three Family Resource Centers that operate as part of Family Preservation: Nuestra Casa, Urajani, and the Asian Pacific Resource. Family Preservation aims to keep children with their families in their own homes while strengthening the parents' ability to provide a healthy home environment. These centers offer support groups, counseling on issues such as family violence, substance abuse, parenting, citizen workshops, youth leadership and English as a second language classes. Special culturally sensitive services are available for Latinos(as), African Americans, and Asian Pacific families. (Santa Clara County Social Services Agency. Guide to Services, 1999, p. 10,).

The Social Services Agency in Santa Clara County also has four employee's committees that represent the needs of particular groups such as African Americans, Latinos(as), American Indian, and Gays and Lesbians. Currently, a fifth group of people with disabilities is in the formation process. These committees address the development of strategic plans to better respond to the needs of individuals and families in each particular group. In an effort to provide culturally competent services, El Comite, the committee that represents Latinos(as), is undergoing a study of the availability and the needs of Spanish speaking staff. The results of this study will help in implementing staffing, recruitment and staff retention policies to better serve monolingual, Spanish speaking families. Currently, the agency does not

have any other evaluation system to assess that the services provided are culturally competent. However, El Comite expects to present a proposal to the research committee for implementing this type of evaluation. The research committee is responsible for directing, approving, and monitoring the research proposals of the interns at the agency.

The Social Services Agency has the policy to consider the language needs and the cultural diversity of the populations served. Special language units have been created and staff hired to accommodate diverse cultural and language groups. However, the goal of hiring an equitable representation of Latinos(as), and other groups has not been met. The five committees have the goals of identifying the needs in order to match clients with appropriate staff, according to clients' needs. They are also in the process of establishing a Cultural Competency Testing and Certification Program for the staff. In addition to hiring, promoting and retaining bilingual and bicultural persons, the County's Department of Training and Development has developed cultural diversity workshops. Their goal is to increase the cultural competency of staff.

III. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

The Latino(a) population has been increasing in recent years. "Santa Clara County is home to more than 77,000 Hispanic families. Hispanic children and youth represent about 25% of all children in our community" (Latino Youth Forum, 1997). According to Fitzgerald, Lester and Zuckerman (1999, p. 141), immigration accounts for half of the increase. The families who immigrate with children have a double responsibility. First, they need to mourn from losing their personal networks, friends, and belongings, and second, they need to adapt themselves to the new society, and support their children in this process. "Acculturation conflicts arise when the values, belief systems and world views of the homeland and the United States are in open opposition" (Carter, and McGoldrick, 1999, p. 173). The values of immigrant families often differ from those of the dominant American culture. The level of difficulty in adapting to the dual influences may depend on other factors such as social and economic class, education, and age when immigrating. However, immigrants face inherent stress as the host culture places its demands of new cultural values and norms.

Acculturation plays an important role in family dynamics. Acculturation refers to a bilateral level of integration between elements of two cultures (Padilla, 1980). The contact with a new culture usually produces changes. Many studies have researched the immigrants' experience during the acculturation process. For example, Arevalo (1987, p. 148) found that social support satisfaction, and economic satisfaction were significant predictors of depression and demoralization in immigrants. According to Spiegel and Papajohn, (1975), acculturation brings a breakdown of traditional values and behaviors. Carter, and McGoldrick (1999, p. 171) argue that migration "adds an entire extra stage to the life cycle for those families who

must negotiate it”, and that the readjustment process will affect family members differently, depending on the life cycle stage they are in at the time of transition.

The stage of the family in the acculturation process will determine the extent to which childrearing practices are also readapted to the new society. Buriel (1993) studied the influence of generation and sociocultural factors in Mexican Americans’ childrearing. He found that Mexican immigrant parents tended to score higher on expecting children’s more productive use of time, and in their degree of control over their children than second and third generation Mexican Americans. Also, immigrant parents place more responsibility on their children for the family’s survival, (children are given greater amount of responsibilities at home), and are more likely to defer gratification than second and third generations. However, these findings may differ in families with different incomes. Higher income families may be more socialized with society, and be more exposed to the influences of it. As a result, high income families may be relieved of some of the stress when immigrating.

One of the parents’ tasks that can be impacted is childrearing. Historically, Latino (a) families are recognized for their warmth and the importance of both nuclear and extended families in taking care of its members, and the sacrifices that mothers make in such roles. However, when families immigrate, they might not have their extended family to continue providing support. Furthermore, the stress that many immigrant parents develop while acculturating can interfere with the performance of their parenting role. They are likely to face isolation due to language barriers and the lack of social support. They have to learn another language, adapt to different roles within the family, and learn new cultural values that can be a source of conflict and confusion. Factors that intervene in the level of stress in Latino (a) immigrants include adaptation and immigration issues; language barriers, finding and keeping

a job, finding medical and legal services, physical separation from relatives, and the fear of deportation.

Sociocultural factors also intervene in shaping their child rearing practices. “The same parental behavior may have different meaning and interpretations in different cultural contexts” (Ahearn & Athey, 1991, p. 40). For example, some immigrants consider it acceptable to leave a sleeping child in the car when they visit a relative in a community where people know each other. The rationale in this case is that the child needs to rest, that the caregiver can still supervise the child from the house, and that people in the neighborhood will not harm the child. If the same scenario was to occur in the United States, it will often be considered a case of child neglect. The environment and the experiences of Latinos(as) often change when they immigrate to the United States, but sometimes parents do not know how to alter their child rearing practices to fit American expectations. The changes in culture can affect the child rearing attitudes that parents have.

In order to understand the child rearing practices of Latino(a) immigrants, it is first necessary to understand their family and cultural values. Among the values that they aim to integrate while acculturating are Familism and Respect (Fitzgerald et al., 1999). Familism involves strong feelings of attachment, loyalty, reciprocity, and solidarity to the nuclear and extended family (Gaines, Buriel, Liu and Rios, 1997, p. 42). The family is considered the first source of assistance and support. According to Fitzgerald, et al. (1999), “Hispanic immigrants specially value their families and prize their children, a tradition that has helped the family survive in spite of difficult circumstances”. Familism is important for Latinos(as) because child rearing is not a task performed only by the parents. Extended family members also play an important role. For example, grandparents can have a greater impact in the decision making.

When parents immigrate, their values can be a cause of conflict when children acculturate at a much faster pace than them. "Assertiveness, competitiveness, and independence, while highly valued in the United States, contradict the core values of many Hispanic immigrant parents" (Fitzgerald, p. 103). Children's assertiveness may be viewed by the parents as lack of respect (*respeto*) to the authority figure. *Respeto* is another important value among Latinos(as). For example, in a study done by Arcia (1998), she found that the Mexican immigrant mothers in her study defined a good child as that one who obeys their parents and teachers. Obedience was the most desirable characteristics of young children. In the case of adolescents, their need for independence may not be fostered by parents, creating generational conflicts between them and their parents. Parents, in their effort to reinforce the norms of family closeness, may supervise their children very closely.

In addition to facing stress when acculturating, immigrants socialize in an environment that may be both racist and hostile. Latino (a) immigrants have experienced a long history of racism and discrimination, particularly in the Southwest (Fitzgerald, p. 109). Even when antagonism toward immigrants has been strong among non-Latinos, resentments also come from many second-, third-, and fourth generation Latino families (Nazario, 1996). Discrimination can impact parents by instilling in them feelings of disempowerment that affect the relationship with their children.

According to Fitzgerald (p. 99), there are risk factors that prevent immigrants from adapting successfully to the new environment. The risk factors include family poverty, trauma, loss, language proficiency, and discrimination. Risk factors can produce stress, maladjustment, or physical abuse. Even though child abuse is an issue that affects people from different cultures, or socioeconomic levels, Latinos(as) are often stereotyped as relying more on

physical punishment than Americans. For example, Sigelman (1998) considers Latino(a) parents more likely to use spanking and scolding. Studies where conclusions are determined by ethnicity often fail to consider the additional stress factors that immigrants face when starting their lives in America. Buriel, Rodriguez and Chavez (p. 91, 1991) state that "As with all areas of social science research with Hispanics, studies of child maltreatment also suffer from the methodological shortcomings of over generalization from non-empirical sources related to acculturation."

Arcia (1998, p. 80), found that Mexican immigrant mothers in her study considered that "Parents should use physical punishment only after they have verbally instructed their child." The ideals of parents have very much to do with how much they believe their children obey. Important factors to consider when parents physically abuse their children are their expectations of the child, their knowledge about child development, and their level of stress to handle children's non-compliance. Again, obedience by the children is a very important value.

Because this study was conducted with mothers who are in the Child Welfare system due to allegations of child abuse, it becomes imperative to understand abusive behavior in relation to immigrant characteristics. According to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, "the tendency for a parent to abuse a child is higher if the parent is emotionally immature or needy, or feels isolated with nowhere to turn" (Hatkoff and Klopp, 1992, p. 135). The literature suggests that parents who abuse their children most often live in poverty, are unemployed and have no social support to confront the stresses of daily life (Sigelman, 1998, p. 424). Because of the stresses associated with immigration, Latino(a) immigrants who face legal immigration issues, lack of education, and lower socioeconomic level may be at a higher risk for physical child abuse. "Parents come to America for the sake of their children,

only to often feel they are losing them to the rebellious ways of American youth" (New York Times, p. B7, 1996). Immigrant parents may rely more on severe discipline because they are separated from the extended family members who had supported them in their countries. Also, immigrants are separated from their children by the long hours they put in at work. According to the 1991 United Way assessment, "70% of Santa Clara County's female population is working outside of the home" (Santa Clara Latino Youth, 1997).

Attitudes that society has toward immigrants regarding child rearing have also changed. For example, Ojito (1996) states that some social workers consider that foreign-born parents are claiming defense of cultural differences when they abuse their children. "Cultural differences are beautiful, but they have nothing to do with the law." Child welfare workers are aware of the need for culture sensitivity. Aspects such as language, beliefs, religion, values, and communication are important to consider when establishing prevention or intervention programs. The objective of understanding idiosyncrasies is not to be permissive to apply the law, but to shape the methods needed to address the problem. A social worker's role to assist clients with problems in their psycho-social functioning includes an understanding of diversity issues.

The results of this study help to better understand the needs of Latina immigrant mothers. The best ways to protect children include engaging parents who have abused or neglected their children into forms of childrearing that can be culturally and also socially acceptable. "Social workers agree that education, not punishment, is the best way to adapt to America's attitudes" (New York Times, p. B7, 1996). In order to concentrate our efforts in a meaningful process of education, social workers need to understand the sociocultural aspects

of childrearing. By identifying strengths in culture, strategies can be focused on optimizing their values, and changing unacceptable practices for more nurturing ways of disciplining.

This project was based on a systems theory and ecological model to determine the interrelatedness of childrearing, and the social, economic and cultural characteristics of immigrant mothers. The ecological perspective helps on “understanding the reciprocity which exist between people and social systems in an ecological environment (Brown, p. 67). In addition, by looking at the family in the context of their relationships with other systems such as their neighborhood, social networks, and culture, there can be a better understanding of how they can affect the relationships between children and parents. According to Sigelman (p.397), families are complex and changing systems. They go through a sequence of changes in roles, compositions and relationships, called family life cycles. As a consequence, the understanding of the environmental factors that affect immigrant families in their child rearing can provide the basis for more effective interventions.

The strengths perspective was also taken into account. This framework focuses on the strengths, resources, and capacities of individuals and families. All families have resources and strengths that are often underestimated when assessing clients involved in child abuse. According to Schriver (p. 57), the main assumptions of this perspective are that people have a healing power inside them for positive changes, and that when people’s positive capacities are the main focus, they are more likely to make use of their strengths. As a result, the understanding of immigrant mother practices within the context of this study, needs to consider not only the challenges, but the strengths of their childrearing.

IV. Design of the Evaluation Study

This is an exploratory research project aimed to explore the ethnic beliefs, and acculturation issues that shape the child rearing practices of immigrant mothers who are participating in the Child Welfare system. Therefore, the researcher believes that the results of this study represent the characteristics of families who either due to their non-nurturing parenting, or their lack of information, are participating in social services' programs as involuntary clients.

The main questions explored in this study were: How does immigration influence the child rearing practices of Latina mothers? What are the stressors that the respondents, as Latina immigrant mothers, are confronting in the United States that affect their parenting? What are the most common discipline practices among the respondents?

The methodology used for this study was a combination of three data collection strategies; ethnographic interviews, a focus group, and a parental attitude questionnaire. In ethnographic interviews, the interviewee's words are the priority. According to Green J. (1999, p. 131), "Its object is to carry on a guided conversation and to elicit rich, detailed materials that can be used in qualitative analysis." Qualitative studies are useful for the researcher for its flexibility in gathering a comprehensive amount of information from a limited number of samples. Instead of confining the respondent to categories, they are able to communicate their experiences that are meaningful about childrearing. This modality was chosen because it helps the researcher to provide meaning to the interviewee's experience. This allowed the researcher to learn about their child rearing experience, positioning the clients as the experts in their own lives.

A total of 37 Latina immigrant mothers participated in this study. Twelve mothers were interviewed utilizing the ethnographic approach, seven mothers participated in the discussion held at the focus group, and 18 mothers participated in answering the questionnaire about parenting practices. The recruitment was based on convenience and availability of Latina mothers participating in the Informal Supervision Bureau of DFCS, and in the parenting classes held at the Resource Center at Nuestra Casa. From the caseload of several workers at the mentioned bureau, cases who met the criteria for this study were identified. For the purpose of this study, Latina immigrant mothers included those mothers born in any Latin American country (in the American continent from Mexico in the North to Chile in the South), and that immigrated to the United States after the age of 18. The cases recruited included families from Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua. Each case was analyzed before inviting the subjects to participate due to the nature of their participation in the program. The majority of clients in the Informal Supervision Bureau are involuntary, and in spite of the fact that they are not court mandated, the family situation can be petitional. As a result, some clients may be very angry. Parents participating in Informal Supervision receive services in order to prevent further incidents of child abuse. Cases dealing with domestic violence, or who have a history of being violent with the staff were not recruited, in order to protect the safety of the family and/or the staff. Clients with these characteristics are not the norm in this unit since there is a specialized unit for cases with domestic violence issues. Two clients of this bureau who qualified for the study were not asked to participate due to their issues with domestic violence.

Once the potential subjects were identified, the researcher invited them to participate by orally explaining about the study. After they agreed to participate, they were scheduled for

two interviews at their most convenient time. On the day of the interview, the subjects received a more extensive explanation about the study. The researcher answered their questions, and asked them to sign the consent form. The researcher assured them of their understanding about confidentiality, and other rights. They were also informed about the exceptions to confidentiality such as new allegations of child abuse, or the disclosure of bringing harm to themselves or anyone else. They were also informed that they were no other known risks associated with participation in this study. They were also informed that in order to protect their confidentiality, their personal identification information was not going to be recorded. Furthermore, information that can identify the subject has not been included in the description of the client. The clients who participated in the interviews were identified by a code number from 1 to 12.

A demographic questionnaire, a semi-structured interview guide, and a Parental Attitude Questionnaire were used as measures in this exploratory study. The quantitative portion of the study included demographic information about 13 aspects such as age, education, income, place of origin, number of children, and support system. The quantitative portion of the study provided information about three areas of their lives: their culture, their parenting practices, and their cultural adaptation. In order to obtain information about their cultural characteristics, the participants were asked to identify those cultural values that they consider fundamental for their children to learn. To obtain information about their parenting practices they were asked to share the rules and disciplining methods that are used with their children. The last aspect, cultural adaptation, focused on the difficulty of teaching their values in America, and their concerns about the practices of their new country. The interviews were also directed to gather information about the participants' experiences as children, the way

they were raised, and how it influenced the shaping of their child rear practices. Each one of the two interviews of the ten participants lasted approximately 60 minutes. During the interviews, the researcher took observational notes on each respondent trying to be unobtrusive and also recorded the interviews after obtaining the respondent's approval. From the twelve mothers interviewed, seven agreed to have their conversation recorded.

The second method chosen, a focus group, was used as means for collecting large amounts of qualitative data during a one time session. Participants of the parenting classes, and from support groups were invited to participate in a focus group that lasted about two hours. The information obtained from this group complements the data collected through the personal interviews. Furthermore, the interaction between members stimulated the discussion by the reactions to other members' comments (Berg, 1998, p. 101). The researcher's goal with this technique was to produce concentrated amounts of data regarding child rearing. In addition, the group interaction provided insights about the participants' opinions and experiences. The participants of the focus group were given the questionnaire to obtain demographic information, and the parental attitude survey in addition to their verbal input.

During the outreach stage, the researcher established rapport with the participants of the parenting classes by participating in some of the previous classes. A flyer was designed in order to invite parents to participate in the focus group, and to explain the purpose of it.

The researcher initiated with an introduction, opened with an ice-breaker exercise, and established ground rules emphasizing topics such as confidentiality, exceptions to confidentiality, and the use pseudonyms for the purpose of recording their responses. After completing the questionnaire, which was self-administered, the researcher led the focus group by starting a discussion in the same three areas included in the interviews: their culture,

their parenting practices, and their cultural adaptation. The questionnaire included 18 items aimed at gathering information about their most challenging task as mothers, their strengths, cultural traditions that they want to instill in their children, disciplining methods, the main reasons for disciplining, acculturation, support system, and information regarding public child welfare laws. The information obtained from the focus group and the interviews were coded utilizing a context analysis approach.

The demographic questionnaire and the Parental Attitude Questionnaire were translated into Spanish because it was the primary language spoken by the Latina immigrant mothers that were part of the study. The researcher used a one way-translation that was also reviewed by two additional individuals who participated in the consensus version. During this review, a total of seven questions was modified utilizing generic words that would better convey its meaning. Furthermore, the questions were pre-tested by reading them to a group of individuals who expressed their understanding.

Some of the concepts that were discussed in this study are further defined as follow:

- Acculturation: the process of adapting and acknowledging another culture.
- Child rearing practices: variety of interactions utilized by a parent to control or modify the children's behavior
- Culture: According to Green J. (1999, p.13), culture is a list of traits that a group has, and that is handed down over time. For the purpose of this study, culture will refer to those values, beliefs, customs and behaviors that the immigrant mothers have that have been transmitted over the generations.
- Latin American: refers to those countries found in the American continent from Mexico in the North to Argentina in the South, including the Caribbean islands.
- Latina Immigrant Mother: refers to those mothers 18 years or older who immigrated to the United States after age 18 from Latin America.

One of the problems encountered during the study was the availability of mothers to participate in the focus group. Most of the mothers invited to participate were busy trying to complete their child welfare case plan, and their family responsibilities. However, in order to motivate them to participate, during one of the parenting sessions the researcher was the speaker for the stress management class. In addition, she provided each participants with a tape about relaxation techniques. A total of seven mothers participated in the focus group.

In addition, twelve mothers participated in the personal interview process. During the interviews, they expressed several concerns that made it imperative for the researcher to provide resources, and referrals. For example, immigrant mothers who were assigned to child welfare workers who either did not speak the family's native language fluently, or were not culturally competent felt that they needed more advocacy services in their own language. When the participants expressed their concerns, the personal interviews became a lengthy journal. The researcher needed to validate their concerns, and at the same time tried to re-focus the interview to the objectives of the study. This task was difficult since most of the mothers interviewed did not have an extended support system and were in need of relieving their stresses. However, even when their stories did not always concentrate on their parenting experiences, their narration provided a resourceful tool to understand the needs and concerns that might be affecting their parenting abilities.

From the fifty mothers invited to participate in one of the different techniques used for the study, three mothers refused to participate in the interviews due to their busy schedule. Two of the mothers from the parenting classes did not participate in completing the questionnaires due to unknown reasons, and eight mothers were not able to participate in the focus group.

V. Results

This section contains results of a qualitative study that revolved around the child rearing practices of Latina immigrant mothers in three main areas: Culture, parenting practices, and cultural adaptation. Thirty-seven mothers participated in the study that collected information through personal interviews, questionnaires and a focus group. The interviews provided additional information to the offered in the questionnaires. All of the interviews were done in Spanish and then translated to English. The participants of the interviews were monolingual Spanish speaking, and only three of the mothers who participated in the questionnaire were bilingual. The translations and quoting contained in this section were done by choosing the words that best describe their meanings. Even though various themes were more prominent during the chronological narration of their stories, an emphasis was provided to their parenting styles, and culture.

Thirty-seven mothers from Mexico, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Nicaragua participated in the study. The majority (32) are Catholic and two are from other Christian denominations. These mothers were parents of children of different ages as presented on table four. It is important to note that of the seven mothers who had children over 18 years of age five mothers also had younger children ranging from age 1 to age 15. The duration of time that the parents spent in the United States ranged from 1 to 25 years. Twenty-four mothers had a family income of less than \$1,000 per month, while seven mothers had an income between \$1,000 and \$2,000 per month. The remaining three mothers had an income of more than \$2,000. Regarding the number of years of education completed; five mothers completed less than 2 years, fifteen mothers completed 2 to 6 years, thirteen mothers completed 7 to 12 years and three mothers completed more than 12 years.

Tables 1 through 4 present other demographic data of the sample.

Table 1: Age of participants

Mother's age (years)	Num. of mothers
18 to 28	14
29-38	11
39-48	7
49-58	3
58 or more	1
No answer	1

Table 2: Total of years in the USA

Years in USA	Num. of mothers
1-5	4
5-10	17
11-20	14
21-30	2

Table 3: Num. of children of participants

Num. of children	Num. of mothers
1	5
2 to 4	13
5 or more	13

Table 4: Ages of the children

Ages of children	Num. of mothers(in percentages)
0 to 3	17%
4 to 6	16%
7 to 12	30%
13 to 18	22%
More than 18	15%

In the area of parenting practices, the mothers were asked about their strengths and concerns. In the area of strengths, 20, out of 37 mothers considered themselves good providers of home made food for their children. Another strength was the adequate care they provide to their children when they are sick. It included taking them to the doctor, home remedies, chicken soup, and more affection than usual. Furthermore, they felt competent in teaching them about religion and instilling in them appropriate moral values. Staying home to raise the children was the way to raise good kids. They responded that by staying home they could better listen and talk with their children. Based on their perceptions, the qualities of a good mother was to teach their children moral values, to set good examples to them, to stay home instead of working outside (if there are no financial needs), to be patient regardless of children's misbehavior, to prepare themselves to be better mothers, and prioritize their children's education.

In the area of concerns, the 37 mothers were preoccupied that their children grow to be honest, moralistic and/or good workers. They were concerned weather their disciplining was correct, and if their methods were effective in teaching them to be good adults (drug free, to avoid teen pregnancy, etc). They also worried about their future. They wanted to make

sure their children pursued their education, and get better jobs than them. One of the concerns expressed by two single mothers was their anxiety to know what would happen to their children if they died before they were adults.

In order to obtain the percentages for the following topics, the mothers were asked to range their responses by order of importance, and the researcher also counted the frequency in which they considered that aspect important in their lives. The percentages do not add to 100% because the respondents were able to vote for their three most important responses. In the area of parenting practices, the participants were asked to discuss the following topics:

Table 5: Most challenging parenting roles:

Participants (in percentages) N=37	Responses
88%	To find ways to make children obey
63%	Parenting without the support of a partner, or the child(ren)'s father
42%	Lack of quality time given to children due to job and housework
31%	Feeling of inadequacy to help children with homework due to lack of English language skills
21%	To accept that children will follow some American ways that we do not embrace
15%	Be fair when disciplining siblings who are fighting
(not voted)	To be patient in disciplining without using spanking or hitting

Table 7: The main reasons for disciplining were:

Participants (in percentages) N=37	Responses
100%	Disobedience (included failure to do chores, homework)
94%	Lack of respect
42%	Temper tantrums
42%	Fights among siblings

90% of participants emphasized how connected their experience as mothers have been with their experience as being parented by their own mothers. One of the parenting areas that the participants disregarded as a positive trait from their mothers was their commitment to

sacrifice themselves for their children. One mother added: “My mother sacrificed herself because she decided to leave the factory and sew dresses at home in order to be close to us”. It meant to look for a type of job that would allow them to be physically close to them such as to sew, or to have a booth at home to sell goods, or bake cookies and bread at home to sell. The respondents found themselves parenting their children very similar to how they were parented.

Even though they stressed the importance of mothers staying home to raise “good children”, about a 50% of the interviewees who stayed home showed resentment for not being able to pursue their dreams of completing their education, or pursuing a professional career.

Another area inherited from their mothers was their fear of God. Their experience was that being afraid of being punished by God was a good disciplining tool to prevent them from lying, cursing, or engaging into pre-marital sexual activity. One member added “As a child, I really thought that my mother had a deal with God, because when she told me that God was going to punish me for being bad, things really happened to me”. About 50% of the mothers expressed using this disciplining technique with their children.

The participant’s experience as children also included physical punishment such as spankings, beatings with belts, slaps on the face, or spending a few minutes on their knees while holding rocks in their hands. However, great minimization of their mother’s utilization of these techniques was done by saying that physical punishment was only done after they did not follow one or two verbal warnings.

Even though little information was volunteered about the participant’s use of physical punishment, they expressed having used spanking on the child’s bottom as the last resort, and only when the children did not respond to verbal warnings, threats or removal of privileges.

However, 47% of mothers responded that it was not fair that in the United States, the government had to intervene by not letting mothers use the discipline that they think is best. A mother whose child has just returned to her after being removed from her due to physical punishment stated: “Now I just let my daughter do what she wants because I am not allowed to spank her”. The disciplining methods that work best, based on their opinions were to talk with them and give them warnings, to take out privileges, time out, spanking, and for parents to do what is preached. The main reasons for disciplining were disobedience, lack of respect, temper tantrums, and fights among siblings.

In the area of culture, the mothers were asked about the most important traditions to instill in their children. The priority of all the participants were to teach moral values, and to respect adults. Language, customs and religious traditions were also important to teach to their children. The mothers emphasized authentic native food, religious ceremonies such as Posadas (festivities prior to Christmas), Reyes Magos (Epiphany), the belief in baby Jesus instead of Santa Claus as the one who brings Christmas presents to children, and to decorate homes with Nativities for Christmas.

Table 8 presents the mother’s perceptions about the differences in child rearing in the United States and their country of origin.

Table 8: Child rearing differences.

In the USA	In country of origin
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More independence and freedom 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More dependence from parents
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children are more influenced by peers than from parents or other adults. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children are more influenced by parents and other adults than from other peers.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Less respect to adults and authority figures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More respect to parents, adults and authority figures.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More individualistic 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family is more important than individual
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority of children are raised by day care providers when parent(s) work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority of children are raised by relatives when parent(s) work outside of the home.

The most difficult cultural aspects of child rearing in the United States were to ensure the children's respect to adults and elders, their appreciation of cultural customs and appreciation of family in spite of influences from friends and society to be more individualistic and less dependent from parents. Moreover, the lack of social support, the busy life style, lack of safety in their neighborhoods, and living in crowded conditions impacted their parenting. A dramatic finding that 80 % of the respondents had to share housing in order to afford it. One mother stated: "I live with my three children in a garage that does not have amenities." Another commented: "We have to share a two bedroom apartment with two other families with children in order to afford the rent." These mothers expressed their difficulty to stop their children's acting out when there were other children in the home that influenced their own children's behavior.

On the other hand, they also expressed that the benefits of raising their children in the United States was that they were more educational opportunities, more consistency to discipline their children without the constant intervention of relatives, and more job availability for parents (except for undocumented), to fulfill the children's needs.

The mothers of children over the age of eleven stated their concerns regarding acculturation issues. They expressed feeling very distant from their children as they grew older and want to follow more liberal way. One of the mothers shared a writing composition that her adolescent daughter had written for a school assignment regarding her being Mexican and growing up in America.

The American me, born and raised here, in old Mexico, now the United States of America. A culture so different from the one my parents taught and shared with me. I take on my parents traditions and cultures brought with them from Mexico. It is Mexico inside my house, when we eat dinner, speak Spanish, listen to mariachi and other Mexican music, when we do chores everyday, when familia or family comes over and tell stories of their experiences in Mexico.

It's also Mexico when we prepare for Quinceaneras or huge birthday parties for a girl that turns fifteen, and when she is allowed to wear make up and have a boyfriend. Now, when I step outside of my door in the mornings to go to school the story of my life changes. The American culture becomes part of me. I go to school and I am taught to speak English, to learn about Shakespeare and about the United States Constitution...

This mother commented that after reading her daughter's composition, she started realizing about the importance of understanding what their children go through in living their lives in two different cultures. She added; "Now I know that I cannot have them follow the Mexican way, that I need to be flexible to other customs." In general, the mothers expressed that is not until their children become adolescents that the clash of cultures affects their parenting.

Education was a theme that was expressed by all the respondents as a very important reason of immigrating. Better educational and job opportunities for their children were the main reason for the mothers to remain in this country, despite difficulties such as non legal status, unemployment, periods of homelessness, or the lack of support of the children's father. Half of the respondents expressed that their plan when immigrating was to go back to their country of origin after saving some money to make a living there. However, many of them are scarcely meeting their needs and lack opportunity to ever save money to return.

VI Discussion

The qualitative findings from this study suggest differences in the parenting styles of immigrant Latina mothers from the norms of mainstream American parenting. The culture of their country of origin greatly influences their parenting. However, while adapting to this country after immigration, Latina mothers also face additional stressors that affect their parenting style. About 80% of the mothers interviewed said that at the time of their referrals to child welfare they were facing extreme tension due to problems such as unemployment, crowded housing conditions, or lack of support system. Thirty-four percent of mothers reported not having anybody to support them with parenting issues, and only twenty-eight percent had the support of the children's father or a partner. The remaining 48% had the support of grandparents, aunt, uncles, friends or clergy people.

Overall, the results of this study indicate that the parental attitudes of immigrant mothers are shaped by three main factors; socioeconomic status, experiences of family of origin, and cultural expectations. First of all, the mothers' narrations during the personal interviews were analyzed in relation to their economic status, and the level of satisfaction of basic needs. Mothers whose basic family needs were not met, prioritized on aspects related to feeding their children, comforting them during sickness, or ensuring that their daughters knew how to do housework, which were essential for their survival. Aspects such as pursuing an education, receiving support, safety and stimulation were equally important for all mothers regardless of their socioeconomic background. However, either due to their stress levels for not meeting their basic needs, or due to their lack of time for working many hours, low income mothers are often inclined to prioritize on these aspects. Mothers with more

resources, who were able to meet their basic needs emphasized on providing an example to their children, in playing, listening and talking to their children.

The stressors related to the process of migration for these mothers differ depending on other risk factors. According to Canino and Spurlock (1994, p. 155), low social status or overcrowded living conditions often emerge as risk factors to immigrant families who can't mitigate the stress related to adapting to a new environment. In their process of immigration, mothers narrated their experiences of leaving their loved ones in order to look for better lives for them and their children. In adapting to the new country they experienced constant geographic mobility, the need to locate a support network from similar cultural background, and mainly finding a job in spite of their limited English language ability. Many mothers reported that they tried to forget their painful experiences in order to concentrate in the present. However, during the interviews, their narrations centered on their painful experiences, and their connection with the reasons for having being reported to social services.

In adapting to the new country, the mothers who had a support network of family members, or friends, reported easier and more rewarding experiences of adaptation. Family supports also extended their limited economic resources. For example, a single mother of three children with a monthly income of \$550.00, reported being able to pay for their expenses that included rent, food, limited clothing and occasional outings to McDonald because she shared a house with two other families. They also shared baby-sitting, transportation, housework, cooking, and advise regarding child rearing. Even though families who share housing often suffer from overcrowding, they receive greater essential benefits through sharing.

Another theme found during the interviews was the mother's experience from their family of origin. The immigrant mother's relationship with their own mothers was significant in their lives. During their narrations, the mothers central focus of attention when talking about their parenting, was the way they were parented by their mothers. Even though, they reported not reproducing the same type of parenting that they mothers used, they impacted their lives substantially. For example, they report that their mothers used constant verbal instruction for the expected behavior. According to the participant mothers, their mothers constantly repeated their instructions until they recorded the messages. They said that some of these messages were so well recorded in their minds, that they would be present even as adults. They often found themselves repeating the same messages to their own children, even when they did not like them as children. On the other hand, they were not as impacted with the experiences from their fathers. For example one mother narrated how even though her father was often at home, he did very little of the parenting. She added; "His memories are very vague, however, my mother's constant lectures are always in my mind". These differences on the impact of the mother and father parenting can be explained by the low expectations of the paternal figure that they reported from their own mothers.

Cultural expectation was significant in shaping the mother's child rearing experiences. Mothers wanted to instill in their children aspects such as the importance of family, the use of their native language at home, religious festivities, and respect to adults. Mothers concluded that the majority of confrontations with adolescent children were in relation with this issues.

Overall, the participants for this study shared their most important strengths, concerns, and parenting experiences. However, they were elusive when talking about methods of disciplining. Ten of the twelve mothers who participated in personal interviewed expressed

that children need to be spanked sometimes when they have not responded to verbal instructions and warnings. Nevertheless, the majority did not agree with excessive punishment. It is important to note, however, that in two families who reported a history of domestic violence by the father, the mothers justified the father's use of belt slapping their children. One mother, whose older son had strongly beaten her adolescent daughter stated that her daughter deserved it because she was very rebellious. When she was asked if she had deserved the beatings that she received from her husband, she started realizing the impact of her own life in her parenting style.

Another theme found in nine of the twelve mothers participating in personal interviews was their high expectations from their daughters. For example, one of the participants had a 15 year old who was developmentally delayed. In spite of the fact that she had a chronological age of 12 years, she was expected to clean the house and cook every day while her mother returned from work. In general, this mothers' childhood was also characterized by being the parentified child, or growing up in a very patriarchal single family where female daughters had many responsibilities from an early age.

Regarding the amount and type of information that the immigrant mothers possessed about child welfare laws, it was limited when they had just immigrated. They all concluded that child welfare laws should be a topic for television , radio announcements, news, and talk shows. That there are things that they did in their country of origin that was normal, but when done in this country, it is considered neglect or abuse. One of the mothers commented; "My nightmare started when I went to the store and left my children in the car because it was cold. Shopping was not going to take a long time, then when they investigated my husband's past,

things got worse". For this mother, leaving the children in the car alone was not considered neglect.

The interviews, and the focus group provided an insight of the achievements and struggles that these mothers experienced as immigrants. The mothers represented in this study mostly had low educational attainment, had more than four children, and had a family income of less than \$2,000 a month. However, the ages of the children fluctuated from 0 to more than eighteen years of age. As a result, the findings are limited to the population with similar characteristics. The themes revealed represent topics to be considered when working with Latina immigrant women. For example, support services can be directed toward immigrants in order to help them in adjusting to the new country. More informal support groups can be created in every community where newly immigrants are paired up with volunteers who have experienced immigration. Also, public service announcements can be created in different languages in order to maintain the public informed about important laws.

In addition, child welfare services for immigrant families need to be sensitive to issues such as their not understanding how the system works. Very often, it can be assumed that the families know how to arrange for services and that the referrals will accommodate to their needs. However, some services will not meet the client's needs as they are. For example, many immigrant mothers who do not have a support system, will not feel comfortable in a formal and structured support group. As expressed during the interviews, they prefer to participate in groups where they know at least some of the members before hand and where the relationships will be informal, spontaneous, and less rigorous.

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Questions for the interviews and the focus group.

1. All parents have some difficulties in raising children. In general, what do you think is the most challenging aspect of child rearing?
2. In what ways are you best as parent?
3. What are the things that worry you most about being a parent?
4. What traditions you consider important to teach to your children?
5. What do you think are the methods of disciplining that work the best?
6. What do you usually have to punish the child for?
7. What is different about child rearing in your country of origin and in the United States?
8. In what ways are children different in your country of origin and in the United States?
9. What are the issues that most impacted your parenting when you immigrates to the United States?
10. What is the best way to adapt to the new country?
11. Do you think that mothers should be home to raise the children, or work outside of the home? Why?
12. Who do you go for outside help when you need support regarding child rearing issues?
13. If you were still in your country, would you rear your children differently than the way you do it here?
14. What is the hardest aspect of rearing your children in the United States?
15. What is the hardest aspect of rearing your children in your country of origin?
16. What were the most stressful aspects of your immigrating experience?
17. What information did you have about child welfare laws when you immigrated to the United States?
18. What information do you have now regarding child welfare laws?

QUESTIONS FOR THE INTERVIEW AND THE FOCUS GROUP

1. Todas las madres enfrentan dificultades al criar a sus hijos. En general, ¿Cuál es el aspecto mas difícil del trabajo de ser madre?
2. ¿En qué aspecto se considera usted una buena madre?
3. ¿Qué cosas le preocupan mas acerca de su rol como madre?
4. ¿Cuáles tradiciones de su país considera importantes para enseñar a sus hijos?
5. ¿Cuáles métodos de disciplina considera que funcionan mejor?
6. ¿Cuáles son las principales causas por las que usted castiga a sus hijos?
7. ¿Qué diferencia existe en criar a los hijos en su país de origen y en los Estados Unidos?
8. ¿Qué diferencia existe entre la forma de ser de los niños en su país y en los Estados Unidos?
9. ¿Cuáles son los problemas que mas le afectaron en la crianza de los hijos al inmigrar a los Estados Unidos?
10. ¿Cuál es la mejor manera de adaptarse a este país?
11. ¿Piensa usted que las madres deben quedarse en casa a criar a sus hijos, o que deben trabajar fuera de la casa? ¿Por qué?
12. ¿Cuales personas le ayudan cuando busca ayuda externa en relación a la crianza de sus hijo?
13. ¿Usted cree que si viviera en su país criaría a sus hijos de manera diferente de la que lo hace en este país?
14. ¿Qué considera es lo mas difícil de criar a los hijos en los Estados Unidos?
15. ¿Qué considera es lo mas difícil de criar a los hijos en su país?
16. ¿Qué fue lo mas difícil de superar cuando inmigró a los Estados Unidos?
17. ¿Cuál es la información que tenía al inmigrar acerca de las leyes de bienestar del niño (child welfare) en los Estados Unidos?
18. ¿Cuál es la información que tiene ahora acerca de las leyes de bienestar del niño?

Parental Attitude Questionnaire

Please read each of the following items carefully and rate your agreement or disagreement by checking the appropriate blank to the right of the question.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1. The way that parents discipline their children in my country is better than how is done in the United States.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. I feel pleasure in doing activities with my children	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. Parenting my child(ren) has been very difficult.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. I raise my children pretty much like my parents raised me.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. All parents have difficulties sometimes in disciplining their children.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. It is easier to parent children in my country than in the U.S.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
7. I believe that I am a good mother	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. It is not fair that the laws do not allow parents to discipline their children the way they want.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9. Children misbehave because they want to upset their parents.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
10. The conflicts that I have with my child(ren) are mainly because:					
- They follow American customs that I do not accept	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
- They do not obey me	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
- They do not respect me or other adults	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
- I am very stressed from working very much	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
- I do not know how to handle them	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
- My child(ren) are difficult to handle.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
-They do not want to follow our Latin customs such as speaking Spanish at home, etc.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

What is the disciplining method that you think works the best with your children? (Write number 1 to the one that in your opinion is the most important, then number 2 to the next one, and so on.

- Take out privileges (such as watch T.V., play nintendo, etc.) _____
- Time out _____
- Corporal punishment _____
- Talk to them about the problem _____
- Threaten them that you will take out privileges _____
- Reward them when they do good _____
- Scream at them _____
- Other (Specify) _____

Cuestionario de Actitudes sobre la Paternidad

Por favor lea cada pregunta cuidadosamente y evalúe si usted está de acuerdo o en desacuerdo. Marque en el lugar apropiado a la derecha de cada pregunta.

Muy	Mas	Ni de	Mas	Muy
de	o	acuerdo	o	en
acuerdo	de	en	desacuerdo	des-
				acuerdo

-
1. Creo que los padres disciplinan mejor a sus hijos en mi país que en los Estados Unidos _____
 2. Disfruto al realizar actividades con mis hijos _____
 3. Me ha costado mucho trabajo criar a mis hijos. _____
 4. Yo crío a mis hijos parecido a como me criaron. _____
 5. Todos los padres tienen problemas algunas veces en criar a sus hijos. _____
 6. Es mas fácil criar a los hijos en mi país que en E.U. _____
 7. Yo creo que soy una buena madre _____
 8. No es justo que las leyes no dejen a los padres disciplinar a sus hijos en la forma que deseen. _____
 9. Los niños desobedecen porque quieren hacer enojar a los padres _____
 10. Las principales causas por las que tengo conflictos con mis hijos son:
 - Siguen costumbres americanas con las que no estoy de acuerdo _____
 - Porque ellos no me obedecen _____
 - Porque ellos no me respetan a mi o a otros adultos _____
 - Porque estoy tensa por trabajar tanto _____
 - Porque no sé como tratarlos para que obedezcan _____
 - Porque mis hijos son niños difíciles. _____
 - Porque no quieren seguir nuestras costumbres latinas como hablar Español en la casa, etc. _____

Cual método de disciplina cree usted que funcione mejor? (Ponga el número 1 al que considere mas importante, 2 al siguiente en importancia, y así sucesivamente.

- No dejarles hacer lo que les gusta (ver televisión, jugar nintendo, etc.) _____
- Enviarlos a su cuarto por un rato, o a un lugar determinado para que se tranquilizen (time out) _____
- Castigo fisico _____
- Hablar con ellos del problema _____
- Amenazarles con quitarles algo que les gusta _____
- Darles premios cuando sí hacen las cosas bien _____
- Gritarles _____
- Otro (Cual) _____

San José State University
College of Social Work

Field Agency's Approval of Research Project Prospectus

Instructions: This form must be completed by all students participating in university related research projects, including S.W. projects. The form should be completed and submitted to the student's S.W. 298 instructor or faculty sponsor. All students are expected to advise their agencies of the content of their research projects as well as plans related to their proposed methodology, data collection, and data analysis activities. Completion of this form does not remove the obligation of students to complete other college, university, or agency research review and approval procedures/policies.

If significant changes are made in the project a new form must be completed and submitted. All S.W. 298 students must complete and submit this form prior to commencing their actual research work with data collection or clients; and in any event before the end of their first semester of study.

The field instructor's or other agency representative's signature certifies that the student has discussed and shared their plans with the agency, and that the agency is not in opposition to the project. The S.W. 298 instructor and/ or other college officials should be contacted if there are any concerns, questions, or objections.

Name of Student Beatriz Lopez Name of Agency Santa Clara County Social Services

Field Instructor's Name Christopher Peck F.I.'s Telephone # 441 5226

SJSU Instructor's Name Fred Prochaska Semester(s) Fall 99

Proposed Topic: A Study of Attitudes Toward Child Rearing among Latina Immigrant Mothers

Brief Description of Project- Timelines, Sample/Subjects, and Methodology:

This is a qualitative study that aims to explore the acculturation issues that shape the childrearing practices of Latino Immigrant mothers. A combination of two data collection strategies will be used; ethnographic interviews and a focus group.

Signature of Student Beatriz Lopez Date 10-22-99

Signature of Field Inst./Agency Rep. Christopher Peck Date 10-22-99

Signature of 298 Instructor/College Rep. Fred Prochaska Date 10/25/00



San José State
UNIVERSITY


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Appendix H

TO: Beatriz Lopez
499 Tovar Dr.
San Jose, CA 95123

FROM: Nabil Ibrahim, 
AVP, Graduate Studies & Research

DATE: November 5, 1999

The Human Subjects-Institutional Review Board has approved your request to use human subjects in the study entitled:

"A Study of Attitudes Toward Child Rearing
among Latina Immigrant Mothers"

This approval is contingent upon the subjects participating in your research project being appropriately protected from risk. This includes the protection of the anonymity of the subjects' identity when they participate in your research project, and with regard to any and all data that may be collected from the subjects. The Board's approval includes continued monitoring of your research by the Board to assure that the subjects are being adequately and properly protected from such risks. If at any time a subject becomes injured or complains of injury, you must notify Nabil Ibrahim, Ph.D., immediately. Injury includes but is not limited to bodily harm, psychological trauma and release of potentially damaging personal information.

Please also be advised that all subjects need to be fully informed and aware that their participation in your research project is voluntary, and that he or she may withdraw from the project at any time. Further, a subject's participation, refusal to participate, or withdrawal will not affect any services the subject is receiving or will receive at the institution in which the research is being conducted.

If you have any questions, please contact me at
(408) 924-2480.

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