

ABSTRACT

CAYE, JOANNE SNYDER. Exploring the Decision-Making Process of Hispanic Adults to Pursue Citizenship in Siler City, North Carolina: A Narrative Analysis Using Photovoice. (Under the direction of Dr. Tuere' Bowles, PhD.)

The aim of this qualitative research study is to understand the decision-making process of Hispanic adults who have lived in the United States at least 15 years, have English as a second language, have less education than other recent immigrant waves, and have become citizens within the past four years. Narrative inquiry and photovoice were the research methods used in this study. Data were obtained from 13 in-depth interviews, 2 focus groups in which the respondents shared pictures they had taken to depict what the journey to citizenship meant to them, researcher notes and observations. The interviews were conducted in English and Spanish, then transcribed and translated by five research collaborators.

Three research questions guided this study: What personal, social, and environmental factors (internal and external) shaped the decision of a Hispanic adult to persist in the naturalization process successfully? How do Hispanic adults perceive the role of a non-formal citizenship class in their journey to successfully complete the naturalization process? What is the outcome of achieving citizenship in the everyday lives of Hispanic adults who have lived in the United States for at least 15 years prior to naturalization? Data were analyzed using theoretical and open coding, and yielded several findings. External factors that affected the respondents in this study aligned with previous research. Finding sufficient finances to apply for citizenship and learning English were most commonly mentioned. Support from family and friends, especially young daughters, was important when preparing to take the test. Gaining confidence and the ability to set goals and reach them were critical personal factors. The non-formal citizenship class provided necessary support for Hispanic

adults. Content was important, but support was essential. Study participants experienced both straightforward and profound transformations as a result of becoming naturalized. They were able to avoid some governmental red tape, sponsor family member's admission to the country, and move around more easily as citizens. More importantly for them, they felt more secure and free. Participants described themselves as proud, and ready to participate in democratic actions such as voting.

There were four conclusions to this study: Personal factors outweighed external factors in the decision-making processes of Hispanic adults seeking citizenship. Their ability to set goals and to utilize support from family was a counterweight to their experience of pre- and post migration trauma. Second, Hispanic adults found their voices in citizenship class as they gained confidence through sharing their cultural wealth. Third, new citizens pay attention to what democracy means and plan on voting and making their opinions known. Fourth, US immigration policies exacerbate the trauma experienced by study participants.

© Copyright 2014 by Joanne S. Caye

All Rights Reserved

Exploring the Decision-Making Process of Hispanic Adults to Pursue Citizenship
in Siler City, North Carolina: A Narrative Analysis Using Photovoice

by
Joanne Snyder Caye

A dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
North Carolina State University
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Educational Research and Policy Analysis

Raleigh, North Carolina

2014

APPROVED BY:

Dr. Tuere Bowles
Chair of Advisory Committee

Dr. Lance D. Fusarelli

Dr. Diane Chapman

Dr. Lawrence B. Rosenfeld

DEDICATION

To the men and women from Mexico and El Salvador who shared their lives and dreams and allowed me to tell their stories of courage and dogged perseverance. And, to one among you who arranged places and times for us to meet and talk, and who said he'd vote for me if I ran for President! I dedicate this work to all of you, and especially you, Manuel.

BIOGRAPHY

Joanne Caye grew up in Troy, New York, in a family that often discussed and attended to issues of social justice and care for those less well off than they. When Joanne and her two older sisters were growing up, they visited the small psychiatric hospital where their mother worked as a nurse. They were taught about interacting with patients respectfully, and about the barriers mental illness caused the individuals who were patients there.

Her father had a lifelong career with the local newspaper. He often discussed current events and expected his daughters to pay attention to the news. Volunteering was expected within the family, and members embraced the importance of continual learning. Joanne's father would say, "The day you stop learning is the day you will die." Learning took many forms, but was always front and center. These experiences had a profound effect on Joanne's worldview.

In college, Joanne chose the major most suited to her, social welfare. She never regretted that decision. Employment for the first 20 years of her career involved public social work at the county and state levels. She began to realize that her work with clients often included what she now knows as non-formal education. Over time Joanne was asked to develop and provide organized training experiences for those in the helping professions. In mid-career, she was invited to make teaching, training, and writing curriculum her full time work within a specific training center at the UNC Chapel Hill, School of Social Work. As a result, she spent more and more time teaching in the classroom but never lost her sense of connection with the community.

Although Joanne had long dreamed of earning a PhD. life responsibilities including raising two sons, working full-time, and volunteering, distracted her from this dream. However, several years ago a colleague encouraged her to pursue her doctorate and the timing was finally right. Joanne attached this new learning to the volunteer work she loved, facilitating the journey of Hispanic adults who were working toward citizenship. Their resilience and perseverance served as an example of the ability to achieve one's dreams despite internal and external barriers. The nuances of teaching non-formal education were intriguing and called for exploration and greater understanding and became the focus of Joanne's dissertation. Upon completion of her degree, Joanne hopes to learn methods to support and effectively connect with adults who are taking the risks involved in going to school later in life. She is interested in learning how to use new technologies that bridge barriers of time and location, barriers that are common to adults who return to school.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, to my chair and guide, Dr. Tuere' Bowles. From my first class with you to the present you encouraged my passion and helped me structure it, so that "all would be well."

To my committee, Dr. Lance Fusarelli (a wonderful 'big elephant' if there was one!), Dr. Diane Chapman (who turned me on to the theory of planned behavior), and Dr. Lawrence Rosenfeld (who showed me what excellent academic writing is supposed to look like & took on a complete newby to write a book). I appreciate all your time and direction. I needed it!

To Dr. Amy Orders who stepped in for my proposal defense, and offered friendship, guidance and laughter.

To the research collaborators who gave me the words to ponder: Carrie, Ellen, Karon, Rachel, and Ana, and to Sandra who made sure the words were accurate.

To Chatham County Literacy Council who sponsored the citizenship class where I fell in love with the work and the people. To the Family Violence Rape Crisis agency who gave us a place to talk.

To a special band of guardian angels: Andrea who coached me around the labyrinth; Vilma, for friendship and computer magic, Donna Bailey, who got me started on this trek; Tina, for chart magic; Lisa, Daisie, Susan, Diane, Alisha, and my family-Becky, Stuart, Louise, Brian, Sean, Azusa, & my colleagues at the UNC School of Social Work who believed I could. Thanks to everyone who wished me well and cheered me on!

And to my partner, Libby, who is my greatest cheerleader, best shoulder, and greatest Santa Claus and comedian and who knows when I need each of those!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES	xi
LIST OF FIGURES	xii
Chapter One	1
Statement of the Problem	4
Purpose of the Study	5
Research Questions	6
Theoretical Framework	7
Significance of the Study	9
Limitations of the Study	11
Definition of Terms	13
Acronyms	15
Chapter Two: Review of the Literature	16
The Context of Hispanic Adult Learners	17
Structure and Role of Citizenship Class	24
Theory of Planned Behavior	26
Theory of Reasoned Action	27
Stages	28
Critiques	30
Development of the Theory of Planned Behavior	31
Critique of the TPB	32
Relevance of the Theory to Hispanic Adults	33
Latino Critical Theory	35
Grounding Principles of LatCrit	37
Critique of LatCrit	41
Relevance of LatCrit to the Study	42
Theory of Transformative Learning	45
Concepts of Transformative Learning	45
The Role of the Educator in Transformative Learning	48

Critique of the Theory of Transformative Learning.....	49
Relevance of the Theory to Hispanic Adults.....	51
Chapter Summary	52
Chapter Three: Methodology	56
Design of the Study.....	56
Characteristics of Qualitative Research	57
Specific Methodologies within Qualitative Research.....	61
Narrative Inquiry	62
Visual Narrative Inquiry: Photovoice.....	64
Sample Selection.....	67
Site Selection	70
Data Collection	71
Interviews	72
Photovoice: Visual Narrative	75
Field notes	78
Observations.....	79
Data Analysis	80
Pilot Study.....	82
Validity and Reliability.....	85
Researcher Bias and Assumptions	90
Translation Issues.....	93
Chapter Summary	95
Chapter Four: Findings.....	98
Study Design Overview	100
Location	101
Participant Demographic Overview	102
Participant Profiles	107
Anabel	108
Carlos	109
Deni	112

Eduardo	113
John	114
Julia	115
Marlene	117
New American	119
Nicha	121
Pablo	122
Soraya	124
Teresa	125
Tito	126
The Voices of the Participants	129
Summary of Findings for the First Research Question	129
Summary of Findings for the Second Research Question	132
Summary of Findings for the Third Research Question	133
Seeing Citizenship as a Goal that is Good	136
Pre and Post Migration Experiences	139
How Environmental, Social, and Personal Factors Shaped Decision-making	141
Environmental Factors	141
The need to work	141
Gathering sufficient money and learning English	142
Effects of legal status	145
Social Factors	146
Importance of support	146
<i>Support from Daughters</i>	147
Personal Factors	148
Lacking confidence	149
Setting goals and working toward them	149
Summary of Environmental, Social, and Personal Factors	150
Attending Citizenship Class	151
The Classroom as a Source of Encouragement	152

External Factors Affecting the Classroom	155
Participants who attended class once	157
Feedback from Previous Test Takers	157
Outcome of Citizenship on Everyday Life	159
Straightforward Transformation	160
Ability to sponsor others	160
Less red tape	160
Employment opportunities	161
Change in relationship with country of origin	161
Profound Transformation	164
Voting	164
Freedom to move around	167
Gaining confidence and respect	169
LPR vs. citizen	171
Walking the uneasy path	173
A sense of belonging	174
Chapter Summary	177
Chapter Five: Summary, Conclusions, Implications and Recommendations	180
Summary of the Study	181
Summary of Study Findings	182
Conclusions	187
Conclusion One: Personal Factors Outweigh External Factors	188
Conclusion Two: Hispanic Adults Found Their Voices	196
Conclusion Three: Citizenship Changes Lives—Enacted Through Voting	201
Conclusion Four: Current US Policies Exacerbate Migration Trauma	207
Conclusion Five: The Study Supports the Decision-making Model	209
Implications	210
Implications for Research	211
Implications for Theory	213
Implications for Education	213

Recommendations214

Chapter Summary216

REFERENCES218

APPENDICES245

APPENDIX A: Recent Immigration Timeline246

APPENDIX B: Invitation Flyer248

APPENDIX C: Telephone Script to Arrange the First Interview249

APPENDIX D: Participant Demographic Questionnaire251

APPENDIX E: Consent for the First Interview252

APPENDIX F: Consent for the Second Interview255

APPENDIX G: Script for Training Allowed Use of Cameras259

APPENDIX H: Parental Consent for Photographing Children261

APPENDIX I: Tips for Taking a Good Picture262

APPENDIX J: Interview Guide for First Interview263

APPENDIX K: Interview Guide for Second Interview with Photographs265

APPENDIX L: Bracketing Interview Essay266

APPENDIX M: IRB Approval Letter270

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1-Rates of Naturalization of Individuals Eligible for Citizenship by Country of Origin	3
Table 2-Decision Tree of a Hispanic Adult Regarding Citizenship	54
Table 3-Demographics of Hispanic Adults.....	106
Table 4-Participants in In-depth interviews and Focus Groups.....	107
Table 5-Findings by Research Question	136
Table 6-Revised Decision Tree.....	209

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1-FVRC Office	101
Figure 2-Anabel's daughter	109
Figure 3-Siler City Mural (Carlos)	111
Figure 4-Deni at Carolina Meadows	112
Figure 5-Eduardo's Study Books	114
Figure 6-John's Front Porch	115
Figure 7-Julia's Family Restaurant	117
Figure 8-Marlene's Home	118
Figure 9-New American's Citizenship Certificate	120
Figure 10-Nicha's Cross	122
Figure 11-Pablo's Workplace	122
Figure 12-Siler City Center (Soraya)	123
Figure 13-Teresa's Daughter	125
Figure 14-Tito's Grandson	126
Figure 15-Playing Soccer	162
Figure 16-Teresa's Family	165
Figure 17-School Bus	168
Figure 18-Historical Marker	175
Figure 19-Front View	176

Chapter One

The United States is a country made of immigrants. Since the passage of the Naturalization Act of 1790, waves of individuals from Europe, Africa, and Asia have arrived in the United States (U.S. History, 2012; U.S. Immigration History, 2012). In the last half of the twentieth century, the United States experienced a tremendous wave of immigrants from Mexico and South America.

In 1950, fewer than 4 million U.S. residents self-identified as Hispanic, a category that the federal government defines to include individuals coming from Mexico or one of the other Spanish-speaking countries in Central and South America (Guzmán, 2001). The Census Bureau reports that between 1990 and 2000, the Hispanic population grew by 57.9 % (Johnson-Webb, 2002) and by 2010, Hispanics comprised 14.7% of the U.S. population, surpassing Blacks as the largest minority (Lopez, Morin, & Taylor, 2010). The southeastern United States is one of the regions affected by the direct migration and internal redistribution of the Hispanic population. The change in demographics is being felt in less traditional destination states such as Georgia, Arkansas and North Carolina where predominantly rural and predominantly native born residents in small towns and cities are experiencing significant changes in population (Johnson-Webb, 2002). The immigrants who were arriving in these less traditional destination states and towns had characteristics that were somewhat different from the previous waves of immigrants in United States history.

Hispanic adults, especially those who have come to the United States from Mexico, have been slower to naturalize than immigrants from other parts of the world (Monkman,

1999; Passel, Cohn, & Gonzales-Barrera, 2012; Prengman, 2007). Pachon (1987) found that Hispanic immigrants naturalized at half the rate of all non-Hispanic individuals, except for immigrants from Cuba. Prengman (2007) stated that of the 8 million legal permanent residents eligible to apply for citizenship but who had not done so, the majority came from Latin American countries.

Recently however, naturalization patterns among Hispanics have changed. In his report for the Pew Hispanic Trust, Passel (2007) wrote that the percentage of Mexicans (the largest single immigrant-sending country at the time of the report) who chose to become citizens in the United States increased from 20% in 1995 to 35% in 2005. Immigration researchers believed that the number of Hispanic individuals applying for U.S. citizenship increased significantly throughout the first decade of this century for two main reasons: to make sure the application was submitted before a forthcoming dramatic increase in the application fees for citizenship and to offset a simultaneous loss of supports and benefits for legal permanent residents (Rytina & Saeger, 2005). Despite these incentives, on balance Hispanic immigrants' naturalization rates remain lower than immigrants from other countries. (See Table 1).

This brief introduction provides the background of and context for Hispanic adults living in Siler City, North Carolina. These Hispanic adults have been living in the United States for over 15 years and are now deciding to become citizens even as the total number of immigrants coming into the United States from Mexico and South American have decreased (Passel, 2007; Passel, Cohn, & Gonzales-Barrara, 2012). They are less well educated than

previous waves of immigrants, speak less fluent English, and are poorer than immigrants in the past (Passel, 2007). In 2013, Hispanic adults live in a country that has mixed reactions to their presence, resulting in laws and policies that sometimes make it easier for them to live here and also make it easier for law enforcement to send them home. The naturalization test has become more difficult to pass, and the application process is more expensive, triple the cost in 2005.

Table 1

Rates of Naturalization of Individuals Eligible for Citizenship by Country of Origin

Country of Origin	Naturalization Rate
Middle East	77%
Asia	71%
Europe and Canada	69%
Mexico & Latin America	35%

Note. Adapted from “A Growing Share of Immigrants Choosing Naturalization,” by J. Passel, 2007, *Pew Hispanic Trust*.

In his study of Mexican immigrants’ responses to naturalization Felix (2008) reported that many of the study respondents found immigration officials to be patronizing and unpredictable, causing tremendous anxiety and fear about taking the test. Yet despite these factors, more long-time resident Hispanic adults in small cities and towns like Siler City, North Carolina are applying to become citizens.

Statement of the Problem

This study focused on Hispanic adults living in Siler City, North Carolina, who have become citizens in the United States, after living in this country for at least 15 years. The steps required for immigrants to achieve naturalization changed in 2008. The new test requires successful completion of oral and written skills (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2011). The applicant must be conversant enough in English to be able to answer questions about where he or she lives, who is included in his or her family, and to explain the purpose and length of all trips outside the United States in the last five years. In addition, the applicant must be able to read and write a dictated sentence, drawing from a pool of English words supplied by the government. Last, it is necessary to answer up to 10 questions in English about U.S. history and geography from a list of 100 possible questions (Rytina & Caldera, 2008). There are relatively few exemptions from the English-only rule (exemptions are typically granted due to the age of the applicant and time consistently spent in the United States as a permanent resident). Regardless of the language in which the test is given, the small pool of applicants for citizenship who are allowed to speak in Spanish for the test must still learn U.S. history and geography (Laglagaron & Devani, 2008).

The 2008 change in the requirements of the naturalization test had a significant effect on the Hispanic adults who were deciding to apply for citizenship. Historically, factors such as English fluency, a higher income, substantial education, ownership of a home and marriage to a U.S. citizen have been indicators that increased the odds that an immigrant would naturalize (Passel, 2007). The characteristics of individuals who were eligible to

naturalize changed as the wave of immigrants from Mexico and South America increased. Immigrants from Mexico and South American who are eligible for naturalization today are often less well educated than foreign-born individuals who are already citizens (Cabell, 2007; Camarota, 2001). To illustrate, among immigrants who have already become citizens, only 15% have not graduated from high school, whereas among those who are eligible for citizenship but not yet citizens, 38% do not have a high school diploma. This figure reflects a disproportionately high share of Mexican-born immigrants (Camarota, 2001; Jeria, 1999; Passel, 2007).

Since 2009, the wave of immigration from Mexico and Latin America has slowed, and based on recent studies from the Pew Hispanic Trust (Passel et al. 2012) immigration trends appear to have reversed, and are currently considered to be at zero. In fact, more Hispanic adults are returning to Mexico than are emigrating. Passel et al. (2012) suggest that this change is due to issues such as the downward curve in the United States economy, the legal changes that restrict legal residents from receiving support services, and the general increase in the availability of jobs in Mexico. Despite this pattern, many Hispanic adults in Siler City have chosen to pursue citizenship in the United States as a goal.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the factors involved in the decision-making process of Hispanic adults to become citizens and to attend citizenship class. By examining the perceptions of adults regarding what supports or deters the decision to become a citizen, this study helps to illuminate what meaning and significance citizenship holds for Hispanic

adults who live in rural, nontraditional destination locations, and are long-time residents in the United States. The study also highlights the ways that becoming a citizen changes some Hispanic adults' everyday lives. Numerous studies have targeted the perceptions and beliefs of younger Hispanic students or those of older students who are currently in postsecondary formal education (Garcia, 2009; Huber, 2010; Prospero, Russell, & Vohra-Bupta, 2012; Ramirez, 2011). This study focused on the experiences of Hispanic adults with limited prior formal education who decided to become adult learners for the purpose of becoming U.S. citizens.

The study also sought to understand the timing of this decision given the reversal in immigration trends from Mexico and Latin American as well as the historically lower number of individuals from those countries to naturalize in the United States (Passel et al. 2012). Another aspect of this study considered the decision to pursue citizenship in a country that has legally and emotionally demonstrated ambivalence to Hispanics throughout its history (Felix, 2008).

Research Questions

The following questions guided this study:

- 1.) What personal, social, and environmental factors (internal and external) shaped the decision of a Hispanic adult to persist in the naturalization process successfully?
- 2.) How do Hispanic adults perceive the role of a non-formal citizenship class in their journey to successfully complete the naturalization process?

- 3.) What is the outcome of achieving citizenship in the everyday lives of Hispanic adults who have lived in the United States for at least 15 years prior to naturalization?

The research questions called for a qualitative research design, using narrative inquiry. Such a design is the most appropriate for this study because according to Denzin and Lincoln (2011), qualitative researchers confront the realities of the everyday social world of the participants being studied, and capture a clear sense of the individual's point of view. In addition, qualitative research takes place in the individual's natural setting. This study took place in Siler City, North Carolina where Hispanic adults live and where they attended citizenship classes. Interviews with Hispanic adults sought to gain their perspectives about their process of becoming citizens, which is an individual journey. Further, qualitative methodologies made it possible to obtain detailed and rich insight into the experiences and perceptions of the Hispanic adults who participated in citizenship class.

Theoretical Framework

Inquiry into the experience of Hispanic adults used three theoretical frameworks: Theory of planned behavior (TPB) (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980), Latino critical theory (LatCrit) (Solorzano & Yosso, 2004) and the theory of transformative learning (Mezirow, 1997). Together, they allow examination of the journey to citizenship from differing perspectives.

In TPB, Ajzen (2011) followed a logical progression of beliefs, attitudes and intentions to determine the expected behavior of an individual in a situation of somewhat limited volitional control. Ajzen's notion of perceived behavioral control was used to explore the factors that the Hispanic adults see as supporting or deflecting them from their goal.

Second, the decision to become a citizen occurs within the context of a small southern town where expressed ambivalence toward Hispanics is highlighted using the framework of LatCrit (Solorzano & Yosso, 2004). LatCrit critiques the citizenship decision in the light of attitudes about race, language, gender, class, immigration status, and phenotype (Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). The intersections of race and power are highlighted by the actions of these adult learners who face their fear of taking the naturalization exam, risk judgment from a majority culture, and work through a system that can be unsupportive or even critical. Solorzano and Yosso's (2004) counter-stories bring the lives of Hispanic adults to center stage. The authors posit that offering a space for the voices of those whose experiences are not often told can shatter complacency, strengthen traditions, and further the struggle for racial, class, and gender reform. By offering a platform for Hispanic adults to explain and describe their citizenship decision, understanding of the reasons for becoming a citizen are enhanced and possibly challenged.

Third, changes in the everyday lives of Hispanic adults as a result of their decision regarding citizenship were considered in terms of Mezirow's (1997) theory of transformative learning. Transformational learning is about change—"dramatic, fundamental change in the way we see ourselves and the world in which we live" (Merriam, Caffarella, & Baumgartner, 2007, p. 130). Mezirow's (1997) theory provides a construct to explore how becoming a citizen changed the lives of the Hispanic adults who completed the process.

Significance of the Study

Although there have been a number of studies that highlight experiences of Hispanics involved with education, this study adds to that knowledge in several ways. First, this study uses TPB (Ajzen, 1991) as the framework to understand and potentially predict the decision made by immigrants to become citizens of the United States. Although TPB has been used in many studies to analyze changes in behavior (Cheon, Lee, Crooks, & Song, 2012; Choi, 2012) the closest application of TPB to decisions about immigration was found in research completed by Tartakovsky (2011) in his study of Russian and Ukrainian adolescents who immigrated to Israel. Tartakovsky's work focuses on students at the post secondary level, while this study highlights Hispanic adults with little formal education. In his results, Tartakovsky posits that TPB is effective when dealing with issues related to immigration and acculturation. This study can expand that work to adults already living in the host country who choose to change their status from long term resident to citizen.

Second, this study seeks to expand the reach of Latino critical theory by using it as a framework with a different population. The majority of educational research about Hispanics has focused on individuals who are preparing for post-secondary education or who already attend post secondary education and are describing their experiences (Fernandez, 2002; Garcia, 2009; Huber, 2010; Prospero et al. 2012; Ramirez, 2011). In this study, the unit of analysis using LatCrit as its lens includes Hispanic adults who have not completed high school let alone have experienced postsecondary education.

The third area where this study expands previous knowledge focused on the high dropout rate of individuals involved with citizenship classes. The skills needed to achieve citizenship and skills needed to successfully complete Adult Basic Education/English as a Second Language (ABE/ESL) are very similar. As a result, the participants in ABE/ESL and citizenship preparation classes in more rural locations frequently draw from similar cohorts. The association between ABE/ESL and citizenship is helpful for this study because the data regarding citizenship class attendance and completion rates is sparse—data focuses on the raw numbers of Hispanic adults who become citizens rather than comparisons of the numbers of Hispanic adults who start taking citizenship preparation classes with those who complete the naturalization process.

To illustrate the similarity in demographics between ABE/ESL and citizenship classes nationally, data showed that 54.7% of students enrolled in state supported ABE/ESL classes in the year 2004 were female (Office of Vocational and Adult Education, 2012). In that same year, 54% of all naturalizations were female (Rytina & Saeger, 2005). Between 2004 and 2009, the total number of students attending ABE/ESL programs decreased, with Hispanic adults showing the largest decrease in attendance (NRS Fast Facts, 2012). From 2004 to 2007 naturalizations of people from Mexico decreased from 13.3 % to 12.8% (Rytina & Caldera, 2008) repeating the parallel trends between ABE/ESL and naturalization rates. It may be possible to extrapolate discussion of barriers to ABE/ESL completion to a similar cohort of adult Hispanic learners who attended citizenship class in their decision to become citizens.

While concerns regarding barriers to completion are definitely germane to our discussion, this study balances that research with counter-stories of resilience and success from Hispanic adults who have become citizens and attended citizenship preparation classes. This study creates a space for the voices of Hispanic adults who are frequently silent because of limited English fluency or because of fear of job loss or deportation if they speak out. Analysis of the statements of Hispanic adults in the study offers some suggestions for methods to increase citizenship completion rates by giving voice to Hispanic adults who explain what beliefs, attitudes, and intentions helped them finish the process of citizenship successfully.

Finally, although non-formal education has been the focus of several studies (Cassell, 2011; Etling, 1993; Harman, 1976), the specific context of citizenship preparation classes has received little notice, partly due to the location of these classes in non-profit organizations that may not share their pedagogy or attendance information generally or with governmental agencies. Apart from numbers of those who become citizens, there is little in the literature that speaks to how the students respond to the classes. The effectiveness of the non-formal class as a support for the adults preparing to take the citizenship test is largely missing from the literature.

Limitations of the Study

This study was completed in one southeastern town, and included a small number of Hispanic adults with little prior formal education, who were involved at different points in their journey with a citizenship preparation class. Other populations of immigrants in the

United States or Hispanics living in other states may have different experiences as they respond to their own states' laws and policies. Furthermore, North Carolina culture may not translate to other situations smoothly.

Second, all the interviews conducted with Hispanic adults in this study were completed with five translator/interpreters who are culturally and linguistically competent. Whenever material is translated, it is understood that some of the meaning and nuance may be lost in the process. Squires (2009) highlighted several concerns regarding narrative research completed through interpreters; the translations may not contain the words that will connect with the thematic coding planned; or the translation may have errors; and, the translator or interpreter may not have the credentials needed to complete the work effectively. In addition, whenever there is a third party involved with a conversation, there may be greater attention paid to the choice of words by the interviewee or the translator. In this study, one translation from each of the translators was checked with a third party to detect any significant errors. However, it is difficult to completely prevent any misunderstanding in the translation process.

LatCrit has been used as a theoretical framework in many studies (Garcia, 2009; Huber, 2010; Prospero, et al., 2012; Ramirez, 2011), but virtually all of them have involved Hispanics, Latinos and Chicanos who are planning to attend post-secondary school or who already matriculated. Given that this study focused on Hispanic adults in a non-formal citizenship class, it was not as clear how effectively LatCrit fit with the experiences of mature, less well educated, Hispanic adults.

Definition of Terms

Various terms are employed within this research study that are used in different contexts and have slightly different meanings as a result. These terms need further definition and explanation. They are listed below in alphabetical order:

Hispanic: this nomenclature started with a 1976 Act of Congress requiring a collection of data from a specific ethnic group—Americans of Spanish origin (Passel & Taylor, 2009). As a result, schools, public health agencies, and other governmental entities started keeping track of those they served who were members of an ethnic group that traced its roots to 20 Spanish-speaking nations from Latin America and Spain, excluding Portugal and Brazil. The term Latino is used interchangeably with Hispanic by some individuals, but a 2006 Pew Hispanic Trust poll found that 48% of respondents preferred Hispanic, while 26% preferred Latino (Passel & Taylor, 2009). Although these labels can be somewhat controversial for some, for ease of description, the term Hispanic will be used throughout the study.

Immigrant: According to the Immigration and Nationality Act, an immigrant is any noncitizen living in the United States except one legally admitted under specific non-immigration categories (such as Ambassadors and other foreign governmental officials and their families). (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2013).

Legal Permanent Resident:-Sometimes called Permanent Resident Alien by Homeland Security, this person is defined as an individual who has been legally accorded the

privilege of residing permanently in the United States (Department of Homeland Security, n.d.).

Naturalization: Naturalization is the process by which U.S. citizenship is granted to a foreign citizen or national after he or she fulfills the requirements established by Congress in the Immigration and Nationality Act (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2013).

Non-formal Education:-An intentional, systematic method of learning that usually occurs outside of traditional schooling. Non-formal education tends to be more learner-centered, in that the content is adapted to the unique needs of students. Learners can leave anytime they are not motivated to continue (Etling, 1993).

Acronyms

ABE	Adult Basic Education
CRT	Critical Race Theory
ESL	English as a Second Language
PRWORA (1996)	Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act
IIRIRA (1996)	Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act
LatCrit	Latino Critical Theory
TPB	Theory of Planned Behavior
TRA	Theory of Reasoned Action

Chapter Two

Review of the Literature

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature regarding the decision of Hispanic adults to become citizens of the United States after they have lived in this country for at least 15 years. The naturalization process is a complicated one for the adults in this study because they have little prior formal education, and because they are frequently living at the financial and linguistic margins of the majority community. The use of three theoretical perspectives enables exploration of the Hispanic adult's lives from different vantage points.

The review of the literature that guides this study is divided into five sections. Section one clarifies who the participants in this study are in context and what affect their race, language and socio-economic status have on their roles as learners and potential citizens. Section two discusses the structure and role of the non-formal citizenship classes the adults chose to attend. The final three sections consider the theoretical constructs that frame the study—theory of planned behavior; Latino critical theory; and theory of transformational learning. The strengths and usefulness of each framework are described followed by critiques leveled against the construct's effectiveness as a way of explaining human behavior and decision-making. Finally I mention the specific place of these constructs in this particular study.

The Context of Hispanic Adult Learners

The adult learners included in this study are Hispanic adults, ranging in age from 32 to 54, who have participated in at least one citizenship preparation class in Siler City, North Carolina as they studied to become citizens. Participants in this study have lived in the United States for at least 15 years, which is significantly longer than the median nine years of residency in 2008 (Batalova, 2009). Not all of the adults in the study have lived solely in Siler City, but all now consider this location their home. There is wide variety in the skills and language abilities among the adults who come to citizenship class, but a significant proportion of the adults have little or no previous formal education prior to coming to the United States. Bigelow and Lovrien Schwarz (2010) found that illiteracy is prevalent in English or Spanish among older Hispanics:

Between 2004 and 2007, some 17 to 21 percent of the total population of English language learners (ELLs) enrolled in federally funded adult English as a second/other language (ESOL) programs were determined to be at the English as a second language (ESL) beginning literacy level by the National Reporting Service. (p. 1)

Bigelow and Lovrien Schwarz (2010) stated that the individuals in adult education and citizenship class who cannot read or write have many reasons for low literacy: Schools may not have been available in the small remote villages where they grew up because there was no money to pay a teacher; civil wars and insurrections made traveling to schools very dangerous for teachers and students; disasters such as earthquakes, famines, and floods destroyed school buildings and the roads that lead to them. Nevertheless, not being able to

read or write is a barrier to becoming a naturalized citizen in the United States. The current naturalization exam requires the applicant to read one to three simple sentences in English, write one to three sentences dictated by the examiner in English, and answer up to 10 civics questions out of a possible list of 100 (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2011)—a difficult task for individuals who have limited education (Laglagaron & Devani, 2008).

Nationally, among Hispanics over 25 years of age, 27.3% reported less than a ninth grade education (Rosal, Goins, Barbone, & Cortes, 2004). Statistics for Siler City where the study was located state that 39.9% of adults do not have a high school diploma (Chatham County Literacy Council, 2012). For adults with lower first language (L1) skills, techniques such as memorization and phonetics can be a challenge. Bigelow and Lovrien Schwarz (2010) cite several studies that measure the transfer process from one language to another when the learner has not had strong formal learning in the first language.

Learners with higher levels of literacy could use higher-level thinking and reading techniques to read and understand English, but those with low literacy (below fourth grade) did not have the advantage of transferring those skills. This means that higher level reading skills must be developed in L2 [second language], which in turn means a longer process of learning to read the new language for those with little L1 literacy. (p. 5)

The effect of low literacy on academic achievement is a factor that is relevant for the Hispanic adults in this study because it makes it harder for the adult to learn the content of

the second language well enough to understand and remember the civics and history information needed to pass the test.

Another pertinent factor is the adult's socioeconomic situation. Nationally, a significant proportion of the Hispanic adults involved with citizenship classes have low incomes (Camarota, 2001; Jeria, 1999; Passel, 2007). This is especially true of legal permanent residents from Mexico, the most common country of origin for Hispanic adults in the United States. Camarota (2001) found that nationally, "More than half of *legal* [emphasis in the original] Mexican immigrants who have been in the United States for more than 20 years and their U.S.-born children (under age 18) live in or near poverty" (p. 7). Based on 2010 figures, Siler City has a median income 41% below the national average, and a poverty level 19% greater than the national average (Siler City Employment Information, 2010).

One of the reasons why the poverty rate in Siler City is so high is that over 1000 manufacturing jobs have been lost since 2008 (Siler City Economic Development-Business Strategy, 2011). Previously, one of the major occupations involved poultry processing. With the downturn of the economy and the relocation of plants to other states and countries, several of the town's poultry plants were shuttered. In 2011, the last plant closed, eliminating between 550 and 780 jobs (Bracken, 2011; Siler City Economic Development-Business Strategy, 2011). These events hit participants in this study especially hard because construction and poultry processing plants were the most likely employers for Hispanic adults with little prior education and low English proficiency.

Empirical investigations of the relationship between low SES with lower academic achievement most commonly focus on children (Bodovski & Farkas, 2008; Walpole, 2003). The research on outcomes and lower SES is mixed (Graff, 2010; Lewis, 1971). Graff (2010) contended that the assumption that literacy is essential for economic success is a myth, and that this literacy myth “is a means through which to observe the causes of social and economic inequities in western society” (p. 645). On the other hand, Lewis (1971) supported the notion that literacy is necessary and proposed that individuals with lower incomes expressed a higher interest in participating in adult education but were less likely to actually follow through due to social and economic reasons. Ultimately, both authors signal an awareness of the growing challenges to access education when the individual has a lower SES. In the end, it is clear that learning does not occur in isolation, and the adult Hispanic learners’ responsibilities outside the classroom constantly shape and restrict what is possible inside the classroom.

Most of the learners in this study who attended citizenship classes were at least partially employed outside the home or are full time caretakers of children or older adults in the home. When hours of employment change, or when construction crews and welders have to remain later at work, or younger children require supervision or are ill, or attendance at school functions is required, these outside activities often take priority over the citizenship class. As a result, many adults who take classes for citizenship preparation drop out before they reach their goals (Digest for Educational Statistics, 2011).

Considering the challenges faced by many Hispanic adults who take steps toward naturalization as U.S. citizens, one wonders what pushes them forward despite all the obstacles. The adult learners in citizenship class, despite their challenges with reading and writing often have what some researchers call “funds of knowledge” (Bigelow & Lovrien Schwarz, 2010, p. 3), a variety of skills that make it possible to maneuver with some success in their home country and here in the United States. Moreover, they learn survival words and skills that will support their families in the community. Felix (2008) believed that a student centered, caring, and supportive, classroom could be a strong advocate for the adult Hispanics who were working toward citizenship. He said: “The anxiety, joy and tears shed during the naturalization process are shared among the group, suggesting that the solidarity and synergy of the classroom counteract and perhaps trump the negative emotions that have long discouraged the process among Mexican immigrants” (Felix, 2008, p. 612).

The literature described so far highlights some of the barriers faced by Hispanic adults as a group who decide to attend citizenship preparation classes with the intention of becoming citizens: low levels of literacy; lower SES, long work hours; and demanding job and home responsibilities with few options. A number of studies have analyzed characteristics of individual immigrants who seek to naturalize in the United States as well as characteristics of sending and receiving countries to understand motivation to change countries and to naturalize in the destination country (Baker & Espitia, 2000; Balisteri & Van Hook, 2004; Passel, 2007; Yang, 1994). Yang (1994) found that the diverse individuals in his study predominantly viewed naturalization in the United States as a pathway to increase their

political rights, a vehicle to allow sponsorship of others into the United States, and finally, a means to own a U.S. passport and to gain access to broader life opportunities. The Gross National Product, literacy rate and type of government of the sending country were also found to be significant variables. Individuals were more likely to enter and remain in a host country if the prospects for work were poor in their home country, or if the government in the home country was viewed as being repressive (Passel, 2007; Yang, 1994).

Living in large immigrant communities in the host country had differing effects on the tendency to naturalize (Baker & Espitia, 2000; Yang, 1994). Living in a large immigrant enclave could increase the sense of self-sufficiency without citizenship or it could steer an immigrant toward naturalization by providing educational and structural supports during the process. Proximity to the country of origin and ownership of land in the country of origin depressed a tendency to naturalize (Baker & Espitia, 2000). Both Canadians and Mexicans have lower percentages of naturalized citizens compared to legal permanent residents from most other sending countries. Having children who are U.S. citizens, owning a home or business in the United States, speaking English fluently, having a job where English is spoken, and being able to receive public benefits were all seen as factors favoring a decision to naturalize (Baker & Espitia, 2000; Balistreri & Van Hook, 2004; Passel, 2007; Van Hook, Brown, & Bean, 2006).

There have been contrasting results in research that considered the relationship between availability of economic benefits without naturalization, and benefits available only with naturalization. Several researchers investigated the effect on the passage of both the

1996 Personal Responsibility Work Opportunity and Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) and the 1996 Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigration Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) on numbers of individuals seeking naturalization (Balisteri & Van Hook, 2004; Van Hook, Brown, & Bean, 2006). The studies questioned if the motivation to naturalize was connected to recovery of the lost economic benefits mandated by the laws. Balisteri and Van Hook (2004) did not find any shifts in citizenship numbers solely based on those states that chose to supplement benefits at the state level to replace those cut by the 1996 federal legislation. However, findings did suggest that there was an increase in intention to naturalize in order to sponsor other relatives entrance into the United States, which the 1996 laws also reserved to citizens. Immigrants who moved to states with a welcoming reception in terms of both economic supports and attitudinal receptivity were more likely to naturalize, compared to states that had only one of these factors or neither (Portes & Curtis, 1987; Van Hook, Brown, & Bean, 2006). North Carolina has neither of these favorable factors.

The ability to speak English well is a factor commonly associated with intent to integrate into general society and to naturalize (Baker & Espitia, 2000; Griswold, 2011, Passel, 2007). Carhill, Suárez-Orozco and Páez (2008) stated that low levels of English language proficiency can be an obstacle to participation in academic content, including learning a new language as well as learning the civics content of a citizenship class. Griswold (2011) countered that perspective, saying that “the notion that true citizenship and social integration is impossible without proficiency in the dominant language is strong despite evidence to the contrary” (p. 407). Despite her strong protestations regarding language

requirements for active citizenship, Griswold goes on to say that individuals who speak a language other than the dominant ones are often considered outsiders who need integration. Such treatment may prove a deterrent toward citizenship.

To summarize, the Hispanic adults in citizenship class face many challenges, including the need to read and to speak a second language, the reality of lower paying employment with long hours, and significant family responsibilities. Many demonstrate an ability to persevere and complete the journey to citizenship. The role of the non-formal citizenship preparation classes the Hispanic adults attend are described in the next section.

Structure and Role of Citizenship Class

The citizenship classes taught in Siler City, NC are sponsored by a non-profit organization with a very small staff and a larger group of volunteers. The agency, Chatham County Literacy Council, provides one-on-one tutoring to many individuals who need assistance specifically with literacy as well as two citizenship classes that meet weekly. All of the teachers are volunteers. The agency is supported through grants, private donations and public funding (Chatham County Literacy Council, 2012). The citizenship classes are taught with open enrollment, meaning that students can come and go as their circumstances and interest dictate. There is no practical means of enforcing attendance, and the classes are free of charge. There is no English placement test, so language proficiency is quite diverse among students in the classes.

The type of education described above is called *non-formal education* (Brennan, 1997; Harman, 1976; Taylor, 2006). Etling (1993) defines non-formal education as “any

intentional and systematic enterprise in which content is adapted to the unique needs of the students” (p. 72). The thrust of non-formal education is to maximize learning and to minimize certain elements of formal schooling that may intrude into the student’s learning process. To that end, non-formal education is: present-time focused, keenly responsive to localized needs, learner centered, and less structured than typical classroom learning with a non-hierarchical relationship between the learner and the facilitator or teacher (Peace Corps, 2004; Taylor, 2006). Freire (1970) stated in his seminal work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, that teacher and students become jointly responsible for a process in which everyone grows. Because the possibilities for non-formal education are so wide ranging, each class must be developed in response to a specific or perceived need rather than in an attempt to impose educational formats such as a pre-established curriculum (Harman, 1976). Harman goes on to say that non-formal education has to be flexible enough to take its shape from the characteristics of the community where the class is taught.

Citizenship classes are held in two locations in Siler City and almost all of the participants live close by. One class is set on a Saturday in a church, the other occurs on a weekday night in a satellite building of the regional community college. In 2012, the total number of Hispanic adults who attended either class was 61, although some individuals attended both classes. Seventeen of these individuals became citizens during the year (A. McFadden, email, February 4, 2013). This is the largest annual number of completed naturalizations involving individuals who had attended citizenship class in the four years the classes have been provided.

The first section of this chapter focused on the Hispanic adults who live in Siler City and what the literature said about the strengths and challenges that they face in making a decision to become a citizen in the United States. The second section considered the citizenship classes the Hispanic adults attend. The next three sections focus on the theoretical frameworks that guide the exploration of the pathways that Hispanic adults take when deciding whether or not to actively work toward becoming a citizen. The three frameworks include: the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1991); Latino critical theory (Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001), and last, the theory of transformative learning (Mezirow, 1997).

Theory of Planned Behavior

The first theoretical framework used in understanding and analyzing the decision of Hispanic adults to become citizens begins with a discussion of an analysis of those factors that are foundational in the individual learner's decision to attend citizenship class with the intention of becoming a citizen. The analysis used the structure of the theory of planned behavior (TPB) (Ajzen, 2011). TPB is a well-established social-psychological model of human behavior (Choi, 2012) developed by Ajzen (1991) as a modification of the theory of reasoned action, which Ajzen had previously constructed with colleague Fishbein (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980). First, I describe the theory of reasoned action because it provides the foundational structure for TPB. Thus, to understand the modifications built into TPB one would reasonably start with an understanding of the theory of reasoned action. I include a description of the modifications Ajzen (1991) made to TRA when he proposed TPB. Finally, I incorporate some critique of TPB, followed by what I see as the relevance of the theory to

an understanding of the decisions that Hispanic adults make to become citizens, which is the purpose of this study.

Theory of Reasoned Action

Ajzen (2011) was involved with the development of the theory of reasoned action partly as a response to the concepts advanced in a current theory of that time, radical behaviorism. Skinner's radical behaviorism stated that behaviors increase when positively reinforced and decrease following negative reinforcement (Ruiz, 1995). Radical behaviorism does not require either conscious awareness or cognitive involvement on the part of the human subject for change to occur. The theory of reasoned action also questioned the conclusions that had been in place for a decade that argued that there was little relationship between an individual's attitudes about a specific situation and that individual's verbal expression or behavior regarding the same situation (Manstead, 2011).

In his early research, Ajzen (1991) confronted many situations where strict use of the theory of radical behaviorism did not explain human behavior sufficiently. Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) believed that there was a strong causal relationship between attitudes, intention and behavior and that behavior did not stand alone. Other theories developed at the time also began to confront such stringent behaviorist explanations (Bandura, 1982). Commonly, explanations of human behavior were based on such items as one's general disposition or personality or the individual's internal or external locus of control. Locus of control has been defined as a person's interpretation of what causes or controls the events in his or her life (Sayler, 2009). Locus of control was thought to be a critical factor when

understanding an individual's decision to perform or not to perform an action, as well as reactions to success or failure in life. Although Ajzen (1991) believed these features were helpful in explaining behavior patterns or past actions in the aggregate, he wrote that they did not explain "behavioral variability in a given situation, nor does it [locus of control] permit prediction" (Ajzen, 1991, p. 181).

Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) suggested that TRA was able to explain and predict human behavior in specific situations by assessing an individual's position in each of a series of stages, each of which "flows reasonably from the preceding stage" (Sarver, 1983, p. 155).

Stages

TRA posited that each individual has specific beliefs which undergird that person's world view about the favorableness or unfavorableness of various specific behaviors. Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) describe two beliefs that significantly encourage or dissuade an individual from performing specific behaviors. The first belief, called the personal or attitudinal belief involves assessment of the favorable or unfavorable consequences of the behavior. As the title would suggest, this is a very personal process, having only to do with what the actor believes will be the consequences. The second belief, called normative or social, involves reflection regarding the approval or disapproval of significant others in the individual's sphere (Ajzen, 1991; Sarver, 1983; Vallerand, Deshaies, Cuerrier, Pelletier, & Mongeau, 1992).

As an illustration of an attitudinal or personal belief, a Hispanic adult seeking citizenship may choose to become a citizen because of his or her sense of the positive

repercussions of such an action for his or her own life. Persevering through the citizenship application process to please one's children, or to assist a spouse waiting in another country who needs sponsorship to enter the United States, would be an example of a normative or social belief.

Beliefs form the foundation for the second stage in Ajzen and Fishbein's (1980) model, which is the individual's attitude toward the behavior. Within the concepts of the theory of reasoned action, attitude is the positive or negative evaluation of performing/not performing the target behavior. Ajzen (2011) described attitude as a judged probability (based on the beliefs described above) that an action will result in positive or negative outcomes. The individual's attitudes, in reasoned action (as well as TPB to be discussed below) have a causal relationship to intention, the third stage described by the authors, as the immediate determinate of performing or not performing the behavior (Ajzen, 2011; Sarver, 1983). A person usually acts in accordance with his or her intention (Ajzen, 1991).

The authors emphasized the difference between general verbal attitudes toward an issue, society, or particular group and an individual's specific behaviors or statements about a specific issue, society, or group (Ajzen, 2011). Ajzen (2011) wrote that such a distinction is necessary to explain why an individual may express a general attitude that is divergent from his or her explicit behaviors regarding the same issue or group. For example, an individual who states that all individuals are equal, may still resist inviting a person from a particular group to a gathering at his or her home. This construct, labeled the principle of correspondence or compatibility, explains those circumstances in research and real life when

an individual's general attitudes and specific behaviors appear incongruent. The person's behavior is more accurately predictable when the general and specific beliefs correspond. When they are not compatible, prediction is less accurate.

Critiques

Appraisals of TRA highlighted a number of areas where the theory faltered (Sarver, 1983). The primary divergence had to do with a lack of acknowledgement of times when the opportunity to engage in the behavior passes by, or is never really possible for a specific individual. Ajzen (2011) later wrote that TRA assumed that the individual's behavior was always under his volitional control. However, critics argued that there may be cultural or societal barriers that stop what is called the causal sequence (Sarver, 1983) Much as the individual might display the will to perform a behavior, such as being a birth parent, if he or she is not biologically able to do so, that option may not be viable. Another example currently exists that may affect the families of the Hispanic adults involved in this study--the adolescent or young adult in the family may fit the criterion for the proposed DREAM Act (which would create a pathway to citizenship for some undocumented youth). Even though the President has authorized the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals program (Jenkins, 2013)—removing one external barrier, there is still no sure pathway available for the youth to become documented permanently in the United States. Thus an external barrier still exists that may prevent the youth from becoming a citizen despite strong desire on the part of the youth to become one.

In a meta-analysis of critiques of the theory of reasoned action, Manstead (2011) enumerated lack of acknowledgement in the model of the times when the cooperation of others was necessary to accomplish a behavior. Other critics decried the almost exclusively cognitive stance toward attitudes. Sarver (1983) pointed out that certain variables not included in the explanation of a behavior may change that behavior or the opportunity to accomplish it. These variables include not only concrete external barriers but also cultural norms of expected behavior. Last, Sarver (1983) expressed concern that the very act of studying the steps involved in choosing whether to perform a behavior would alter the context. Sarver called this the “complication of the experimenter” (p. 160). He suggested that the researcher would change the context by anticipating the subjects’ behaviors or by acting on the researcher’s perception of the context for the subjects involved.

Development of the Theory of Planned Behavior

In response to these critiques and to information gathered through his own research, Ajzen (1991) extended TRA, renaming it the theory of planned behavior (TPB). He included the concept of *social norms* in the theory. Ajzen (1991) defines social norms as the perceived social pressure to perform or not to perform the behavior. He also acknowledged that an individual must have the opportunity to act as well as the desire to do so.

Ajzen (1991) developed the concept of *perceived behavioral control* as part of his revised theory. Perceived behavioral control is defined as an individual’s beliefs about the likelihood that he or she will perform a specific behavior, including both actual opportunity to complete the behavior as well as the confidence in being able to do so successfully (Ajzen,

1991). Ajzen (2011) stated that he rested much of his thinking about the effect of an individual's perception of capacity on Bandura's (1977, 1982) social cognition theory and the concept of self-efficacy. An individual's perceived behavioral control profoundly affects the amount of effort expended to accomplish or prevent a behavior. An individual with a low sense of behavioral control may not persevere as long in a given action or may not see that action as a worthwhile expenditure of money, time, or energy. Perceived behavioral control strongly affects the motivation of the individual contemplating a behavior change. For example, an action that is viewed as inevitable may not spawn much resistance on the part of those involved even though they may not want the change. To have high perceived behavioral control, an individual must believe both that a behavior is possible and that it will have a favorable outcome. In other words, there must be pathways to change that are accessible for this person in this situation.

Critique of TPB

Generally, TPB responded to many of the criticisms lodged against the theory of reasoned action (Ajzen, 2006; Manstead, 2011). However, concerns still remained. Most of the studies using TPB as the theoretical framework rely on self-reporting to prove intention-behavior outcomes (Armitage & Conner, 2000). Armitage and Connor (2000) completed a meta-analysis of 185 studies that used TPB. They found skepticism regarding the validity of self-reporting versus observable, measureable data as one of the primary areas for critique. Secondly, tests focused on the concept of perceived behavioral control and intention found that the relationship is dependent upon the type of behavior and the nature of the situation,

making generalizations difficult. Researchers in the study stated that they found the intentions construct of the model was not measured well. Despite these drawbacks, Armitage and Connor (2000) stated that overall, the subjective norm that the theory described had a consistently strong relationship with intention, and subsequently behavior. Ajzen (2011) posited that it is critical for the researcher to distinguish actual external controls from perceived behavioral controls. One of the theoretical constructs to be discussed later (LatCrit) is especially attentive to external controls, including policies regarding the cost of the application and how many times an individual may retake the exam without having to pay for the application again, and the location and office hours of the location where tests are administered.

Relevance of the Theory to Hispanic Adults

A number of theories that highlight stages of change are useful in identifying where Hispanic adults are located in the decision process about becoming citizens (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Prochaska & Norcross, 2001). However these theories do not sufficiently take into account the external barriers and supports or the learner's own assessment of his or her chances for successful completion of the process. TPB is more holistic in its assessment and prediction of specific behaviors. Empirical evidence supports the notion that an understanding of the individual's beliefs, perception of behavioral control, and social norms would more accurately predict the likelihood that the behavior would occur (Ajzen, 2011; Cheon Lee, Crooks, & Song, 2012). TPB also acknowledges situations in which the individual may have incomplete volitional control (Ajzen, 1991). As mentioned previously,

the process of successfully passing the naturalization exam has many steps that may be outside of the applicant's control.

In my study, by asking Hispanic adults to describe favorable or unfavorable outcomes resulting from their decision to apply for citizenship, as well as their assessment of reactions of their families and friends, I hope to ascertain the individual's personal and normative beliefs about the action. Attention to perceived behavioral control highlights a concept that is critical for this population of adult learners—their level of confidence when they focus on the steps necessary to become a citizen of the United States. Some of the students in the citizenship class in Siler City have attempted the process before and were unsuccessful (J. Rosales, Personal communication, December, 2010). They were tentative and embarrassed by their lack of prior schooling and their inability to speak English fluently, and these real obstacles plus the external barriers of lack of time, money, and access to classes caused them to question their ability to complete successfully the citizenship process. Choi (2012) suggested that TPB is a more effective alternative intervening process than previously used mechanisms because it is more attentive to external contextual issues, stating, “situation-specific attitudes and cognitions pertinent to creativity as suggested by the TPB may be a promising alternative or complementary process that enriches understanding of individual creativity in various social contexts” (p. 691). TPB takes into account contextual changes that may occur which may support or impede the progress toward successful completion of the goal to achieve citizenship. Changes in work hours, demands of family life, altered financial

situations, and changes in health all may alter an individual's perception that he or she could succeed.

There are many studies that use TPB as the theoretical framework (Blankenship, et al., 2012; Cheon, Lee, Crooks, & Song, 2012; Choi, 2012) but few that focus on the decision process regarding immigration and citizenship. Tartakowsky (2012) applied TPB to explain factors that support Russian and Ukrainian adolescent immigrants' intentions to acculturate into Israeli society. His acculturation intentions model employed concepts from planned behavior to explain different strategies and plans that immigrants used in their decision to enter into a host country and to remain there permanently. Results confirmed that the individual's attitudes toward both the host and sending country as well as external environmental factors affected the final intention of the individual to emigrate, and that TPB was helpful in explaining the decision the individual ultimately made.

As Tartakowsky's (2012) study makes clear, a keen awareness of the context within which the research participants make their decision is an important part of the foundation for TPB. Understanding the unspoken or unacknowledged external barriers the Hispanic adult may face as a result of laws, policies and attitudes developed by the majority culture is the central theme of the second theoretical framework used in this study: Latino critical theory, which is described in the next section.

Latino Critical Theory

The second theory considered in this study is Latino Critical theory (LatCrit), a growing body of research that posits that minorities have significant obstacles to navigate in

the United States as a result of laws, policies, and cultural morés that the majority race supports. These obstacles sometimes result in unacknowledged discrimination against minorities due to race, gender, education, language, and socioeconomic status (Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). LatCrit expanded from critical race theory (CRT), just as the theory of planned behavior was developed as an extension of the theory of reasoned action. CRT was the last iteration of a series of reactions to traditional legal discourse, most notably legal realism and critical legal studies (Hernandez-Truyol, Harris, & Valdez, 2006). Derrick Bell (2009), a legal scholar who is considered one of the original founders of CRT, defined the theory as a body of scholarship, written by individuals who are “ideologically committed to the struggle against racism, particularly as institutionalized in and by law” (p. 40). Solorzano and Delgado Bernal (2001) viewed the CRT movement as action promulgated by progressive legal scholars who worked to develop jurisprudence that acknowledged racism. Banks and McGee Banks (2004) broadened these original definitions and considered CRT a legal and intellectual tool that assists with an understanding of all types of human inequity.

While it is true that many of the initial developers of CRT were legal scholars, Ladson-Billings (1998) suggested that the movement from inequities in law to inequities in education was fairly straightforward. “Since education in the United States is not outlined explicitly in the nation’s constitution, it is one of the social functions relegated to individual states. Consequently, states generate legislation and enact laws designed to proscribe the contours of education” (p. 17). Because much of the national dialogue on race relations has taken place in the context of laws and policies regarding education, it is logical that CRT and

by extension, LatCrit, would focus on the race, class, gender and language inequities endemic to student populations throughout the educational system (Darder & Torres, 2004; Roithmayr, 1999).

Grounding Principles of LatCrit

Five general principles provided the foundation for CRT and later LatCrit (Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001):

- The centrality of race and racism in American life and culture
- The responsibility to challenge the dominant ideology
- A strong commitment to social justice
- The essential role of experiential knowledge and learning to combat racism
- The need for an interdisciplinary perspective

The first principle held that racism is normal in U.S. society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Taylor, 2009). In fact, the authors stated that the assumption of White superiority is so ingrained in U.S. society that it is largely invisible. White individuals often have difficulty describing White culture, because it is the unspoken standard for what is normal or correct--the absent reference category against which all others are measured.

Those who teach, learn and work from a critical race perspective see this belief as central to the rest of the theory. The dominant culture often builds a picture of minorities as different and somehow less than Whites and justifies discriminatory attitudes about and treatment of non-Whites because of those assumed deficiencies. The purpose of CRT and LatCrit is to expose racism in its many forms (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

Although race is central to critical theories, the primary divergence between CRT and LatCrit is this singular emphasis on race. Scholars who use LatCrit express guarded concerns about CRT's uncompromising emphasis on race, because they see no discussion of class, and more specifically no critique of capitalism and its effect on the lives of those on the margins (Darder & Torres, 2004). "Because of this lack of a theoretically informed account of racism and capitalist social relations, critical race theory has done little to further our understanding of the political economy of racism and racialization" (Darder & Torres, 2004, p. 99). Solorzano and Delgado Bernal (2001) view LatCrit as the theory that addresses issues often ignored by critical race theorists: language, immigration, ethnicity, culture, identity, phenotype and sexuality as important areas where power, inequity and oppression reside along with race.

A second principle that both CRT and LatCrit support is the responsibility to challenge dominant ideologies in law and education in the United States (Bell, 2009; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001) most specifically challenging claims of objectivity, meritocracy, and equal opportunity. Gillborn (2009) stated that education policy actively structures racial inequality and that those policies provide camouflage to maintain the power and privilege of dominant groups. A specific example of these concerns is LatCrit's skepticism regarding explanations given by the majority culture for Chicana/Chicano educational inequality and dropout rates of Hispanic students. Solorzano and Delgado Bernal (2002) argue that rather than cite academic weakness, the education system might focus on lack of welcome and positive support for Latino students in

schools, combined with actions that reduce learning motivation. A second concern emphasizes the effect of education policies on the ability of Hispanic youth to complete high school and attend post secondary education (Saenz & Ponjuan, 2009; Zimmerman, 2011).

This idea of policies enacted for dominant self interest is fleshed out in Bell's concept of *interest convergence* (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Taylor, 2009). Bell believed that the interests of Blacks and other minority groups moved forward only when they coincided with the best interests of powerful Whites. One example cited involved changes that began to occur in racial segregation after WWII when many decorated Black veterans were returning from the front and there was fear of widespread unrest if all soldiers were not treated equally. In another example, the first time the Justice Department sided with the NAACP in a school case was ostensibly to repair the United States' tarnished image among developing nations who compared active racial segregation in school systems in the United States with demands for equality in systems in their own countries (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Bell suggested that without concomitant benefits to the dominant society, it was questionable if the governmental actions described would have taken place (Driver, 2011).

One of the ways that Latinos and other persons of color challenge dominant perspectives is through an emphasis on individual and group experiential knowledge, the third principle. CRT and LatCrit provide a place where the life experiences and perspectives of individuals who are affected by policies that restrict, inhibit, and stereotype can speak out about the experience of oppressions such as racism, sexism, and classism (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Journals are typically the vehicle for sharing family histories, biographies, and

testimonios (Davilla & Aviles de Bradley, 2010; Garcia, 2003; Huber, 2010; Rierson, 2006). These narratives have been given the label counter-stories. Counter-storytelling is defined by Delgado and Stefancic (2001) as “writing that aims to cast doubt on the validity of accepted premises or myths, especially ones held by the majority” (p. 144). Solorzano and Yosso (2009) posited that telling the stories of those whose experiences are not often told can shatter complacency, strengthen traditions, and further the struggle for racial, class, and gender reform. Not all narratives are first person, but may include biographies of persons who resisted oppressive institutions (Huber, 2010; Solorzano & Yosso, 2009).

The fourth foundational principle of LatCrit is a strong commitment to social justice. Both CRT and LatCrit hold as their primary focus the shakeup of long held discourses of inequity, kept in place by policies that justify practices that maintain the dominance of the majority. CRT and LatCrit activists work for an increase in the voice and power of marginalized groups and work toward increased awareness of racism, sexism, and poverty in law and education with the long term goal of elimination of these isms (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). Freire (1970) provided a powerful role model for both the long- and short-term goals of LatCrit through his struggle with the Brazilian government for liberation and equality for the *campesinos* who were marginalized there. Freire firmly believed that education and liberation were inseparable and wrote quite plainly about the decision that educators of the majority culture had to make: either move to the side of liberation and justice, or be considered an oppressor.

The fifth and last principle supports the notion that racism, sexism and classism in education must be viewed from many perspectives, both historical and contemporary, and from an interdisciplinary perspective (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001) including ethnic studies, women's studies, history, law, and sociology. The experiences of the individuals who tell their stories are multifaceted, including effects of race, ethnicity, language, gender, economics and legal classifications. No one discipline could encompass their experiences comprehensively.

Critique of LatCrit

Many of the studies that use LatCrit as their theoretical framework focus on high school, community college, or four year college students (Garcia, 2009; Huber, 2010; Lawrenson, 2008; Ramirez, 2011; Santos, 2004). Although some of the students are nontraditional (Prospero, Russell, & Vohra-Bupta, 2012), LatCrit research focuses almost exclusively on individuals who have been involved with the educational system for some time, many of whom have been reasonably successful. These typical study participants are literate in English and Spanish and the interviews contained in the studies drew attention to students with a professional career trajectory in mind. LatCrit speaks to the barriers such a student would face, highlighting those who experience discrimination when matriculating through the traditional school system. LatCrit is less involved, or at least is less researched, with Hispanic individuals who are not in the traditional educational system, and who may not have the skills that the participants in most of the empirical research display. It is unclear if

less literate individuals would be able or willing to take the risks involved in speaking out as the students do in most research.

Relevance of LatCrit to the Planned Study

The everyday life experiences of the men and women who attend citizenship classes in Siler City are representative of the major tenets of LatCrit. LatCrit lives at the intersection of language, immigration, SES, and race (Ladson-Billings, 2009). For example, the adults who attend citizenship classes have told stories of misunderstanding salespersons, and co-workers or law officers who were not willing to speak more slowly to enable comprehension. Further, Pincus and Skerry (2007) noted that it is common for people to assume that any Hispanic they encounter is undocumented and to respond to the person based on that assumption. This kind of thinking can have far reaching effects on the families of the adults in citizenship class. Some of the children of the participants in citizenship class said they dropped out of high school because the schools were not welcoming to them. Moreover, parents believe that teachers commonly have low expectations of students who come from homes where parents do not speak English well. These same parents are frustrated because, due to their own lack of schooling, they are unable to push their children forward academically, and lack the confidence needed to approach school personnel (E. Ocampo and M. Olvera, personal communication, October 24th, 2010).

LatCrit posits that education and legal policies, statutes, and customs are created by the majority culture, and support the majority culture, regardless of the presence of large numbers of individuals who may not benefit from those policies. Using the lens of LatCrit,

this study aims to gain understanding from the perspective of the Hispanic adults involved in the study of the effect of those policies and statutes on the decision to obtain citizenship.

The legal context within which Hispanics live and work and decide to become citizens is ambivalent and fluid, as state and federal policies change. After the passage of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996, section 287g allowed designated state and local officials to fulfill immigration law enforcement functions. Some counties have a memorandum of agreement with Immigration and Customs Enforcement to start deportation proceedings, while neighboring counties do not (Immigration and Customs Enforcement, n.d.). Huber (2010), who shares a similar perspective with Pincus and Skerry (2007), contends that immigrants (especially Hispanics and most especially Mexicans) are treated as foreigners even after they become citizens.

Much of the literature focused on Hispanic adults underlines the challenges and deficits this population must contend with. Conversely, LatCrit draws attention to the skills and capacity of this cohort to succeed despite significant challenges. The adults in citizenship class demonstrate the types of human capital mentioned by Huber (2010) and Yosso (2005): Connection to family is critical, and citizenship is frequently the gateway necessary to bring spouses, parents, and children into the United States; Many of the Hispanic adults in Siler City citizenship class have demonstrated what Yosso (2005) called *aspirational capital*; they are persistent in learning English and learning to write, even though they have experienced failures in these efforts previously. They negotiate a system that is frequently not supportive of them, which Yosso (2005) called *navigational capital*, and by using *social capital*, they

depend on a strong sense of community and the emotional support that such a community offers.

The Hispanic adults who have recently become citizens bring Solorzano and Yosso's (2004) counter-stories to life, belying many of the myths promulgated about the Latino population: the belief that Hispanics do not want to become citizens; and that Hispanics do not want to learn to speak English, which is seen as a vital sign of commitment to the United States. Research has found that many Hispanics are willing to learn another language, but express fears that their children will forget the language of their grandparents, and lose the richness of their culture (Almberg, 2011), rather than expressing an unrestricted dislike of learning English.

Bell's notion of interest convergence (described above) seems supported by current immigration policies in the United States (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Driver, 2011). When the economy was strong, there was more talk about a guest worker program, but that talk stopped when jobs became scarce. Bell's concept would suggest that tolerance and encouragement of immigration would be very low in difficult times due to the perspective in the majority culture that Whites were vying with Hispanics for a greatly reduced pool of jobs. Current policies and statutes regarding immigration are in significant flux, and may change the pathways available to Hispanic adults and their families (Joffe-Block, 2013; Obama's new immigration policy, 2012). One result of this uncertainty is hesitancy to step forward and make oneself visible for fear that rules will change again, not for the better (Wadhia, 2011).

Making the decision to become a citizen despite the risk of possible greater visibility for undocumented members of the family as well as experiencing life in a community that has mixed feelings about the presence of a growing Hispanic population may cause changes in the individual's perceptions and personal frame of reference. Such a change may be transformative, as defined by Mezirow (1997). The study will use this third theoretical framework to explore what personal changes Hispanic adults experience as they journey toward U.S. citizenship in Siler City, North Carolina. The next section describes transformative learning and its relevance to the population of Hispanic adults in this study.

Theory of Transformative Learning

Transformative learning is about change—"dramatic, fundamental change in the way we see ourselves and the world in which we live" (Merriam, Caffarella, & Baumgartner, 2007, p. 130). Mezirow (1997, 2000, 2006) has written extensively about learning that causes a change in the individual's frame of reference. He describes the process of transformative learning as a significant personal alteration of one's way of thinking about the world.

Concepts of Transformational Learning

Kitchenham (2008) described the evolution of Mezirow's theory of transformational learning over time. Mezirow's initial research focused on the experiences and subsequent perspective shifts of women who were returning to post secondary education. Kitchenham (2008) and Clark and Wilson (1991) describe the process of transformative learning that occurs in a series of steps originally developed by Mezirow:

- A disorienting dilemma, in which an individual notices that one's experience does not fit well with one's current beliefs;
- self examination of one's perspectives connected to feelings of shame or guilt.
- awareness of gaps or the incongruence of various beliefs creates tension and slowly becomes a critical assessment of personal beliefs and assumptions.
- involvement in discourse with others, the individual becomes aware that others are equally as involved in this discernment process
- exploration of options available through new roles, new actions
- acquisition of the knowledge and skills needed to implement these new options
- attempts to try out the new roles
- establishment of confidence and competence in new roles, new ways of thinking
- integration of new roles and actions, new ways of thinking occurs over time

Later as the theory of transformational learning developed, another step was added:

- an alteration of relationships in the learner's life.

Mezirow (1997) described in detail what changes are involved when transformative learning occurs. Over time, adults develop frames of reference or assumptions about the meanings of things that shape their expectations, actions and feelings or to use Mezirow's (1997) terms, habits of mind and points of view. Points of view are complex attitudes and feelings about a situation or an individual that are somewhat accessible to alteration over time. Habits of mind are more durable, and not as available to feedback or even conscious awareness. The change that Mezirow highlights is fundamental and may be internal or

external. “Critically explored assumptions may be in the autobiographical context of a belief, or they may be supporting a social, cultural, economic, political, educational, or psychological system” (Mezirow, 1997, p. 7). The process of continuous critical reflection, reassessing meanings of long held presuppositions is central to transformative learning theory. The outcomes of a transformation most commonly include increasing self confidence, finding one’s voice, renegotiating relationships, and increasing self awareness (Taylor, 1997).

Mezirow’s writings have remained foundational to the concept of transformative learning. Subsequent critiques of the model broaden the definition of disorienting dilemma, add steps to what theorists’ see as too sparse a description of the process; and add more weight to the effect of culture and context (Clark & Wilson, 1991; Taylor, 1997). Others have pondered what aspects of the learner and the situation result in the so-called disorienting dilemma in some individuals while not in others. Generally, the baseline notions of disorienting dilemma, (although some redefine and expand that definition), and critical reflection followed by a change in outlook, are the foundation of Mezirow’s model.

No discussion of transformative learning theory would be sufficient without attention to Friere (1990), an educator whose work was not only transformative but also purposefully liberating--a view mentioned in the summary of critical theory. His most noteworthy book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970,1990), and his life’s focus was the education and learning processes of people engaged in the fight for their own liberation. Kitchenham (2008) explained that Mezirow’s study was based on white, middle class women. In contrast,

“Freire’s theory emerges from the context of poverty, illiteracy, and oppression and is set in a larger framework of radical social change” (Merriam, Caffarella, & Baumgartner, 2007, p. 140). For Freire, as the student learns, he or she becomes more aware of the forces in all areas of life, including his or her education, that continue his or her oppression. Thus, in transformative learning as envisioned by Freire, as the student learns he or she begins to demand social change.

The role of the educator in transformative learning

In Freire’s transformative liberation education the role of the educator is a complicated one (Gadotti, 1994). Freire stated that “attempting to liberate the oppressed without their reflective participation in the act of liberation is to treat them as objects which must be saved” (Freire, 1990. p 65). In other words, the educator must guard against taking advantage of the emotional dependence of the oppressed, or as in this case, the students who are developing their skills of critical thinking. Generally, in transformative education, the educator consciously facilitates and encourages transformation of the students (Wang & Sarbo, 2004). For example, the words that are chosen to teach literacy must meet learning needs but also must have social relevance to the adult learners in their specific context (Gadotti, 1994). Educators purposefully create a space for critical reflection and positive discourse, which are cornerstones of Mezirow’s transformative learning theory (Wang & Sorbo, 2004).

To review, transformational learning theory focuses on change brought about by one or a series of disconcerting events that result in a shift in the individual’s frame of reference,

points of view and habits of mind. Through the learning experiences, the individual begins to critically assess the meaning given to previous experiences, explores other options, and acquires new roles and frames of reference. Ultimately, the adult learner may alter present relationships with individuals, cultural, and societal traditions in his or her life. Over time, Mezirow's theory of transformative learning underwent some significant changes (Kitchenham, 2008). The evolution of the theory is partly due to Mezirow's continued work with it, and as a response to critiques from other scholars of adult education (Clark & Wilson, 1991; Mezirow, 1991; Tennant, 1993). The next section focuses briefly on the major critiques of transformational learning theory as promulgated by Mezirow.

Critique of the theory of transformative learning

One of the more commonly cited critiques of Mezirow's work regarding transformative learning theory came from Clark and Wilson (1991). The authors believed that Mezirow's theory removed context from the learner's experience, an omission that they believed fundamentally altered the outcome of the theory. Transformative learning, said Clark and Wilson, is not a private affair. They stated that Mezirow failed to maintain the link between the meaning of the experience for the learner and the context within which it occurred. In addition, not only should the individual learner's context be included, but so should the historical context generally within which the learning occurs (Clark & Wilson, 1991). They suggest that learners live in a constantly changing world, adapting and redefining their lives in multiple contexts.

Mezirow (1991) replied to Clark and Wilson's (1991) critique, saying that he firmly believed that his definition of meaning perspectives included social norms, culture, language, and other symbolic models that individuals use to decipher meaning. He countered that Clark and Wilson misinterpreted his theory because in his opinion, context was clearly present.

Tennant (1993) agreed that Mezirow included context in his theory, but considered that some of what Mezirow considered transformative was in fact normative, given the learners' situation and developmental stage. Young learners or adult learners who have significantly changed locations would be expected to change over time. Tennant pondered if this constituted a real change in one's view of life, or if it was simply growth.

Tennant (1993) went on to say that Mezirow's theory was insufficient because it failed to acknowledge the challenges to transformative, ideal learning in a social environment in which structural inequities are entrenched. As a result of these embedded inequities, it is the individual and not the society that is transformed; missing the target that scholars like Freire (1990) insisted was the end goal. Although Tennant said the learner may be transformed, it is uncertain if he or she is also liberated or emancipated.

In Taylor's (1997) systematic review of empirical studies that used transformative learning theory as a framework, the need for a specific disorienting dilemma as well as critical reflection were questioned. Mezirow's (2000) emphasis on rationality in the theory was critiqued. Other ways of knowing such as intuition, learning supported by emotion, and learning gained through relationships were suggested as a basis for transformation, in addition to the power of reason.

Consideration of the critiques of the theory of transformational learning is important for this study, especially in the area of context. Given the marginal status of the Hispanic adults in citizenship class and the effects of external forces with which they come into contact as highlighted by LatCrit, the question remains if changes in perspective are normative or transformative. The next section focuses on the relevance of the theory of transformative learning to the study.

Relevance of the Theory to Hispanic adults

While it is true that for some individuals, becoming a citizen of the United States has been life changing, it is unclear if that is universally true. Taken as a whole, the process of transformational learning is a complex one involving the individual's willingness to question cultural learning, previous life experiences, loyalties, social milieu, and life circumstances. Tennant (1993) especially highlights the challenges to transformation when the learner lives in a social environment that may be critical and unsupportive of personal growth. LatCrit emphasizes the external barriers that Hispanic adults may face as they work to become citizens (Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). Counter-stories from individual Hispanic adults do shed light on the effect of the citizenship journey on some of the adults in class (M. Pavón, Personal Communication, Sept. 24, 2010).

Statistics demonstrate that Hispanic adults are financially better off as citizens than legal permanent residents (Camarota, 2001). It is unknown if the increased financial and legal stability constitutes a transformational change from the perspective of the Hispanic

adult learner. The ability to speak and write English with some competence has been cited as a source of pride and well being (Buttaro, 2001) as well as a doorway to better employment.

This study aims to gain additional clarity from the perspective of the learners themselves if the citizenship journey constitutes a straightforward transformation, defined as an intentional assessment of one's actions to make positive changes; or a profound transformation, defined as a change in meaning perspectives, and a reexamination of one's world view (Kitchenham, 2008). The study considers if citizenship is a utilitarian step to personal stability and sponsorship of other family members, or does it change the Hispanic adult's frame of reference in some more meaningful way.

Chapter Summary

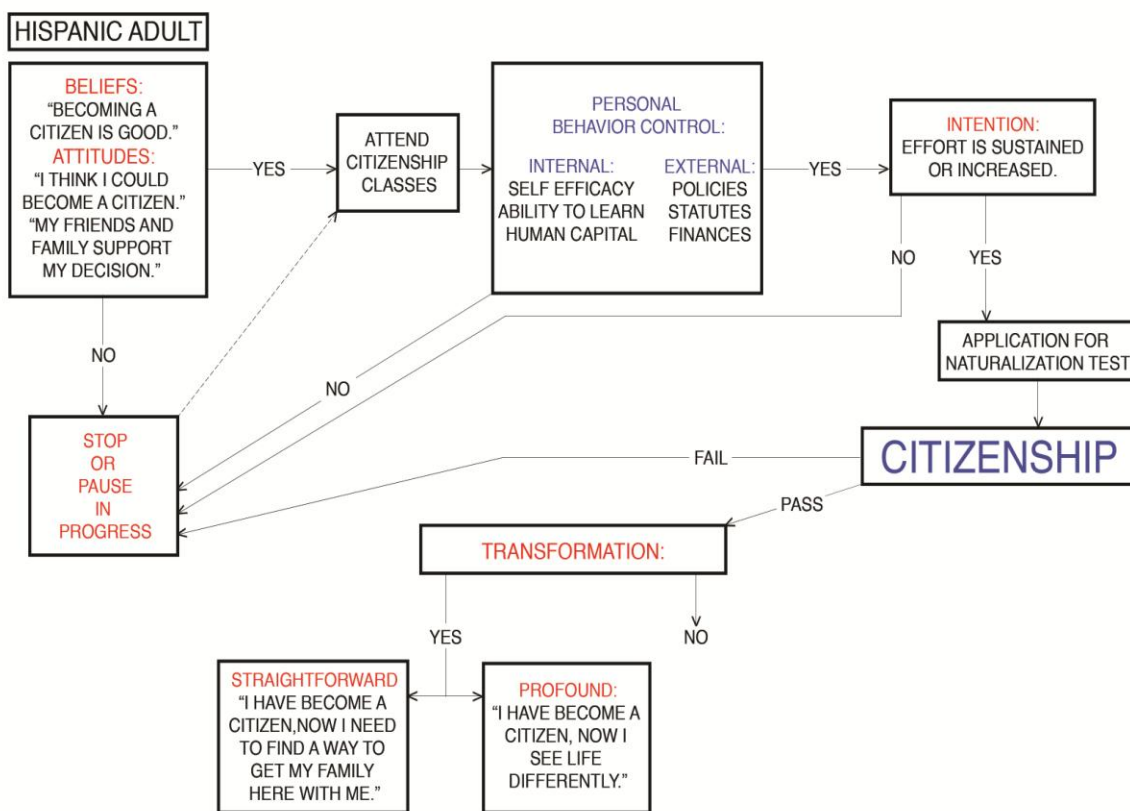
Chapter 2 presented a review of the literature regarding the characteristics and experiences of Hispanic adults whose experiences may be similar to the participants in citizenship preparation classes in Siler City, North Carolina. The structure of the classes that the Hispanic adults attend was described: non-formal, voluntary meetings in two different locations on different days. Attendance is kept but there is no consequence for choosing not to attend. The next three sections of the chapter provided a review of the theoretical constructs that, when taken together, form a framework for analyzing the citizenship journey of Hispanic learners. Each of the theories chosen: theory of planned behavior; LatCrit theory; and transformative learning theory, have a slightly different perspective about adult learning, and emphasize the importance of placing the learner in his or her specific context.

Table 2.1 depicts the sequence of decisions made by Hispanic adults that encompass the interconnections of three conceptual frameworks. First, using the lens of TPB, the beliefs, attitudes and intentions of the Hispanic adult are considered. The decision-maker balances internal and external anticipated responses to the potential action (perceived behavioral control) that according to Ajzen (2011) will predict whether the adult will perform or not perform a behavior- for this study, the decision to prioritize the effort and resources to completion of the process of becoming a citizen in the United States. Although TPB takes some account of external factors via the concept of perceived behavioral control, the application of LatCrit to this study, emphasizes the marginal or minority position of the Hispanic adult. Lat Crit criterion are embedded within the chart in terms of human capital, discrimination, policies and statutes. Providing a space for the counter-stories of the adult learners in citizenship class places them in the center of this study rather than at the edges. Their experiences are described in the first person, in their own words.

The individual journeys Hispanic adults take to become citizens affect them in different ways. TPB provides the framework to understand the processes involved in making the decision itself; LatCrit emphasizes the internal and external factors that become barriers or supports involved in the decision to naturalize. By contrast, transformative learning focuses on the reflection of the learner about his or her own experiences. Ultimately the Hispanic adults will have to determine what all this work means for them personally. In Table 2, transformative learning is presented at the bottom, after the decision to become a citizen is past. Only with critical reflection can the learner decide if the experience of

becoming a citizen of the United States was transformative, and secondarily if it was a straightforward or profound transformation. According to Mezirow (1997), the Hispanic adults in this study could experience transformation at any time during the naturalization process, which is true, but I chose to place it as the culmination when the adult looks back on his or her journey and determines what it has meant in his or her life. The arrows that arc back toward the beginning of the process depict the fact that at any point up to achieving citizenship papers, the learner may revisit an earlier level, revisiting his or her decision

Table 2.
Decision Tree of a Hispanic Adult Regarding Citizenship



to continue the citizenship process. The return to a previous part of the process may occur because the learner failed the test, or because the Hispanic adult dropped out of class for a time, and must re-master previous content before he or she feels ready to retake the test.

Chapter two described the participants in this study in context. Chapter three explains the methodology involved in answering the research questions chosen for this study. In addition, the processes of participant recruitment, interview structure, data collection, translation and transcription, and coding elements will be outlined. A brief account of a small pilot study completed prior to the main research is provided, along with the insights gained in the process of conducting the pilot study. Finally the positionality of the researcher is placed within the study, with all the attendant considerations of the effect of the researcher's presence.

Chapter Three

Methodology

The purpose of this study is to explore and understand the decision making process of Hispanic adults to become citizens of the United States after having lived in this country for at least 15 years. In this chapter I describe the methodology used for this study in the following subsections: design of the study, sample selection, site selection, data collection, data analysis, pilot study, validity and reliability, researcher bias and assumptions, and budget and timeline.

The research questions that guided this study are:

- 1.) What personal, social, and environmental factors (internal and external) shaped the decision of a Hispanic adult to persist in the naturalization process successfully?
- 2.) How do Hispanic adults perceive the role of a non-formal citizenship class in their journey to successfully complete the naturalization process?
- 3.) What is the outcome of achieving citizenship in the everyday lives of Hispanic adults who have lived in the United States for at least 15 years prior to naturalization?

Design of the Study

It is critical for a researcher to match the research planned with the most appropriate methodology, enabling the researcher to adequately answer the questions that guide the study. Therefore, the first question to be addressed is whether this study would be qualitative or quantitative in nature. Patton (1997) defined the difference between quantitative and qualitative research in this way: quantitative research strives to be precise by determining

what things can be counted in what ways and then doing so with precision; qualitative studies, by contrast, work to capture what an experience means to the participants, using their own words. Creswell (2009) stated that. “Qualitative research is a means for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem” (p. 4). Such research uses open ended questions to understand the context of the research subject. The qualitative researcher does not start with a planned hypothesis to be proven as her counterpart in quantitative work would do. Because the aim of this study is to understand the meaning of citizenship for the Hispanic adults in Siler City, North Carolina, qualitative work is the most appropriate research method.

Characteristics of Qualitative Research

This section describes the specific characteristics of qualitative research and clarifies how they connect with the study. The characteristics include: a naturalistic setting in which the researcher gets close to the participants and the context to capture what is actually happening; use of data in the form of words and images rather than numbers; a high concern for process; an emphasis on inductive reasoning; and a closer, less objective relationship between researcher and subject (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Creswell, 2007; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Lichtman, 2010; Patton, 1997). These are the very features that make qualitative methods most appropriate for this study. Each of the attributes are discussed briefly in connection with the study.

The first characteristic of qualitative research to be discussed is location. Qualitative studies are conducted in the settings where the population resides and where the data are

gathered. Qualitative researchers are especially concerned with the context in which the study occurs (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007), sometimes using the label naturalistic for this feature of qualitative work. Patton (1997) explained that naturalistic inquiry involves observing events with no attempt to control or manipulate how those events move forward. In this study, participants who have become citizens and were involved in the citizenship class live in Siler City, a small town that has been a common destination point of Hispanics for the last 10 to 20 years. Initially immigrants came to this town to work at the poultry processing or manufacturing plants located there. Even after most of those employers left town or closed, the Hispanic population has generally remained (Biewen & Watson, 2009). In less than 20 years, the town has changed demographically, from 70% Caucasian and 30 % African American to about 50% Hispanic, 30% Caucasian, and 19% African American (Census Quick Facts, 2013).

Until recently the Hispanic population as a whole has been relatively slow to naturalize in the United States (Aguirre & Saenz, 2002; Passel, 2007). In fact, the current trend is to return to their country of origin. The Hispanic adults who are the focus of this study have made the decision not to return to their country of origin, but instead to become citizens of the United States. This decision is a complex one. These adult learners are changed by the decision to enroll and attend citizenship class, and to expend the effort and resources necessary to become a citizen. The process affects relationships at home, at work, in the community, and with their country of origin (Espitia, 2003). Thus, a study about these Hispanic adults cannot be separated from the effect of location.

The data collected by a qualitative researcher are different from quantitative work. Words, documents, field notes, observations and photographs, are the stuff of qualitative research. The voices of the participants are included in a particular way (Creswell, 2007). Each participant in a study has his or her individual story to tell, with the nuances, celebrations and trials that are precisely his or her own. The story of a Hispanic woman in class who was dealing with significant health problems and who declared that she would not die until she became a citizen demands to be told in her own words (M. Pavòn, Personal Communication, August 13, 2010). Qualitative research would explore the meaning of citizenship for her and how her family responds when she makes this goal her priority. Qualitative research data are descriptive, expansive, and open. Nothing is trivial (Lichtman, 2010). In addition, qualitative researchers rely on multiple sources of data as they work to synthesize the detailed information that has been gathered. Reliability of descriptions and interpretations is verified by using methods such as triangulation, member checking, and use of transcripts and reverse translations (in this study) to ground the data (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). The importance of researcher reflection is discussed later in this chapter.

Qualitative researchers have an ongoing concern with process, as interested in how people go about doing what they do, as in the outcomes of their actions. Understanding meaning is a high priority. The researcher studies how the participants being interviewed make sense of their lives and the decisions they make (Bodgan & Biklen, 2007). There is a need to understand the participant's interpretation of the problem in his or her life context (Creswell, 2007).

As the researcher goes about gathering data, using open questions, and following the themes that emerge from the data, patterns evolve that might be congruent with the theoretical supports chosen for a study, or that might diverge from those frameworks. The action of expanding from individual views to a more general construct, called inductive reasoning, is indicative of qualitative research (Creswell, 2007). Lichtman (2010) calls it scaffolding. Inductive designs “begin with specific observations and build toward general patterns” (Patton, 1997, p. 279). This study started with the views of the adult Hispanics who became citizens after attending at least one citizenship class. There is a dearth of literature focused on the decision-making processes of adult Hispanics who are considering naturalization. It is important to hear previously ignored voices, to understand what is involved in the decision process that culminates in an attempt to become a citizen at this moment in their lives.

The final characteristic of qualitative research to be considered is the role of the researcher. Scholars note a distinctive divergence between qualitative and quantitative methods when considering the role of the individual conducting the work (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; Bott, 2010; Creswell, 2009; Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Lichtman, 2010). There is unanimity in the view of the researcher as a key instrument in the study. The data are gathered through the eyes and ears of the researcher, interpreted in his or her thoughts, and written with his or her perspective (Creswell, 2007; Lichtman, 2010). Denzin and Lincoln (2011) describe the researcher as using a set of material practices like interviewing, observation, analysis of documents and images that are not neutral. It is critical, given that all

writing is positioned with the researcher that he or she is transparent and willing to reflect on the effect of his or her background, life experiences and connection to the focus of the study (Creswell, 2009).

The essence of qualitative research is that it is engaged in active construction and interpretation of experiences in the field which is called reflexivity (Bott, 2010). This means that researchers explicitly identify "...biases, values, and personal background, such as gender, history, culture and socioeconomic status, that may shape their interpretations formed during a study" (Creswell, 2009, p. 177). One result of reflexivity is that the horizon changes repeatedly, requiring the researcher to continually situate himself or herself within the work. The importance of reflexivity for this study is considered in more depth later.

In summary, this study focuses on the decision to become a citizen and the effect that decision has had in the lives of adult Hispanics. Asking these individuals to complete surveys and other written materials would be inappropriate since reading English or Spanish is not a strength for many of them. The data gathering process is discussed in more detail below and included interviews, group discussion of photographs, use of researcher notes and observation of focus group dynamics--all appropriate for this population. The next section describes the particular methods were used to conduct this qualitative study.

Specific Methodologies within Qualitative Research

Denzin and Lincoln (2011) describe qualitative research as a site of multiple interpretive practices. Although there are many techniques for gathering what Denzin and Lincoln call rich descriptions, the specific methodologies used in this study are narrative

inquiry (Chase, 2011; Riessman, 2008) and Photovoice (Meyer & Kroeger, 2005; Wang & Burris, 1994). In this section, I describe each of these practices and justify their fit with the purpose and theoretical frameworks chosen for this study.

Narrative Inquiry

The foundational perspective for narrative research is that stories enable individuals to share what is important in their lives. Through stories individuals construct identities, make sense of the past, encourage others to action, share an experience, entertain, and sometimes mislead (Riessman, 2008). Chase (2011) stated that "...narrative inquiry revolves around an interest in life experiences as narrated by those who live them" (p. 421).

The researcher is a key instrument in qualitative research and in narrative inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). How the researcher goes about his or her work will profoundly affect the process. Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) describe four shifts in attitude, which they call *turns*, that illustrate a researcher's embrace of narrative inquiry as a methodology:

- moving from a belief in researcher objectivity toward an awareness that "subjects are not bound, static, atemporal, or decontextualized" (p. 11) and may change significantly during the course of the research;
- understanding that translating experience into numeric codes results in the loss of much of the meaning and nuance of the experience being researched;
- grasping the notion that the power of the particular can lead to an understanding of the grand idea, and

- being willing to move away from a secure epistemological base (proving facts) to acceptance of a variety of ways of knowing.

As stated earlier, qualitative research takes place in the study participant's natural setting. Thus, narratives told by participants in a study are affected by the environments in which the stories are told, sometimes called *reflexive interplay* (Chase, 2011). Whooley (2006) cautions the researcher to attend to context including time and history, not allowing the historical context of narrative to become invisible. He points to the political nature of some narratives, and depending on the historical and political circumstances, the voices in the narratives may compete and present divergent views. The stories told by Hispanic adults making the decision to become citizens become more nuanced when placed in the reality of time and place: Siler City is a rural, small, southern town that has undergone demographic transformation in the last two decades (Biewen & Watson, 2009). The tremendous influx of immigrants from Mexico and Latin America in the late 1990s and early 21st century has ended, resulting in the decision on the part of many Hispanics to return to their countries of origin (Passel, Cohn, & Gonzales-Barrera, 2012). The stories of Hispanic adults who chose to remain in the United States, attended citizenship class, took the citizenship test and are now citizens, will reveal historical and political tensions occurring in a specific location at a particular time.

Whooley's (2006) perspective (placing narratives in historical context) is reminiscent of the concept of counter-stories as discussed by Solorzano and Yosso (2004). These are stories that highlight experiences of the oppressed and marginalized in society, and are told

to help shatter the myths and stereotypes held by the majority. Chase (2011) stated that narrative research often critiques institutions and interactions that support ongoing social inequities. As the researcher synthesizes and analyzes information looking for narrative themes and patterns, the struggles and tensions inherent in the context may be lost. For example, the location for my study, Siler City, has become majority Hispanic, lost many of its stable employers, and experienced significant expansions and contractions of population. These changes exacerbate all the attending demands for services, the tension between ethnic groups vying for scarce employment, and misunderstandings due to communication difficulties. Most of the stories in the press or among town officials are from the view of the dominant culture. Presenting the narratives of Hispanic adults works to accomplish what Reissman (2008) calls amplifying other's voices.

Narratives from interviews are not the only method to bring other's voices forward. "Visual images are so central to our everyday lives that social scientists must attend to them if they are to understand more fully how people communicate meaning" (Chase, 2011, p. 426). The next section focuses on the use of visual images in this study.

Visual Narrative Inquiry: Photovoice

One of the ways to understand the contextual meaning in the narrative is to use pictures. Visual narrative inquiry, as it is sometimes called is an "intentional, reflective, active human process in which researchers and participants explore and make meaning of experience both visually and narratively" (Hedy, 2007, p. 281). Hedy (2007) explained that visual narrative inquiry had its origins with John Dewey who believed that humans are

continually tied to their environment. It begins with a sense of uncertainty, when the inquirer is open to all sorts of non-text possibilities. Riessman (2008) described several possible ways in which narrative researchers can collaborate with research participants in the construction of visual images: images found by the researcher who engages with participants to gain their reaction; video diaries filmed by a group to depict their own lives; or photos and videos taken to highlight a problem or social issue. The method I use in this study is Photovoice.

Photovoice is a documentary photography and pedagogical tool developed by Wang and Burris (1994) that puts cameras in the hands of those with little access to major sources of power, offering the opportunity to document their lives as they see them.

Photovoice draws from documentary photography accounts, Freirean problem-posing, and feminist action research. These strands come together to create a novel methodology that supports the significance of individual's and groups' experiences as a tool for understanding the social and political constructions of their lived reality. (Mayer & Kroeger, 2005, p. 187)

The purpose of this technique is to empower the participants to voice their opinions in ways that do not always require words (Wang & Burris, 1994; Warne, M., Snyder, K., & Gadin, K.G., 2012). Usually there is a theme or focus to the pictures that are taken—commonly a problem or issue that calls for attention. The pictures that result are from an insiders' perspective, and may be quite different from those taken by someone who does not live in the community (Strack, McGill, & McDonagh, 2004). Warne, Snyder, and Gadin (2012) describe photovoice as a tool to increase empowerment and participation, a pedagogy that

promotes dialogue. A photograph can only be explained within the context and the time when it was taken (Meyer & Kroeger, 2005). The individual who takes the picture tells a story, explaining its meaning for him or her. Participants give reasons for taking the picture, how it connects to the theme of the pictures, and how it fits in his or her life.

Photovoice is a way to increase opportunities for performance accomplishments, one of the most effective methods to increase self-efficacy (Bandura, 1982). Photovoice can be especially useful with students who remain marginalized or excluded from general school curriculum by using an alternate non-text based learning strategy (Mayer & Kroeger, 2005). Individuals of diverse ages and culture have used Photovoice as a problem solving and pedagogical tool with literate and non-literate individuals (Buck & Cook, 2010; Snow, 2007; Wang & Burris, 1994). The photographs and conversation narratives that go along with them are combined to show the community how a specific issue is seen through the eyes of the photographer. There has been some research suggesting that this visual approach may be more informative than focus groups (Grbich, 2004).

The role of the researcher is to facilitate conversation and reflective story-telling about the pictures that the participant has taken (Buck & Cook, 2010). As a narrative researcher, I used the reflective narratives connected with the photographs to understand more clearly the meaning of citizenship for Hispanic adults in 2013. Using Photovoice as a tool supports many of the characteristics of narrative qualitative research. It focuses on the actual setting where the adult Hispanic learners live, not just the space where the class occurs. The words of the learners as they describe their photographs become the data to be

analyzed, buttressed by the photograph itself and researcher field notes. The Photovoice process is inductive, starting from the particular and working toward the general, searching for the meaning of the decision-making process in the lives of the adults involved. Given that some of the adults in citizenship class are not fluent in the written word in any language, using the pictures may provide a vehicle to voice their experiences more easily. In their book, *Women's Ways of Knowing*, Belinky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1997) describe the changes women in their study experienced as they found their voices. Using the terminology of the theoretical framework for my study, they increased their perceived behavioral control (Ajzen, 1991) and self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977). One of the goals of LatCrit and critical race theory is to amplify the voices and perspectives of individuals who rarely have the microphone. Culturally and linguistically, the Hispanic adults in this study are often overlooked, and not heard. The photographs, explained through stories, provide another way to amplify their voices.

Sample Selection

The issue of sample selection has always been a challenging one in qualitative research (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Patton (1997) explained the tension between quantitative and qualitative research in this way: quantitative research calls for randomly chosen sample sizes that are sufficient to generalize results of statistical significance; whereas qualitative studies typically have smaller purposeful samples that yield rich information about the experiences of a specific population. Although the size of the sample is important in the data collection process, Creswell (2007) stated that attention to gathering

extensive detail about each individual is equally important—something that qualitative research is structured to do well. Thus, the first question regarding sample selection rests on the type of research the study uses—in this case qualitative research using narrative inquiry.

The next decisions to be considered regarding sample selection involve who will be interviewed and how will they be recruited. In some instances, the qualitative researcher connects with prospective participants without a specific plan in mind, while in others there is a need for the sample to meet identified categorical needs of the study. Stake (as cited in Curtis, Gesler, Smith, & Washburn, 2000) stated that if the focus of the research required certain types of cases, then it was especially important to make a good selection. Because this study aimed to understand the decision-making process of Hispanic adults to become citizens of the United States, the sample was purposeful, based on specific criteria. Participants in the study are: Hispanic adults who have become citizens of the United States in the last four years and who attended a citizenship preparation class at least once. Participants have to have lived in the United States at least 15 years at the time they were naturalized because the study is specifically interested in adults who have lived in the United States significantly longer than the average length of time to citizenship. Nationally among all immigrants the average length of time between arrival and naturalization is eight years (Rytina & Caldera, 2008). The study focused more directly on reasons why Hispanic adults who have lived here almost double the national average decided to become citizens now.

Initially, the study called for participants in the study to have less than a high school education that was obtained either in the United States or in their country of origin. In the

review of the literature, the data presented about Mexican and Latin American immigrants emphasized little prior formal education as a characteristic of those with low naturalization rates among the population. Therefore, the study planned to draw from new citizens who are members of a cohort less statistically likely to naturalize. Understanding the decisions of this group is especially pertinent. However, when interviews started, the research team encountered an unexpected barrier: several of the potential participants (all with relatives living in Northern Mexico) who had originally intended to interview and take photos withdrew quite suddenly. After some conversation with the community liaison it was learned that the visibility of taking pictures and talking about them raised fears of retribution from drug cartels on family members who are still living in Mexico. No discussion of research protections and confidentiality would assuage their concerns. The situation made reaching participant goals less certain. As a result, with permission from the NC State University Institutional Review Board (IRB) the research was amended to allow for a few individuals who completed high school or more either in their country of origin or here in the United States. Interestingly most of these individuals were required to take the GED here in the US because their out-of-country credentials were not recognized. Three of a total of thirteen interviews are individuals with greater than a high school education.

Participants in the study generally continue to use Spanish as their primary language of choice, although the degree of facility with English varies within the cohort. This criterion is important because it clarifies that the Hispanic adults under study chose to take the

naturalization test in a language in which they are not fluent, making the process more of a challenge. This criterion was met through self-report and researcher observation.

Individuals who met the stated criteria (see Appendix A) and who attended citizenship preparation classes at least once within the past four years were contacted by a local resident, a native Spanish speaker, who works for Chatham County Literacy Council and filled the role of community liaison for this study. The literacy council oversees the citizenship classes and has in its files enough demographic information about the participants to sort out those who meet the study criteria. Hispanic adults who are citizens were asked to participate in the study by this community liaison. He obtained written permission from those individuals to share their names, addresses and phone numbers with the research team. He also offered participants the choice of location for the interview: the individual's home, or the Siler City Family Violence/Rape Crisis meeting room—a location seen as friendly to the Hispanic community in Siler City. A total of 14 individuals were interviewed. One was removed from the cohort when it was learned that she had never attended a citizenship preparation class. The next step after clarification about who participated in the study was site selection, where the study occurred.

Site Selection

Siler City is the location where most of the Hispanic adults who met the study criteria live. Siler City has a population of 7900 residents, and has undergone significant changes in demographics. Between the 2000 and 2010 census, the percentage of Hispanics living there increased from 39.3% to 49.8%, the percentage of Whites decreased from 39.8% to 29.2%

and the percentage of Black residents decreased from 20.3% to 19.1% of the population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). During the same decade several factories and poultry processing plants closed forcing many residents to live or work elsewhere. Between 2000 and 2010, the unemployment rate in Siler City rose from 5.4% to 15.1% compared to 10% in North Carolina and 9.5% nationally in 2010. Per capita income in 2010 was 50.1 percent lower in Siler City (\$12,882) than the national average of \$25,804 (Siler City, NC Employment & Jobs, 2010). The result of these dramatic changes is a community dealing with demographic and cultural shifts: schools populated with students who present with low English proficiency; individuals who arrived to work in industries that have now largely moved away; and a populace whose income keeps them near or below the poverty level. Response to the growing Hispanic community has been mixed and relationships with law enforcement have often been strained.

Data Collection

Data collection may take many forms depending on the approach the researcher chooses (Creswell, 2007). Bogdan and Biklen (2007) wrote that ordinary events become data in the mind of the qualitative researcher. The raw material qualitative researchers study includes: conversations and interviews, photographs, documents, newspapers, observations, and field notes kept by the researchers conducting the study. This section describes specific methods of data collection used for this qualitative study.

Interviews

In narrative inquiry, the primary focus is on the stories of the study participants. Data can be collected from stories in several ways, but most commonly is collected through interviews with the individuals in the target population. Interviewing is “a purposive conversation” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 103), where interviewees “develop narrative accounts; speaker and listener/questioner render events and experiences meaningful-- collaboratively” (Riessman, 2008, p. 23). Riessman (2008) explained that interviewing in narrative inquiry contrasts with question/answer type protocols in that the idea is to generate thick, detailed accounts about the interviewees experiences, gathered in their own words.

Chase (2011) described interviews as the vehicle that gives the researcher an account of the issues being studied. She suggests that the transcriptions of the interviews are social facts, produced and shared in socially organized ways; narrative accounts, rather than an objective snapshot of reality. Qualitative research interviews vary in degree of structure (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007), but typically use open ended questions, or a flexible interview guide. “When the interviewer controls the content too rigidly, when the subject cannot tell his or her story personally in his or her own words, the interview falls out of the qualitative range” (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 104). However, most researchers must guide the conversation to some degree to encourage responses that are pertinent to the study.

In this study in-depth interviews were completed with 13 Hispanic adults. They needed to meet the following criteria:

- have lived in the United States for at least 15 years;

- have completed the naturalization process within the last four years, and
- have attended a citizenship class at least once during their preparation to take the citizenship test.
- As stated previously, the criteria regarding number of years of formal education was loosened in order to reach a reasonable number of participants. Of the 13 interviews used in the study, one individual had a high school diploma, and two had between one and three years at university in their countries of origin. However, the credentials for two of these individuals were not accepted in the United States and they subsequently earned a GED in the United States.

Because these interviews were conducted across cultures, with individuals who speak English as a second language, it was necessary to conduct the interviews using translators or interpreters. There is some tension in the translation/ interpretation community about the proper use of these titles. With some oversimplification, interpreters tend to deal with the spoken word, and may be less focused on exact word for word precision, than on support for the general accuracy of the phrase in second language. Translators on the other hand are often dealing with the written word—rewriting books, forms, or written transcripts into another language (Lionbridge, 2012). The individuals who were involved in this project filled a hybrid role. They facilitated interviews in Spanish using my interview guide, then they transcribed those taped interviews in Spanish, followed by a translation into English. Because of the wide variety of skills needed for this project, after some deliberation, it was decided

that they would be called research collaborators. That is the title that I will use going forward in this study.

At the time of the first interview participants were asked for their consent to record a discussion of factors that supported or detracted from the individual's decision to become a citizen. Once signed consent was obtained (Appendix E), the research collaborators and I conducted in-depth interviews in Spanish or English as the participant wished. Almost all participants decided to speak in Spanish, and those that began in English switched to Spanish as the interview commenced. The first interview was semi-structured and took place at a location and time amenable to the participant. Most of the participants chose to be interviewed in the reception area of the Family Violence/Rape Crisis agency (which was closed when our interviews were scheduled). The research collaborators used an interview guide that I developed and which focused on the research questions directing the study, making sure that major topics would be covered (Appendix J). Typically, in qualitative research, the questions contained in a guide may alter somewhat, based on the data obtained as the interviews go forward (Reissman, 2008), creating more of a conversation rather than an invariant protocol. Mattingly (as cited in Reissman, 2008) described the stories in narrative inquiry as both event and experience centered. Because each participant in the study has his or her own experiences and reactions to events, it is reasonable that the questions asked of each individual would vary to enable a better connection and understanding of each person's beliefs, attitudes, and worldview. In this study, there was minimal need for major variation in questions, but follow-up questions were helpful in some of the interviews.

Evaluators of research strongly encourage investigators to find multiple ways to test what they have analyzed (Rossi, Lipsey & Freeman, 2004). In addition to interviewing, a second type of data collection using visuals supplemented the in depth interviews. The specific method, called Photovoice, is discussed in the next section.

Photovoice: Visual Narrative

Wang and Burris (1994) developed Photovoice and modeled the tool on the function of documentary photography. In the arena of qualitative research, Photovoice attempts to highlight an issue or tell a story from the perspective of those who are marginalized or who are affected by the policies and rules of the majority. Wang and Burris (1997) stated that there are three main reasons to use Photovoice: to enable people to visually reflect their communities' strengths and needs; to promote conversations about important community issues among large and small groups; and to influence policymakers. Reissman (2008) stated that Photovoice "wrests control of the camera and the images it produces from the monopoly of experts" (p. 143). Reissman also posited that images become texts to be read interpretively: how and why the images were produced is the focus of attention.

In this study, after the primary interview was completed, participants were offered the opportunity to take pictures using a disposable camera supplied to them. Those who agreed to accept the camera also agreed to attend a focus group to discuss the pictures. Consent for this phase of the study was separate from the primary interview (Appendix F). Participants were encouraged to take pictures that represented the meaning of citizenship in their daily lives; what it takes for them to attend class, study, save for the application fees, and take the

exam; and how becoming a citizen has changed their lives, if it has. The principle investigator and research collaborators provided further information and handouts about using the camera including rules regarding ethical picture taking (Appendices G, H, &I). Participants were given two weeks to take their pictures, after which they would return the camera in a postage paid envelope, to the principle investigator to have the pictures developed. There were two focus group meetings a couple weeks apart. Five participants attended one, and seven attended the second, for a total of 11 focus group participants (one individual attended both focus groups). 11 of 13 participants completed the second process. The two others were unable to attend the focus group but gave permission for some of their pictures to be used. Given IRB approval to continue with the study after concerns were expressed by a few of the participants, it is important to note that the participants who were most concerned about visibility and risk chose not to participate in any phase of the study. Therefore, there was some comfort level using these photographs with the rest of the study participants.

At the focus group interview participants viewed all their pictures and chose the ones they were willing to share with the rest of the group. Focus group sessions, conducted in Spanish, were recorded, transcribed, and translated by the research collaborators. The interview guide (Appendix K) was less structured, allowing for a more informal and free flowing conversation. The participant was asked to describe his or her pictures, what they mean to him or her, and to explain the context of the photographs. Flexibility and care were taken to avoid interruption of the participants' narrative. Using Photovoice enables the

photographers' own view of what is important to come forward, revealing how people define their world (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Wang and Burris (1997) found Photovoice to be a particularly powerful tool for people who do not read or write in the dominant language. Further, the photographers often have an insight into their community's strengths and needs that outsiders lack.

Although many authors are supportive of Photovoice as a research method (Buck & Cook, 2010; Schwartz, Sable, Dannerbeck, & Campbell, 2007; & Snow, 2007), Wang and Burris (1997) caution researchers to make clear to everyone connected to the study that there could be difficulties for all involved when using Photovoice. First, politics can result in unpredictable outcomes for the photographers, especially if they bring to light issues or problems others would rather not air publically. Local community officials, employers, and even family and friends may be uncomfortable if their views are out of step with the general population or if such views cause embarrassment

Second, the researcher must expend significant effort to remain aware of actions that could contaminate the participant's visual message. How the choice is made regarding which photographs and quotes to include in the project or dissertation may indicate researcher bias. Last, study participants have to learn and adhere to rules about privacy, including asking consent before a picture can be taken; this process may be culturally and personally foreign and uncomfortable. Based on previous research regarding Photovoice, and to underscore that the photos belong to participants, the participant photographers were given copies of all the pictures taken with the camera at the end of the study (Buck & Cook, 2010). Only those

pictures that the participants shared with the whole group were available for discussion or analysis.

Field Notes

According to Bogdan and Biklen (2007) field notes are the written account of the experiences, sights and sounds that the researcher experiences in the process of gathering data for a study. When engaging a participant in an interview, it becomes important to place the interview in a context, physically and emotionally. Brodsky (2008) described field notes as a “personal journal for an audience of one” (p. 341). Field notes flesh out the context for the interviews conducted as part of qualitative research.

In addition to descriptions and clarifications of events, interviews and photographs, researchers often keep what are sometimes called reflective field notes or memos (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). These notes are the thoughts, reactions, hunches and concerns about mistakes that come to the researcher as he or she gathers data, starts to analyze it, and works to find meaning in the data, avoiding any manipulation of what the study participants have said.

Wolfinger (2002) suggests that the researcher comes to his or her field notes with what the author calls background expectations. As Wolfinger explained, researchers write about what stands out for them, and it stands out because it is contrary to what the researchers already know or expect. As a result, data or descriptions that may be important to consider for a particular study may not get the attention they deserve because the researcher passes over them as too familiar. This issue is salient for this study, because I taught in the citizenship class for almost five years before beginning the formal study. While that time has

been invaluable in terms of my acceptance into the community, I am mindful that I must carefully consider of my own expectations and assumptions regarding the individuals who agree to be interviewed. I debriefed with the research collaborators who conducted the formal interviews in Spanish to clarify and compare our reactions to statements made during the interview. The involvement of than one research collaborator in the project, asking the same questions, provided a built in check for inter-rater reliability verifying the meaning of the questions in the interview guide. Reverse translations of at least one each of the research collaborator's work were completed. The staff member from Chatham County Literacy Council compared the original Spanish transcription with the reverse translation from English to Spanish to check for misunderstanding or bias.

Observations

“Qualitative social scientists are observers both of human activities and of the physical settings in which such activities take place” (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011, p. 467). Researchers have moved away from the perspective that an investigator could observe without having any effect on the events and activities under study, understanding that complete researcher objectivity is unattainable (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011). Instead, observational research is more subjective and requires that the investigator will surface his or her activities clearly, exposing perspectives and attitudes that could affect the study. Angrosino and Rosenberg (2011) stated that some researchers consciously adopt situational identities and defined roles within the population under study to make their involvement in the population more transparent.

Although observations are not central to the data collection involved in this study they do occur naturally given that I observed participants during the interviews facilitated in Spanish by the research collaborators. I was able to observe nonverbal behaviors of both participant and researcher during the in-depth interviews, as well as the interactions among participants during the focus groups.

One final word about the process of data collection: data collection only occurred after approval from the Institutional Review Boards (IRB) of both the institution where I was employed as a faculty member, and the institution where I am a doctoral student. The approval letter from the IRB of North Carolina State University for study #3388, and the letter of collaboration from UNC-Chapel Hill are found in Appendices M & N.

Data Analysis

As the interviews are completed, the researcher must begin to systematically search and arrange the information using some method or process that will allow for understanding, comparison and interpretation of the data. This activity is defined as data analysis (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007; & Chase, 2011).

In this study, the primary data sources were two in-depth interviews. The first interview gathered data from all the research questions. If the participant was willing to take photos that depict the meaning of citizenship from his or her perspective, he or she was invited to a second group interview that was meant to accomplish a number of tasks. First, by asking the participants to describe the photos they took, an understanding of the meanings and symbols the participant connects to citizenship will become clearer; second, it

encourages deeper discussion of all research questions in a group environment, increasing validity of the study (Long & Johnson, 2000), and finally, it sets the stage for potential counter-stories (Solorzano & Yosso, 2004). All interviews were recorded, with permission, and transcriptions completed in both Spanish and English by five bilingual research collaborators. Because we interviewed 13 Hispanic adults, it was possible to discern patterns across interviews to develop a more complete understanding of the decision-making process of participants in their journey toward citizenship (Chase, 2011).

Participants in the study supplied their own particular point of view through their photographs. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) remind researchers that it is necessary to place the photograph in its proper context. They add that it is necessary for the researcher to know the purpose and frame of mind of the photographer both when taking a picture, and when describing it, to avoid incorrect assumptions or interpretations. As Wang and Burris (1994) stated, photographs are very helpful with study participants whose language is not that of the dominant culture. Hispanic adults in the study have Spanish as their primary language, making use of photographs for this study appropriate.

This study rests on three theoretical constructs: Theory of planned behavior; Latino critical theory; and theory of transformative learning. Initial coding of the interviews and photographs used the concepts and language of the constructs. Thus, the initial code included:

- Theory of planned behavior
 - participant beliefs about citizenship,
 - attitudes toward citizenship and the class,
 - intentions regarding naturalization;

descriptions of self-efficacy or lack of confidence;
 positive or negative attitudes of significant others in the Hispanic adult's life;

Latino critical theory

Location of policies, laws, and cultural morés that may affect the Hispanic adult's ability to become a citizen;

Experience of discrimination based on language, cultural heritage on the ability to complete the process of becoming a citizen

Transformative learning

the effect of the journey on the everyday life of the Hispanic adult
 naturalization as a means to an end

changes in the Hispanic adults world view, or habits of mind as a result of studying for or achieving naturalization

As interviews were completed, open coding was used to include themes that arose from the data. Examples of codes that were added to the process included:

Importance of opportunity to vote
 Differences between being a resident and being a citizen
 Involvement of children in the process
 Setting goals and achieving them
 Attitudes about being undocumented

I used ATLAS.ti to code and search for patterns. ATLAS.ti is useable both for analysis of text and images. It allows the researcher to develop "families" of linked items, and highlights connections that might not be quite as obvious.

Pilot Study

A pilot study is a small scale version or trial run in preparation of a larger study to follow (Simon, 2011). The pilot study can determine if the target population is correct, if the tools and procedures planned for the larger study will garner the information needed, and if the investigators are sufficiently skilled to carry out the larger study (Polit, Beck & Hungler, 2001). For several reasons, I decided to complete a small study with a similar cohort of

Hispanic adults. First, it was important to determine if the adults would be willing to meet and discuss their perspectives with a Caucasian teacher who does not live in their community. Second, and most significant, it was necessary to practice the interview process with an interpreter, who would then translate and transcribe the interview before I coded it. Third, the process was to help develop the research questions for my dissertation, and last, I wanted to learn to practice using Atlas.ti as the coding software for the larger study.

The pilot study was approved by IRBs of North Carolina State University (Assurance Number FWA00003429/ IRB # 2380) and UNC-Chapel Hill (IRB# 11-2469) and was funded through a small Jane H. Pfouts grant through the UNC-CH School of Social Work. The primary aim of the study was to understand the barriers and supports for consistent attendance in both citizenship and Adult Basic Education classes in Siler City, NC. Second, we wanted to understand the perspective of the students about having teachers who are not fluent Spanish speakers in a citizenship class.

A student interpreter and I conducted three in-depth interviews which were audio recorded. The interpreter ran a focus group of three other individuals by herself, because the primary purpose of that meeting was to discuss student perceptions of the teachers. All but one of the participants were women. Participants ranged in age from approximately 30 to 65.

Interviews were transcribed and translated. Open coding was employed, using Atlas.ti. The results which were instrumental in determining the structure for this dissertation, were as follows:

- We were able to find enough individuals to interview with very little difficulty, and the individuals who were interviewed did not seem hesitant to take part in the study. Most of the participants were recruited through word of mouth rather than the flyers which were also sent out.
- The two-person interview process worked well. While the student interpreted, I was able to take brief field notes regarding the context and tone of the interview. My Spanish is reasonable enough that I could follow the basic thrust of the interview, but the need for an interpreter was clear.
- The interview guide was much too general, and did not yield the depth of information we wanted to get a sense of the needs of the population. This was true for both the in-depth interviews and the focus group. We found that the participants were very careful not to say anything that could be seen as negative about the teachers of the class—even when there were no teachers in the room. This was important as a guide for the development of final research questions.
- For the pilot study, the student skipped the written translation of the Spanish from the interviews, and simply translated while she typed the transcription in English. We learned that this middle step is necessary if we are to translate back to Spanish to check for validity of translation.
- Atlas.ti is a useful tool, but has a relatively steep learning curve. With practice, it will add substantially more organization to the interview/ translation/ transcription/ code process.

Conclusions obtained from the pilot affirmed our basic expectations. Work obligations, child care and other family responsibilities prevent consistent attendance. The respondents wanted more classes throughout the days of the week so they could come whenever their schedule's allowed. The teacher's inability to speak Spanish fluently was sometimes a problem. This was one area where there was variable reaction, often depending upon the English proficiency of the student. Those students who speak English fairly well wanted to practice their English and were not deterred if the teacher could not explain something in Spanish. However, those students whose English was marginal expressed a wish for a truly bilingual teacher.

In summary, conducting the pilot study impacted plans for my dissertation by affirming the method for conducting the interviews, as well as the coding technology I eventually used. The need for more specific questions on the interview guide became clear as we conducted the interviews. We also increased our awareness of the cultural value of avoiding any criticism of a person in a role such as teacher, and the need to tease out answers without asking for such criticism. The pilot study heightened my awareness of the need for continual researcher reflexivity when working across cultures. Further discussion of the positionality of the researcher will follow in a later section.

Validity and Reliability

There is a constant tension between qualitative research and quantitative research when the concepts of validity and reliability are considered (Kirk & Miller, 1985). This tension derives from the methods involved in gathering the data used for interpretations and

conclusions, the researcher role, and the data itself. Unlike quantitative research where measures and variables are set before the collection process begins, data in many qualitative research studies like this one is gathered in semi-structured or unstructured interviews that may evolve over time (Franklin & Ballan, 2008). As stated above, qualitative researchers are closer to the participants in the study, and the data that are collected are words, documents and images that can be interpreted in diverse ways (Riessman, 2008). The following section describes the primary concerns regarding validity and reliability in qualitative research, how other researchers respond to these concerns, and finally, what actions and safeguards were put into place in the current study to increase validity and reliability.

Franklin and Ballan (2008) state that it is important for qualitative studies to strive to emulate characteristics of the scientific method. Riessman (2008) argues that the very language that is used to increase reliability and validity in quantitative studies is not applicable to qualitative research. However, there is general agreement that any research should strive to be rigorous, credible and trustworthy (Franklin & Ballan, 2008; Kirk & Miller, 1985; Long & Johnson, 2000). In this study I will continue to use the terminology of validity and reliability, understanding that qualitative researchers have divergent opinions about the words chosen.

Validity is a highly valued characteristic of research that must receive attention from the investigator. Generally, validity in research asks if the tools and mechanisms used measure what they say they will measure and if the claims made by the research are plausible (Long & Johnson, 2000). “When applied to narrative projects, two levels of validity are

important—the story told by a research participant and the validity of the analysis, or the story told by the researcher” (Riessman, 2008, p. 184). It is possible to check if the story of the participant seems authentic by asking questions in different ways to ascertain if the participant’s answers remain consistent.

This research study responds to suggestions from Franklin and Ballan (2001) who call for prolonged engagement and purposive sampling. Prior to conducting these interviews, I had taught citizenship class in Siler City, NC for four years. I developed relationships with the staffs of Chatham County Literacy Council and Siler City Center where the classes are held. Given this experience, I am somewhat known to the Hispanic community in Siler City. Purposive sampling has been discussed previously. Suffice to say that the decision was made to request an amendment to the original IRB to slightly change sample criteria, and that one interviewee was withdrawn from the study because the participant did not meet a major criterion (having taken at least one citizenship preparation class).

Denzin and Lincoln (2011) encourage triangulation, the practice of comparing the results of multiple sources of data. In this study we had access to interviews, focus group discussions, photographs, researcher field notes, and periodic observations which provided a cross-section of data to compare. Theory triangulation involves use of more than one theoretical construct to analyze the same set of data (Franklin & Ballan, 2001; Silverman, 2006). This study used three theories to consider the decisions of Hispanic adults to become citizens: theory of planned behavior which focuses predominantly on the decision process; Latino critical theory, which highlights the external barriers erected by the majority culture

that the Hispanic adult must navigate, and finally transformative learning theory, which considers the breadth and depth of change experienced by the individual who goes through a specific experience, in this instance, citizenship. Using all three theories created a comprehensive picture of the decision-making process of Hispanic adults who have become citizens.

Another method suggested to ensure validity of the data obtained is member checks (Long & Johnson, 2000), wherein the researcher provides copies of transcripts to participants to “check” for correctness. For this study, participants were given covered copies of Spanish transcripts of their interviews in binders entitled “El Cuento de...” (the story of). They were asked to read what was transcribed, and alert the research team if they had concerns. We also used reverse translations, arranging for another person not connected to the study, to translate one of each of the research collaborators English translations back to Spanish. The community liaison from Chatham County Literacy Council then compared the original Spanish transcription of the interview with the reverse translations. In this way, it was possible to determine if the interpretations of the five research collaborators were consistent, and that what I was coding was as close as possible to what was really said and meant. Franklin and Ballan’s (2001) final recommendation to increase validity of a study is researcher reflexivity which will be discussed in the next section. The community liaison was comfortable with all translations. He noticed some regional differences in wording between the Mexican and Salvadorian respondents, and the translator. He did not believe that these caused major changes in meaning.

Reliability, in its most general definition is the extent to which a measure produces the same results when used repeatedly to measure the same thing (Rossi et al., 2004). Patton (1997) stated that reliability has to do with consistency coupled with the stability of the data.

Internal reliability refers to the degree to which other researchers, given a set of previously generated constructs, would match them with data in the same way as did the original researcher ... External reliability addresses the issue of whether independent researchers would discover the same truth or generate the same constructs in the same or similar setting. (Franklin & Ballan, 2001, p. 273)

Researchers who are concerned about reliability will check to determine if their research questions are clear and congruent with the study design chosen; if the role of the researcher is made explicit; if decisions about initial coding and subsequent changes are well explained; and if data collection protocols were followed throughout the study (Franklin & Ballan, 2001).

Silverman (2006) suggests that reliability of interviews can be supported through practice with interview schedules, and effective training of interviewers. In this study, all of the research collaborators and I have experience and professional training in conducting interviews. Four of them are masters students in social work, and the fifth is a professional medical interpreter. Moreover, Silverman states that face-to-face interviews should be recorded, that a skilled transcriber should be used, and that thick descriptions should support researcher conclusions and interpretations. For this study, the research collaborators met with me prior to the interviews to understand the focus of the study and to go over the interview

guide in Spanish and English. They also audio-recorded and transcribed the interviews. Having five different individuals use the same interview schedule without major difficulties supported its understandability. Sitting in on all the interviews and the two focus groups also allowed me to notice any areas that seemed to be unclear to either research collaborator or participant. One transcription from each of the five research collaborators was reverse translated to double check their correctness. Copies of the Spanish transcription of each interview was shared with participants to honor their statements and increase reliability.

Narrative inquiry calls for rich descriptions from the research participants, to bring their voices into the room. Franklin and Ballan (2001) call this staying close to the empirical data—supporting inferences and interpretations with exact quotes. The final two suggestions from Franklin and Ballan (2001) have to do with making decision points clear and supported by explanations; and secondly, using computer software to increase the chances of having a consistent analytic method. In this study, I used the software Atlas.ti 7.1 to support and organize my coding.

Researcher Bias and Assumptions

In qualitative studies, given the researcher's close connection to respondents and the fact that the data are filtered through the views of the researcher, it is essential that the researcher clarify his or her position regarding the participants in the study (Bott, 2010; Creswell, 2008). The degree of disclosure that is necessary or even advisable is a subject for debate. Seale (as cited in Grbich, 2004) suggests that “the confessional stories of the researcher may simply serve as a distraction from poor research” (p. 61). Most scholars

encourage clarity and transparency from the researcher. Given that the researcher cannot be separated from his or her background, impressions of the data will be affected by the researcher's personal impressions (Creswell, 2007). This is especially true when research is conducted across cultures, increasing the potential for misunderstandings and misinterpretations. Milner (2007) encourages cross cultural or cross racial researchers to embark on a process of racial and cultural consciousness when they do research. He believes that "dangers seen, unseen and unforeseen can emerge for researchers when they do not pay careful attention to their own and others racialized and cultural systems of coming to know, knowing and experiencing the world" (p. 388). Without increased consciousness (and sometimes despite such work), Milner believes that researchers can continue misrepresentation of the very marginalized or silent populations they seek to highlight.

To that end, I position myself as a White woman of European descent. I am privileged by a life devoid of food insecurities, or the need to migrate unless I choose to do so. I am educated, continuously employed and reasonably financially stable. I have come to know the population I want to write about because I volunteered to teach a citizenship class over four years ago. The fact that I am a volunteer has been both helpful because it engenders some respect among those in my class, and challenging because the students may not feel that they can criticize or suggest something else out of that respect. This is the main reason that the IRB forbade me to interview participants currently in my own class when I conducted the pilot study.

I have the defined role in the Siler City Hispanic community of a “teacher” regardless of my newer role of principal investigator. Even in informal gatherings, most of the Hispanic adults I know call me teacher, rather than by my name. As a result, I must be mindful of the ways that their relationship to me may alter my point of view and influence my interpretations of the participants in the study.

Nelson and Gould (2005) emphasized the struggles that can occur when there are obvious power differentials between the researcher and the respondent. They pointed to the need for continual vigilance of times when the researcher uses power out of habit or convenience, or simply when it suits her. In this study, there is a power differential between many of the former students in the class and myself: I am a citizen of the United States by birth and if not vigilant, can take that status with all its privileges for granted; I am Caucasian and therefore I am able to be invisible within U.S. society when I choose to be; I am a native English speaker with an American accent in a country that has tremendous ambivalence for those who do not speak English easily, and especially those with a Spanish accent.

The bias for me is the hazard of seeing adult students in my class as individuals with deficits, because they have less education, and are frequently less well off financially or conversely seeing them as heroes, because they are resilient and perseverant. Respect for the Hispanic adults in this study requires seeing both their struggles and their “funds of knowledge” as Bigelow and Lovrien Schwarz (2010) would call them, namely those skills that make it possible to maneuver with some success both in their country of origin and here in the United States. There is a risk of perceiving people who cannot speak or read English

as having an inability to advocate for themselves. Yet I know that such perceptions are far from the reality of the adult Hispanics in citizenship class. For example, I was disconcerted and embarrassed with my own expectations when I visited two students' homes and found not spare accommodations but a comfortable home with lots of amenities. It is critical that I work to see my biases as I interview, analyze and write. Because of this awareness, I engaged in a bracketing interview with a colleague. We utilized a structure suggested by Robson (2003). I wrote an essay (Appendix L) and afterward had a lengthy discussion about what I had written answering the questions Robson puts forth. Rolls and Relf (2006) stated that "bracketing interviews enabled the researcher to hold the tension of the dialectic process of investigating the nature of the participants' experience, at the same time as holding her own experience" (p. 286). My experience with the Hispanic adults adds context and understanding to the research I engaged in. However, my experience is not the center of this study—the perspectives of the adults themselves are central, and it is critical that as the researcher, I not contaminate their story.

Translation Issues

One central issue regarding analysis of conversations and images in this study rests on the fact that the research is cross cultural. Winkle-Wagner (2009) stated that due to the frequent misrepresentations of respondents from other cultures in studies conducted by majority researchers, there is a belief among some scholars that cross cultural research should not be done at all. Such a perspective would result in a restriction of all research, with the result that individuals would only be allowed to study those in their own cohort. Winkle-

Wagner suggested that cross-cultural research can be validated or confirmed without abdicating accepted research standards. She described several ways to accomplish this goal. First, the position of the researcher should be clarified. Winkle-Wagner challenged the notion of the value neutrality of the researcher regardless of the methodology chosen. “Value neutrality may, often unwittingly, become a representation of the values of the mainstream” (Winkle-Wagner, 2009, p. 130). It is true that conducting cross-cultural research leaves the researcher vulnerable to misunderstanding, misrepresentation and misinformation. To avoid these challenges, the researcher should check in with respondents as well as regarded members of the community, to determine if the interpretation is valid (Winkle-Wagner, 2009). Winkle-Wagner explained that this approach requires the researcher to scrutinize and even reconsider those parts of the data that do not fit the general themes. These are the sections of the data that call for discussion with trusted colleagues who are members of the cross-cultural population under study. Trust between the respondents and the researcher is critical to increase the probability that the stories to be obtained are valid.

Squires (2009) completed a meta analysis of research that used the services of an interpreter because the researcher was not fluent in the respondent’s language. Only 6 of the 40 studies she investigated met all her criteria regarding best practices for studies across languages. Her expectations are lengthier than this paper can summarize, however a few points are important to state given that my study relied on the skills of interpreters. Changes in language and meaning can occur in the process of translation. Better studies are those that involve an interpreter who is familiar with the populations under study. Cultural nuances,

communication styles, and simple comfort level are all affected by the ability to converse in a familiar way with research participants. The effect of having an interpreter in the research must be stated clearly in the design and limitations of the study. It is suggested that the interpreter be involved in a pilot study to test the translation process, and to develop a good sense of the flow of the study. In my IRB approved pilot study, I worked with a Caucasian interpreter who lived in Spanish speaking country prior to beginning this project. Four of the five research collaborators for this current study have lived in Spanish speaking countries, some for many years. The fifth is a native Spanish speaker who moved to the United States. One of the research collaborators and I practiced the presentation of the study together with individuals who are native Spanish speakers and come from a similar cohort to those participating in the study. As mentioned previously, we completed reverse translations both for content and also for clarity. Finally, the research liaison in Siler City compared the two interviews (initial transcription and reverse translation) to assure that translations were generally the same. Finally, I speak moderate Spanish and can follow the conversation reasonably well during the interview, albeit not well enough to interpret myself. Last, I feel very strongly that theme and pattern analysis is affected by the translation process, and agree with Squires (2009) that this limitation must be acknowledged up front in the results and limitations of the study.

Chapter Summary

Chapter three explains the processes I used to complete this qualitative study, located in the natural setting of the participants. The specific methodologies are narrative inquiry and

Photovoice , which are congruent with a qualitative study whose participants are generally not fluent in the dominant language of the United States. Three theoretical constructs provide the framework for the study: Theory of planned behavior, Latino critical theory, and theory of transformative learning.

The study employed a purposive sample of Hispanic adults who have lived in the United States for at least 15 years, have low prior formal education and English proficiency and who have become citizens in the United States in the last four years. Data collection included semi-structured interviews with 13 Hispanic adults. Second group interviews focused on the photographs participants took with cameras that were supplied to them. All participants returned the cameras and 11 of them participated in one of two focus groups. Observations of the interviews as well as the focus groups, combined with researcher field notes will also be used as data sources. All in-depth interviews were conducted with a research collaborator/translator. Two research collaborators facilitated the focus groups. A reverse translation of one of each of the five translator products was completed to check the initial translation to ensure that the text used for coding was accurate.

Data analysis involved thematic coding of the translated transcripts, followed by open coding to attend to those areas not covered by the chosen themes. ATLAS.ti software was used to analyze both the interviews and the images.

As a Caucasian woman conducting research across cultural boundaries, it was critical to stay connected with experts from the community to avoid potential bias and

misunderstanding. To that end, I met regularly with the community liaison, and with other Spanish speakers in the Siler City community.

Chapter Four

Findings

The aim of this research is to understand the decision-making process of the Hispanic adults as they engaged in the necessary steps required to pass the naturalization exam.

According to the criteria for sample selection, the cohort has lived in the United States for at least 15 years prior to becoming citizens, speaks English as a second language, and generally has less formal education than prior immigrant waves. Because the naturalization exam changed about six years ago (U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, 2011), immigrants are now required to have a conversation with the official that might include such facts as identifying where they live, who lives in the house with them, what employment they have had for the past five years, and any trips they have taken outside of the United States in that time, for what purpose, and for how long. Such a conversation calls for an ability to speak some English. The test also requires the applicant to write out up to three dictated sentences, read some sentences, and answer up to ten questions about US history and geography, getting at least six correct. Lastly, according to the established criteria, the individuals in this study made the decision to attend at least one citizenship preparation class before taking the test.

The Research Questions that guided this study are:

- 1) What personal, social, and environmental factors (internal and external) shaped the decision of a Hispanic adult to persist in the naturalization process successfully?
- 2) How do Hispanic adults perceive the role of a non-formal citizenship class in their journey to successfully complete the naturalization process?

3) What is the outcome of achieving citizenship in the everyday lives of Hispanic adults who have lived in the United States for at least 15 years prior to naturalization?

The research questions were developed through the marriage of three theoretical constructs and my experience teaching citizenship class in Siler City, NC over the past five years. The constructs include the theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 1991), Latino critical theory (Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001), and transformational learning theory (Mezirow, 2006) The Hispanic adults in this study juggle long work hours, family obligations, required interactions with many systems, and the struggle of low wages. What makes their experience different is that they are marginal to general U.S. society through a different language and legal status.

The research questions are best answered using a qualitative research design. Narrative inquiry and Photovoice are the qualitative methods employed by the study design. Solorzano and Yosso (2004) encourage the telling of what they call counter-stories to bring the lives of individuals who are newcomers, or who live at the edges of general society, so that they can be heard. Another way of highlighting the beliefs and attitudes of the respondents in this study is through the use of photographs that they take (Wang & Burris, 1997).

This chapter describes the study participants' experiences as they left their country of origin, worked and built families here in the United States, and made the decision to go through the steps necessary to become citizens. The findings are detailed in three sections.

First, a summary of the study design establishes the context and methods used for the study. The overview is followed by aggregate demographics of the study cohort provided in text, accompanied by a table. Next, each of the 13 participants has a short profile with one of the pictures he or she took as part of the project. The final section contains the thick, rich text of the participant's words as they pertain to the research questions guiding this study.

Study Design Overview

To understand the decision-making processes of Hispanic adults who have become citizens of the United States, the research team (consisting of five research collaborators who translated, and myself) conducted 13 in-depth interviews, and two focus groups, one with five participants, and the other with seven, for a total of 11 participants (one participant attended both sessions). The in-depth interviews lasted an average of an hour each. One research collaborator facilitated each of the in-depth interviews in English or Spanish at the participant's request, using a structured Interview Guide. The interviews were audio-recorded. The research collaborator transcribed the interviews in Spanish, then translated them into English. Each participant who was individually interviewed received a \$25 Wal-Mart gift card.

At the end of the individual interview, all participants were offered the opportunity to receive a camera and take pictures of scenes that depicted what the journey to citizenship was like for them. All 13 of the participants agreed to take pictures, however two participants did not attend either focus group meeting. The focus groups took a little over 90 minutes each. Each member of the focus group discussed some of the pictures they had taken with a

disposable camera provided by the research team. Two research collaborators co-facilitated the focus groups using a less formal Interview Guide than the in-depth interviews. The research collaborators shared duties of transcribing and translating the focus groups into English. Both focus groups took place in the Family Violence Rape Crisis (FVRC) reception room. The room is at the front of the office, has several chairs or stools, and a sofa, allowing the group to sit down and talk with one another. Those who participated in the focus group received a second \$25 Wal-Mart gift card. As principle investigator, I sat in on all interviews and focus groups. My Spanish is good enough to understand the gist of what was being said, but not strong enough to facilitate either the individual or focus group interviews.

Location

All interviews took place in Siler City, NC because this is where all but one of the participants live. One participant lives 19 miles outside of Siler City. The Hispanic population in Siler City has grown significantly in the last ten to fifteen years, at the same time that many places of employment typically available to the new immigrant population have disappeared.

Ten of the in-depth interviews, and both focus groups, were conducted in the reception room of the Family Violence/Rape Crisis building on the west side of Siler City (Figure 1) the other three occurred in the individual's home at his or her request. The



Figure 1 The Office

small, one story brick building which was closed when interviews were held, offered a private space, with enough room to sit comfortably, and allowed access to bathroom facilities and a coffee pot! In addition to coffee or tea, participants were offered water and snacks during in-depth interviews, and sandwiches and fruit during focus groups. All the interviews were held on Friday, Saturday, or Sunday, most commonly Saturday or Sunday afternoon or evening and were held over a three month period.

Participant Demographic Overview

Table 3 presents basic demographics regarding the Hispanic adults who consented to be part of this study. The 13 participants in the study come from two countries, Mexico (8) and El Salvador (5). Although other countries have attended citizenship classes in Siler City, these two countries are more frequently represented. The fact that the community liaison who assisted with setting up the interviews, and arranging a location for interviews for the study is Salvadorian may have increased the willingness of individuals from that country to participate. Participants included eight women and five men. The age of those in the study cohort ranges from 37 to 54, with an average age of slightly over 44 years. The range of years participants had lived in the United States before achieving citizenship was from 16 to 31 years with an average of 22 years.

Years of schooling among the respondents varied significantly. Three individuals had no formal schooling before entering the United States; one had three years; two had five, one seven years, and two had nine years of formal education. As mentioned previously, the IRB gave approval to amend the study allowing potential participants with high school or greater

education to be included in the study thus increasing the numbers. Three individuals were admitted based on the amendment. One participant had a high school education; one had two years of education after high school, and one had high school plus three years. Regardless of their education in their home countries, some of the respondents in this study had to earn Graduation Equivalency Diplomas (GED) at the community college because their original high school diplomas were not honored here in the United States. It is interesting to note that of the three individuals with high school or higher education, two of these were male. The one female earned her high school diploma here the United States because she came here with family when she was sixteen.

Chatham County Literacy Council (CCLC) sponsors the citizenship classes. CCLC is a small non-profit focused on matching tutors who are volunteers with adults who need help with reading. The citizenship classes were developed as a result of community interest. One of the Hispanic adults in the study, Tito, was a pioneer in this process.

Also, in those first years, I remember that we gathered a group of people and saw the needs that we had. And one of the needs in this county is that there weren't citizenship classes. So, we collected a lot of people—ladies and gentlemen that were residents—and they saw the need there was. And we started to collect that. So that was how it was later formed to make citizenship classes...because before there weren't citizenship classes. Afterwards, these classes were formed.

There have been several location changes and time changes for citizenship classes over the past five years. Initially classes were held on Friday evenings. They were conducted

in a succession of locations: two neighborhood churches, the store-front where the CCLC used to have its administrative offices, and later another church. In tight economic times, the decision was made that the staff would work from home, rather than maintain an office. In 2010, a second class was started on Saturdays, also held in a church. The original citizenship class was moved into a classroom in the Siler City Center, (a satellite of Central Carolina Community College) and changed to Tuesday nights because the college does not provide classes on Friday evenings. Although the move to the community college provided internet access, when the weeknight class moved to the Center and changed to Tuesday, attendance decreased and has remained low. There seem to be several reasons for this drop off in attendance: First, it is on a weeknight, and school, homework, and work responsibilities intervene, Second, children under sixteen are not allowed at the Siler City Center, so families must find child care if they are to attend. Last, the center is located on the same road as Chatham Hospital. There are frequently police and sheriff's cars patrolling that road with concomitant license checks. Attendance at the Saturday citizenship class has been consistently higher.

Regardless of location, attendance at citizenship preparation class has been consistently uneven among the study cohort, ranging from coming to class only one time (2) up to three years of attendance (3) with varying lengths in between. Similar to research done regarding consistency of attendance with Adult Basic Education (ABE) and English as a Second Language (ESL) classes (Albertini, 2009; Bigelow & Lorvien Schwarz, 2010) attendance at citizenship class was sporadic depending on the life situation of the participant.

One participant was an outlier, arriving at class each week without fail for a full two years. Most of the study cohort passed the test on their first try (10), with the other three passing after 2, 3, or 4 attempts respectively. Their previous attempts were before they attended citizenship class. All completed the naturalization process between January 2010 and the December 2013.

Almost all the participants were employed outside the home during the months and years they prepared to take the test for naturalization, although not necessarily working full time. During the years leading up to citizenship, they worked in non-profit agencies, poultry processing plants, steel plants, at manufacturing or construction sites, in a family restaurant, in textile mills and lumber yards, and as a building inspector. Ten of the 13 participants have children.

Table 3
Demographics of Participant Hispanic Adults

Pseudonym	Country of origin	Age	Years in US	Years of schooling	Class Participation	Attempts to take exam	Citizenship Achieved
Anabel	Mexico	43	26	3	One class	1	2010
Carlos	El Salvador	51	18	HS + 3 years GED in US	Six months	1	2013
Deni	El Salvador	46	18	9	Three months	1	2013
Eduardo	Mexico	43	19	HS	One class	1	2012
John	El Salvador	38	22	7	Six months	1	2012
Julia	El Salvador	47	21	5	2.5 years	1	2013
Marlene	Mexico	37	22	5	One year	2	2010
New American	Mexico	40	20	HS + 2 yrs	One class	1	2013
Nicha	Mexico	54	23	No formal schooling	3 years	4	2013
Pablo	Mexico	48	31	No formal schooling	2 years	3	2012
Soraya	El Salvador	37	16	HS GED in US	Several months	1	2012
Teresa	Mexico	44	26	9 th	One year	1	2011
Tito	Mexico	45	25	No formal schooling	3 years	1	2012
<i>Average:</i>	<i>n/a</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>n/a</i>	<i>n/a</i>	<i>n/a</i>	<i>n/a</i>

Participant Profiles

Each research participant provided his or her unique story of coming to the United States, determining that citizenship was the goal, and taking the steps to achieve that goal. This section presents brief narratives to introduce each of the participants. The description will highlight two areas: a concise verbal snapshot of each participant, with the individual's migration story, and one of the photographs they chose to share. Eleven of the 13 individuals in the study participated in a focus group, the other two shared their photographs separately. Table 4 displays date and location of interviews and focus groups.

Table 4
Participants in In-depth Interviews and Focus Groups

Pseudonym	Individual Interview	Location of Interview	Focus Group I	Focus Group II
Anabel	09/29/13	FVRC		12/08/13
Carlos	10/13/13	FVRC	11/16/13	12/08/13
Deni	09/28/13	FVRC	11/16/13	
Eduardo	11/09/13	Residence		
John	10/13/13	FVRC	11/16/13	
Julia	09/28/13	FVRC	11/16/13	
Marlene	10/04/13	Residence		
New American	09/28/13	FVRC	11/16/13	
Nicha	10/12/13	FVRC		12/08/13
Pablo	09/28/13	FVRC		12/08/13
Soraya	10/04/13	FVRC		12/08/13
Teresa	10/12/13	FVRC		12/08/13
Tito	09/28/13	FVRC		12/08/13

Anabel

When she was 17, Anabel came to the United States with 3 years of education in Mexico, and very little proficiency in English.

My mama was first here in Santa Barbara. And I stayed in Mexico with my aunt, and I stayed over there for five years. And my mama she have permission to be here, and she go to Mexico and she bring me here. And she don't, you know sometimes people try to fix some permission to the children, but they can't because they need to be a citizen first, to fix some papers. I have a brother he born here and a sister, and the other ones they was in Mexico. When I come in I was 17-year old, and I went to the school.

She originally went to California, was married there to a man who had a green card, and moved to North Carolina with him. It wasn't until she was married that Anabel's husband, who became a citizen, submitted the papers for her to become a legal resident. Anabel has three daughters, two in their 20s, and one who is 11 all of whom live in North Carolina. She credits her daughters for her successful journey to become a citizen. Smiling, and shaking her blonde curly hair, she said that she got serious about naturalization in 2008, because her daughters badgered her to study and take the citizenship test so that she would not always have to be renewing her Permanent Resident Card. She said that they wanted her to be like them. Anabel attended the citizenship preparation class only once to get the books and CD that were provided free. After that, with a great deal of studying, mostly on her own or with her daughters, she passed the citizenship exam in 2010.

Anabel was working full time at the Family Resource Center in Siler City, which closed in June, 2013. She loved working there, and declares that the pastor and his wife who ran the center also helped her study, and drove with her to take the exam.

The picture that Anabel chose to share is of her youngest daughter who studied with her every free moment.



Figure 2 Anabel's Daughter

She's the one who'd always go with me in the car and she'd have the book. And she'd tell me the questions and she'd say: "No, now you tell it to me." And sometimes she'd read and then she'd say: "Now I'm not going to..." She'd turn the book around and we'd start from the beginning. She was always teaching me.

Anabel is immensely proud of her daughters and says that her citizenship journey brought her closer to them. Sometimes we are more like friends, she says, than Mother and daughters.

Carlos

Carlos has short graying hair, a ready smile, and quick humor. He is well known through his work with two non-profits that are very active with Siler City's Hispanic community. Carlos and his wife Deni decided to come to the United States from El Salvador

to obtain more modern treatment in the hope that Deni could become pregnant. He had talked with friends, but was not very knowledgeable about life in the United States.

I didn't know anything. I knew that I was going to face a, a country that many people said, uh, friends that we had [in El Salvador] shared in their experiences here that it was like uh, uh at least about 10 years' difference in lag regarding my country and, and the United States. I felt that when I arrived here from there that it was like 10 years that it was behind in the development...I wasn't so worried in the beginning because I had time to be legally in this country. I searched for one of the things that also worried me was to find the way to no, to not be— eh, hidden in this country. Find the way to, to legalize.

Carlos was in school to be an accountant in El Salvador when the couple came to the United States. He was not able to continue with that career when he came to the United States.

I had to, to change due to that I came from being in a job and that I was an accountant, eh, and well uh I worked in level quite eh compared to my country – it was a level quite high, and then when I arrived to this country I had to, to work in, in making houses and it was quite, quite heavy. I had to begin to work very hard...and that was really a challenge and it still continues to be the fact of, of finding the way to be able to, eh, maybe resume/retake what I had studied in my country. And it was very difficult –and it still is. I still haven't achieved reaching that but of course I'm still working. The doors were closed on me when I realized that I couldn't eh bring

my study certificate from the school and the university...the Salvador University uh to here.

Like many of the individuals we interviewed, Carlos is a person who sets goals and starts working toward them without delay. He saw the hard, difficult jobs he found when he and Deni were new in town as a means to an end. He says he asked God for three things: a house, a child, and legal status in the United States. He was able to achieve all three. Carlos'

spirituality is central in his life.

Carlos chose a picture of a mural on a main street in Siler City.

It makes me think about how over time, how things change and about a city or town that was like this in the



Figure 3 Siler City Mural

nineteenth century and is now a city that is growing. And, you can see the work that each of us does although we say that it's nothing, we don't really value it, but it's a lot... you can see it's grown, thanks to everyone's efforts...without exceptions.

Deni

When Deni arrived for the interview, she said she wasn't feeling well, but became more animated as she began to tell her story. Deni talked at length about her immigration journey. She alternately smiled and turned serious, clearly revisiting the memories. Deni came to the United States with her husband Carlos, in hopes of finding a doctor who could help her become pregnant. She says their experience was different from many other

Hispanics.

Well in my case it wasn't very difficult because we came here with a visa. So we had family here and because we came with a visa and had a place to come to, that helped a lot. That's why we can't say it was difficult. Well thank God



Figure 4 Deni at Carolina Meadows

everything happened that way. On that side there isn't much to tell...I am the last of my siblings and all my older siblings had lived here more than 20 years. So I was the only one left there and when they told me about here, I'd see pictures and I'd say: "Wow, someday I'll be there." And yes, I'd see the difference between being here

and being in my country. And that, well, I knew that coming here my life was going to change. Well, it's been a little difficult because of the language

Despite several medical procedures, Deni was told there was nothing more to be done and that a pregnancy would be a miracle. However, a few years later they experienced that miracle and had a son, who is now a teen.

Deni came to believe that they could offer their son a better education and life here rather than in El Salvador. They were able to get work permits, then residency, and now citizenship with help and perseverance.

In her picture, Deni is standing next to the company car she uses where she works. She describes the wonderful support she got all along: as she studied, readied to take the exam, and became a new citizen. "When I began to work where I am, I was a resident and when I became a citizen they even threw me a little party. My boss sent out for a cake for me with the flag from here and everyone from the offices came, and everyone there congratulating me, and it was something so...special"

Eduardo

Eduardo was one of the participants who asked the team to meet him in his home. There were birthday banners hanging over the fireplace. He laughed when asked about them because his grandson's birthday was some time ago, but because his grandson liked the banners he left them up. Eduardo also explained that in Mexican culture, at least where he came from, birthdays weren't celebrated much, which makes the banners even more special. The birthday grandson came and sat on Eduardo's lap throughout the interview.



Figure 5 Study Books

Eduardo came to the United States from Mexico when he was about 20 years old. He had finished high school in Mexico. The understanding that I had about the United States was just what my dad would tell us when he was living in the United States.

I came when I was 21 years old always imagine the United States as just being work but with many differences from my country.

Eduardo was able to find work quickly when he came to the United States. He said that in Mexico most of the work was agricultural, but here there were a variety of jobs. Eduardo's picture was of the books he used to study to prepare for the test. He said that his father and brothers encouraged him to get his citizenship. The language was hard, and "without the classes, I wouldn't have passed the test."

John

John is a burly, solid looking man, with an occasional smile. He is from El Salvador, and has been in the United States since he was 16. "In 1991 my mother brought me here which gave me residency. I was um, like resident I was...like 20 years as a resident."

Like so many of the cohort, John left school in El Salvador when he was in 7th grade, and didn't return to school because he worked continuously from the moment of his arrival in

the United States. He decided to become a citizen after he married so that he could bring his wife to the United States quickly and to improve his life here. She came to the US within six months of his naturalization in 2012. He believes life is much better with his wife and children here with him.

John is a fairly concrete thinker. He struggled answering some of the questions about his beliefs and his decision process, but persevered switching back and forth from English to Spanish until he understood what was being asked, and responded to it.



Figure 6 John's Front Porch

John shared a picture of himself standing on his front porch holding his citizenship certificate. He says he is proud of being able to have this place to live for himself and his family. Talking about his picture, he said:

“I would like to share this one...this one, on the porch of my apartment. *In English:* I’m

proud to be American, eh...With the flag... There is security, and...I feel pride.

Julia

A quiet woman of small stature, brown haired Julia appears almost passive, but as her story emerges one sees her strength. She was sent here by her mother with her uncle as a

teenager because she was the oldest. Her uncle brought her so that she could earn money for the family back home in El Salvador.

Well, I think that like all people we come with difficulties when we come without the freedom to enter. Ah, when I came, well, I came very young. My parents, well, they were very poor, they are very poor in my country, where I come from, and well, an uncle was helping my mom, because I am the oldest of all [my siblings], and he wanted me to come to be able to help the family, and it was very difficult because, ah, I was caught by immigration. I was very young, 17 years old, and well, thank God, we did get caught by immigration... we came with an uncle of mine, my father's brother, and well, with him I was very supported, he cared for me, because yes, it is a very terrible risk for one who is a woman. Because there are always, sometimes the same people who supposedly want to help us enter the country are the same who want to take advantage of you as a woman. And yes, ah, I lived through a very difficult experience because the person wanted to take abuse me, but, with fear, because my same uncle was who, and another friend of his that came with us, they were the ones who took care of me and I had to sleep in between them so that the person did not do what he intended.

Julia's father was already in the United States, but the trip to reach him was dangerous. I wrote my most enduring impression of Julia in my notes: she talks about such difficult things with such humility, and with small smiles.

A few years ago, Julia, her husband and their six children moved from Washington DC to North Carolina because they believed there was work here, and the cost of living in the

city was so high. Over the past ten years, work in Siler City dried up, so they have started their own restaurant in Siler City, which takes all their extra time.



Figure 7 The Family Restaurant

The picture Julia chose is of the sign in front of the restaurant she and her family opened: “It is of a new, well, business that we have, it is a restaurant, ah...for my husband,

my family, well, it is a pride, to have done this, we are just starting out but, well, it is something that, that we wanted to do... good things one can do, to have a little bit of a future for your children.”

Marlene

Marlene has large brown eyes in a serious face. She came here with her family when she was 15, and described the trip as hard and dangerous.

[The trip was] very dangerous because we came illegally, so it was really difficult to take the trip without eating, with nothing. [We came] through Tijuana with some

families. I was 15 years old. People always talked about being able to earn money easily here, but it's not true. It's hard to earn money here.

She said that she has always worked, even when she had her three children and after her first marriage ended. She wanted to go to school to add to her five years of formal education, but has not been able to stop working to do so.

Marlene's daughter Nicola (pseudonym) was tremendously supportive of her work to become a citizen. She would often come to class to help her Mother learn when classes were in a church where children could accompany their parents. In fact, Nicola came so regularly, that lessons would be arranged for her on the white board while Marlene worked on the citizenship test. In my research notes, commenting on Nicola's focused attention on making sure her Mother learned, I called her Little Attila.



Figure 8 Marlene's House

Things have changed a little recently. Marlene and her current husband have been able to move into their own home, and now she is taking English classes. She is the first adult citizen in her family. The smile seems to come more frequently now.

I feel at peace, I feel free; free to

go out in the streets because in my country it's difficult for people to feel free to move about in the streets due to the violence. I was closed in the house for most of the time because of the violence. But here I feel free; like I can breathe.

New American

The man who gave himself the name of New American (NA) talks quickly, taking control of the conversation and making the points he thinks are important. He does this with respect and care despite the clearly strong opinions he has about being a legal permanent resident and now about becoming a citizen. NA planned on coming to the States for a short period of time to earn enough money to return to his schooling in Mexico, which he had to interrupt for economic reasons. His long range goal in Mexico was to become a lawyer and go into politics. He says he is less likely to talk about his immigration experiences.

The only thing that I do talk about with people...during the crossing, it was a little dangerous because it was at night and when we were walking... We were a group of about 7 people and the two people who were going to help us cross. We were walking over a bridge and immigration was coming—a border patrol. And we all started to run and I was almost in the middle so what I did...I jumped off the bridge. And it was high...I didn't know because it was nighttime. It was about one and a half stories high. And there wasn't water so it was almost dry. I managed to land upright, but I did hit the stone. I hid about 10 minutes and then I started to hear my name, my last name. And I didn't want to come out because I thought...but I said, "Well, the

patrol doesn't know my last name. After that, I recognized the voice so I came out and fortunately, we continued walking for a while and we managed to cross.

He pushed himself to learn English when he was new in the United States because he was 20 and couldn't get dates with American girls because they couldn't understand him! He met his future wife in Texas while he attended a small college there. He was recommended to this school by a pastor in North Carolina who knew of it and helped him get admitted. NA and his wife moved to North Carolina, and she finished school at Campbell, while he worked and supported the two of them. NA realized as time went by that they would remain in the United States and that becoming a citizen was his goal.

For his pictures NA chose one of his citizenship certificate. With these, NA says he truly belongs. Interestingly, he put coins over identifying information on his certificate, so



Figure 9 Citizenship Certificate

that it could not be reproduced falsely. He believes it's too important to allow any possibility of that. NA's concern is quite congruent with his original plan to be a lawyer. In the focus group, NA talked about

his beliefs about his own growth. "I've simply always believed in developing the best that I

can, and I know that maybe being a citizen...in its given moment, if something more presents itself, it can help me have less obstacles to achieve something. Otherwise I couldn't if I weren't a citizen."

Nicha

At 54, Nicha is the oldest participant in the study. Her recollections of immigrating into the United States are a mix of happiness and suffering.

My experience when I came to the United States was the American Dream. But you suffer a lot. In the beginning we would get rounded by immigration but after that a lot of nice experiences like helping people who suffer from domestic violence.

Her original plan when she crossed the border from Mexico was to work hard enough to bring her Mother into the country. Nicha describes what she calls "negativity" from some around her who criticized her for wanting to become a citizen, saying "why would you want to give up your country and your flag?" But Nicha was determined. Despite three previous failed attempts, and with a tremendous amount of help from one of the Saturday teachers, she was able to pass the test. She becomes emotional when speaking about her experiences in the United States, especially about becoming a citizen and voting. The sad part of the story is that her mother passed away before Nicha could bring her into the United States.

. Nicha had no formal education in Mexico and because she was working so much when she came to the United States there was no time for school. That's one of her dreams now that she is a citizen, to return to school.



Figure 10 Nicha's Cross

She is a woman of faith and speaks of it often. She presented a picture of a crucifix on her wall. Nicha believes that without her faith she may not have persevered.

When I was getting ready to take my exam, I spoke to my teacher. I said, ‘Look, María, thanks, I thank you, um from the bottom of my heart but don’t come again. I’ve done what I

can. Now God has to do his part. I’ve done all I can.

Pablo

Pablo has the physique of a construction worker—muscular and strong. Pablo is someone who sets life goals for himself and determinedly marches toward them. Like so many others, Pablo came to the United States as a teenager, planning on a relatively short stay. He just wanted to “look around.”

My first experience, well, was, ahh, was one of the experiences where I was an adolescent and a friend told me that in the United States you could save money easily, that was what started me thinking about coming to this very big country. I only came once. And during that time, after seven days of suffering, what was hunger, fatigue, cold and all of that, I swore to myself on the way, in that process, that if I succeeded in arriving to where I was going, I would not go back until I had legal papers of the

country, and if something failed, or I was caught by immigration, or something else like that, I would not try again another time....Just one time.

As years went by, however, Pablo learned to speak English but with no formal learning either here or in Mexico, he could not read or write. He said that becoming a citizen had been a goal for a long time, but he failed the exam twice because of his lack of literacy.

The first time a boss came and made me weld something and made fun of my welding, I told him I was going to leave his work and I was going to earn a living welding and he laughed. Two weeks later, I left the job and went to weld full-time. And now I'm a leader of welders, and I earn contracts as a welder because I don't like for anyone to put me down.

Through force of will, and perseverance, Pablo learned welding, but could not become “lead

man” at his place of work unless he could read the project tickets.

In addition, he could not get higher paying jobs on oil rigs without being a citizen. So for two years Pablo struggled to learn to read and write in English. When learning he would be ultra serious, and



Figure 11 Pablo's Workplace

then break out into a wide grin when he was able to write a dictated sentence correctly.

Pablo's picture was of his workplace, where he believes he has been taken care of, and where he works long hours.

Soraya

Looking much younger than her 37 years, Soraya smiles shyly when she speaks about becoming a citizen. That shy smile covers a very strong-minded young woman. When she came to the United States from El Salvador, she was 19 and pregnant.

It was difficult, but... and very dangerous. Well, having to, how do you say, go through many different places you don't know, with people that you don't know who they are, exposing yourself to dangerous places. I was about four months pregnant when I came here. It took about two weeks in Chihuahua. [I came] by land, walking long distances.

Soraya was determined to join her baby's father who was working to get her papers. The process was slow because he was a resident, not a citizen, and she was tired of waiting. Unfortunately, the outcome wasn't what she had hoped for. Her boyfriend was jealous of the baby, becoming abusive. Soraya stated that domestic violence is not something one talks about in El Salvador.

When I got pregnant with my second child, my daughter; then it was really hard because I didn't have papers to work, we were separated, and he denied that the baby was his for a long time. For most of the pregnancy I was by myself and he denied her. So for me, it was really hard because I didn't have work. It was only with the help of

my brother that I survived. I rented an apartment and to pay my rent I had to rent a room in my apartment. At times I had to rent space to people in the living room, or at times my brother would sleep on the sofa so that my daughter and I could be

comfortable in the room. So, my brother was a great support for me.



Figure 12 Siler City Center

For her picture, Soraya chose one she took of the sign at the road leading into the school. She says she has worked hard to take ESL classes, pass the GED, and now become a citizen. She

says that in her country adults did not get this kind of support to learn. She thinks she has just started.

Teresa

Like so many others in this study, Teresa came to the United States when she was 15. She had been in school through the 9th grade in Mexico, and immediately went to work when she arrived in the United States. Teresa is quick to smile, and speak up when she has something to say.



Figure 13 Teresa's Daughter

Teresa wanted to go first when discussing pictures because she was so proud of the support she received from within her own family. The picture Teresa chose was taken at the dining room table to

highlight where her daughter often taught her. She credits her three daughters for pushing her to keep working and to study but especially her 11 year old.

She was the one who said... 'Come, sit here' and 'No, leave that and come here.' So I always tried for her to try to help me. So, I took a lot of her time, many hours, but she was a big support for me.

Tito

Tito chose this name for herself, even though among Spanish speakers it would typically end with an 'a', the feminine ending. She crossed the border into the United States in 1987, when she was 26.

Well, the experience I had in '87...it was very different from how it is today. When I arrived in the United States, I took one night to pass the border. I didn't come with a visa. I came like everyone, and I arrived in Los Angeles, California. There was a lot of work at that time but there was also a lot of delinquency. There were lots of

challenges in the way that we lacked the language and we lacked documentation too. We had a lot of difficulties. In '89 I put in my application as a farmer to work in the United States and it was a big experience because my husband at that time...his boss had given him documents or letters to be able to arrange his documentation. I started through the agriculture in this country. Well, I was planning to be together with my husband and to have a family always together, not separate. That was my thinking about coming here. And that's the better life. With time, well, it doesn't work like that.

At 47, Tito is petite, with long brown hair. She has dark eyes and a smile that transforms her more typical serious expression into one that sparkles with mischief. When describing her life in the United States, Tito says "It's been pure work. Pure work since I came."

Tito wanted to be a citizen for many years after she obtained legal residence. She describes herself as having no confidence at first, because she had no formal education in Mexico before coming to the United States. "*Antes, bajo, maestra*" she says (before, low, teacher) putting her hand on her chest. However, as she came to class and watched her friends prepare for the exam, she began to hope that maybe she could pass as well. She would say "*Ahora, alta!*" (Now, high!). Tito has had some serious health problems. In my research notes from August, 2010, I wrote that Tito experienced a heart attack. She missed class for a number of months. When she returned, she assured me that she would not die until

she was a citizen! The picture she chose was of her grandson, whom Tito describes as her

greatest support and toughest critic.



Figure 14 Tito's

The one who motivated me most was this little one. This boy motivated me so much.

He'd say: "Grandmother, I'm going to help you." And we'd sit and sometimes I didn't

know... On the weekends, I'd arrive from church and I'd stay

to keep participating, writing, and repeating, and repeating.

The Voices of the Participants

The stories of the Hispanic adults in this study are full of strength, struggles and perseverance. These everyday stories are not typically seen or heard in the general media. When the media takes up issues of Hispanic adults, they are most frequently about those individuals without documents, or those planning to attend or already attending post-secondary education (Huber, 2010; Prospero, Russell & Vohra-Bupta, 2012). This section of the chapter highlights perspectives of individuals heard from less often, particularly in regard to the research questions that guided the study. It begins with a summary of the findings for each of the three research questions, followed by a detailed description of the responses from the Hispanic adults.

Summary of Findings For the First Research Question

The first research question sought to understand the factors that affected the journey of the participants toward citizenship and what pushed them to decide to complete the naturalization process albeit later than most other immigrant cohorts. The theory of planned behavior (Ajzen, 2006) and Latino critical theory (Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001) were the lenses used to organize analysis of participant responses to this question.

Findings regarding external factors that could support or impede progress toward naturalization were consistent with the literature regarding students who take Adult Basic Education classes, or English as a Second Language (Albertini, 2009). These included the pressure of time away from work, the constant financial demands of family, the ability to speak English, and gathering sufficient money to apply for citizenship.

Currently there is a fairly constant stream of news coverage focused on Hispanics who are in the United States without documents. A finding that was unexpected was the participant's emphasis on the differences between one's life as a legal permanent resident (LPR) and as a citizen. Struggles with the limitations and reactions of others to the status of LPR became much more apparent in the focus groups than in in-depth interviews. Stories that were at once humiliating, and darkly humorous were plentiful when a group of the Hispanic adults in the study met together to discuss their photographs. The constant anxiety about making a mistake and being deported was pervasive, regardless of their fairly stable legal status. The apprehension effected everyday actions and decisions. Visibility is avoided when possible. The concepts contained in LatCrit offer some explanations for the micro-aggressions experienced by the Hispanic adults in this study when going through license checks (even though they had licenses) and when arranging for a trip out of the country to visit their families.

Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) initially worked together developing a model that could predict if an individual would follow through on a behavior change by clarifying that individual's beliefs about making the change, as well as the beliefs and attitudes of persons significant to the individual. As Ajzen and Fishbein would have predicted, findings for this question pointed to the involvement and importance of supportive family (especially daughters) and friends in the decision to naturalize. The fact that three of the respondents had high school or higher completion rates, allowed some consideration of the effect of more schooling on the decision process. Previous academic success of some kind tended to shorten

the need for years of studying and preparation for the citizenship test, but this factor was mediated by the level of confidence the adult felt in terms of his or her ability to pass the test. Many of the adults in this cohort started their lives in the United States with little belief that they would achieve citizenship. However, over time, they demonstrated a slow but steady growth of confidence and self-efficacy that became the engine for forward progress. Increased self-efficacy enhances what Ajzen (2006) called personal behavioral control, a factor he added to the theory of reasoned action, and which he determined was critical in moving forward with behavior change. He defined personal behavioral control as the individual's beliefs that he or she will have the *opportunity* to complete a behavior as well as a good chance of completing it *successfully*. Deni's comment presents a distinct description of the change in her belief and hope for citizenship over time:

When I came here, for me it [citizenship] was something practically impossible. But after we saw that we had a permit, that we could attain residency, then the citizenship was like a dream but attainable. We just had to fight for it. And we did fight and we did achieve it.

The effect of confidence and personal behavioral control as a factor in sustaining the decision to gain citizenship was discussed by participants both at the beginning stages of the naturalization process, and more enthusiastically at the end after they became citizens. Despite the difficulties experienced gathering money and learning English, personal factors like level of confidence and anxiety were also decisive in the decision to proceed.

Deni's statement brings into focus another personal factor that affected the decision process of many of the Hispanic adults in this study: the ability to set a goal and move toward it steadily, regardless of the distractions or side trails that may occur along the way. Such strength could slowly overcome anxiety and fear.

Summary of Findings for the Second Research Question

Many Hispanic adults chose to attend a non-formal citizenship class as they prepared for the naturalization test. The second research question was concerned with the place of that class in the decision-making process of the adults who decided to become naturalized. Responses to this question made clear the necessity of a non-formal class especially for those with less confidence and sometimes, less prior education, although that was not always the case. For most of the respondents, the class provided a consistent structure steering them toward citizenship, and the teachers and fellow students offered necessary, accurate information and encouragement. Two participants who had few commonalities saw less need for a class and instead found their sustaining support from family members and their own confidence in an ability to learn.

Non-formal education is supposed to be keenly responsive to the adult learners, offering encouragement and support throughout the learning process (Taylor, 2006). Findings for this section emphasize the importance of the teacher and fellow classmates' support and encouragement in helping sustain momentum toward the goal of citizenship. To reiterate, a participant is more likely to proceed toward his or her goal if both personal and significant others' beliefs are that the goal is a good one, and an attainable one for this individual. A few

of the adults in the classes stated that they heard more negative reactions from family or friends, and for them especially, the support and enthusiasm of the class and the teachers was crucial.

Respondents also mentioned the timing, accessibility, and location of the class as issues that made it easier or harder to attend on a regular basis. Weeknights were harder, and, as mentioned before, the road to Siler City Center raised anxiety for some. Eduardo, who failed the test once before, said that without the structure and content of the class he would have failed the test again.

The Hispanic adults in this study had mixed reactions to getting feedback from classmates and others who had already taken the test. The feedback from those who had already tried came not only from class, but also from individuals in the community. It appears that for some warnings of a hard exam, tough officials, and long waits were motivation to study harder and prove the speaker wrong, for others it raised unease and weakened motivation to proceed.

Summary of Findings for the Third Research Question

The final question asked participants to reflect on their lives now that they are citizens of the United States. Hispanic adults were asked to consider any difference in their lives, as they changed status from residency to citizenship either within themselves or from interactions with others in the Siler City community or elsewhere. Here again, findings emphasize the growth of confidence, security, and peace among the respondents. Soraya described a change in her relationship with her family after becoming a citizen, “it [being a

citizen] puts me at a similar level with my children, I can help them more, and I feel more secure with them.”

Latino critical theory, one of the three constructs that framed this research, places emphasis on policies, laws, and rules that restrict marginalized populations due to internalized racism within the United States. Respondents were asked about external factors and regulations that they experienced as barriers toward becoming citizens. One interesting outcome of this study is that in in-depth interviews, adults in the study did not speak very directly about the issues with which LatCrit typically concerns itself. However, respondents did speak of feeling like they didn't belong, regardless of their legal status. Carlos compared it to “living in a house that wasn't our own.” However, when the same respondents met in the focus groups, while looking at pictures, they spoke at length about the effect of policies and laws on themselves as LPRs compared to laws and policies for them as citizens. It may be that the catalyst of having pictures as well as fellow Hispanics to bounce ideas around made an opening for more in-depth conversation. For the third research question, the conversation emphasized Hispanic adults' changed status. With citizenship came the right to vote, to be part of choosing the individuals who make decisions at the local, state, and federal level that effect their lives which was mentioned by every respondent as a vital new right.

Findings also exhibited what Kitchenham (2008) called straightforward transformational learning and profound transformational learning. For some of the Hispanic adults, like John, achieving citizenship meant that it was now possible to bring his wife into the country more quickly than if he was still an LPR. Kitchenham, who bases his work on

that of Mezirow (1997) would say that this is an example of operating within one's current frame of reference or straightforward transformation. John doesn't have to change the way he thinks about the world to accomplish his goals. Other members of the study began to see themselves differently. Themes of an increase in a sense of belonging, of security and freedom were almost universal. At age 54, Nicha was told by her husband that she was too old to be in a classroom. It took several attempts, but as a result of her successful efforts to achieve citizenship, Nicha is now considering attending other classes, learning better English and "starting a small new career." Kitchenham would say that Nicha is transforming her habits of mind and/or points of view, which he calls a profound transformation. She truly is coming to see herself in a different way.

Although Hispanic adults in the study felt honest pride in their accomplishment, they were much more reticent to describe any dramatic changes in themselves. They shied away from seeing themselves as better than anyone else, especially their friends and relatives who are not yet citizens or may not have any documentation.

The next section of this chapter emphasizes the voices of the Hispanic adults who are the focus of this study as they respond to the research questions for this study. Their voices are drawn from 13 in-depth interviews, two focus groups, photographs that sparked deeply felt discussions, and my researcher conversations, observations and notes. Table 4.3 presents an overview of the themes that arose from that data.

Table: 5

Findings by Research Question

RQ#1: Factors that shaped the Naturalization Process

Citizenship as a good

Environmental	Social	Personal
Pre and post-migration experiences		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constant work • Sufficient money • Speaking English • Legal Status 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encouragement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Daughters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Confidence • Clear goals

RQ #2: Attending a non-formal citizenship preparation class

Likelihood of attending was effected by:

- Classroom as a site of encouragement
- Logistics
 - Prior education
- Feedback

*RQ#3: Outcomes of citizenship on everyday life***Straightforward Transformation**

- Functionality
 - Sponsor others
 - Less red tape
 - Employment opportunities
- Relationship with country of origin

Profound Transformation

- Voting
- Mobility
- Growing confidence & pride
 - LPR vs. citizen
 - Uneasy path
- Belonging

Seeing Citizenship as a Goal that is Good

According to Ajzen and Fishbein (1980) believing that a potential goal is good, and that the goal would be perceived as good by the individual's significant others, is often the first indication that an individual is likely to change a behavior. Hispanic adults in the study approached the notion that citizenship was a good idea at different moments in their journey but all the Hispanic adults in this study ultimately made the decision that becoming a citizen

would be good for them. Carlos was asked when he and his wife considered becoming citizens. His reply was a big smile and quick retort, "Since always". He went on to say, "Since one arrives one thinks they want to be secure, without running risks...without hiding oneself ...To be thus, have a legal status." Deni on the other hand saw a logical progression:

When we came here, for being from the country we're from, it was a little easier for us to obtain a work permit. So when we obtained the work permit, it was already like having more hope that one day we could arrange residency. So when we started the process of residency, we said: 'Well so we're going to wait the time we have to wait in order to become citizens.

New American on the other hand, came to the United States with a plan to make enough money so that he could continue in post-secondary school in Mexico. He wanted to be a lawyer, and eventually go into politics in Mexico. Slowly, that plan changed.

My plans weren't to stay here. I was coming for just one year and returning. Later when I saw that a year had passed, then two years, and I knew that I was starting to stay here...honestly, yes, I started to think. One of the reasons for which it wasn't a very big priority or concern was because in the '90s, here in Siler City, there weren't many problems with immigration or anything like that. It was very calm. There wasn't so much pressure. You could get a driver's license, you could buy a house, you could basically work wherever. So there wasn't a big pressure. But personally, once I decided to stay, I always would've liked to be a citizen. But it basically started when I became a legal resident.

NA's decision process coincides with Ajzen's (2006) notion that the individual won't make a change until he or she truly believes it is worth the effort. The timing has to be right. NA and Pablo, who also just came to "look around" did not consider citizenship at this juncture because their plans took them back home to Mexico. It was after a visit to see his family that Pablo began to think seriously about citizenship.

I returned after ten years to...to Mexico...to visit my parents, after ten years, I realized that, that this country, well, could offer me some...how can I tell you...a much better future than in Mexico, because, as the years went by, I felt like I did not have much reason to return to Mexico, nor did I have a future there, nor anything economically, nor anything to count on. So after that was when the idea occurred to me that after so much time, well, I wanted to be more of a citizen of this country.

All of the participants in this study were able to obtain work permits and later LPR status. However, there were external structural obstacles that had to be overcome to complete the journey to naturalization. Ajzen (1999) posited that two general elements are required to predict if an individual will make such a significant change:

1. An individual truly believes that change is possible for him or her—that the goal is really attainable, and as we stated above, that the goal is good for him or her.
2. This internal sense of possibilities is coupled with an external reality that will permit goal attainment.

When both of these criteria are present, Ajzen believed that the individual's effort was more likely to be sustained or increased, pushing him or her through to behavior change. These

two elements are directly connected to the decision-making process and the length of time it took for many of the Hispanic adults in this study to actually apply for and take the citizenship test. The next section considers the specific environmental, social, and personal factors at play in the decision-making processes of Hispanic adults in this study. First, however, some discussion of the effect of pre and post migration experiences is necessary. The situations within which the cohort lived prior to their entry to the United States effect their ability to make major decisions and actually take steps to become citizens.

Pre and Post Migration Experiences

There is a growing body of literature focused on the effects of pre-migration experiences of individuals who migrate from one country to another due to conditions in the country of origin, although these studies are not as common in the United States (Chu, Keller & Rasmussen, 2012). “Studies that are specific to the US often focus narrowly on samples of legally designated “refugees” who are afforded certain rights, protections, and economic benefits by the government” (Chu, Keller & Rasmussen, 2012, p. 891). There are generally fewer studies that concentrate on the effects of immigrants versus refugees, regardless of the fact that their experiences of both pre and post-migration may be similar.

Kilgore (2005) found that psychological effects of displacement depended on the circumstances from which the individuals came. She describes political violence and near starvation as two of the factors that affect the refugee’s lives. Rereading the profiles of the Hispanic adults in this study, stories of hunger or violence because of the civil war in El Salvador, or among drug cartels of Mexico are common. Julia’s mother was desperate

enough to send her north at 17 to make money to feed the family back home. Pablo's teacher was killed for daring to continue trying to educate youth in a rural state of Mexico. In transit fears were common to most of the cohort. New American jumped off a high bridge in fear of border officials. Chu, Keller and Rasmussen (2012) found that pre-migration factors such as rape and sexual assault were significantly associated with PTSD. Fear of assault from the individuals they were paying to help them cross the border was mentioned by several of the women in this study.

Reaching a destination inside the new country does not always result in a significant lessening of factors that lead to anxiety and PTSD. Kilgore (2005) notes that factors such as being older, having poor English skills, being unemployed, and living in poverty are associated with depression. "Concurrent stress and lack of social support in the new country's environment may increase depressive symptoms" (Stenmark, Catani, Neuner, Elbert, & Holen, 2013). The authors also found that pressures from these factors tend to increase over time. In the United States, one study found that immigration status had worse PTSD outcomes than pre-migration experiences (Chu, Keller & Rasmussen, 2012).

The point of this discussion is to emphasize that pre and post migration experiences may be the less frequently discussed in the decision to become a citizen but they definitely shape the confidence involved in making the decision and the pace of progress toward citizenship.

How Environmental, Social, & Personal Factors Shaped Decision-Making

In this section Hispanic adults speak to the external realities of life that supported or slowed their decisions to become citizens in the United States.

Environmental Factors

The need to work. A theme heard repeatedly during the interviews involved the need to work long hours to survive. Work, often very hard menial work at low wages, took up most of the hours of a respondent's day. Julia's mother sent her into the United States with her Uncle when she was 17. The rest of the family stayed in El Salvador. "I came at a very young age and, and her trusting in me that I had to work, and to help them and send them [money] so that they could live a little better." She started work picking fruit, and landscaping many hours a day. Julia married, and through the years gave birth to six children, still working to help the family survive and send money back to El Salvador. It was hard to find time to do anything else.

New American's first job was in a lumberyard that required him to work all the time, in rain, sun and snow. Then he worked putting the roofs on mobile homes. Sometimes workers on the roofs wouldn't be told that the houses were to be moved, and they would fall off. "I worked lots of hours...I didn't earn much per hour but I worked lots of hours, so I was earning well."

Nicha's plan when she came to the United States was to find a way to bring her mother into the country. Nicha said she needed to work but it posed a problem when she wanted to become a citizen. "One of my big barriers was that I was working so much and

was not really able to study.” Tito’s experiences were similar. Even after obtaining legal permanent residence which made citizenship a real possibility, the everyday long hours at work and the need to care for family took precedence over any plan to study and apply for citizenship.

It’s been pure work. Pure work since I came...I had a loss in my marriage. The marriage broke up, and I was left alone as a mother with three children. At that time, even though I was a resident, I didn’t know that I had benefits like Medicaid or food stamps...benefits for the children. And really, I went almost a year like that, struggling alone, working...

Another external factor that posed a challenge for the adults in this study was the need to earn money and to learn the majority language of English.

Gathering sufficient money and speaking English well enough. In 1999, the fee to apply for citizenship was \$225. In 2008 it was increased to \$595, and in 2012 to \$680 (Emmanuel & Gutierrez, 2013; US Citizenship & Immigration Service, n.d.). Applications significantly decreased after fees were raised. As New American explains it, the fees are only a portion of the money that has to be raised to apply. He added the second external obstacle to becoming a citizen--learning English:

One of the strongest is economic because sometimes people have to pay not just applications, the fees they charge, but also a person to help them fill out those applications and the immigration lawyers charge a lot. They charge a lot. So maybe that’s one of the biggest barriers there is. But another of the barriers that I’ve seen,

not personally, is language many times. Language too is a very strong impediment for many people but personally, basically the most difficult was the money.

Maintaining the paperwork and all that is part of the process, keeping everything, being careful, but above all is the money.

All but three of the respondents said it took them longer to apply because they had to save up the money. Deni said:

The first thing was to gather the money. To set ourselves the goal of gathering the money...for the application. And the fact is that we, my husband and I, have always done things together. So it was a lot of money that we had to gather for us both. I would tell him that he should do it first. He would say: "No, when we do it, we'll do it together." so it was more money and that was what stopped us.

Pablo stated gratefully that one of the factors that made it possible for him to pay for the application was that he was able to stay employed consistently. That allowed him to save the money. First, Marlene mentioned money and the misconceptions many new immigrants have about life in the United States, "people always talked about being able to earn money easily here, but it's not true. It's hard to earn money here," after which she focused on learning English. "I always thought about becoming a citizen, but not knowing English it was hard." Anabel remembered that even the learning tools were in English. She was really upset that the book to help her learn the civics questions was not in a language she could read.

...the whole book was in English, the book wasn't in Spanish. And the teacher said that she had to teach us the most basic things, and a lot of the questions were in English. Some people said, 'I'm not going to pass; I don't know English' but one has to put forth the effort.

For some of the respondents, they came more slowly to the view that learning English was a necessity. It was understood that ability to speak English was required to take the test, but participants realized they needed the language for other things as well. One of the more common needs was to communicate with the schools their children attend. Julia explained:

We had children, our children are en school, ah, well, when I was young I didn't feel it was necessary to learn the language, but as my children grew up, ah, I saw the necessity of learning the language, ah, to be able to get along with the schools through our children, and in this way, well yes, it was also a big change of saying, we need to go to school, to learn a little, if only to say hello to the teachers, or it is difficult. Without the language it is, it always makes it difficult for us.

Eduardo, who speaks briefly and to the point, simply said that the language was a huge barrier to applying for and becoming a citizen. Regardless of the Hispanic adult's intent to become a citizen, the external realities of cost and language impede attainment of the goal requiring a great deal of effort and time. Attention to effect these external factors have on the respondent's intent to become citizens acknowledges Ajzen's (2006) second requirement for behavior change—that the circumstances of the individual have to allow the change to occur.

Legal status. Another theme that came up often involved the effect of legal status, especially the differences between being an LPR and a citizen. Pablo framed it as a difference in both employment opportunities and basic rights:

to get any opportunity in some kind of jobs...a lot of people won't [hire you] unless you citizen...and...its, having different rights. It's a lot of different rights to a permanent resident and a citizen.

Carlos agreed with the discussion about rights, and added security, which he found to be critically important.

When we came to have residence, we experienced eh some very, very, very interesting benefits maybe not physical but of acceptance by people and of the process of request of a license...And then, the reasons that really motivated us or motivated me personally to seek citizenship was the fact that the—to have a permit isn't secure. To have residence you could say stay fifty percent sure. Fifty percent not. That is why eh I decided citizenship because it is the ultimate and is, is something that to someone they tell that, that although we are from another country, we are here but to come to be citizens eh maybe not for the benefits but we come to have the same status that all the immigrants that have arrived to this country.

As legal residents, the adults in this study were continually aware of the tenuousness of their stay in the country. In my research journal I often noted the conversations about concerns with deportation, and fear of engaging with law enforcement, despite the fact that they all possessed a green card. Tito reminded me of this during her interview. She was

talking about working hard to learn English, and that sometimes her sons would criticize her pronunciation.

And there were moments when I'd get sad but afterwards I'd tell him, "It's good that you tell me, that you correct me because..." And then he'd tell me, "Repeat it, repeat it again." And I felt...I felt sad but that very thing helped me correct myself. So that was a motivation and a help. And another thing, because I didn't know if being a resident, being a resident, and in the future the laws would change. So these boys motivated me because I didn't want to leave this country because family is always what helps one

The theme of the precariousness of legal residence was raised most forcefully when participants discussed how their lives had changed after becoming citizens. We will revisit it there.

Social Factors

The importance of support. The theory of planned behavior emphasizes the effect of the attitudes of significant others on the decision to change behavior (Ajzen, 1991; Bandura, 1977). Several of the participants described the involvement of their children and significant others in deciding to make the effort to apply for and pass the citizenship test. John laughed when he was asked why he made the decision to naturalize: "I mean I, I would think to make my kids happy, be-because they always telling me to be a citizen." Julia, Marlene, Tito, and Anabel reiterated John's statement. These women said that their children wanted their parents to be citizens like them. In my notes I wrote that I got the impression

that the dinner table heard many conversations about the legal status of people in the household.

Support from daughters. The push for parents to study and pass the naturalization test was especially true of daughters who helped their Mothers study. Anabel said:

My daughter helped me with the questions. Someplace I have a wrong question and she say, 'No, no, no. You read the question and then you give me the book and I gonna ask you.' And I gonna learn; anytime my daughter go out, she is in the back seat (she's 11), and she told me, 'No, no, you're wrong, that's the wrong question.' and she always tried to help me.

In the focus group Teresa presented a picture of her daughter at the table working with her as she studied (Figure 13):

This picture is where I'm studying, where she's teaching me, precisely, my daughter who was like my right hand for this...the pronunciations. Because there were 100 questions, and I thought they were going to ask them all. I wanted to be at 100% in the way of speaking, of pronunciation and everything. So she was the motivation and like my teacher.

Marlene's daughter attended class with her almost every week. When her older brothers would come, they would sit out in the front room of the store front school, but Nicola would sit next to her Mother, checking what was going on, cheering for her when she would get an answer right, periodically giving her the answers, and making sure her Mother knew what was being said, when the English was too fast for Marlene to understand.

The next section focuses on the personal or internal characteristics that affected the decision to become a citizen.

Personal Factors

Lacking confidence. Confidence is the most consistent internal factor mentioned by the study participants throughout their journey toward citizenship. In the beginning it was a tremendous obstacle for many of the participants. Directly engaging a large government system, going to class to learn history and geography of the United States, and developing a functional command of English overwhelmed the confidence of many of the participants. Lack of confidence showed up in different guises. A few of the women framed their fears in a discussion of age. Julia was concerned about not being young:

I was afraid sometimes because of my age, that I was not...I am not so young, I thought, to learn things quickly...I was always afraid because sometimes you don't retain things like you would like.

Even after attending class, Julia was afraid of actually submitting the application. "And then, well, the nerves also, kept us from deciding when to do it." Nicha stated sadly that her husband also mentioned her age when told her she was too old to attend class, and others told her she would not pass the test. Marlene added "[becoming a citizen] was something I didn't think was going to happen – I didn't think I was going to pass the exam!"

I wrote about another student in my notes who came back into the classroom after everyone else had left. She was due to take the test in a few days. She was quite distraught, and said that her children told her she was not smart enough to pass the test. Some of her

friends suggested that she was wasting money on gas, driving all the way to the test location for no positive outcome. She asked several times if I thought she could pass the test. When I would answer in the positive, she would smile, and then worry again. A week later she returned to class with a big smile. She had passed. She was happy to be a citizen, but possibly happier because it proved to her that she could learn.

Setting goals and working toward them. During the interviews, participants in the study spoke about their responses to various challenges or difficulties that would come along. In spite of these difficulties they would find ways to progress, to choose another route, and sometimes just to wait until another opportunity became available. This characteristic that I tended to call dogged perseverance in my notes seems to be part of the individual's *funds of knowledge* (Bigelow and Lovrien Schwarz ,2010), those skills that Hispanic adults in this study brought with them from their previous lives and which increase an individual's chances of success. Carlos was en route to being an accountant, but switched to building mobile homes until he could find other work because it allowed him to progress toward one of the three goals he frequently mentioned: having a child, having a house, and becoming a citizen. Nicha took the test four times until she found a way to learn and pass. In the meantime she worked continuously to earn the money to take it again! When asked what motivated her to keep learning and working after she had failed the test a few times, Nicha said, "because that was one of the goals I needed to accomplish." Marlene, Tito and Soraya worked full time as single mothers, but still found time to study and learn English. Tito said:

Last year, in 2012, my life changed. I had already had my residency for 19 years, and it was very difficult to become a citizen. There are so many emotions. Sometimes, one limits oneself because one feels that one isn't capable of doing this...that you aren't going to make this dream one wants to make, and one puts lots of barriers on oneself. In the first place, the barrier that one puts on oneself is the language, not having time to go to study...those are some barriers that we put on ourselves...When one sets the task, it can be achieved. And that objective I set for myself almost about two years ago...to study for citizenship.

Earlier, I quoted Deni when she spoke about fighting to achieve the goal of citizenship, once she and Carlos realized it was a possibility. Pablo described it this way:

Sometimes one leaves exhausted from work, ah, many times like, well I am a welder and everything, well, it has affected my sight a little and, well, the time more than anything, because sometimes they ask you at work if you can stay longer. If you have a goal, and if you don't attend to it, like, you are not going to finish what you want to get done. Yes, yes there were many sacrifices. Physical, and what else....physical, and, what can I tell you apart from physical....well there were hang ups. But anyway, you know, when someone decides on a goal, well, one has to achieve it.

Summary of Environmental, Social and Personal Factors

In summary, respondents struggled in the beginning of the citizenship journey with a lack of confidence that slowed them down. They were dealing with pre-immigration experiences as well as continuing struggles and lack of support here in the United States.

They used their well developed habits of setting goals and then meeting them, which increased their sense of confidence and competence. The encouragement of spouses, children, and especially daughters who took on the teaching role was a very positive factor for several of the Hispanic adults in the study. External factors that impeded progress toward achieving citizenship included having sufficient money, being able to speak English well enough, and not having supportive family or friends to spur one along. External factors on the positive side included finding consistent employment, and a strong desire to change one's legal status to citizen and away from LPR. Policies and rules could be either a barrier (the struggle with learning all the test questions, writing) or a proponent. Carlos wanted to become a citizen quickly because he feared that the United States would change its immigration laws again, as they did in 1996 and shut him out from becoming a citizen. Fear of perceived capriciousness of the ways officials interpreted the rules was often a concern.

The second research question focused on the role of the citizenship class in the decision-making process of Hispanic adults to become citizens. The next section highlights respondents' answers to that question.

Attending Citizenship Class

Citizenship classes have been offered in Siler City for almost six years. They are non-formal classes which Eting (1993) defines as an intentional process that is keenly responsive to its students. One of the hallmarks of non-formal education is that it has to be flexible enough to fit the needs of the community in which it is taught (Harman, 1976). The citizenship classes have to be fluid enough to meet the needs of whoever comes to class on a

particular day: it may be an individual who needs help with writing, or another who writes well, but does not know the civics questions. As an individual gets closer to taking the test, it is a matter of encouragement and reminding that person of the process and how to remain calm so he or she can do well.

This section describes Hispanic adults' perception of the effect of the class on their ability to successfully achieve the goal of citizenship. Three themes arose in response to this question: a view of the classroom as a place to receive encouragement that in turn increased confidence; the accessibility of the classroom, and hearing from class colleagues after they took the test. Lastly, consideration is given to the decisions of two participants who chose not to attend class more than once.

The Classroom as a Source of Encouragement

Regular attendance at one or both of the two non-formal citizenship classes in Siler City ranges from one or two, up to ten students per session. Attendance is sporadic, and lessons are altered based on the needs of the students who show up. Almost all the students looked for encouragement and support as they prepared for the test which could change their lives. Marlene spoke about learning the content.

So I had to go to classes to learn English and to learn the history of the United States.

So I had to go to class to be able to do this, but my dream was always to be a citizen.

But I had to know a lot of things to be able to.

New American took a more philosophical position about citizenship classes. He thought a lot about those who gain from attending the class.

I'm conscious of something too...it's that as humans, as people, we're very different from one another. I'm one of those who believes that for many people, the citizenship classes are essential to be able to achieve that goal of becoming citizens. The majority of us who come from other countries like Latin American, and I'm speaking as a Latin American...many of us, our academic level is very low sometimes. Elementary, sometimes, high school. We spend so much time here that sometimes we even forget Spanish, things like that a little. So for a person who maybe doesn't have the chance to study alone in his house and learn everything there is to learn, I've seen that citizenship classes...I have a first cousin...who went through the citizenship process and she did need the classes a lot because she had a big difficulty—first with English and later with the academic aspect of learning things. Simply learning. So she was going to lots of citizenship classes...she went to lots of classes because I think that the first time, she didn't pass the exam. But I think that on the second attempt, she passed it. For her, the classes helped her a lot and she was finally able to become a citizen, about one year ago.

Pablo and Tito talked about the support they felt from the teacher and other members of the class. Pablo said:

So after that was when the idea occurred to me that after so much time, well, I wanted to be more of a citizen of this country...well, I tried one time, and I didn't succeed. So, I believe that I was unprepared, but thanks to...to my teacher, that someone informed me that this class was here and I met her, here in Siler City, and she

motivated me more than anything, well, her nice...her nice way of, of conversing with students.

Tito felt similarly:

And I felt that I wasn't advancing. I thought that I was only wasting time when I was going. I felt sad because sometimes the teacher...I saw that she was making a lot of effort to come, to participate, to tell us: 'Yes you can, yes you can, yes you can.'

That gave me the values and strength to do the citizenship and not lose hope of doing it.

When asked if taking the class helped her when she took the citizenship test, Julia answered:

Yes, very much, because, well, all the questions are about United States history and, and, most of what they asked me [when I took the test], it almost all had to do with the classes I took with her at the school.

Deni also felt that the classes were primarily there for encouragement, then content.

[the class] encouraged me more to keep learning and achieve it... They would always motivate me and tell me that I could do it, to continue, that nothing was impossible.

Thank God I have always had people around me who have motivated me.

Soraya broadened the focus group discussion about going to school when she presented her picture of the sign at the turn into Siler City Center (Figure 4.13). What follows is a brief exchange about the photo.

Soraya: Because most of all, it's a place where they really support adults to finish studying.

Interviewer 2: And did you go to many classes?

Soraya: Yes, I went to...even ESL classes, for the GED too.

Interviewer 2: When you look at this picture or you think about this picture, what emotions do you feel?

Soraya: Well the fact that in our countries, almost no...adults don't have that type of support like here to be able to prepare themselves. Sometimes not all of us take advantage of the opportunity that's given to us.

Soraya's comments are a good opening for the next section, which focuses on participant's perceptions of what made it harder or easier to attend class and to make the decision to submit an application to naturalize.

External Factors Affecting the Classroom

As previously mentioned, the citizenship class sponsored by the Chatham County Literacy Council changed location several times, then in 2010, split into two classes offered on different days and different locations. In the less official locations, participants could bring their children, making attending class more possible. When one of the citizenship classes moved to the Community college, rules there prohibited bringing the children to class. Julia describes the difference:

At the beginning, it was good with her, because we had small children, and my husband sometimes did not arrive early from work, and I had to take them along with me. And well, that would be, perhaps the difficult thing because one does not have money, and cannot pay someone to watch them, and well, that was, that was always

the difficult thing for me, perhaps, to have the small ones, and not to be able to regularly attend English classes to learn or to have better opportunities well, with her it was good because we could take them with us, and have them there in some room entertained with books or...well, that was the best thing, that she supported us so that we could bring our children. The difficult thing was when we left the college, to the new college...well, you could not bring children to the college anyway. That was the difficult thing for me that I could not go to school in the college because, well I had the small ones, him and another daughter also, and it was always difficult.

Other challenges to attending the class were time, and the demands of family. More Hispanic adults were able to attend on Saturday morning than Tuesday night. Classes on Tuesday averaged two students, while those on Saturday averaged eight or nine. Deni described how hard it was to go to class in the evening, "after work, I'm already thinking about how I have to come home, I have to cook, I have to feed my people, and lots of things that I was going to do at my home." Pablo drove into Siler City from his home 19 miles away to attend class.

the most difficult thing for me to attend the class was the price of gas, because ahh, to attend the class for those almost two years that I took the class, I had to depend on a very small car, that actually, when I became a citizen the motor broke. And I had other larger cars but, ah, for the same reason, because I did not work extra hours I didn't have any extra money. Yes, economically it was difficult, because without

extra hours I didn't have the money. The price of gas rose. It had to be an old car, some very old cars, but they were economical.

Participants who attended class once. Two of the Hispanic adults in this cohort attended a citizenship preparation class only once. One of them, New American, had completed two years of university after high school. He only attended once because he decided he could learn the material himself, and didn't have the time to go to class. However, the other participant, Anabel, had only three years of formal education prior to immigrating to the United States. The following was her reaction to the class:

When I came to the class I had already been studying that part of the book. I had been studying at work in a back room. But I didn't stay because I had to pick up my children, then I had to go to church. So I only stayed at the class one time. And when I started the class and saw what they were talking about, I said to myself that I had those pages, because I had been studying. It was easy, because I was reading the book.

Both of these individuals passed the test on the first try.

Feedback from Previous Test Takers

One of the traditions in the citizenship class was for those who took the test to return and talk to the class about their experiences. Only those who passed tended to come back, and, happily, that was all of the students who attended regularly. In the community there was much more freewheeling talk about taking the test, both from those who passed and those who did not. Respondents were asked about these conversations, if they were helpful or not.

Soraya's experience was similar to most of the participants, when she said that talking with those who had already taken the test was positive. "Most people I talked to said the exam was okay and that they were sure that I would be okay." Tito was less sure that talking to people was a good idea:

I felt that they don't give me that confidence, that they put it with a lot of challenges, that an exam is really something out of the ordinary. Maybe I felt in a way secure and stable because I studied, I prepared myself. I think that's what made me feel it's not how people tell me it is.

New American agreed with Tito.

I knew people who had gone through the process of residency before me and others through the process of citizenship before me, but always some of them would tell me that those who did the interviews—the immigration agents—sometimes took a long time with them, asking them questions. My experiences were that...I went to the interview for the permit for residency and for citizenship and mine almost always lasted about 3 minutes or 4 minutes. They'd ask me some things, I'd answer them, but everything in English and everything fast.

Pablo, in his philosophical way, gave his summary of those who came back to class to talk about their experiences. He heard many of them, because he attended class regularly for over two years. He had taken the test and failed twice before attending class.

honestly, many times [it gave me] motivation, and many times, well I think every case is different. It depends on who took it and what....other problems they may

have had, ah....and also, everybody didn't get the same, ah, the same person who gave them the test, or, anyway, pretty much everybody got different questions, and asking for information from someone is sometimes good, and can sometimes be a mistake. Because you can trust others... but yes, all those *compañeros* (classmates/friends) who became citizens before me, motivated me a lot. I was always, always motivated, it made me happy for them, and at the same time it made me...well, it motivated me more to do it. And also to have in mind that I would succeed.

The next section describes participant responses to the third research question which considers the degree of effect naturalization had on their own lives. The discussion of respondent's change in attitudes about their situation and themselves is based on Mezirow's (2000) theory of transformational learning.

Outcome of Citizenship on Everyday Life

In order to answer the third research question, I probed for the participants' perception of changes in their lives after becoming naturalized citizens of the United States. The change in an individual's view or frame of reference is divided into two categories, called straightforward transformation and profound transformation, that are described in the literature on transformational learning theory (Kitchenham, 2008; Mezirow, 2000). The experiences and perceptions of the Hispanic adults in this study demonstrated examples of both types of transformation.

Straightforward Transformation

Straightforward transformation occurs when an individual makes changes that expand or elaborate his or her current way of viewing and interacting with others and his environment. The individual's worldview, called his frame of reference by Mezirow (2000) is altered through a new experience, but the change does not affect the individual's core view of himself.

Ability to sponsor others. John's situation is a clear example of straightforward transformation. When asked why he wanted to be a citizen, he answered: "I want to bring my wife to, you know, to United States quickly, I mean, you know because if I have my permanent resident...if I just uh have a green card, it would take me longer." John's thinking about citizenship is primarily functional in this instance. As a citizen he is able to accomplish more easily, a plan he was already working toward.

Less red tape. Anabel's daughters urged her to complete the naturalization process so that she would not have to renew her green card. The frame of reference here is that Anabel saves money and time by becoming a citizen. At its most basic level, it is simply an exchange from one type of relationship with the government for another. I wrote a side comment in my notes. Ironically, renewing a green card is both cheaper (\$450) and less difficult (no English component) compared to naturalization. However, it is true the residence card must be renewed every ten years, and LPRs can be sent out of the country with less effort than citizens. Marlene spoke about bringing her father into the United States, and Nicha wanted her Mother to come. Tito explained that having a certificate of citizenship

makes obtaining a driver's license easier, with fewer questions asked. These are all illustrations of ways that being a citizen smooths the road, without concomitant internal changes.

Employment opportunities. Becoming a citizen opens up employment opportunities. Certain positions with the government require citizenship. Pablo mentioned he believed that working on an oil rig as a welder was only available to citizens. New American also talked about employment opportunities available to citizens:

Basically...it helps you open the doors of any possibility. So for me, that's it, like the feeling that if there were a job opportunity where being a citizen were required, I don't have any problem. If I have the ability to do it, I can go and apply and do it.

Pablo is already a hard worker. Being a citizen offers him more options for places of employment that may pay better wages.

Change in relationship with country of origin. A few of the participants mentioned that they felt a difference in their feelings about the country of their birth. Kitchenham (2008) suggests a step closer to profound transformation occurs when the individual learns new frames of reference, along with expanding the world view he or she already has. In the focus group she attended, Tito gave a humorous example of moving to an expanded frame of reference in the photo she shared:



Figure 15 Playing Soccer

This one is hard to see, but it is a photo of my children, who play a lot of soccer...one time I was at a training, and the United States played against Mexico, and someone here said to me “Look who won! Look

who won! Look who lost!” And I said, well, we won because I am a citizen. (*everyone in the focus group laughs*) And I remember that, that, well, sometimes you hear comments like this, right, because that time, well, Mexico lost and the United States won. (*laughter*) I was there, and well, I wasn’t saying anything. He just said “Look who lost, look who lost.” Well, I know, Mexico. (*more laughter*)

Soraya gave a rather bittersweet example.

My parents are happy [because I am a citizen]. They tell me, “Now you are no longer El Salvadoran.” And my father tells me that he feels great because now I don’t belong to my country, but little by little I’m reaching my goals, and that’s important to him. New American realized when he visited Mexico that he had changed his thinking about where home is, for him.

Now I completely belong to this place, to this country, to this land, completely. And even if I still keep feeling, ah... the fact that much of my family lives in Mexico, but now I think, eh, when I think about Mexico, I think about visiting. I don’t think

anymore about...I don't feel like that's home. That this is home. So, this feels like my home now...

Pablo's wife and son live in Mexico, just across the Texas border. He was asked if his wife wanted to come to the United States.

Um, in the beginning, no. She didn't wanna leave home, but now, she say since I decided to be a citizen, and then she support me, and, yeah, she wanna come and stay with me, it's my wife, and yeah, my family now realize they have to come over here. And...Mexico, they having some problems, uh, I don't know how to explain why they having so much problems, I guess it's government problems, or, some of the people, they can't, the government can't control. It's uh, it's a shame, but its a wrong thing what's going on in Mexico. And some of the people, they wish they get outta there, or run off to somewhere. So, it's when my wife decided that she wanna be with me, especially with my kid. I want him to be educated in this country. So, that's one of the good things about being a citizen.

Achieving citizenship is a change appreciated by the Hispanic adults in this study. It frequently makes their lives a bit easier. There is some debate if these changes alter the way the individual feels about him or herself as well. The next section focuses on experiences that suggest a change in worldview has occurred for the individuals who have completed the process of becoming citizens in the United States.

Profound Transformation

A profound transformation is a change that affects the way one sees him or herself. It can significantly alter an individual's usual connections with others and the world. Earlier frames of reference or points of view may change or may be deconstructed entirely. As a result of becoming citizens, most of the Hispanic adults in this study expressed their awareness of changes in themselves, changes in relationships they have with others, and sometimes a change in their philosophy, all of which signal profound transformations. The next items include themes from the interviews in which the respondents spoke about the characteristics of profound transformational learning.

Voting

The most universal response from the participants focused on how important it is to have a say in choosing government representatives, or to be able to speak out regarding other issues both of which come with the power to vote. Anabel's reaction to becoming a citizen went beyond saving the money her daughters spoke about when they wanted her to avoid renewing her green card by becoming a citizen:

when I turned in the application, a lot of people said that now I would have more freedom, more of the same rights like a person from here. And you can vote; this is one of the things. At one time, I didn't know that I couldn't vote...But before I couldn't vote because I wasn't a citizen. But as a citizen, I can vote. I can offer my opinion about the things that are happening. This is really interesting to me, because you don't get as much help as a resident as someone who is born here.

Teresa described herself as being proud that she could participate in something she could not do before naturalization. In fact, every participant in the study mentioned the ability to vote,



Figure 16 Teresa's Family

to be involved in choosing the lawmakers who represent them. Teresa's excitement about voting spread to her family. In the focus group, she shared a picture of some of the members of her family, and told this story:

And what I want to comment is just that, in this family various, eh, two people became

citizens, and well, there are several citizens in my family, and it was the year that I became a citizen that six of us voted who had never voted before. No, more than six people, because my daughters also voted. So, I feel like I was like a, um, a, like something, that I went and I said to them, come vote daughter, today, look, today is the day to vote, come vote, daughter, today, and to my nephews and my brothers-in-law... Yes, so, well, it was something that, that we make a difference too. Yes. We, eh, Hispanics that, that are becoming citizens are making the difference. We make a difference...giving the push to other people. In my family there are various citizens but they had never voted. They had never voted. And so, I went to the house and I said...they said to me why do you vote, you know, there is the president, let him fix

it, and, and that's all...no, but we can make a difference. One vote counts. And so, the year that I became a citizen, six of us went to vote.

Anabel told a similar story about voting with her husband and her two oldest children the year after she became a citizen. She recalled how exciting it was to be able to give her opinion. When participants spoke about voting, it wasn't just the visible, federal offices they considered. Julia and her husband had their children in mind when they thought of voting:

We thought that we needed to have citizenship so that we could vote in elections when it was necessary. And for our children, who were in school, the schools always say that they need a lot of help, and we thought that if we became citizens, we would have the right to vote, or to elect a good person who was, well, very, ah, who was very interested in helping the schools, or the children, or in giving better or more education to the children, and that they could have many, ah, like they could choose opportunities to play sports, or have opportunities to go to better colleges in the future.

Like his colleagues, New American brought up the right to vote as most important, now that he is a citizen.

But citizenship itself...I've always thought that for me it's important to participate in the democratic process, also because I'm one of those who believe that if you don't participate, you have no right to complain, or to demand anything. So when I became a citizen, then I voted.

Nicha said that voting was especially sweet for her, because of the number of times she had to retake the naturalization test to get that privilege. “I have accomplished what I wanted in many years. That is to be a USA citizen so this country for which I have worked so hard can take me in consideration and only through a vote is what will count.”

Freedom to Move Around

The participants spoke about an increased sense of mobility after they became citizens. The new sense of mobility is broadly defined, and extends from literally the freedom to walk around, as Marlene describes in her profile, to a greater ease in crossing in and out of the United States to visit family. Marlene’s quote when she shared the picture of her house (Figure 4.8) is worth repeating:

I feel at peace, I feel free; free to go out in the streets because in my country it’s difficult for people to feel free to move about in the streets due to the violence. I was closed in the house for most of the time because of the violence. But here I feel free; like I can breathe.

Soraya spoke about the ability to move across the border. “We can travel to our country and visit our family and realize that we can come back.” Tito’s story expanded Soraya’s statement when she realized the value of having a US Passport and documents.

Also another experience when I traveled by highway to Mexico. I went by bus. So to pass from the United States to Mexico, there are no problems...you just get a permit that you’re going to be in Mexico. On the way back, it was another experience. The majority who came on the bus were residents and from that group that came on the

bus, only three of us were citizens. And they didn't do any big thing to us and the others had to do several things. They bring a machine where they check everything. I brought my passport. That was another nice experience...that they just saw it and...yes, it's really nice. It was something very good.



Figure 17 School Bus

For Soraya greater mobility included the fact that children can easily get to school because there are buses. In the focus group, she shared her picture to discuss why this type of mobility is important for her.

Well, I have the one of the school bus. This is because, I don't know, in our countries there is not a lot of transportation for students. You have to take public transportation. And that's what I like about this country and what really inspired me to become a citizen. It is because, here you see that it is so easy for children to go to school. There is much more than that still, because, because there is still no transportation in some areas. But that is what inspired me also to take a photo of the school bus.

Really understanding the planning and vigilance that the Hispanic adults in this study expended when they would move around either within Siler City or farther away from home came slowly to me. It was a theme that emerged over and over. The perception of freedom of movement conveyed with citizenship was a reality not taken lightly by study respondents.

Gaining Confidence and Respect

The second most frequent theme after voting had to do with an increase in confidence. Some respondents used that word; but others paired it with a greater sense of security, freedom, calmness and a sense of belonging. In this context, confidence has to do with the belief that trying new things is possible, that living here in the United States now has a solid foundation. Deni spoke about confidence very directly and provided a wonderful example of a profound transformation. Her point of view certainly changed in remarkable ways.

Before I was a very timid person, too timid, because in my country I never worked.

But here, I said: 'I can do something.' And I started to do things I'd never done. So that has made me a more secure person. Yes, and to think that I can do everything I intend to do, provided I fight for it.

John, always a man of few words, described himself as content and happy as a naturalized citizen. He said his children are also happy because they are now all the same, citizens.

Marlene voiced a greater sense of security. "it gives you a sense of security, because, although I don't commit crimes, but one never knows when something might happen that

you don't want and someone could take your residency. But being a citizen, well...no one can take that away.”

New American expressed his perspective:

I simply feel that citizenship helped me so that everything would be a little calmer.

There are many worries I no longer have. In terms of feeling like an American, I feel very proud to be an American. I feel happy, I feel good but it's something I don't feel has caused a much bigger impact than becoming a resident. It's like a process and like steps and now I do feel more complete, more a part of the process of American society in its totality.

Soraya smiled quietly as she talked about how surprisingly confident she felt when she took the test. She still feels that confidence now as a citizen. She said her life hasn't changed all that much, but in little ways it is different: “when I have to fill out forms and I have to fill out my status, I remember that I need to say ‘citizen’...It makes me feel happy.”

In one of the focus groups, Carlos and Pablo addressed both the pride and humiliation of the journey toward citizenship;

Carlos: So, to finish up, um, as time has passed, we, now we have achieved...legal status in this country, with citizenship, it's a piece of paper, right? Um, but it represents a lot. It means a lot. It was hard work for each of us. Tears...

Pablo: And some humiliation ...

Carlos: ...and humiliation... um, and joy but I think that, without meaning to be too positive, I think that, that we, it's not without a purpose that we have achieved this level in this country, in this town and we can do many more things, I think.

LPR versus citizen (revisited). Especially in the focus groups, the respondents returned frequently to comparisons between their lives as permanent residents and as citizens. For Julia, this seems to be an especially sensitive subject.

Well, ah, when we are residents a lot of people sometimes think of us like any undocumented person, like any other foreigner that comes in, and sometimes there is a lot of discrimination. And as a resident, they basically think of us the same way, that we just come to destroy or to do bad things, that we don't respect the laws...they think that we almost always, or the majority of us do illegal things. And well, I haven't used my citizenship for...I haven't gone to any place to say that I am a citizen. When we are residents, well, they almost never take that into consideration. And we think that if you are a citizen, well we do have more rights, we have, ah, the freedom to go into any office, if it belongs to the government, or, or to have access so that you can go to any office in Washington, and if you are a resident you cannot enter.

This issue of respect was one with which the men in the focus group really resonated. The men and Julia continued their conversation.

Julia: But one goes there with their work permit, or their residency, and they say (*in a stern voice*) "What is your name?"

(others laughing....yes, yes...)

Julia: They don't believe you

NA: They want to give you the hard time so that you tell the truth...

(others laugh)

Carlos: Yes... "Where do you live?" *(equally stern voice and angry face)*

NA: Yes, the perception is different. Even in government offices, it is different, they perceive you differently, like he says, they question you more when you are a legal resident and go in to get official papers, and all of that...

(others laugh while he is speaking: yes, yes, yes)

NA: Yes. With the police, in the DMV, or, or when you go to the register of deeds, to places like that...They question you sometimes more, more... Yes, sometimes bosses too, yes.

Recall that Pablo mentioned the humiliation of being an immigrant when he was speaking with Carlos. He speaks again in the focus group about a new experience. "So becoming a citizen and everything...It may not seem like it, but one feels more respected wherever one is, any company here in the country. So for me, that was a very important step." Carlos responds:

Also, it brings you from a low level of acceptance to a higher level of acceptance, on the part of other people. You go where you go, and you are more accepted. You go to the DMV to get a license, and the service is different, the attention is different, the way that people look at you is different.

New American didn't use the word respect, but as a man who had planned on becoming a lawyer, he speaks to the legalities and security:

Really we are equal now on the, on the legal level, the only thing that I cannot do is simply run for president of the republic, but other than that now I can do everything, so, you see, so, it does give you this, like this security that, this security of, or being a citizen

All of the respondents in this study live in a community where many of their relatives and friends live in what is euphemistically called families with mixed legal status. It is a challenge at times to be proud of your hard won status as citizen while remaining sensitive to those who are not. This balancing process is something I have called the uneasy path in my notes.

Walking the uneasy path. The question that seemed to open the door to a greater awareness of the fine line walked by the new citizens in Siler City asked about others' responses to them as citizens. Generally the Hispanic adults talked about being congratulated by their friends, co-workers and employers. Deni's supervisor had a party for her. Some were taken out to lunch. John said that his friends were happy for him. With a rare smile he added "Some said they too wanted to become citizens, but some cannot." Herein is the sticking point. How to be proud and happy without seeming insensitive knowing that they may not have the option because of legal status, ability to raise enough money, speak English, or sufficient time to study. Pablo describes himself as the same person he was before he became a citizen.

with my coworkers and all that, when someone, someone is a resident, or when someone is completely illegal, well there are still many people who have this...who still think like fifty, forty or fifty years ago, that if you aren't legal, they believe they can humiliate you and you can't say anything about it, but now no, I, after I became a citizen and everything, I see that people are more careful and respectful...

Julia finds it a little surprising that people congratulate her.

And well, many people were surprised when I gave them the news that I had become a citizen now, and they congratulated me, and they have looked at me like with a little more respect. Well I don't know why, but I think that we always have equal value, legal or not legal, but, I don't know, that is how I have felt. That, like I get a little more respect and a lot of people, well, who know me...they feel like, like perhaps they value me a little today, but I don't know.

Tito responded: "I think my thought is that we all have the right to make a change. And that, like I told you, your feelings and your values are going to be the same ones."

A Sense of Belonging

As new citizens, the respondents started noticing things about where they were, and who they were in relation to the United States. They start seeing themselves differently. In the focus group Pablo shared a picture of a piece of North Carolina history:

I have one last photo that I am going to show, and it is not as clear as I would like, but this is, this is part of history. Ah, it probably sounds crazy and everything, that, ah, like, how do you say it, politics, I am not a person who likes politics or anything, but I

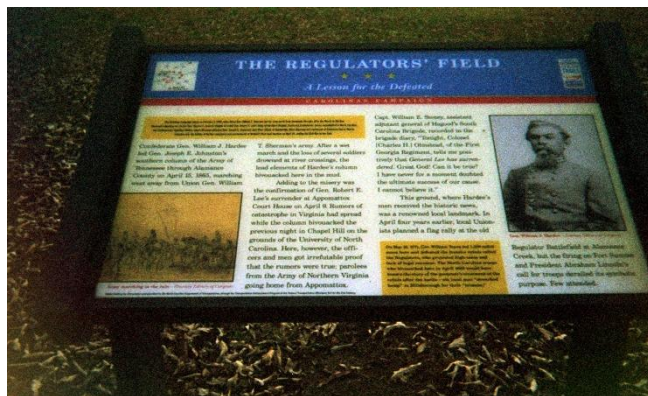


Figure 18 Historical Marker

do like the histories, history and all of that. So this photo is of a Captain whose name is William. It was, this was in 1865, and I did not know that here in the state where we are today, there is a small place where

a sort of battle between the North and South, of what they call the Civil War, took place. So, well, I often work a mile from there, but before none of that ever interested me. But now after, when I got citizenship, I started to understand why things happen, what is the motive for which the wars took place, ah, many historical things that you don't even know why, even though you are standing right there and you don't know, well, you realize that you are not doing anything. So, I realized that when, in April, no March 26, and I think it was in 1865 when the war between the North and the South ended, but I didn't know that right here in Carolina a battle between them took place. So, now after getting my citizenship and everything, it began to interest me, I like historical things very much.

New American shared a picture of the front yard of his home in the focus group he attended.

It started a lengthy conversation about place, and security, and belonging.



Figure 19 Front View

This photo is, ah, it is the front of my house, so, it is of what I see every morning when I wake up, in the evenings when I am already about to...to...but this is the...and it also signifies to be, like, as if, more now than ever, that it is my home. It's my

home...also, to be part of this place and more securely now, ah, it is like, like, it's, ah, similar to the certificate, this is like, like a... as if I am more and more assured that it is my home, that now I am completely from here.

Deni responded to New American's picture:

I would like to comment about this photo that to me it awakened the idea of the sense of property, that security that one feels, as [New American] said, right, when one was a resident, there were certain things that, that one would feel, well, more comfortable about, but now when one is a citizen, that more secure feeling.

New American continued...

It's that...when I go out and, ah, in the morning especially before working, or on the weekends, or in the evenings when I am sitting on the porch, ah, as if it reminds me even more, to know that, eh, now I completely belong to this place, to this country, to

this land, completely. And even if I still keep feeling, ah... the fact that much of my family lives in Mexico, but now I think, eh, when I think about Mexico, I think about visiting. I don't think anymore about...I don't feel like that's home. That this is home. So, this feels like my home now...

From Anabel:

For me, everything is important. Being here in the United States is a blessing, and I'm thankful that I could get my papers together, and unite with others here in the United States. This makes me proud.

Deni nodded:

An experience happened to me when I became a citizen, a feeling inside me...all the history of my life since I was little in my country passed...and then I felt like an orphan girl and that there was someone who adopted me. I told my husband that. I tell him: "You know how I feel? I felt like an orphan girl but now I have someone who adopted me." So, that feeling.

Chapter Summary

The perspectives of 13 Hispanic adults from Mexico and El Salvador who became citizens in the last four years, were gathered through in-depth interviews, two focus groups where pictures were shared, as well as researcher notes and observations. The participants responded to the three research questions: considering environmental, social, and personal factors that shaped their decision to become citizens; the experience of attending a non-

formal citizenship preparation class; and, any change that becoming a citizen has had on the individual's daily life.

Themes for the first question highlighted the external barriers of money, ability to speak English, and the struggle of legal status, which coincide with previous research. Personal factors were especially important in the decision-making process for the Hispanic adults in this study. Responses to the second question support the usefulness of attending the non-formal citizenship class as a foundation for passing the test. Accessibility is effected by the ability to bring one's children, the location of the class and the timing. A supportive atmosphere, and caring teachers were named as important in keeping the respondents progressing toward their goal. The last question was broken into the two categories of straightforward and profound transformations. Both were represented among the responses of the Hispanic adults in the study. Examples of straightforward transformation include the increased ability to sponsor admission of relatives into the country, having less red tape in one's life, increased employment opportunities, and an awareness of the change in one's relationship with one's country of origin. Several themes arose in the discussion of profound transformation: the ability to vote; freedom to move around the country and across borders; the uneasy path new citizens walk in a community that is legally diverse, and a strong new sense of belonging.

In the next section I will provide a summary of the findings of the study, describe conclusions regarding these findings, and clarify implications of the study for research,

practice and theory. Recommendations for education practice and future research are included.

Chapter Five

Summary, Conclusions, Implications and Recommendations

Involved in the decision to become a citizen is a series of steps that need to be completed if the journey to naturalization is to be successful. They include finding the significant financial resources to apply, learning English sufficiently to answer general questions about the individual's application as well as required civics and geography questions, and the ability to read and write sentences dictated by the official in charge of the citizenship interview. This study focused on the decision-making processes of 13 Hispanic adults in Siler City, NC who have become citizens within the past four years. The study was guided by the following research questions:

- 1) What personal, social, and environmental factors (internal and external) shaped the decision of a Hispanic adult to persist in the naturalization process successfully?
- 2) How do Hispanic adults perceive the role of a non-formal citizenship class in their journey to successfully complete the naturalization process?
- 3) What is the outcome of achieving citizenship in the everyday lives of Hispanic adults who have lived in the United States for at least 15 years prior to naturalization?

This chapter is divided into four sections: a summary of the study; summary of the findings pertaining to each research question and conclusions drawn based on both the responses of the adults who were participants in the study and the literature; implications for research and policy; and recommendations for research and practice in the future.

Summary of the Study

Qualitative methodologies provided the most appropriate pathway to answer the research questions that guided this study. Qualitative research by its very nature is meant to gather rich description of people, places, and conversations (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007) and embraces a variety of methodologies including narrative inquiry and Photovoice which are especially useful for the population this study highlights. A categorical sample consisted of Hispanic adults who lived in the United States for at least 15 years prior to naturalization, for whom English is a second language, who have less than a high school education, and who became citizens within the last four years. An unexpected concern among several potential respondents reduced the numbers in the study. Therefore, an amendment was sent to and approved by the Institutional Review Board to allow interviews with three people who have high school or higher education.

The data were obtained from several sources. First, in-depth interviews were conducted with 13 Hispanic adults who live in Siler City, North Carolina. Respondents ranged in age from 37 to 54 years of age, with an average age of 44. Their average length of stay in the United States prior to naturalization was 22 years. Because the respondents' primary language is Spanish, five research collaborators who are Spanish speakers transcribed and translated all interviews. Each participant engaged in an initial interview and was offered the opportunity to take pictures in the second phase of the study. All respondents agreed to take pictures that depicted their own personal journey to become citizens. At a subsequent focus group participants discussed the pictures that each chose to share. Eleven of

the 13 participants attended the focus group. The other two individuals took pictures but were not able to make it to either of the two focus groups. They shared pictures privately.

Translated transcripts of the in-depth interviews, focus groups, along with researcher notes were coded using Atlas.ti7.1. Initial codes derived from the three theoretical constructs used to analyze this study: theory of planned behavior, Latino critical theory, and transformation learning theory. Spanish transcripts were printed out and returned to the participants for a member check. One English translation for each of the five research collaborators was reverse translated into Spanish by a person uninvolved in the study, to ensure that the English being used for coding was accurate. Both translations were reviewed by a native Spanish speaker. Open coding filled in those areas that were not obviously connected to a theoretical construct.

Researcher notes and observations during interviews and focus groups were used to increase context awareness.

Summary of Study Findings

The findings of the study were presented in the order of their connection to the three research questions that guided the work (Table 5, p. 126). Research question one yielded three primary categories with seven themes and one subtheme. Research question two provided three themes and one subtheme. Research question three suggested two categories with eight themes and two subthemes. The themes were derived from both the in-depth interviews as well as the focus groups. Interaction and mutual questioning among the focus

group members who were sharing pictures helped deepen discussions, especially about the effect of changes in legal status and an increased sense of security and freedom.

Question one focused on those environmental, social, and personal factors that could support or detract from successful completion of naturalization. This was the broad brush stroke that considered the internal and external realities with which the Hispanic adults in the study lived. Responses to the first theme, *environmental factors* aligned with the literature regarding factors that affect students who are involved with adult basic education and English as a second language classes: *money, and the ability to speak English* well enough to follow the class content (Bigelow & Lovrien Schwarz, 2010). As hard as participants struggled to gather monies for applications and fingerprinting, language acquisition was seen as the most difficult factor in this category. The subthemes are connected to the primary themes. Maintaining consistent employment is critical to having enough money to pay bills, maintain one's household, and send money back to family members in the home country. However, that consistent employment may involve working late or taking extra shifts to gain a bit more salary, all of which result in less time to study or go to class.

The third theme, *legal status*, emphasized the sensitivity that those who were new citizens had toward other members of the Hispanic community who have solely a work permit or no documents at all. The perception that their legal status is precarious (despite being LPRs) increased the risk aversion of many Hispanic adults to drive on roads with many law enforcement vehicles, or to drive at night, when many of the license checks would take

place. Fear of visibility, getting a ticket, or bringing attention to oneself restricted movement, including getting to the school to learn.

The second category, *social factors*, underscored the importance of *getting support from significant others*, which was the primary theme of this category. An interesting subtheme was the active involvement of daughters in their mother's journey toward citizenship. Primarily these were younger daughters, the tweens, who were too young to drive, but old enough to accompany their mothers with book in hand and civics questions at the ready.

The final category for question one was *personal factors* that were involved in the decision to naturalize. There were two themes that arose from the respondent's statements for this category: *confidence* and the *ability to set goals and work toward them*. Confidence is one characteristic that showed significant positive growth as the Hispanic adults moved through the steps necessary to become citizens. From a starting point of "I don't think I can do this" to pride in a goal achieved, the respondents gained an awareness of their ability to achieve what they worked toward.

Question two drew attention to the role of the non-formal citizenship class in the journey of the Hispanic adults who worked to become citizens. Three themes and one subtheme emerged from the data regarding citizenship class. The themes included the *classroom as a site of encouragement*, the *everyday logistics of accessing the class*, and the helpfulness of *getting feedback from those who had already taken the test*. The subtheme focused on whether or not *years of prior education affected class attendance*.

For many of the respondents, the classroom was the location where they could practice, make mistakes, and receive encouragement for perseverance. The teacher became the purveyor of information, but much more importantly, the one who urged the adult to keep working, and who celebrated each small success or milestone. The same factors that got in the way in terms of the whole passage to naturalization, were also issues for class itself. Time was an especially knotty issue, depending upon day and time of the class. Intrusion of school events of children and changes in work hours posed significant challenges. When the Friday citizenship class moved to Tuesday in Siler City Center, attendance dropped off.

The third theme was a consideration of the helpfulness of hearing from those who had already finished the process, and had become citizens. Respondents had varying opinions, but leaned more toward hearing from “graduates” than not. Many saw it as an affirmation that they could succeed as well, because these folks were former classmates.

Only two of the 13 respondents attended class only once and did not return, which is a subtheme for question two. One had a high school diploma and at least a year of university matriculation in Mexico. He had also attended some post-secondary classes inside the United States. The second individual had a third-grade education in Mexico, and had not attended school in the US. The primary reason for not attending for both of them was lack of time, and a firm belief that they could accomplish the goal with the supports they already had.

Research question three sought to understand the outcome of becoming a citizen on the individuals in the study. Of the 13 respondents, 2 became citizens in 2010, 1 in 2011, 5 in 2012, and 5 in 2013. Within the two categories of *straightforward transformation* and

profound transformation, eight themes and two subthemes were found. Aligning with the literature, the themes involving straightforward transformation had to do with tasks in the everyday that are important but familiar: *lessening the complicated processes* required of individuals who are not citizens in the United states to remain legal residents, as well as opening doors to *sponsor the entry of family members* into the United States. As a citizen, the *jobs one can apply for increase*. The somewhat unexpected theme that emerged was a sometimes awkward, sometimes gratifying *change in the new citizen's relationship to his or her country of origin*.

The second major category of findings for question three is *profound transformation*, which calls for a change in one's view of oneself, or a change in world view. This category yielded four themes and two subthemes. The most universal theme in the study was the excitement and pride in the *ability to vote*. Citizenship also allowed the Hispanic adults in the study to *move around*, whether that was driving in Siler City, or crossing the border to visit family in Mexico or El Salvador. The third theme was a reprise of the growth of *confidence*, along with pride and respect. By this time, the confidence of the respondents was closer to full bloom, and resulted in the willingness to take a risk to attend more classes and keep learning. Two subthemes derived from the notion of confidence. Respondents talked at some length about the *differences between being a legal permanent resident and being a citizen* something they now understood personally. It showed up in interactions with officials who believed the LPR was lying, to closer scrutiny when applying for a driver's license, or applying for a job. A new level of respect was demonstrated.

Because so many new citizens live in communities where others do not have the means to become citizens, it can be awkward to celebrate one's *new status*, or talk about voting, without sending the message that one is "better than" the other individual. Respondents were very careful to ground themselves in being the same person they always had been.

The last theme in the category of profound transformation was a tremendous increase in a sense of belonging. Respondents were now "totally here." They are now really Americans.

Responses from the participants, along with their pictures and discussions, coupled with the literature helped form the conclusions of the study that follow in the next section.

Conclusions

The findings of this study lead to five conclusions. First, the decision process of Hispanic adults to become citizens of the United States are shaped as much by personal factors which affect confidence, as it is by the environmental and social factors commonly researched. Second, the non-formal citizenship preparation class offers Hispanic adults a place to find their voices by building their confidence. Third, Hispanic adults who successfully complete the journey toward citizenship emerge with a greater understanding of what the Constitution offers in terms of equality and democracy. Fourth, current policies on immigration in the United States exacerbate the migration trauma many of these Hispanic adults experienced, and fifth, a revised decision tree is tentatively offered as a model to understand the decision process of Hispanic adults to naturalize.

Conclusion One: Personal Factors Outweigh External Factors

The aim of the first research question was to determine how environmental, social and personal circumstances researched for other immigrant populations shaped the decision of Hispanic adults who have less prior formal education and English proficiency, have lived in the United States for at least 15 years, to complete citizenship. The reason for focusing on this specific population is that they are seldom the center of attention for research. Most studies limit their samples to individuals who do not have documents or students in post-secondary education (Fernandez, 2002; Huber, 2010; Ramirez, 2011).

The literature gives some hints about known obstacles to citizenship completion. Albertini's (2009) study of factors that are common obstacles to consistent attendance at ABE or ESL classes provides some foundation for determining what might be the issues with which Hispanic adults in Siler City have to deal. His study is useful because it tends to have a demographic similar to the sample for this study. Factors identified by that study included the need to work long and sometimes variable work hours at low hourly wages, ongoing responsibilities for larger families resulting in a continual need for child care, and a lack of skill with English. Hispanic adults in this study who are current citizens described those same issues as obstacles that slowed down their ability to attend class on a regular basis and to send in the citizenship application. Hispanic adults in the study stated that saving enough money was definitely a challenge to overcome. The significant decrease of citizenship applications immediately after the federal government more than doubled the cost of

applying is evidence that points to the reality of financial barriers to citizenship (Emmanuel & Gutierrez, 2013).

Other environmental factors have been mentioned in the literature. Passel (2007) found that naturalization is more likely among individuals with higher education, more fluent English, valued work skills, property ownership and marriage to an American citizen. Most of the participants in this study do not meet those requirements, but they still decided to complete their naturalization journey. It appeared that the items mentioned above slowed the final date of naturalization, but respondents were very clear that it would not (and did not) stop them.

Conversations with Hispanics living in the Siler City community suggested additional barriers that might sidetrack participants in the study as they proceeded toward citizenship. Clues to additional barriers were highlighted with two items in the findings: regular discussions about a lack of confidence and the repeated mention of fears, anxiety, and risk as legal permanent residents, now allayed by the fact of citizenship. Putting these two concerns together, led to an additional explanation—that participants tended to find ways to overcome the environmental factors, but had more difficulty, and were more affected by the internal factors. The participants typically did not use the word “trauma” in their stories, although the community liaison did. They described living through intensely difficult situations both before and after they came to the United States that would fit current definitions of trauma. Further research clarified the likelihood that decision-making processes could be profoundly affected by possible past and current trauma of the Hispanic adults involved in this study

(Levers & Hyatt-Burkhart, 2012). The rest of this section focuses on information that supports such a conclusion.

Trauma is defined as an event that is extremely difficult and overwhelming (Briere & Scott, 2006). A traumatic experience presents a threat to one's physical well-being, and can elicit intense feelings of helplessness, terror, and lack of control (Guarino, Soares, Konnath, Clervil, & Bussuk, 2009). Trauma is most commonly considered at issue at times of disasters, or when individuals are legally called refugees who are forced out of their homeland because of danger (George, 2012; Lugwig, Imberti, Rodreguez, & Torrens, 2006; Rosenfeld, Caye, Lahad, & Gurwitch, 2010). There is currently little research about the traumas experienced by immigrants who are seen as making a voluntary decision to leave their country of origin. However, a small body of literature focuses on trauma that occurs for immigrants in multiple stages: pre-migration trauma, in-transit trauma, resettlement trauma, and post migration living conditions (Salas, Ayón, & Gurrola, 2013).

In their study of political violence and trauma, Fortuna, Porsche, and Allegria (2008) named 5 out of the 21 countries that comprise Latin America where violence was among the top five causes of death: Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, El Salvador, and Mexico. Mexico has high rates of homicides related to drug violence. El Salvador experienced a brutal civil war from 1979 to 1992. Residents from El Salvador and Mexico were listed as having the second and third highest rates of exposure to political violence in Latin America after Cuba, with respondents stating the levels of exposure to political violence and other lifetime traumas were as high as 76% (Levers & Hyatt-Burkhart, 2012).

The stories of the Hispanic adults in this study align with such a percentage. Pre-migration conditions were extremely difficult for almost all. They left families who were extremely poor, who lived in countries where danger was ubiquitous. In my notes I wrote of one respondent who told me that his school was destroyed by a rival drug gang, and when the teacher tried to come to students' homes to continue their schooling, she was killed. Many of the respondents were sent to another country with the responsibility to work and support their families, while several of them were still minors. In-transit experiences were equally dire. More than half came into the United States as teenagers, some by themselves or with *coyotes*, and were exposed to possible assault. Most experienced hunger and intense fear.

After arrival in the United States, there are stories of immediately going to work, without a break, coupled with frequent moves to obtain more work. There was seldom a permanent home for long periods of time. The women married and often had several children. Living conditions in Siler City were better for most, but still difficult. Domestic violence and abandonment occurred for some of the women.

Stories of fear of officials appear throughout the interviews. Regardless of having the status of legal permanent resident, the overriding belief was that the government would deport an LPR immediately if he or she made any mistake, no matter how minor. A parent who was found to be behind in child support would be deported ending any hope that the other parent would receive any financial assistance. Being questioned like a criminal was typical when applying for a driver's license, registering for work, being stopped for a driver's license check, or even going to school. Concern about deportation is very high. In one study,

57% of the Latinos expressed significant worry about deportation of themselves or someone close to them (Levers & Hyatt-Burkhart, 2012). The worry had some basis, because deportations in the fiscal year 2010-2011 were listed as the highest on record (Moffett, 2011). Despite some dispute regarding how deportation numbers were reached, there is consensus that the number of removals has dropped in the past three years, due to changes in government regulations (Moffett, 2012; Vaughn, 2013). Nevertheless, the fear among the Hispanic adults in the study of being separated from their families through removal continues unabated.

Several of the respondents noted another aspect of fear regarding deportation. This has to do with the fact that most of the children of the individuals in the study are American citizens, having been born here. In interview, the participant will say that he or she worries about having to leave his or her children or grandchildren behind if deported. This fear, also, is not without some basis in reality. In 2011, nationally more than 5000 children in foster care had a detained or deported parent (Jackson, 2011). Children's Protective Services were not allowed to place these children with any family with undocumented adults. Where local police had signed cooperation agreements with ICE, children in foster care were 29% more likely to have a parent who was detained or deported. For several years that was true of the Alamance County Sheriff's Department (Richardson, 2013), and although the Siler City Police Department had not signed the agreement order, they were considering it. Federal immigration regulations were changed at the end of 2011, granting parents of minor children the opportunity of receiving discretionary relief. However, the fears about being separated

from their children, even those with legal permanent residency, continue to be very high. It is uncertain if the Hispanic adults in this study trust the dependability of the regulations. The sense is that if they were changed once, they could be changed again, including to something more restrictive.

The encouragement of children for their parents to become citizens, to “be like them” can also be read to be a concern regarding potential separation. Trauma fears can pass across generations, shared by a collective group of people who have experienced the consequences of traumatic events (Guarino et al., 2009).

Several respondents in the study expressed worry that immigration laws will change and they would not be able to stay in the United States as legal permanent residents or that they would be barred from becoming citizens because of new rules. Immigration regulations have changed significantly in the United States in the past 20 years. Filindra (2013) stated that historically adversarial relationships have developed between the dominant white majority and racial minorities in the United States which surface in the passage of laws that effect minorities negatively. Changing immigration laws (such as PRWORA & IIRIRA, 1996) and a minority but vocal public that expresses negative reactions toward immigration tends to support the sense that Hispanics are seen as a threat (Berg, 2009; Desilver, 2014). One might think that these circumstances would propel individuals to take the necessary steps to become citizens. However, the fear tends to cause the opposite reaction.

The effect of the continuous fear of officials at both the local and federal levels shapes the Hispanic adults who live in the United States. Guarino et.al., (2009) suggest that

trauma affects how people access services, and that those who have experienced trauma are more likely to view the world and other people as unsafe. As a result, individuals are constantly on guard, and err on the side of safety by withdrawing when feeling threatened. Levers and Hyatt-Burkhart (2012) cite studies that show an increase in anxiety, depression and substance use among immigrants who experience trauma. Ongoing stress and lack of social support in the immigrant's new country increase pressures and worry over time (Stenmark, Catani, Neuner, Elbert, & Holen, 2013). Unfortunately all these aspects tend to make the decision process slower. Visibility is a risk, and taking a class, or sending in an application makes one more visible. My notes state that one respondent would not send in an application because he had gotten a parking ticket and feared the effect this would have on his application.

Many of the statements of respondents from chapter four underscore the possibility of trauma effects among the Hispanic adult population in Siler City. In addition to the conversations, interviews, the focus groups, and my research notes, two circumstances point to the effects of trauma. One is the hesitance of individuals to drive to the new location of Siler City Center. Because it is on the road that leads directly to the hospital, Sheriff's vehicles and police cars travel this road frequently. In addition, there are individuals who wear security uniforms and are visible inside the door to the college. There have been license checks at the end of the road. Arguably, none of these events may have anything to do with Hispanic adults living in Siler City. Nonetheless, even individuals with legal permanent residence cards are very anxious about going through these checks and being in close

proximity to law enforcement officials. As a result, some students choose not to come to that location making it harder to prepare for and apply for citizenship.

The second circumstance occurred when respondents were being recruited for the study. Several Hispanic adults who fit the sample criterion and who live in Siler City expressed interest in being part of the process. Without any explanation, four or five individuals cancelled their interview dates or did not show. Our Hispanic community liaison called them several times and after many attempts to engage these individuals, was told that a relative of one of the potential respondents had been murdered in Mexico by connections to one of the drug cartels. These individuals expressed tremendous anxiety that being in the study would draw the cartels toward other family members in Mexico, or even to Siler City. No assurance of the use of pseudonyms or other steps to maintain confidentiality would calm their concerns. When the community liaison spoke to me, he called these concerns “old fears,” I believe that Guarino et al, (2009) would also call them signs of trauma, based on pre-migration and current living experiences.

The evidence supports a conclusion that heightened anxiety and a general feeling of being at risk experienced by many of the Hispanic adults involved in the study are exacerbated by previous experiences of trauma and current discrimination. Appreciation for the long lasting effects of pre-migration experiences, coupled with current immigration policies that change unexpectedly, assist in a greater understanding of the ways that “old fears” can shape the decision to apply for citizenship.

One counter weight which is a tremendous strength for the adults in this study is the ability to set goals and work toward them with what I have called dogged perseverance. This skill, also a personal factor, is what makes it possible for individuals who have lower incomes, and less fluid English to marshal the resources, overcome their “old fears” and progress. MacLeod, Coates, and Hetheron (2007) found that effective goal setting and planning activities increase an individual’s sense of well-being and contributes to goal attainment, which Schunk (1985) suggests positively influences perseverance. It is possible that the sense of achievement, and increased well-being engendered by their effective goal setting may have helped the Hispanic adults in the study surmount some of the negative effects of trauma.

From the data gathered in this study, it is my conclusion that personal factors (negative and positive) outweigh the admittedly challenging environmental factors like money, time and English fluency as Hispanic adults make the decision to attend class or apply for citizenship. The next section of this chapter focuses on the role of the citizenship class in the decision-making process of Hispanic adults.

Conclusion Two: Hispanic Adults Found Their Voices

As defined by Etling (1993), non-formal education is an “intentional and systematic educational enterprise . . . in which content is adapted to the unique needs of the students . . . in order to maximize learning and minimize other elements that often occupy formal school teachers” (p. 73). Non-formal education is expected to have significant relevance to specific groups, have clearly defined purposes, and demonstrate flexibility in organization and

methods (Smith, 2001). The citizenship classes sponsored by the Chatham County Literacy Council meet the requirements for non-formal education. They are planned, have the purpose of preparing individuals to pass the U.S. citizenship test, and alter the lessons depending on who arrives on a particular day. Although one of the classes meets inside the community college satellite building, it does not follow the attendance or grade requirements expected for general college students. The other class meets in a local church.

In their *Guidebook for Planning Education in Emergencies and Reconstruction* UNESCO (2010) describes non-formal education as a bridge to help students improve skills enough to move into more formal circumstances. Although the *Guidebook* was focused on children in an international setting, I believe the same could be said for the non-formal citizenship classes offered in Siler City. Hispanic adults in this study stated that the citizenship class allowed them the opportunity to receive assistance without specific concerns about attendance, variable English skills, and the awkwardness of being in a formal classroom with the pressure to perform in a particular way.

Latino Critical theory suggests that educational experiences in the United States tend to undervalue or ignore the strengths other cultures bring to the table (Yosso, 2005). Many times school activities are one-way forms of communication, whether one is speaking about child or adult involvement (Larrotta & Yamamura, 2011). In those situations, which Freire (1970) calls the banking model of education, the student is expected to listen and take in information, and then do something with it that follows the regulations and trajectory set by the majority culture. It follows deficit thinking and privileges the voice of the teacher and

those students who speak in a particular way (Yosso, 2005). Yosso finds that such a stance is damaging to both teacher and student alike. Instead she strongly encourages learning experiences that take into account cultural wealth to bring minority students actively into the classroom. Cultural wealth is defined with six areas of strength:

- Aspirational capital—the ability to hold on to hope in the face of real or perceived barriers, through a focus on goals
- Navigational capital—the ability to maneuver through social institutions which may be difficult or exclusive
- Social capital—the ability to build networks for information, support, and justice
- Linguistic capital—the ability to speak two languages, understand two cultures; also to share stories about the culture, hard times, and victories
- Familial capital—holding a community’s history, awareness that one is not alone when dealing with troubles
- Resistant capital –the ability to challenge inequality in ways that are available (Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001; Yosso, 2005)

Cultural wealth is described in many ways in the literature. Bigelow and Lovrien Schwarz (2010) use the term *funds of knowledge* to acknowledge successful skills and abilities that immigrants or other minorities bring with them when they interact with the majority culture. Other studies label this awareness of the strengths that can be brought to and received from education as *human capital* (Jones & Ramchand, 2013) although this title tends to focus on economic issues. The commonality of all of these terms is that they

celebrate and acknowledge the strengths marginalized students bring to the educational process. Non-formal education is well situated to attend to the cultural wealth of those who attend.

In citizenship class, Hispanic adults met with others who had similar experiences as immigrants in the United States. Although in the classes in Siler City, the teachers were not fluent in Spanish, the participants could help each other understand what was being said (linguistic capital). They developed a cohort that supported each other, and taught each other, sharing information about how to deal with difficult individuals in governmental agencies, or in schools (navigational and social capital). Hispanic adults in the study repeatedly mentioned that they saw the classes as a support, a place where they learned, but also laughed and told their own stories. Several times, students would compare lessons offered about government in the United States, with their experiences in their country of origin. On one occasion each person sang a portion of the national anthem from their country. Participants were encouraged to talk about positive memories of their country if they wanted. They could also talk about the troublesome aspects of their memories (social capital). Possibly most important, they were constantly reminded of the goal they had set for themselves, and their ability to reach it through work and study (aspirational capital). All of these experiences support the growth of cultural wealth, which in turn adds to the confidence of the learner.

One of the main tenets of LatCrit is the centrality of experiential knowledge (Solorzano & Yosso, 2004). Stories, songs, biographies, and works of art are all ways that individuals who are seldom in the spotlight can bring their lived experiences to the fore.

Solorzano and Delgado Bernal (2001) call them counter-stories and define them as a method of telling stories of those people whose stories are not often told. Counter-stories have four functions: (a) to build community among those who live at the margins, giving them a human face; (b) to challenge the perceived wisdom of those at the center; (c) to open new windows in the reality of those at the margins, making clear that they are not alone; and, (d) to combine story and current reality to flesh out a more comprehensive world where several points of view are considered (Solorzano & Yosso, 2004).

The stories told by Hispanic adults in this study suggest that at least some of them experienced trauma in pre-migration, and well as currently. Telling their stories to each other emphasizes a shared collective experience both now, and frequently in their home countries in the past.

An awareness of the effects of trauma on the adults who may want to attend citizenship classes (as well as ABE and ESL), would call for an altered sense of how classes are designed and presented. Healing from trauma happens in relationships that are mutually respectful (Guarino, 2009) and that include the teacher as well as the students. Larrotta and Yamamura (2011) point to Freire's belief that a teacher should be "an equal partner with the student who engages in dialogue with learners in the spirit of democratic inquiry and solidarity" (p. 76). Non-formal education lends itself well to this teacher role. Hierarchy is significantly minimized, and the curricula changes depending on need. Teachers from citizenship class in Siler City are invited into the life of the community, to cultural celebrations, weddings, and to celebrate democracy on Election Day.

When respondents spoke about the citizenship class in the interviews, they were as likely to highlight being treated with respect and hearing supportive encouragement as they were to talk about what they learned. Gaining confidence, hearing their own voices was of much greater importance. Yes, there was a need to learn civics questions and geography, but there was just as critical a need to prepare emotionally to step into a situation that was unfamiliar, a building one had not entered before, with an official who would have a major effect on the future. In the classroom, through relationships with the teacher and each other, respondents increased their sense of efficacy—yes I can do this. Through hearing many counter-stories, the citizenship class provided a place where cultural wealth was shared, community was built, voices were heard, and confidence grew. As Schunk (1985) found in his study, “although self-efficacy is influenced by prior performances, it is not merely a reflection of them. Self-efficacy has an important relationship to subsequent achievement” (p. 317). Believing that success is possible, despite hardships, increases the likelihood that the individual will decide to submit the application, and pass the test.

Conclusion Three. Citizenship Changes Lives --Enacted Through Voting.

At its simplest meaning, a transformation is a change that affects the trajectory of an individual’s life, including how we see ourselves and the world (Merriam, Caffarella, & Baumgartner, 2007). This section considers the changes experienced by the Hispanic adults in this study who have become citizens within the last four years. I discuss general transformation among the study cohort, followed by identification of the role of non-formal education in transformation. Next I outline characteristics of post-traumatic growth and

illustrate clear signs of such growth among the participants. Last, I consider respondents' view of participation and their newly articulated reactions to being citizens in the United States, both positive and problematic. First I consider transformation.

The academic language of transformation uses terms like frames of reference--broad based assumptions about how the world operates--and points of view--attitudes, values and beliefs (Mezirow, 2000). Mezirow described transformation as highly individualistic, transforming a problematic frame of reference and making it more dependable and applicable for current life. Altering one's point of view can happen in a life changing single episode, but is more likely to occur incrementally, with a "progressive series of transformations in related points of view that culminate in a transformation of habits of mind" (Mezirow, 2000, p. 21). Some of the transformations individuals experience may expand or elaborate current frames of reference, called straightforward transformation, while other individuals' transformations result in a radical change, labeled a profound transformation (Kitchenham, 2008).

The data gathered from the Hispanic adults in this study support the conclusion that all participants experienced some level of transformation. An awareness of a change in their own outlook, as well as how they are treated by others as a result of their new legal status as citizen is universal. The words used embrace sensations of experiencing more respect, a greater sense of freedom of movement as well as of mind, and less anxiety especially when dealing with officials. Mezirow's (2000) incremental shifts include incidents like replacing a verbal grilling from a border guard (when previously crossing the border back into the United States as a legal permanent resident) with getting a high five from the border guard as a

citizen. Among colleagues and relatives in Siler City there is also a sense that the individual has changed. From something as small as who one roots for in a soccer game to the possible plan to run for public office, Hispanic adults in this study see themselves as walking a different path, even as they assure others that they are the same.

The role of education in individual or societal transformation has often been a contested one. Education is never neutral, and is frequently seen as quite political in nature (Freire, 1970), “nor is education a value free sphere where people develop their own physical, emotional, intellectual and ethical attitude” (Yoo, 2007). Teachers in citizenship class are especially aware of this when they are presenting the required civics questions potential citizens are expected to know, aware that very different perspectives involved with those policies and laws exist. Transformational learning emphasizes that teachers provide opportunities for learner critical reflection and questioning. In fact, Wang (2004) states that “Teachers’ understanding of the complexity of the adult learners profile is as important as their knowledge of the subject matter they teach” (p. 209). The teacher student relationship in non-formal citizenship class is reciprocal in that teachers learn the cultural perspectives of the Hispanic community at the same time they facilitate learning information about the subject matter necessary for the students to pass the naturalization test. Adult learners are encouraged to share reactions and ask questions. In addition to setting the stage for transformational learning, the supportive environment has been found to be helpful in the development of what has come to be called post-traumatic growth (Keene, 2012; Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004).

Tedeschi and Calhoun (2004) define post-traumatic growth as “the experience of positive psychological change that occurs as a result of the struggle with highly challenging life circumstances” (p. 1). Joseph, Murphy and Regel (2012) describe it as the “study of how people often change in positive ways in their struggles with adversity” (p. 316). Signs of post-traumatic growth tend to show positive changes in three major areas: interpersonal relationships are enhanced or seen as more meaningful; individuals change views of themselves often having a sense of increased personal strength, and individuals experience some change in their life philosophy, along with a increased appreciation of life in general (Joseph et al., 2012; Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004). Mezirow’s theory of transformation and the theory of post-traumatic growth have several commonalities: they both require a stressor, or disorienting dilemma to begin the process of change; the process of change for both typically occurs over a period of time with intermittent small epiphanies, and both state that a period of reflection or contemplation during the process is essential (Joseph et al., 2012; Mezirow, 2000). Turner and Cox (2004) outline steps that tend to occur as an individual moves away from the significantly stressful experience toward post-traumatic growth. For most individuals, the development of a fiercely independent sense of willpower comes first, when the person works to keep a positive attitude. Then, the individual strategizes, setting goals and working step by step to reach his or her target. Setbacks and disappointments are expected but the focus is on the resolution. Last, individuals become aware of altered perspectives, and see the change in themselves over time. They develop both a greater sense of self-understanding and personal value, and the value of friends and family in their lives. I

was struck by the similarity between Turner and Cox's steps and the stories of the Hispanic adults in the study. Setting goals and keeping that focus no matter the distractions is a tremendous strength of the individuals in this study. Turner and Cox warn against romanticizing a journey that is not smooth. "Posttraumatic growth occurs concomitantly with the attempts to adapt to highly negative sets of circumstances that can engender high levels of psychological distress" (Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004, p. 2). Posttraumatic growth and transformation do not signal an end to the distress. The respondents in the study were eloquent in the struggles they had and still have as new citizens here in the United States. However, something about their lives is essentially changed.

An increased sense of agency, developed internal locus of control, or simply a greater acknowledgement of personal power appears in the comments of all the respondents. Such a change shows up in a number of ways: at least five have completed their GEDs; several are now taking English classes at the community college; one is preparing to take a specialized course specifically for his work; they are learning how to use computers and the internet; and they are considering ways to become more involved with their children's schools. Jackson (2007) describes this type of change, or transformation, as moving from the position of object to subject. Belenky et al. (1997) would say that the Hispanic adults in the study have found their voices.

There is no more striking sign of the change brought by citizenship in the study cohort than their attitudes and actions about voting and participating in the process of democracy. They make sure they vote when possible, and they push others in their

community to do the same. They pay more attention to decisions being made around them. They work to persuade others who are not as active to pay more attention. They smile when they say that their opinion can count here in the United States. Without exception, the privilege and rights involved with being a citizen are concepts they take pride in and plan to engage. This seems to be the most salient indication of transformation.

A final word about post-traumatic growth and the reflection deemed necessary to cement changes in the person's life. The strategy of using Photovoice was the catalyst that encouraged cross discussion and reflection about changes in attitudes and perspectives to be spoken aloud among the Hispanic adults in the study. Although respondents talked individually about their experiences coming into the country, it was not until they shared pictures of their land, the schools they attended, flags, and their places of work, that they began comparing life as LPRs to life now. They began to disclose the depths of their pleasure at the new legal status they experienced, and what that meant. It was in these sharing dialogues, that I really saw how Hispanic immigrants, even as LPRs were affected by laws and policies that for most native born White Americans would go completely unnoticed. In their study with Latina's using Photovoice and focus groups, Hannay, Dudley, Milan and Libovitz (2013) found that Photovoice was an excellent tool to increase reflection among participants. In their study, participants felt more empowered to speak out as a group. I do not believe I would have gained the same understanding without having the privilege of listening in to a conversation among individuals who had similar experiences commenting on the photographs they took. I also think the depth of the conversation had a lasting effect on

the Hispanic adults who took part. Hannay et al., (2013) found that respondents were more convinced of their authority on a particular subject, and that using Photovoice in the focus group offered the opportunity for some respondents to bond with others like them. I believe the same was true in this study.

Conclusion Four: Current US Policies on Immigration Exacerbate Migration Trauma.

Attitudes of the majority of individuals living in the United States about migration are complex and variable. The most recent Pew Research Center Poll was conducted at the time of the President's State of the Union Address (Desilver, 2014). It found that 7 in 10 Americans support a pathway to legalization for undocumented immigrants living in the country. A majority of respondents who were in favor of a pathway toward legalization also wanted stricter border control and a requirement to learn English. Only 44% of this number thought that legalization ought to end in citizenship, while all others leaned toward legal permanent resident or disagreed completely. Currently the U.S. Congress has not been able to move an immigration reform bill forward because of fundamental disagreements regarding legalization at all, or timing with border security enhancements.

Federal policies in 1996 allowed states to decide if legal permanent residents could receive federal aid and many states including North Carolina decided not to allow it (Cohen, 2007). Some states allow undocumented youth who have lived in the United States all their lives to go to school paying in-state fees, while others, including North Carolina, do not. Federal immigration authorities gave local law enforcement the option of taking on the role of Federal Immigration, starting detention and immigration processes much more quickly.

Findings from this small qualitative study highlight the anxiety experienced by Hispanic adults who have lived in the United States for at least 15 years. Even as legal permanent residents, they feared that any mistake they make would result in removal and separation from their families. Although deportations are down, they continue and among Hispanic adults, fear about removal is very high. In fact 55% of Hispanic and Asian immigrants revealed that they thought that relief from deportation was more important than a pathway to citizenship at this time (Pew Research Center, 2013). Given the respondents' concerns about stability even as LPRs, it is questionable if they would agree with this poll. They stated clearly that they were treated badly as LPRs because others assumed they were without documents at all.

Concerns about deportation may generalize into fear of interaction with all officials. This worry prevents some of the Hispanic adults from coming to class, from complaining about discrimination they experience with government personnel, and ultimately from applying for citizenship. Comparatively, the respondents in this study found that their relief from fear of deportation was part of their motivation to become naturalized. Unlike the either/or dichotomy suggested by Pew, the small sample in this study pushed toward citizenship despite, or possibly because of the fear of deportation. They only felt they belonged as citizens.

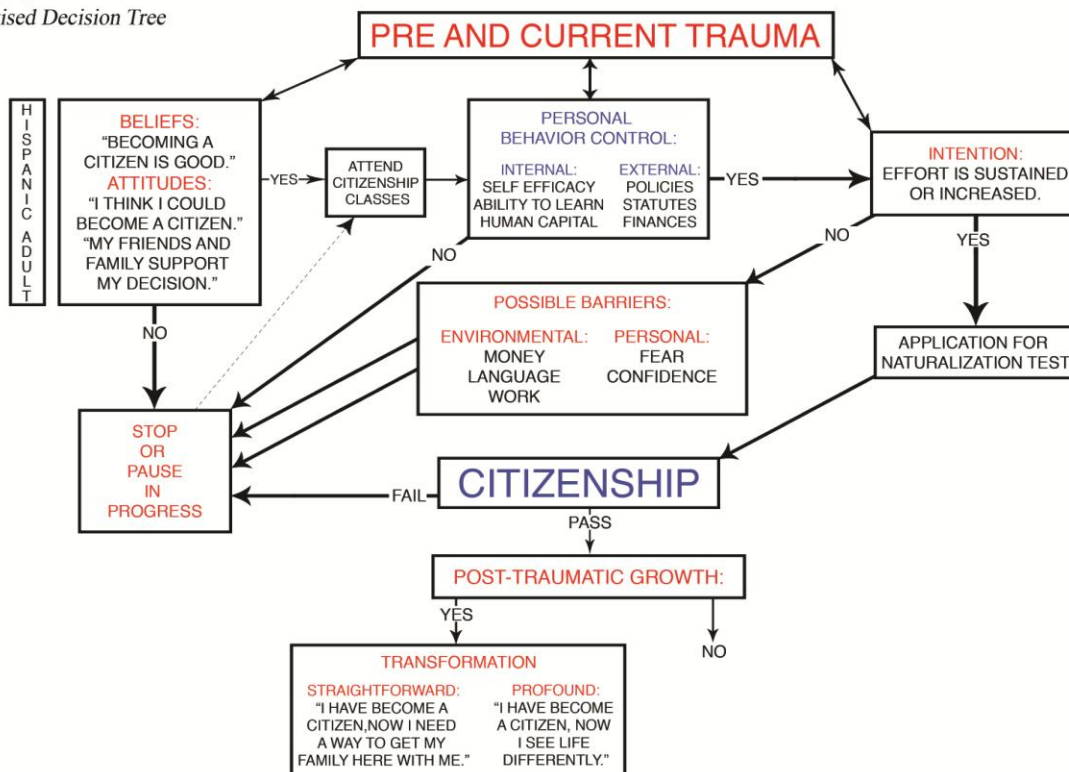
Signs of pre- and post-immigration trauma are present in this study cohort. The heavy emphasis in the news programs tends to focus on immigrants who are undocumented, and whether intentional or not, supports the erroneous belief that all Hispanic immigrants are

unauthorized. In fact, the general population in the United States believes that the number of unauthorized immigrants is increasing, when, in fact it is in decline (Dimock, Doherty, & Kiley, 2013). The effect of these beliefs is to create a sense of unwelcome, increase anxiety, and make Hispanic adults who are eligible for citizenship question if they should apply.

Conclusion Five: The Study Supports the Decision-making Model.

The findings of this study would suggest certain revisions to the chart displayed in chapter two (Table 5) but generally support the decision tree.

Table 6.
Revised Decision Tree



When analyzing the factors that affect decision-making among Hispanic adults, some consideration of potential pre- and post-migration trauma is critical to gain a comprehensive view of the respondents' lives. Therefore, pre and current migration trauma is displayed as an umbrella that may shape the Hispanic adult's beliefs, attitudes, perception of personal behavior control, and intention to change behavior. Ajzen's (1991) theory of planned behavior, especially the concept of personal behavioral control is definitely pertinent in determining of the Hispanic adults in this study would proceed toward citizenship. Any of the factors displayed may provide support or become barriers to goal achievement but confidence, self-efficacy, outweighed other factors in this study.

The other decision factor added as a result of the study is the awareness of positive psychological changes that may occur (post-traumatic growth) despite very real, ongoing obstacles. Respondents in this study describe themselves as having greater awareness of their power and voice as citizens. They celebrate their success, describe a greater sense of personal strength, and see their lives as being permanently changed. It appears that as their belief in their own self-efficacy grew, the power of previous traumas, while still real, had less influence on their forward progress.

Implications

The findings of this study have implications for research, theory, education practice, and policy.

Implications for Research. In the process of completing the study, it became clear that the specific population highlighted here is not often studied. Most commonly, Hispanics are the focus of research when they are undocumented, involved with post-secondary education in some way, or young. The cohort in this study represent a significant portion of the population now living in the United States who are potential students in ABE, ESL and citizenship classes. Ignoring this population for research leaves a significant gap in understanding the best ways to encourage this group to use services available to them. The dropout rate in these introductory programs is unacceptably high. Although there have been some consideration of the reasons for this most of them focus on the environmental barriers, that are acknowledged reasons for the lack of completion. However, there have not been studies to determine if interventions or strategies could be found that would attend to the personal factors that may also have a great deal to do with whether or not a Hispanic adult sticks with the program. Further research to clarify how adult learners can feel safe and supported while developing the self-confidence necessary to persevere is necessary.

In the process of conducting cross cultural research, there is a fair amount of literature that advices researchers on the use of translators (Squires, 2009), including developing relationships with movers and shakers in the community and double checking for conclusions reached in the study with individuals in the same population as the research participants (Winkle-Wagner, 2009). From my experience with the “old fears” of potential participants, it became clear that one must have a lens that can focus both on the perspectives and beliefs that affect participants here in the United States, and also attends to beliefs that may originate

in the participants countries of origin. This is a difficult process because the researcher is unlikely to be able simply to sit down and have a conversation that will surface these issues. Further investigation of this type of sample barrier is needed.

In this study I used five research collaborators due to the time limitations of students during the school year to complete the transcriptions and translations I needed done in a timely fashion. This plan presented both strengths and weaknesses. With a variety of individuals asking questions, I could gain a broader sense of ways to garner the information needed, and which methods seemed to work most effectively. Some of the translators were more skilled at this process than others. However, just because of that variability, fewer follow-up questions were asked in some instances than in others. Ultimately, because of our reverse translations and member checks, I feel like we came away with accurate representations of what interviewees said. One item that did arise from the reverse translation conversation I had with our community liaison is that individuals from different regions of a country, let alone different countries use different words to mean similar things. The translator will use the words that she is familiar with, and some change in meaning could occur.

Lastly, using the methodology of Photovoice for this study brought forth the voice, agency and power of the participants in the focus group much more than the in-depth interviews did. Several authors have found that use of images is especially helpful when respondents are less proficient in the language. However, even though we were not able to have several focus group meetings (as is customary in much participatory action research),

even one or two meetings deepened the conversation in significant ways. Photovoice removed the spotlight from the individual, putting it on the picture presented. Other participants were more comfortable speaking in support or contrast with what was said about the picture without seeming to criticize another of the participants. This was especially salient when the group spoke about discriminatory policies and attitudes they experienced. Use of images with this population, even in a small way, as opposed to a full action research process still renders strong positive results.

Implications for Theory. The findings of this study support the use of the theory of planned behavior with a population of Hispanic adults with little formal education, who are recent citizens. The concept of personal behavioral control seemed especially pertinent in getting some sense of when individuals would decide to take class or apply for citizenship.

The findings using Latino Critical theory were a little less clear. In their in-depth interviews, although we purposely added questions that would hopefully surface interactions regarding laws and officials, we heard very little about reactions to policy and law. It was not until we got to the focus groups, and reactions were triggered by their own pictures, that we began to hear about struggles with current legal structures. Most of these had to do with the attitudes of the officials who carried those policies out, both in Siler City and crossing the border into Mexico. The primary reaction was anxiety and fear that further restrictions would prevent them from completing citizenship, or at worst separate them from their families and send them back home. The indicators for immigration trauma seemed to more accurately

portray the reflections of the adults in this study. Further research may yield more clarity here.

Implications for Education. Non-formal education has always stated its emphasis on the needs of students, and its flexibility in terms of curricula changes as needed. What was somewhat unexpected was the importance of the relationship that developed between the citizenship class teachers and the adults who came to class. In some ways it appeared that learning the content was simply the vehicle for the enrichment of the supportive relationship that really moved the adults forward. The relationship seemed especially important for Hispanic adults who had no or little prior formal education.

It seems that encouraging Hispanic adults to take more formal English classes needs to be tempered with a clearer understanding of the adult's own level of confidence, and the individual's position on the journey toward post-traumatic growth. Encouraging individuals who are still struggling with both those internal factors to formal education too early, may simply emphasize their inability to be successful in the classroom.

Recommendations

There are several recommendations that arose based on the findings from this study. They include:

- 1) There is a tremendous need to reform and stabilize immigration policy in the United States. Literally millions of individuals who have lived here for most of their lives deal with the constant anxiety of potential separation and removal. This concern is present, even when the Hispanic adult is a legal permanent resident,

and has lived in the United States for many years. If 77% of the American's polled by Pew Research support a pathway for legalization, the time has come to find the political will to legislate a stable, clear immigration policy that affirms the lives of individuals who have lived and worked in our communities. It also questions the effect of a policy that would freeze an individual's forward movement at legal permanent resident.

- 2) Given the need to shore up the adult's self-confidence before major risk-taking behaviors will be successful, there is some support for the development of intermediate learning experiences to help Hispanic adults who are building confidence but are not ready to enter the community college for classes. Such learning experiences may offer a "half-step"—with fewer grade requirements, and in less school-like locations, but which do edge closer to the official requirements adult learners will need to meet in ABE and ELS courses. This gives more time to cement both newly acquired self-efficacy, and habits of study needed to succeed. Some nontraditional pathway to education credentials may reduce the high drop-out rate demonstrated by the adult learner population. Findings from this study indicate that pre and post migration trauma still shapes behavior for many of these individuals, and the extra concerns heightened by the presence of law enforcement and other officials in the community college may cause unnecessary difficulties to the Hispanic adults who would attend. A different venue suggests it

would be possible for the adult learners to bring their children to the classes once again.

- 3) It is necessary to replicate this study with more Hispanic adults in other locations to determine if the themes found here hold for other samples. This is one study in a specific location, with a small number of respondents.

Chapter Summary

This chapter began with a summary of the study methodology, followed by a synopsis of the findings derived from 13 in-depth interviews, two focus groups, and researcher notes and observations.

Five conclusions were listed. Three correspond to the research questions that guided the study. The first--respondents personal factors carried the most influence in the decision – making process of Hispanic adults in the study—highlighted the fact that a struggle with confidence, and possibly migration trauma, are counterbalanced by a persistent push toward goals. The second conclusion affirmed the importance of the supportive environment in the citizenship class. It encourages adult learners to find and try out their voices as well as learn necessary content to prepare them for the citizenship test. The third conclusion states that the findings emphasize the changes experienced by Hispanic adults after they have become citizens. An articulated gain in a sense of security, confidence and belonging changes their lives in many ways. They are more likely to attend other classes, earn their GED, and universally they are thrilled about voting. The fourth is a more general conclusion that posits that the lack of clarity in the immigration policy of the United States makes worse the already

difficult, sometimes painful experiences of Hispanic adults who are working to become citizens. The fifth conclusion is that the study generally supports the decision tree model offered.

Recommendations for the study are as follows: There is a tremendous need to reform and stabilize immigration policy in the United States. Current policy exacerbates the anxiety and fear experienced by Hispanic adults. Courses that offer a half step for adult learners would make it possible to experience greater success and gain confidence, increasing the chances that attendance in ABE and ESL courses would stabilize when confident adults choose to attend them. Non-formal citizenship classes would be more accessible to Hispanic adults if they were located where children could accompany adults and fears were not triggered by proximity to law enforcement. There is a need for further research to determine if Hispanic adults in other locations had similar perspectives.

REFERENCES

- Aguirre, B. E., & Saenz, R. (2002). Testing the effects of collectively expected durations of migration: The naturalization of Mexicans and Cubans. *International Migration Review, 36*(1), 103-124. doi:10.1111/j.1747-7379.2002.tb00073.x
- Ajzen, I. (1991). The theory of planned behavior. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes, 50*, 179-211. doi:10.1016/0749-5978(91)90020-T
- Ajzen, I. (2006). Perceived behavioral control, self-efficacy, locus of control and the theory of planned behavior. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 32*, 665-683. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.2002.tb00236.x
- Ajzen, I. (2011). The theory of planned behavior. In P. A. M. Van Lange, A. W. Kruglanski, & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Handbook of theories of social psychology* (Vol. I, pp. 439-460). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. doi:10.4135/978-1-4462-4921-5.n21
- Ajzen, I., & Fishbein, M. (1980). *Understanding attitudes and predicting social behavior*. Englewood-Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Almberg, A. T. (2011). *Hispanic parents and teachers perceptions about literacy: Finding common ground* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Northern Illinois University, DeKalb.
- Armitage, C. J., & Connor, M. (2001). Efficacy of the theory of planned behavior: A meta-analytic review. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 40*, 471-499.

- Bach, H. (2007). Composing a visual narrative inquiry. In D.J. Clandinin (Ed.), *Handbook of narrative inquiry: Mapping a methodology* (pp. 280-307). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
doi:10.4135/9781452226552
- Baker, S.G., & Espitia, M. (2000). From Latin American immigrant to “Hispanic” citizen: The role of social capital in becoming a U.S. citizen. *Social Science Quarterly*, 81(4), 1053-1063.
- Balisteri, K.S., & Van Hook, J. (2004). The more things change the more they stay the same: Mexican naturalization before and after welfare reform. *International Migration Review*, 38, 113-130. doi.org/10.1111/j.1747-7379.2004.tb00190.x
- Bandura, A. (1977). Self-efficacy: Toward a unifying theory of behavioral change. *Psychological Review*, 84, 191-215. doi:10.1037//0033-295X.84.2.191
- Bandura, A. (1982). Self-efficacy mechanism in human agency. *American Psychologist*, 37, 122-147. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.37.2.122
- Bandura, A. (1991). Human agency: The rhetoric and the reality. *American Psychologist*, 46, 157-162. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.46.2.157
- Banks, J. A., & McGee Banks, C. A. (Eds.). (2004). *Handbook of research on multicultural education* (2nd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Batalova, J. (2009). Spotlight on naturalization trends. *Migration Information Source*.
Retrieved from [www. Migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?id=737#8](http://www.Migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?id=737#8)
- Belenky, M. F., Clinchy, B. M., Goldberger, N. R., & Tarule, J. M. (1997). *Women’s ways of knowing*. New York: Basic Books.

- Bell, D. A. (2009). Who's afraid of critical race theory? In E. Taylor, D. Gillborn, & G. Ladson-Billings (Eds.), *Foundations of critical race theory in education* (pp. 37-50). New York: Routledge.
- Berg, J.A. (2009). White public opinion toward undocumented immigrants: Threat and interpersonal environment. *Sociological Perspectives*, 52(1), 39-58.
- Bigelow, M., & Lovrien Schwarz, R. (2010). *Adult English language learners with limited literacy*. Washington, DC: National Institute for Literacy. Retrieved from <http://lincs.ed.gov/publications/pdf/ELLpaper2010.pdf>
- Bigelow, M., & Non-formal, R. (2010). *Adult English language learners with limited literacy*. Washington, D.C.: National Institute for Literacy.
- Bodovski, K., & Farkas, G. (2008). "Concerted cultivation" and unequal achievement in elementary school. *Social Science Research*, 37, 903-919.
doi:10.1016/j.ssresearch.2008.02.007
- Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (2007). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods* (5th ed). Boston: Pearson.
- Bott, E. (2010). Favourites and others: Reflexivity and the shaping of subjectivities and data in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, 10, 159-173.
doi:10.1177/1468794109356736
- Bracken, D. (July 30, 2011). Plant closing stuns Siler City, Mocksville. Retrieved from <http://www.newsobserver.com/2011/07/30/1378570/plant-closing-stuns-siler-city.html>

- Brennan, B. (1997). Reconceptualizing non-formal education. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 16, 185-200. doi.org/10.1080/0260137970160303
- Briere, J.N. & Scott, C. (2006) *Principles of trauma therapy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Brodsky, A.E. (2008). Field notes. In L.M. Given (Ed.). *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research* (pp. 342-344). doi: 10.4135/9781412963909.n172
- Buttaro, L. (2001). Understanding adult ESL learners: Multiple dimensions of learning and adjustments among Hispanic women. *Adult Basic Education*, 11(1), 40-61.
- Cabell, M.G. (2007). *Mexican immigrant integration in the U.S. Southeast: Institutional approaches to immigrant integration in Owensboro, Kentucky*. (Working Paper No. 153). Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies and Center for Comparative Immigration Studies, University of California-San Diego. Retrieved from <http://www.ccis-ucsd.org/PUBLICATIONS/wrkg153.pdf>
- California Postsecondary Education Commission. (2008). *Public higher education performance accountability framework report: Goal-student preparation, measure-adult basic skill proficiency levels*. (Report No. 08-05). Sacramento, CA: California Postsecondary Education Commission. Retrieved from <http://www.cpec.ca.gov/completereports/2008reports/08-05.pdf>
- Camarota, S.A. (2001). *Immigration from Mexico: Assessing the impact on the United States*. Washington, DC: Center for Immigration Studies. Retrieved from <http://www.cis.org/articles/2001/mexico/mexico.pdf>

- Carhill, A., Suárez-Orozco, C., & Páez, M. (2008). Explaining English language proficiency among adolescent immigrant students. *American Educational Research Journal*, 45, 1155-1179. doi:10.3102/0002831208321443
- Cassell, M.A. (2011). *Third age adult English language learners in nonformal library settings*. (Unpublished thesis manuscript). Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, FL.
- Census Quick Facts. (2013). *Siler City, North Carolina*. Retrieved from <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/37/3761860.html>
- Chase, S.E. (2011). Narrative inquiry: Still a field in the making. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research* (4th ed., pp. 1-20). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Chatham County Literacy Council. (2012). <http://chathamliteracy.org/home.html>.
- Chavez, L.R. (2008). *The Latino threat: Constructing immigrants, citizens and the nation*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Cheon, J., Lee, S., Crooks, S. M., & Song, J. (2012). An investigation of mobile learning readiness in higher education based on the theory of planned behavior. *Computers and Education*, 59, 1054-1064. doi:10.1016/j.compedu.2012.04.015
- Choi, J. N. (2012). Context and creativity: The theory of planned behavior as an alternative mechanism. *Society for Personality Research*, 40, 681-692. doi:10.2224/spb.2012.40.4.681

Chu, T., Keller, A.S., & Rasmussen, A. (2012). Effects of post-migration factors on PTSD outcomes among immigrant survivors of political violence. *Journal of Immigrant and Minority Health, 15*, 890-897. doi:10.1007/s10903-012-9696-1

Citizenship through naturalization. (2011). U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services.

Retrieved from

<http://www.uscis.gov/portal/site/uscis/menuitem.eb1d4c2a3e5b9ac89243c6a7543f6d1a/?vgnextoid=d84d6811264a3210VgnVCM100000b92ca60aRCRD&vgnnextchannel=d84d6811264a3210VgnVCM100000b92ca60aRCRD>

Clark, M.C., & Wilson, A.L. (1991). Context and rationality in Mezirow's theory of transformative learning. *Adult Education Quarterly, 41*(2), 75-91. doi: 10.1177/0001848191041002002

Cohen, R.K. (2007). *PRWORA's immigrant provisions*. (Report No. 2007-R-0705). OLR Research Report. Retrieved from <http://www.cga.ct.gov/2007/rpt/2007-R-0705.htm>

Cook, K., & Buck, G. (2010). Photovoice: A community-based socioscientific pedagogical tool. *Science Scope, 33*(7), 35-39. Retrieved from <http://www.nsta.org/middleschool/>

Corcoran, M.P. (1993). *Irish illegals: Transients between two societies*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Creswell, J.W. (2007). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (2nd ed.). Los Angeles: Sage.

Creswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches*. Los Angeles: Sage.

- Curtis, S., Gesler, W., Smith, G., & Washburn, S. (2000). Approaches to sampling and case selection in qualitative research: Examples in the geography of health. *Social Science and Medicine*, 50, 1001-1014.
- Darder, A., & Torres, R. D. (2004). *After race: Racism after multiculturalism*. New York: New York University Press.
- Davilla, E. R., & Aviles de Bradley, A. (2010). Examining education for Latinas/os in Chicago: A CRT/LatCrit approach. *Educational Foundations*, 24(1-2), 39-58.
- De Genova, N. (2006). The legal production of Mexican/migrant “illegality.” In S. Oboler (Ed.), *Latinos and citizenship: The dilemma of belonging* (pp. 61-90). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. New York: New York University Press.
- Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S. (2011). Introduction: The discipline and practice of qualitative research. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.). *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (4th ed., pp. 1-20). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Department of Homeland Security. (n.d.). *Definition of terms*. Retrieved from <http://www.dhs.gov/definition-terms>
- Desilver, D. (1/27/14). State of the union 2014: Where Americans stand on key issues. *Pew Research Trust*. Retrieved from www.pewresearch.org/facttank/2014/01/27/state-of-the-union-2014-where-americans-stand-on-key-issue/

Digest for Education Statistics. (2011). National Center for Education Statistics. Retrieved from http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d11/tables/dt11_439.asp?referrer=list

Dimock, M., Doherty, C., & Kiley, J. (June, 2013). "Borders first": A dividing line in immigration debate. *Pew Research Center for the People and the Press*. Retrieved from <http://www.people-press.org/files/legacy-pdf/6-23-13%20Immigration%20Release%20Final.pdf>

Driver, J. (2011). Rethinking the interest convergence thesis. *Northwestern University Law Review*, 105(1), 149-197.

Emanuel, R., & Gutierrez, L.V. (4/3/13). Priced out of citizenship. *New York Times*. Retrieved from www.nytimes.com/2013/04/04/opinion/peixws-out-od-xiriwnahip.html_r=0

Espitia, M. (2003). *Latin American immigrants and the naturalization process*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest, UMI Dissertations Publishing. (#3120291)

Etling, A. (1993). What is non-formal education? *Journal of Agricultural Education*, 34, 72-76. doi:10.5032/jae.1993.04072

Felix, A. (2008). New Americans or diasporic nationalists: Mexican migrant responses to naturalization and implications for political participation. *American Quarterly*, 60, 601-624. doi:10.1353/aq0.0036

Fernández, L. (2002). Telling stories about school: Using critical race and Latino critical theories to document Latina/Latino education and resistance. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8, 45-65. doi:10.1177/1077800402800104

- Filindra, A. (2013). Immigrant social policy in the American states: Race politics and state TANF and Medicaid eligibility rules for legal permanent residents. *State Politics and Policy Quarterly*, 13(1), 26-48. doi:10.1177/1532440012454664
- Fortuna, L.F., Porsche, M.V., & Alegria, M. (2008). Political violence, psychosocial trauma and the context of mental health services among immigrant Latinos in the United States. *Ethnicity and Health*, 13, 435-463. doi:10.1080/13557850701837286
- Franklin, C., & Ballan, M. (2008). Reliability and validity in qualitative research. In B.A. Thyer (Ed.), *The handbook of social work research methods*, (pp. 273-292). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Freire, P. (1970) *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Herder and Herder.
- Freire, P. (1990). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Gadotti, M. (1994). *Reading Paulo Freire: His life and work*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Garcia, C.T. (2009). *Nuestras voces resisten: Experiences of Chicanas/Latinas in the Pacific Northwest* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Washington State University, Location needed.
- George, M., (2012). Migration traumatic experiences and refugee distress: Implications for social work practice. *Clinical Social Work*, 40, 429-437. doi:10.1007/s10615-012-0397-y
- Grbich, C. (2004). *New approaches in social sciences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Gillborn, D. (2009). Education policy as an act of white supremacy: Whiteness, critical race theory, and education reform. In E. Taylor, D. Gillborn, & G. Ladson-Billings (Eds.), *Foundations of critical race theory in education* (pp. 51-72). New York: Routledge.
- Graff, H.J. (2010) The literacy myth at thirty. *Journal of Social History*, 43, 635-663.
doi:10.1353/jsh.0.0316
- Griswold, O.V. (2011). The English you need to know: Language ideology in a citizenship classroom. *Linguistics & Education*, 22, 406-418. doi.10.1016/j.linged.2011.08.001
- Guarino, K., Soares, P., Konnath, K., Clervil, R., & Bassuk, E. (2009). Trauma-informed organizational toolkit. Rockville, MD: Center for Mental Health Services, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, and Daniels Fund, and National Child Traumatic Stress Network. Retrieved from www.homeless.samhsa.gov
- Guidebook for planning education in emergencies and reconstruction. (2010). UNESCO.
Retrieved from
http://www.iiep.unesco.org/fileadmin/user_upload/Cap_Dev_Technical_Assistance/pdf/Guidebook/Guidebook.pdf
- Guzmán, B. (2001). *The Hispanic population: Census brief*. (Report # C2KBR/01-3).
Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/prod/2001pubs/c2kbr01-3.pdf>
- Hannay, UJ., Dudley, R., Milan, S., & Lubovitz, P.K. (2013). Combining photovoice and focus groups: Engaging Latina teens in community assessment. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 44, S215-S224. doi:org/10.1016/j.amepre.R012.11.011

- Harman, D. (1976). Education and development. *New Directions for Higher Education*, 14, 7-20.
- Hernandez-Truyol, B., Harris, A., & Valdez, F. (2006). Beyond the first decade: A forward-looking history of LatCrit theory, community and praxis. *Berkeley La Raza Law Journal*, 17, 169-216.
- Huber, L.P. (2010). *Sueños indocumentados: Using LatCrit to explore the testimonies of undocumented and U.S. born Chicana college students on discourses of racist nativism in education* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of California, Los Angeles.
- Immigration and Customs Enforcement. (n.d.). Fact sheet: Delegation of immigration authority. Retrieved from www.ice.gov/news/library/factsheets/287g.htm.
- Immigration Reform Update. (2000). *Civil Rights Monitor*, 11(3). Retrieved from www.civilrights.org/monitor/vol11_no3/art7p1.html
- Jackson, G. (2011). Thousands of children stuck in foster care after parents deported, report finds. *American Immigration Council/ Immigration Impact*. Retrieved from <http://immigrationimpact.com/2011/11/04/thousands-of-children-stuck-in-foster-care-after-parents-deported-report-finds/>
- Jenkins, V. (January 16, 2013). Program grants temporary visas to Latino students. *Latino Times*. Retrieved from <http://latinotimes.com/latinos/42852-program-grants-temporary-visas-to-latino-students.html>

- Jeria, J. (1999). The quest for visibility in adult education: The Hispanic experience. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, 82, 49-65.
- Joffe-Block, J. (2013, January 2). New immigration policy aims to limit family separation. *KPBS*. A product of San Diego State University. Retrieved from <http://www.kpbs.org/news/2013/jan/02/new-immigration-policy-aims-limit-family-separatio/>
- Johnson-Webb, K.D. (2002). Employer recruitment and Hispanic labor migration: North Carolina urban areas at the end of the millennium. *The Professional Geographer*, 54, 406-421. doi:10.1111/0033-0124.00339
- Jones, G., & Ramchand, D. (2013). Education and human capital development in the giants of Asia. *Asian Pacific Economic Literature*, 27(1), 40-61. doi:10.1111/apel.12002
- Joseph, S., Murphy, D., & Regel, S. (2012). An affective-cognitive processing model of post-traumatic growth. *Clinical Psychology and Psychotherapy*, 19, 316-325. doi:10.1002/cpp.1798
- Keene, C. (11/01/12). How can I build my program's capacity to provide trauma-informed services. *Violence Against Women News Blog*. Retrieved from <http://www.vawnet.org/news/2012/11/trauma-informed-services/>
- Kirk, J., & Miller, M.L. (1985). *Reliability and validity in qualitative research*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Kitchenham, A. (2008). The evolution of John Mezirow's transformative learning theory. *Journal of Transformative Education*, 6, 104-123. doi: 10.1177/1541344608322678

- Ladson-Billings, G. (1998). Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a *nice* field like education. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 11(1), 7-24.
- Laglagaron, L., & Devani, B. (2008). High stakes, more meaning: An overview of the process of redesigning the U.S. citizenship test. *Immigration Backgrounder*, (#6). Retrieved from http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/BR6_NatzTest_092908.pdf
- Larrotta, C., & Yamamura, E. (2011). A community cultural wealth approach to Latina/Latino parent involvement: The promise of family literacy. *Adult Basic Education and Literacy Journal*, 5(2), 74-83.
- Lawrenson, L. A. (2008). *Hispanic community college student empowerment: Developmental English participants describe their educational experiences* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Oregon, Eugene
- Levers, L.L., & Hyatt-Burkhart, D. (2012). Immigration reform and the potential for psychosocial trauma: The missing link of lived human experience. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 12(1), 68-77. doi:10.1111/j.1530-2415.2011.01254.x
- Lewis, R.B. (1971). Educational participation of low SES adults. *Journal of Extension*, 9(3), 24-30.
- Lichtman, M. (2010). *Qualitative research in education: A user's guide* (2nd ed.). Los Angeles: Sage.
- Lionbridge. (2012). What's the difference between interpretation and translation? Retrieved from <http://blog.lionbridge.com/travel-hospitality/files/2012/07/Lionbridge-FAQ-Interp-vs-Translation.pdf>

- Long, T., & Johnson, M. (2000). Rigour, reliability and validity in qualitative research. *Clinical Effectiveness in Nursing, 4*, 30-37.
- Lopez, M. H., Morin, R., & Taylor, P. (2010). *Illegal immigration backlash worries, divides Latinos*. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center.
- Ludwig, K., Imberti, P., Rodriquez, R., & Torrens, A. (2006). Healing trauma and loss through a community-based multi-family group with Latino immigrants. *Social Work with Groups, 29*(4), 45-59. doi:10.1300/J009v29no04_04
- MacLeod, A.K., Coates, E., & Hetherington, J. (2007). Increasing well-being through teaching goal-setting and planning skills: Results of a brief intervention, *Journal of Happiness Studies: An Interdisciplinary Forum on Subjective Well-being*. doi: 10.1007/s10902-007-9057-2 Retrieved from
file:///N:/my%20work%20on%20dissertation/proposal%202012/2014%20dissertation/MacLeod%20goal%20setting%20increases%20well%20being.htm
- Manstead, A.S.R. (2011). The benefits of a critical stance: A reflection on past papers on the theories of reasoned action and planned behavior. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 50*, 366-373. doi:10.1111/j.2044-8309.2011.02043.x
- Masci, D. (2000) Debate over immigration. *CQ Researcher, 10* (25), 569-592.
- Merriam, S. B., Caffarella, R. S., & Baumgartner, L. M. (2007). *Learning in adulthood: A comprehensive guide* (3rd ed.). San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Meyer, H., & Kroeger, S. (2005). Photovoice as an educational action research tool. *Qualitative Research Journal, 5*(2), 185-194.

- Mezirow, J. (1991). Transformative theory and cultural context: A reply to Clark and Wilson. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 41, 188-192. doi:10.1177/0001848191041003004
- Mezirow, J. (1997). Transformative learning: Theory to practice. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, 74, 5-12. doi:10.1002/ace.7401
- Mezirow, J. (2000). Learning to think like an adult: Core concepts of transformational theory. In J. Mezirow (Ed.), *Learning as transformation. critical perspectives on a theory in progress* (pp 3-33). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Mezirow, J. (2006). An overview of transformative learning. In P. Sutherland & J. Crowther (Eds.) *Lifelong learning: Concepts and contexts*. New York: Routledge.
- Miles M.B., & Huberman, A.M. (1994). *Qualitative data analyses: An expanded sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Milner, H.R. (2007). Race, culture, and researcher positionality: Working through dangers seen, unseen, and unforeseen. *Educational Researcher*, 36(7), 388-400.
- Moffett, D. (2011). *Immigration issues*. About.com. Retrieved from immigration.about.com/b/2011/10/20/u-s-government-deportations-hit-record-levels.htm
- Moffett, D. (2012). *Deportation shows big decline since change in federal policy*. About.com Retrieved from immigration.about.com/b/2012/02/13/deportation-orders-show-historic-decline-in-recent-months-htm
- Monkman, K. (1999). Transnational migration and learning processes of Mexican adults constructing lives in California. *International Journal of Education*, 19, 367-382.

- NC Community Colleges: Creating Success. (2012). *Adult basic education*. Retrieved from http://www.nccommunitycolleges.edu/basic_skills/adultBasicEducation.htm
- Nelson, J., & Gould, J. (2005). Hidden in the mirror: A reflective conversation about research within marginalized communities. *Reflective Practice*, 6, 327-339.
doi:10.1080/14623940500220020
- NRS FastFacts. (2009). U.S. Department of Education, Institutes for Research. Retrieved from http://www.nrsweb.org/reports/fast_facts.aspx
- NRS FastFacts. (2012). U.S. Department of Education, Institutes for Research. Retrieved from www.nrs@air.org
- Obama's new immigration policy explained: 7 key facts. (2012, June 15). *The Daily Beast*. Retrieved from <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2012/06/15/obama-s-new-immigration-policy-explained-7-key-facts.html>
- Office of Vocational and Adult Education. (2012). *Enrollment and participation in state administered adult education program*. Retrieved from <http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ovae/pi/AdultEd/aedatatables.html>
- Pachon, H.P. (1987). An overview of citizenship in the Hispanic community. *International Migration Review*, 21, 299-310. doi:10.2307/2546317
- Passel, J. (2007). *Growing share of immigrants choosing naturalization*. Pew Hispanic Trust. Retrieved from <http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/reports/74.pdf>
- Passel, J., & Taylor, P. (2009). *Who's Hispanic?* Pew Research Center. Retrieved from www.pewhispanic.org/2009/05/28/whos_hispanic/

- Passel, J., Cohn, D., & Gonzales-Barrera, A. (2012). *New migration from Mexico falls to zero—and perhaps less*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center.
- Patton, M.Q. (1997). *Utilization-focused evaluation: The new century text* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Peace Corps, Center for Field Assistance and Applied Research. (2004). *Education manual*. (Information Collection & Exchange Publication # M0042). Retrieved from http://files.peacecorps.gov/multimedia/pdf/library/M0042_nfmanual1.pdf
- Pickett, L.L., Ginsburg, H.J., Mendez, R.V., Lim, D.E., Blankenship, K.R., Foster, L.E., ... Mendez, R.V. (2012). Ajzen's theory of planned behavior as it relates to eating disorders and body satisfaction. *North American Journal of Psychology*, 14(2), 339-354.
- Pickus, N., & Skerry, P. (2007). Good neighbors and good citizens: Beyond the legal-illegal immigration debate. In C. Swain (Ed.), *Debating immigration* (pp. 95-113). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Pinnegar, S., & Daynes, J.G. (2007). Locating narrative inquiry historically: Thematics in the turn to narrative. In D.J. Clandinin (Ed.), *Handbook of narrative inquiry: Mapping a methodology* (pp. 3-34). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Portes, A., & Curtis, J.W. (1987). Changing flags: Naturalization and its determinants among Mexican immigrants. *International Migration Review*, 21(2), 352-371. Retrieved from JSTOR.

- Prengman, P. (2007, June 14). Univision urges Hispanics to seek citizenship, increase Hispanic voting power. *Associated Press*. Retrieved from <http://legacy.utsandiego.com/news/nation/20070614-1458-univision-citizenshipcampaign.html>
- Prochaska, J. O., & Norcross, J. (2001). Stages of change. *Psychotherapy*, 38, 443-448. doi.org/10.1037/0033-3204.38.4.443
- Prospero, M., Russell, A. C., & Vohra-Gupta, S. (2012). Effects of motivation on educational attainment: Ethnic and developmental differences among first-generational students, *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 11(1), 100-119.
- Public Higher Education Performance Accountability Framework Report. (2008). *California post secondary education commission report 08-05*. Retrieved from ERIC http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/search/detailmini.jsp?_nfpb=true&_ERICExtSearch_SearchValue_0=ED501472&ERICExtSearch_SearchType_0=no&accno=ED501472
- Ramírez, R.A. (2011). *Chicanas/os and Latinas/os crossing institutional fronteras: Critical race stories along the college transfer pipeline at a Sacramento Valley Community College*, (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of California at Davis, Davis, CA.
- Richardson, J. (1/22/2013). U.S. Justice Department versus Alameda County Sheriff Terry Johnson: Investigation to the present. *Campbell Law Observer*. Retrieved from

- <http://campbelllawobserver.com/2013/01/u-s-justice-department-versus-alamance-county-sheriff-terry-johnson-investigation-to-the-present/>
- Rierson, S.L. (2006). *"I was born here but I'm not an American": Understanding the U.S. history curriculum through the eyes of Latino students*. (Unpublished dissertation manuscript). The Ohio State University, Columbus. Ohio.
- Riessman, C. K. (2008). *Narrative methods for the human sciences*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Robson, C. (2003). *Real world research: A resource for social scientists and practitioner-researchers* (2nd ed.) Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing
- Roithmayr, D. (1999). Introduction to critical race theory in educational research and praxis. In L. Parker, D. Deyhle, & S. Villenas (Eds.), *Race is...race isn't: Critical race theory and qualitative studies in education* (pp. 1-6). Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.
- Rolls, L., & Relf, M. (2006). Bracketing interviews: Addressing methodological challenges in qualitative interviewing in bereavement and palliative care. *Mortality, 11*, 286-305. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13576270600774893>
- Rosal, M.D., Goins, K.V., Carbone, E.T., & Cortes, D.E. (2004). Views and preferences of low-literate Hispanics regarding diabetes education: Results of formative research. *Health Education & Behavior, 31*, 388-405. doi:10.1177/1090198104263360
- Rosenfeld, L.B., Caye, J.S., Lahad, M., & Gurwitch, R.H. (2010). *When their world falls apart: Helping families and children manage the effects of disasters*, (2nd ed.). Washington, DC: NASW Press.

- Rossi, P.H., Lipsey, M.W., & Freeman, H.E. (2004). *Evaluation: A systematic approach* (7th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ruiz, M. (1995). B. F. Skinner's radical behaviorism: Historical misconstructions and grounds for feminist reconstructions. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 19, 161-179.
- Rytina, N. F., & Caldera, S. (2008). *Naturalizations in the United States: 2007* (Annual Flow Report). Retrieved from Department of Homeland Security website:
http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/natz_fr_07.pdf
- Rytina, N. F., & Saeger, C. (2005). *Naturalizations in the United States: 2004* (Annual Flow Report). Retrieved from Department of Homeland Security website:
<http://www.dhs.gov/xlibrary/assets/statistics/publications/NaturalizationFlowReport2004.pdf>
- Saenz, V.B., & Ponjuan, L. (2009). The vanishing Latino male in higher education. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 8, 54-89. doi:10.1177/1538192708326995
- Santos, M. (2004). The motivation of first-semester Hispanic two-year college students. *Community College Review*, 32, 18-34. doi:10.1177/009155210403200302
- Sarver, V. T. (1983). Ajzen and Fishbein's "theory of reasoned action": A critical assessment. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behavior*, 13(2), 155-163.
- Sayler, M. (2009). Locus of control. In B. Kerr (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of giftedness, creativity, and talent* (pp. 541-543). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
doi:10.4135/9781412971959.n234

- Schalge, S.L., & Soga, K. (2008). "Then I can stop coming to school": Understanding absenteeism in an adult English as a second language program. *Adult Basic Education and Literacy Journal*, 2(3), 151-161.
- Schwartz, L., Sable, M., Dannerbeck, A., & Campbell, J. (2007) Using Photovoice to improve family planning services for immigrant Hispanics. *Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved* 18, 757-766. doi:10.1353/hpu.2007.0107
- Schunk, D.H. (1985). Participation in goal setting: Effects on self-efficacy and skills of learning in disabled children. *The Journal of Special Education*, 19, 307-317. doi:10.1177/002246698501900307
- Siler City Economic Development: Business Strategy. (2011). Valdese economic development strategy. Retrieved from http://www.silercity.org/vertical/Sites/%7B3856B9B8-1C42-483B-A4CB-C0D6B1FE7142%7D/uploads/Business_-_Bridges_and_Seeds_Community_Garden_and_Microfinance_Garden.pdf
- Siler City Employment Information. (2010). *Area vibes*. Retrieved from <http://www.areavibes.com/siler+city-nc/employment/>
- Silverman, D. (2006). *Interpreting qualitative data: Methods for analyzing talk, text, and interaction*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage
- Simon, M.C. (2011). *Dissertation & scholarly research: Recipes for success*. Seattle, WA: Dissertation Success, LLC. Retrieved from <http://dissertationrecipies.com/>

- Snow, M. M. (2007). Improving morale through Photovoice technology. *Nursing Management, 38*, 50-52. doi:10.1097/01.NUMA.0000295550.16298.1f
- Solorzano, D. G., & Delgado Bernal, D. (2001). Examining transformational resistance through a critical race and LatCrit theory framework: Chicana and Chicano students in an urban context. *Urban Education, 36*, 308-342. doi:10.1177/0042085901363002
- Solorzano D. G., & Yosso T. J., (2004). Critical race and LatCrit theory and method: Counter-storytelling. *Qualitative Studies in Education, 14*, 471-495.
doi:10.1080/09518390110063365
- Squires, A. (2009). Methodological challenges in cross-language qualitative research: A research review. *International Journal of Nursing Studies, 46*, 277-287.
doi:10.1016/j.ijnurstu.2008.08.006
- Strack, R. W., McGill, C., & McDonagh, K. (2004). Engaging youth through Photovoice. *Health Promotion Practice, 5*, 49-58. doi:10.1177/1524839903258015
- Tartakovsky, E. (2012). Factors affecting immigrants' acculturation intentions: A theoretical model and its assessment among adolescent immigrants from Russia and Ukraine in Israel. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 36*, 83-99.
doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2011.02.003
- Taylor, E.W. (1997). Building upon the theoretical debate: A critical review of the empirical studies of Mezirow's transformative learning theory. *Adult Education Quarterly, 48*, 34-60. doi:10.1177/074171369704800104

- Taylor, E.W. (2005). Teaching beliefs of consumer educators: A perspective of teaching in home improvement retail stores in the United States. *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 29, 448-457. doi:10.1111/j.1470-6431.2005.00462.x
- Taylor, E.W. (2006). Making meaning of local non-formal education: Practitioner's perspective. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 56, 291-307.
doi:10.1177/0741713606289122
- Taylor, E. (2009). The foundations of critical race theory in education: An introduction. In E. Taylor, D. Gillborn, & G. Ladson-Billings (Eds.), *Foundations of critical race theory in education* (pp. 1-13). New York: Routledge.
- Tedeschi, R.G., & Calhoun, L.G., (2004). Posttraumatic growth: Conceptual foundations and empirical evidence. *Psychological Inquiry*, 15(1), 1-18.
- Tennant, M.C. (1993). Perspective transformation and adult development. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 44, 34-42. doi:10.1177/0741713693044044001003
- Turner, de S., & Cox, H. (2004). Facilitating post-traumatic growth. *Health and Quality of Life Outcomes*, 2, 9pp. Retrieved from BioMed Central at
<http://www.hqlo.com/content/2/1/34>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2011). *Census Quick Facts*. Retrieved from
quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/00000.html
- U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (2011). *Citizenship through naturalization*. Retrieved from
<http://www.uscis.gov/portal/site/uscis/menuitem.eb1d4c2a3e5b9ac89243c6a7543f6d>

- 1a/?vgnextoid=d84d6811264a3210VgnVCM100000b92ca60aRCRD&vgnnextchannel=d84d6811264a3210VgnVCM100000b92ca60aRCRD
- U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (2011). *The naturalization test*. Retrieved from <http://www.uscis.gov/portal/site/uscis/menuitem.eb1d4c2a3e5b9ac89243c6a7543f6d1a/?vgnnextchannel=dd7ffe9dd4aa3210VgnVCM100000b92ca60aRCRD&vgnextoid=dd7ffe9dd4aa3210VgnVCM100000b92ca60aRCRD>
- U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services. (n.d.). *Immigration and Nationality Act*. Retrieved from <http://www.uscis.gov/portal/site/uscis/menuitem.eb1d4c2a3e5b9ac89243c6a7543f6d1a/?vgnnextchannel=f3829c7755cb9010VgnVCM10000045f3d6a1RCRD>
- U.S. History: Pre-Columbian to the New Millennium. (2012). *The rush of immigrants*. Retrieved from <http://www.ushistory.org/us/38c.asp>
- U.S. Immigration History. (2012). U.S. Immigration Information. Retrieved from www.rapidimmigration.com/cit_U_S_citizenship_test.html
- United Nation, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. (2009). *International migration 2006: A global assessment* (Report No. No. E.06.XIII.6). New York: United Nations Publication.
- Vallerand, R.J., Deshaies, P.K., Cuerrier, J.P., Pelletier, L.G., & Mongeau, C. (1992). Ajzen and Fishbein's theory of reasoned action as applied to moral behavior: A confirmatory analyses. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 62, 98-109.

- Van Hook, J., Brown S.K., & Bean, F.D. (2006) For love or money: Welfare reform and immigrant naturalization. *Social Forces*, 85, 643-666. doi.org/10.1353/sof.2007.0029
- Vaughn, J.M. (2013). *Deportation numbers unwrapped: Raw statistics reveal the real story of ICE enforcement in decline*. Center for Immigration Studies. Retrieved from cis.org/ICE-Illegal-Immigration-Deportations
- Wadhia, S.S. (2011). Sharing secrets: Examining deferred action and transparency in immigration law. *University of New Hampshire Law Review*, 10, 1-9.
- Walpole, M. (2003). Socioeconomic status and college: How SES effects college experiences and outcomes. *Review of Higher Education*, 27, 45-73. doi:10.1353/rhe.2003.0044
- Wang, V.C.X. (2004). How contextually adapted philosophies and the situational role of adult learning educators affect learners' transformation and emancipation. *Journal of Transformative Education*, 2, 204-214. doi:10.1177/1541344604265105
- Wang, C., & Burris, M.A. (1994). Empowerment by photo novella: Portraits of participation. *Health Education Quarterly*, 21, 171-186. doi:10.1177/109019819402100204
- Wang, C., & Burris, M. A. (1997). Photovoice: Concept, methodology, and use for participatory needs assessment. *Health Education & Behavior*, 24, 369-387. doi:10.1177/109019819702400309
- Wang, V.C.X., & Sarbo, L. (2004). Philosophy, role of adult educators and learning: How contextually adapted philosophies and the situational role of adult educators affect learner's transformation and emancipation. *Journal of Transformative Education*, 2, 204-214. doi:10.1177/1541344604265105

- Warne, M., Snyder, K., Gadin, K.G. (2012). Photovoice: An opportunity and challenge for students' genuine participation. *Health Promotion International*, 28, 299-310.
doi:10.1093/heapro/das011
- Whooley, O. (2006). The political work of narratives: A dialogic analysis of two slave narratives. *Narrative Inquiry*, 16, 295-318. doi:10.1075/ni.16.2.05who
- Winkle-Wagner, R. (2009). Get real: The process of validating research across racial lines. In R. Winkle-Wagner, C. A. Hunter, & D. H. Ortloff (Eds.), *Bridging the gap between theory and practice in educational research: Methods at the margins* (pp. 127-140). New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Wolfinger, N.H. (2002). On writing field notes: Collection strategies and background expectancies. *Qualitative Research*, 2, 85-95. doi:10.1177/1468794102001640
- Yang, P.Q. (1994) Explaining immigrant naturalization. *International Migration Review*, 28(3), 449-477. Retrieved from Academic OneFile.
- Yoo, S.S. (2007). Freirean legacies in popular education. *KEDI Journal of Educational Policy*, 4(2), 73-94. Retrieved from <http://eng.kedi.re.kr>
- Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community. *Race, Ethnicity, and Education*, 8, 69-91.
doi:10.1080/1361332052000341006
- Zimmerman, A.M. (2011). A dream detained: Undocumented Latino youth and the DREAM movement. *NACLA Report on the Americas: Student Movements*. Retrieved from

<http://immigrationintheheartland.files.wordpress.com/2012/04/the-dream-movement.pdf>

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: RECENT IMMIGRATION TIMELINE

- 1956 Border Control program was strengthened under Eisenhower. Focused on illegal immigration across the Southern border of the U.S.
- 1965 Cuban Refugee Airlift
Immigration Act removed national origins quota system, and instituted a system of preferences, highest priority is family reunification. As a result, non-European immigration levels rise
End of the *Bracero* program that allowed Mexican laborers into the country. Program ended due to tremendous pressure to safeguard jobs for Americans, and publicity about deplorable conditions for Mexican workers.
- 1976 Amendment to the Immigration Act. Established a per country ceiling on immigration. Mexico was most affected since it was the only country that consistently went over the established ceiling.
Prohibited children who were U.S. citizens from petitioning for entrance of their parents until they are 21.
- 1980 Refugee Act—passed due to refugees predominantly from Viet Nam and Cuba (Freedom Flotilla). Allowed 10 million permanent immigrants to enter the U.S. legally. Codified asylum status
- 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act. Allowed most undocumented immigrants who had been in the U.S. continuously since 1/1982 to apply for legal status. Prohibited employers from hiring people with documents. Made it a crime to work without immigration authorization
- 1990 Ceiling on total number of immigrants admitted per year was increased.
- 1995 California passes Proposition 187 that prohibited physicians, teachers, and social workers from providing medical care, education, and social services to undocumented immigrants. Found unconstitutional in 1998.
- 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (sometimes called Welfare Reform Act). Ends access to government aid to legal permanent residents.
Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act made it easier to deport undocumented immigrants. Eliminated basic rights of due process to undocumented immigrants.
- 2002 Patriot Act restricted flow of immigrants into the U.S.
- 2007 The DREAM act suggested a pathway to citizenship to undocumented immigrants who were brought here as children, as well as a pathway for other undocumented immigrants to legalization. It was defeated in Congress.
- 2013 President Obama issued an executive order that prohibited deportation for undocumented immigrants who were brought here as children, as long as they registered for ‘deferred action’ status.
So-called “Gang of eight” bi-partisan Congressmen proposed a pathway for current undocumented immigrants to work toward citizenship, while significantly working to cut further undocumented individuals from entering the country.

Immigration Timeline (n.d.) Retrieved from www.unc.edu/~perreira/198timeline.html.

Speigal, J. & McCarthy, E. (n.d.) Immigration and History Workshop: A brief timeline of key events. Retrieved from www.law.yale.edu/documents/lll/Immigration_History_Timeline.doc

U.S. Immigration Timeline. (n.d.) Retrieved from www.pbs.org/itvs/thecity/america_3.html

APPENDIX B: INVITATION FLYER

Have you become a citizen in the last four years?

Did you attend a citizenship class?

Have you lived in the U. S. for 15 years?

We want to talk to you!

- You could be part of a research project on what it means to become a citizen.
- There would be an interview of approximately one hour
- You will receive a \$25 WalMart gift card for participating
- You may have the chance to take some pictures, and talk about them.

If you are interested, please contact

Joanne Caye at 919.962-3598

NC State & UNC

Thank you!

APPENDIX C: TELEPHONE SCRIPT TO ARRANGE FIRST INTERVIEW

Telephone Script: English

Hello, good afternoon. My name is (Research Assistant/ Interpreter), and I am a student at UNC Chapel Hill. I am calling because I am working with Professor Joanne Caye, who is one of the instructors of the citizenship classes at the community college. I am calling you because you are participating or have participated in a citizenship class. Is that correct?

(If they respond No: "Ok, Thank you very much, and I apologize for the inconvenience".)

Yes:

Very well, I am calling because I would like to invite you to participate in a study about citizenship that the teacher Joanne Caye is coordinating. Do you have five minutes for me to explain a little about the study?

(No: Ok, no problem. Would it be better to talk another time? When would be good to call you back?)

Yes:

Very well. I don't want to take much of your time, but basically, this study is about people's beliefs and feelings about citizenship and about the process of obtaining citizenship. We want to better understand people's perspectives about why they decide to obtain or not obtain citizenship after living in the United States for more than 15 years. *We hope that this information will help improve the citizenship classes.*

So, we are looking for about 15 people to participate in the study. The study has two parts. The first part is just to participate in an interview which will last less than one hour. Before the interview, you will sign a consent form. If you participate in this part, you can choose the location where we do the interview, and we would give you a \$25 gift card in for your participation.

After the interview, we would explain a little about the second part of the study, which is a photography project. You will have the chance to decide if you want to continue with the second part.

Do you have questions about the study? Would you be willing to participate in the interview, or do you need more information to make your decision?

(No: Ok, no problem, and thank you for giving me the time to explain it to you. Forgive the inconvenience, and be well.)

Yes: Very well, and thank you. Can we choose a date and location for the interview?

Telephone Script: Español

Hola, buenas tardes. Me llamo XXX, y soy estudiante en la Universidad de Carolina del Norte en Chapel Hill. Estoy llamando porque estoy trabajando con la Profesora Joanne Caye, una de las maestras de las clases de ciudadanía en el colegio comunitario. Le estoy llamando a usted porque usted está participando, o ha participado, un una clase de ciudadanía. ¿Es correcto?

(Si responde que No: Ok, muchas gracias, y disculpe la molestia.)

Sí:

Muy bien, estoy llamando porque quisiera invitarle a participar en un estudio sobre la ciudadanía que está coordinando la maestra Joanne Caye. ¿Tendría usted cinco minutos para que le explique un poco sobre el estudio?

No:

Ok, no hay problema. ¿Sería mejor platicar en otra ocasión? ¿Cuándo sería bueno llamarle de nuevo?)

Sí:

Muy bien. No quiero quitarle mucho tiempo, pero básicamente, este estudio se trata de las creencias y sentimientos de la gente sobre la ciudadanía, y sobre el proceso de obtener la ciudadanía. Queremos entender mejor las perspectivas de la gente sobre por qué deciden obtener o no obtener la ciudadanía después de vivir en los estados unidos por mas de 15 años.

Esperamos que esta información ayude a mejorar las clases de ciudadanía (?)

Entonces, estamos buscando más o menos 15 personas para participar en el estudio. El estudio tiene dos partes. La primera parte es solamente participar en una entrevista que durará menos de una hora. Antes de la entrevista, usted firmaría un formulario de consentimiento. Si participa en esta parte, usted puede escoger el lugar en donde hacer la entrevista, y le regalaríamos una tarjeta de regalo de \$25 por su participación.

Después de la entrevista, le explicaremos un poco sobre la segunda parte del estudio, que es un proyecto de fotografía. Usted tendrá la oportunidad de decidir si quiere seguir con la segunda parte.

¿Usted tiene preguntas sobre el estudio? ¿Usted estaría dispuesto/a a participar en la entrevista, o necesita mas información para hacer su decisión?

(No: Bueno, no hay problema, y gracias por darme el tiempo para explicárselo. Disculpe la molestia, y que le vaya bien.)

Sí: Muy bien, y muchas gracias. ¿Podemos escoger una fecha y un lugar para hacer la entrevista?

APPENDIX D: PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Characteristics necessary to be included in the study

1. What is your country of origin (Mexico, Central, or Latin America)

2. Were you able to attend school in your country of origin?

3. Did you attend school when you came to the United States?

4. What was the last grade you attended in school? (less than high school)

5. Have you ever attended a citizenship preparation class?

6. What is the predominant language spoken in your home?

APPENDIX E: CONSENT FORM FOR FIRST INTERVIEW

Title of the Study: Exploring the Decision-Making Process of Hispanic Adults Learners to Pursue Citizenship in Siler City, North Carolina: A Narrative Analysis Using Photovoice

Principle Investigator: Joanne Caye

Telephone #: 919-962-3598

Email address: jscaye@ncsu.edu

What are some general things you should know about research studies?

You are being asked to take part in a research study. You can choose to be participate this study or you can say no. If you start to be part of the study, you can stop at any time if you want to.

This study is about Hispanic adults who have become citizens within the last four years and who attended a citizenship class (anywhere) at least once. Sometimes people are nervous about taking part in research. This paper will explain what this research is about, and what you will be asked to do.

What is the purpose of the study?

This study asks questions about the decisions you made to become a citizen of the United States. It asks about your beliefs and feelings about citizenship, and why you decided to become a citizen after you lived in the United States for 15 years or more.

Are there any reasons you should not participate in this study?

You have been asked to participate because you are now a citizen and you attended citizenship class at least once.

You should not participate in the study if you are not interested in participating or if you are not currently a citizen of the United States.

How many people will be in the study?

If you choose to participate, you will be one of approximately fifteen (15) to twenty (20) people in the study.

How long will the study last?

If you choose to participate in the first part of the study, there will be one interview that will last about 1.5 hours.

After this interview, you will be asked if you would like to participate in the second part of the study that has to do with taking pictures over the next three weeks and talk about the pictures you took. If you choose to do that you will sign a different consent form.

What will happen if you take part in this study?

You have been contacted because you became a United States citizen within the past four years, and because you attended a citizenship class at least once in the past.

If you decide to participate in the study, you will first learn about the study and give your consent. Then you will be interviewed by two individuals, a researcher and an interpreter. They will ask you about the decision to become a citizen and your beliefs and feelings about citizenship. You can choose to be interviewed in Spanish or English. The interview will last about 1 and a half hours.

If you agree, you will be audiotaped during the interview. This is being done to help the researcher remember the exact words that you say during the interviews. If you do not want the interview to be taped, the researcher or interpreter will take notes during the interview. **If you ever want the tape recorder turned off during the interviews, just let the researcher or interpreter know and they will turn the recorder off.**

The audiotapes will be erased after they are used in the study. If you decide after your interview that you do not want the audiotape or your interview to be used, you will have a chance to make that decision before the study is written.

After the interviews are written, you will be offered the opportunity to read them, or to have them read to you, to make sure that what we wrote is what you remember.

What are the possible benefits from being in this study?

You may benefit by contributing your opinions about the naturalization process to help others understand your experience. It is possible that the knowledge learned from the study could help students who come after you receive better citizenship classes and know what it is like to become a citizen of the United States.

What are the possible risks or discomforts involved from being in this study?

The risks of participating in the study should be very low. It is possible that you may feel uncomfortable talking about some of the topics that come up during the interview. You should report any problems to the researcher. You will never be required to talk about anything that makes you uncomfortable or that you do not want to talk about.

How will your privacy be protected?

Your comments will be used as part of a published research study. The tapes used for the interview, and any notes taken from the interview will not have your name on them, and your name will not be mentioned in the study. Every person interviewed will choose a false name. After the research is complete, and all final reports are in, the tapes will be erased. Paper copies of the interviews will be kept in a locked file cabinet. The researcher and interpreter

will not reveal your name, your personal information or your participation in the study without your permission.

Will you receive anything for being in this study?

You will receive a \$25 gift card after participating in the interview.

Will it cost you anything to be in this study?

There will be no costs for being in this study. Interviews can be conducted in your home, so that you do not have to travel anywhere. If you choose to be interviewed at a different location, the cost of the gas from your home to the chosen location would be a cost.

If you have questions about this study:

Call Joanne Caye who is a doctoral student at North Carolina State University, at 919-962-3598

If you have questions about your rights as a human subject in a research project:

Please contact the IRB board at North Carolina State University at 919-515-2444 (reference study ##) , or at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill at 919-966-3113 (reference study ##).

SIGNATURES

I agree to take part in this study. I have reviewed and understood the information in this paper and have been given a copy of the paper. I had a chance to ask questions about being in this study and have those questions answered. I understand that I can leave the study at any time without consequences.

Subject Name (Printed): _____

Subject Signature: _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX F: CONSENT FORM FOR THE SECOND INTERVIEW

Informed Consent to take pictures and take part in a second interview

Title of the Study: Exploring the Decision-Making Process of Hispanic Adults to Pursue Citizenship in Siler City, North Carolina: A Narrative Analysis Using Photovoice

Principle Investigator: Joanne Caye, doctoral student at NC State University

Telephone #: 919-962-3598

Email address: jscaye@ncsu.edu

What are some general things you should know about research studies?

You are being asked to take part in a research study. You can choose to be participate this study or you can say no. If you start to be part of the study, you can stop at any time if you want to.

This study is about Hispanic adults who have become citizens within the last four years and who were attended a citizenship class anywhere at least once. Sometimes people are nervous about taking part in research. This paper will explain what this research is about, and what you will be asked to do.

What is the purpose of the study?

This study uses photography to ask questions about people's beliefs and feelings about citizenship, and why people decide to become citizens after they have lived in the United States for at least 15 years.

Are there any reasons you should not participate in this study?

You should not participate in the study if you are not currently a citizen of the United States, are not interested in participating or feel uncomfortable with what you are being asked to do.

How many people will be in the study?

If you choose to participate, you will be one of approximately fifteen (15) people in the study.

How long will the study last?

You have already participated in the first interview, which lasted about **1 hour**.

If you decide to participate in the second part of the study, it will take **30 minutes** to get your consent and explain what you will need to do next. The second part of the study is called Photovoice. You will be given two weeks to take photographs, and after that we will meet with you for a second interview to talk about your photographs for about an hour to an hour

and a half. This part of the study will last about **two to three months to meet with all participants**. The total time you will spend in meetings or interviews will be about **3 hours**.

The entire study will last about one year.

What will happen if you take part in this study?

You have been contacted because you have become a United States citizen within the past four years and you have attended at least one citizenship class in the past. If you decide to participate in the study, it will have several parts:

- *Photovoice Training and Consent (about 30 minutes)*: If you decide to continue with the second part of the study, you sign this form to give your consent. You will then receive a camera, instructions for taking photographs, and information about how to take photographs safely and responsibly.
- *Photovoice Project (two weeks)*: You will be asked to take pictures that represent the meaning of citizenship in your every day life; what it took for you to attend class, study the questions, learn English, save for the application fees, and take the exam; and how becoming a citizen has changed your life, if it has.
- *Interview (about 1 and a half hours)*: You will meet a second time with the researcher and interpreter to talk about your photographs. This interview will last no more than one and a half hours.

If you agree, you will be audiotaped during the interview. This is being done to help the researcher remember the exact words that you say during the interviews. If you do not want the interview to be taped, the researcher or interpreter will take notes during the interview. **If you ever want the tape recorder turned off during the interviews, just let the researcher or interpreter know and they will turn off the tape recorder.**

The audiotapes will be erased after they are used in the study. If you decide after your interview that you do not want the audiotape or your interview to be used, you will have a chance to make that decision before the study is written.

After the interviews are written, you will be offered the opportunity to read them, or to have them read to you, to make sure that what we wrote is what you said.

What are the possible benefits from being in this study?

You may benefit by helping others understand your experience. It is possible that the knowledge learned from the study could help students who come after you receive better citizenship classes.

What are the possible risks or discomforts involved from being in this study?

The risks of participating in the study should be very low. You may feel uncomfortable taking pictures, but you may choose when and where to take pictures. You should avoid any situations that would make you feel uncomfortable or unsafe.

If you decide to take photographs of other people, you will have to explain to them that you are participating in a research study and tell them how the photographs will be used. You will also have to ask them to sign a consent form. People may feel uncomfortable having their picture taken or not want to sign the consent form. You are not required to take pictures of people if you do not feel comfortable asking for their consent.

How will your privacy be protected?

Your pictures and comments will be used as part of a published research study. You will be able to decide which photos you want to be included in the study. Your photos, the tapes used for the interview, and any notes taken from the interview will not have your name on them, and your name will not be mentioned in the study. Every person interviewed will choose a false name. After the research is complete, and all final reports are in, the tapes will be erased. Paper copies of the transcripts will be kept in a locked file cabinet. The researcher and interpreter will not reveal your name, your personal information or your participation in the study without your permission.

Will you receive anything for being in this study?

You received a \$25 gift card after participating in the first interview. If you continue with the study and complete the Photovoice process, you will receive a second \$25 gift card after the second interview. You will also receive copies of your photographs.

Will it cost you anything to be in this study?

The major cost for being in this study is the time you spend taking pictures and talking about them. Interviews can be conducted in your home, so that you do not have to travel anywhere. If you choose to be interviewed at a different location, the cost of the gas from your home to the chosen location would be a cost.

If you have questions about this study:

Call Joanne Caye, doctoral student at NC State University, at 919-962-3598

If you have questions about your rights as a human subject in a research project:

Please contact the IRB board at North Carolina State University at 919-515-2444 (reference study #), or at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill at 919-966-3113 (reference study #).

Signatures:

I agree to take part in this study. I have reviewed and understood the information in this

paper and have been given a copy of the paper. I had a chance to ask questions about being in this study and have those questions answered. I understand that I can leave the study at any time without consequences.

Subject Name (Printed): _____

Subject Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher Signature _____ Date: _____

APPENDIX G: SCRIPT FOR TRAINING ALLOWED USE OF CAMERAS

Sample Script:

Part I: OBTAIN CONSENT.

As you know, we are doing a research study. Explain research, consent forms, what we will do in today's meeting. Make sure to explain the purpose of the interview and why we are having you do this.

After going through sections of consent form, obtain consent.

PHOTOVOICE TRAINING.

(References for this part include Wang & Redwood Jones, Photovoice Manual)

Now we are going to go over the Photovoice part of the project.

Photovoice is a type of research that uses photographs to get information. As you might guess from the name, it is about giving people a voice by having them take photos. Instead of just asking questions about what you think, like we did today, you can actually show us something about your life through your own eyes.

Can you think of a situation in which a photo might show something that words could not? We will give you a question and ask you to take photos over the next few weeks to answer the question. Then, we will meet again to talk about your photos and what they mean. That way, we can learn more about the things that we discussed in our interview today, but we can learn about them in a different way. We hope that it will be a fun and interesting experience for you to express yourself and your ideas with photography.

Photovoice projects have been used in a lot of communities, especially to find out how people feel about problems in their communities, and so that they can try to come up with solutions.

The instructions for this project are simple. The question we are asking is "What does citizenship mean to you in your everyday life?". You will take # photographs over the next 3 weeks to answer that question. Then we do a second interview, like the one we did today, but we will talk about the photos and about what we can learn from them about your experience. Just like this time, we will record the interview if you give your permission.

Do you have any questions about how that is going to work?

It is pretty simple, but before we get started, there are some important things we have to go over. We are going to talk about safety, how to get permission from people, and how to take photos.

SAFETY AND ETHICS

Give safety/ethics handouts

First, it is very important that you stay safe during the project, and that we also respect the safety and privacy of other people when we take pictures.

Show Safety Handout.

To make sure to protect your own safety, we ask you not to do anything or go anywhere that would make you feel unsafe. We never want you to put yourself at risk for this project. So, if something makes you uncomfortable, it is better not to do it. Also, never take photos on private property unless you have permission from the owner.

Do you have any questions about how to stay safe?

Another important thing to think about is keeping other people safe. If you decide to take photos of other people, there are some very important things you need to do to make sure that we are showing respect for that person and their privacy.

Show ethics handout.

When you have a camera, you have power. You have power to choose what to show, how to show it, and how to interpret it. Therefore, it is very important to make sure that you are respectful of the people, places and things that you decide to photograph. The most important thing is to DO NO HARM.

(Go through and explain ethics handout)

Have you ever had your picture taken when you did not want it to be taken? Can you think of an example of a time when you might take a photo that someone else would be upset about?

(Do a role play or give some examples of tricky situations and discuss them... ie photographing someone's house, photographing children playing in a park, or photographing someone to show them in a negative light.)

OBTAINING CONSENT

Secondly, if you are ever going to take photos of people, it is VERY important that you obtain their consent before you take the photo. Now we are going to talk about how you obtain consent.

Show consent/assent forms

*TEACH PARTICIPANT TO OBTAIN CONSENT

Are there any questions?

Go over Role plays

APPENDIX H: Parental consent for minors/children as photography subjects

I give permission for

_____, acting on behalf of the UNC study [Exploring the Decisions of Hispanic Adults to Pursue Citizenship in Siler City, NC: A Narrative Analysis Using Photovoice], to take my child's photograph. By signing my name below, I understand that this photograph will be used in a research study concerning citizenship and the naturalization process, and that my photograph may be published in the study. Under no circumstances will researchers reveal my child's name or personal identity in any public presentation of this photograph to the public.

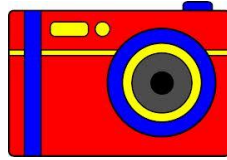
I have read the above and give full authorization for my child's photograph to be taken and to be used for the purposes of the UNC Study.

Parent/Guardian's Signature

Date

APPENDIX I: TIPS FOR TAKING A GOOD PHOTO

TIPS FOR TAKING A GOOD PHOTO



- Stand with the sun or **light BEHIND your body**.
- Hold the camera steadily with both hands.
- Get as close to your subject as possible.
- Make sure you have enough **light**. Use the **flash** if you need to.
- If you take photos at **night**, make sure you are very close to your subject and use a flash.
- Keep your fingers away from the lens of the camera.
- KEEP IT SIMPLE**. Try not to have extra things in the photo that you don't need to be there.
- "COMPOSITION"**: Pay attention to how you arrange the people, objects, and landscapes in your photo. Notice what is in the **background** of your photo, not only your subject. Notice **shapes** and **colors** that appear in your photo.
- "PERSPECTIVE"**: Look at things from different points of view!
- Don't be afraid to **BE CREATIVE** and find your own style!

APPENDIX J: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FIRST INTERVIEW

Participant's Pseudonym: _____

Date: _____

Place: _____

Scheduled time: _____

Start time _____ End time _____

Thank you for your willingness to talk with us. First we'd like to ask you a few questions about your experience of coming to the United States. Remember answer only what you want to answer and if you don't want to talk about something, just say so.

- 1) Tell me about your immigration to the United States?
- 2) What did you understand about coming to this country? (answers may be different depending on the individual's age at immigration)
- 3) What has life been like for you since you came to the U.S.?
 - a) Probe for major events
 - b) Attitudes about being in the U.S.

Now we're going to talk about your decision to become a citizen, what you did about that decision, and what the journey to become a citizen was like.

- 4) When did you first consider citizenship in the U.S.?
 - a) What actions did you take?
 - b) More than one attempt?
 - c) What made you decide to try again?
- 5) What helped you take the step to apply for citizenship?
 - a) What are your beliefs about citizenship?
 - b) What have been the attitudes of significant others
 - c) What external barriers have you faced? (if prompting is needed—costs, time, work schedule, legal regulations, problems with English)
- 6) What was the process like (to achieve citizenship)?
- 7) You attended citizenship class, at least once—what was your perception of the class?
 - a) How did the class effect your decision to become a citizen?
 - b) What did your significant others think about attending the class?
 - c) What barriers did you have to deal with when attending the class?
 - d) What supports did you have that allowed you to take the class?
 - e) Teachers w/o fluent Spanish—what effect did that have?
- 8) What was the exam like?
- 9) How did taking the class affect your ability to take the test?
- 10) Before you took your exam, how did speaking to people who had already taken the test affect your confidence?

We are almost finished with the questions. Now I'd like to ask a few questions about your life since you have become a citizen.

- 11) What if anything about your everyday life has changed since you became a citizen?
- 12) What kind of reactions have you gotten from others in your life since you became a citizen?
- 13) How do you think about yourself any differently since you have become a citizen?
- 14) How did becoming a citizen change any of your dreams and plans for the future?
- 15) What would you say is the most important aspect of becoming a citizen for you?

APPENDIX K: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SECOND INTERVIEW

Participant's Pseudonym: _____

Date: _____

Place: _____

Scheduled time: _____

Start time _____ End time _____

After pictures from the camera are developed, a second interview is scheduled with the photographer.

Thank you for both taking some pictures and for agreeing to meet with us to talk about them. We'd like to ask you to look through the pictures and choose the ones that are most meaningful for you.

1. Tell us about this picture. (allow for free narrative, but be sure we have the following information:
 - a. Context of the picture
 - b. Who/what/where (consents given for people?)
 - c. What is it about this picture connects with citizenship for you?
 - d. What feelings does this picture bring up for you?
 - e. What makes this picture important for you?
 - f. Do you associate this picture with any other special events or memories in your life?

Go through each of the pictures that the photographer says are special for him or her. When the photographer is finished, are there any other pictures that the research team thought was interesting? Ask the above questions about those.

2. What was it like to be asked to take pictures in this way?
 - a. Was any part of this particularly difficult, or fun?
 - b. What made those parts difficult or fun?
3. Is there anything else you would like to say about the pictures or this interview?

Explain that the photographer will be given a set of the pictures at the end of the study.

APPENDIX L: BRACKETING INTERVIEW ESSAY

Bracketing Essay**October 10, 2013****Joanne Caye**

In the four + years that I have been working with the Latino population connected to the Siler City citizenship preparation class, I have gone through a series of mental re-learning that has altered my impressions. Sometimes new experiences remind me that I have stereotyped thinking of which I was unaware. This essay is to begin to clarify some of my own reactions and expectations about the population I am interviewing for my dissertation.

First, the criterion I am using to choose the participants in my dissertation sets up some of my expectations. The criterion itself is based in theory, but I think I may be bringing baggage in terms of my own notions about the outcome and effect of that criterion on the individuals in the study. I am interviewing individuals who do not have a high school education, and many of whom have no formal education. The outside research I have done says that individuals with little education tend to be poorer, with muted voices in today's society. Another criterion is that these individuals have been in the US at least fifteen years. That means that I assume that the research participants have dealt with the (at the least) ambivalence of the US majority population for some time, and the more likely scenario that they have had to deal with straight out discrimination for a long period of time. What do I think this may mean for the research cohort? However, despite possible discrimination, and ambivalent if not discouraging policies, individuals who have been in the US double the average length of time to naturalization are NOW deciding to do so.

I didn't realize how much I assumed that everyone in my citizenship class, and their families would live in poor surroundings until I started having occasion to visit them in their homes. I was embarrassed by my surprise that many homes were quite lovely, small, clean to a fault, and rather middle class looking. I had to stop and pay attention to my expectation that they would be living a meager existence. Definitely NOT the case for all of them.

Next, I noticed that not everyone in the class had major trouble finding the \$800 necessary to apply. Different from the individuals I met through my work at social services, many of these families are skillful financial managers. Several work more than one job, many are small business owners with little *tiendas* and restaurants, and I am getting the impression that they really know how to work a dollar. As is true throughout the general population, the single mothers are frequently less well off, especially if they have children with them, and get little child support.

My thinking and reaction to the last factor, the reason they decide to become citizens now, has probably had the most effect on me. Data from naturalization historical documents depicts a population that is slower to naturalize, and in fact chooses to remain in their own neighborhoods with other Spanish speakers, and not to assimilate into the general population. Initially, I assumed that the decision to naturalize was functional—“to bring my mother into the US, or to be able to get financial benefits”. Then I heard stories about the decision to become a citizen as a major life’s wish, or a deep personal goal. The longer I am involved with the Hispanics in Siler City, the more I realize that the push to naturalize may be all along the continuum of reasons, and pigeon-holing the reasons for citizenship is simply not helpful, not is it accurate. This is one area where I really will have to depend on the data and put my expectations to the side.

I have been invited to birthday parties, multicultural events, and a wedding. This blurring of boundaries is a little jarring for a person who spent so many years in child protective services where boundaries were thought to be essential (a stance with which I agreed). However, I am in a different position vis a vis the Hispanic population in Siler City. A few of the participants are choosing to be interviewed in their homes, and offer us something to eat. Most, however, are choosing to be interviewed at the small Family Violence/ Rape Crisis office in town that I have been allowed to use for my interviews. I am not sure if this is because they are more comfortable with this arrangement, or if they clearly see me as an outsider and choose not to invite me to their homes. I invited everyone to my home a few years ago, but it is 60 miles away and the cost of gas is very high. One of the participants

asked us (the translator and I) to go out to dinner after the interview, and I declined for both of us. Was that the right thing to do? Was that an invitation that I should have agreed to? I find I am still unclear regarding the best, most ethically correct position of the researcher vis a vis respondents who I know.

Part of the outsider issue also comes from the language barriers that exist. My Spanish is mediocre at best. Before I tried to complete a pilot study by myself, and it was very difficult. My Spanish is clearly NOT nuanced enough to be able to conduct these interviews at the level I want them to go. I am embarrassed that my Spanish is not good enough. Many of the participants (who technically have half the education I do or less) switch rather easily from one language to the other. I also know that after they have naturalized, several of the new citizens have largely given up trying to learn English, and speak only Spanish. Does that mean that their reason for becoming citizens was largely functional, and does that make it less of a major transition? Do I care about that? Do I want to be able to talk about the tremendous changes that have occurred in these individual's lives... to make my study more dramatic? It is clear that I need to report what I find, and not what I wish.

I have developed my research questions at this point, I have begun my interviews (eight complete) and have about eight more to go. I feel the need to sort out my reactions and expectations more now at this point, than I have previously. I believe this is for two main reasons. One is that I want to be able to code based on the research questions, and my theoretical constructs, rather than what (as I said before) I want to see. I believe that's critical. I listen as my translators conduct these interviews and I understand much more than I can speak. I realize how critical it is for me to make sure that individuals are presented as much as possible in THEIR voice and not mine. I work to hear the nuances and the places along the continuum. The second reason that this bracketing process is critical now, is that when we meet in the second interview to look at the pictures that participants have taken, I want to revise and possibly upscale my questions in those sessions to be sure that I am getting participant's reactions to some of my chosen theoretical constructs. Whether this is because I didn't ask the best questions in the first interviews, or because I am hearing some

themes more clearly as we go along, I don't know at this point. What I do know is that I have the opportunity for a second opportunity to ask questions of the group and see if the themes I hear stick or if I have simply not probed accurately.

One area that I am concerned about is the effect of US and NC policies on the journey toward citizenship. In the answers to questions so far, I hear that time is an issue, somewhat the cost of the application (but less so than I thought I would hear), and the timing of the classes. I have heard very little about the attitude and stance of policy and law in their decision processes. Does that mean that these new citizens did not feel any sense of discrimination, or simply that they don't talk about it? I may need to insert another question in the interviews yet to come to see if I can determine that answer. Do I see the Hispanic adults in my classes as more minority than they themselves do? In my position of privilege do I place them in a one-down pose of oppression or low status when in fact that is inaccurate? This is an area where my attitudes may not be precise and I have to determine how to subject those attitudes to the light of day, and the spoken reactions of the individuals I am interviewing.

I can see the need to constantly subject myself to self examination and positioning as a qualitative researcher who lives outside the neighborhood, is interviewing with translators, and across cultures. All these factors increase the likelihood of misunderstandings and miscoding on my part. It is clear that I have to check and recheck the answers to questions and themes that may arise. I can see even more now how the reverse translations and triangulation of data becomes more critical as we go along. I believe I also see the need to revisit my thinking on a fairly ongoing basis, through memos as I code, possibly another bracketing process, and to sit down, possibly with my translators, with my chair, or with some members of the Hispanic community, to send up test balloons of ideas. I have always thought that interviewing across cultures would be a challenge and my thinking is being affirmed as we go along.

APPENDIX M- IRB APPROVAL LETTER

North Carolina State University is a land-grant
university and a constituent institution of the
University of North Carolina

Office of Research and Innovation
Division of Research Administration

NC STATE UNIVERSITY

7514

Carolina 27695-7514

919.515.2444 (phone)
919.515.7721 (fax)

From:
Administrator
State University
Board

Deb Paxton, IRB
North Carolina
Institutional Review

Date: July 23, 2013

Title: Exploring the
Decision-Making Process of Hispanic Adults to Pursue Citizenship in Siler
City, North Carolina: A Narrative Analysis Using Photovoice

IRB#: 3388

Dear Joanne,

The project listed above has been reviewed by the NC State Institutional Review Board for the Use of Human Subjects in Research, and is approved for one year. **This protocol will expire on July 23, 2014 and will need continuing review before that date.**

NOTE:

1. You must use the attached consent forms which have the approval and expiration dates of your study.
2. This board complies with requirements found in Title 45 part 46 of The Code of Federal Regulations. For NCSU the Assurance Number is: FWA00003429.
3. Any changes to the protocol and supporting documents must be submitted and approved by the IRB prior to implementation.
4. If any unanticipated problems occur, they must be reported to the IRB office within 5 business days by completing and submitting the unanticipated problem form on the IRB website.
5. Your approval for this study lasts for one year from the review date. If your study extends beyond that time, including data analysis, you must obtain continuing review from the IRB.

Sincerely,

Deb Paxton
NC State IRB

APPENDIX N COLLABORATION LETTER FROM UNC

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL
IRB Authorization Agreement

A. This Agreement is entered into by and between the institutions identified below (each a "party" and collectively the "parties").

Institution or Organization Providing IRB Review ("Reviewing Institution/IRB"): North Carolina State University
Federalwide Assurance ("FWA") #: FWA00003429
IRB Registration #: IRB00000330

Institution or Organization Relying on the Designated IRB ("Relying Institution"):
The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Federalwide Assurance ("FWA") #: FWA00004801

B. The Officials signing below agree that the Relying Institution may rely on the Reviewing Institution/IRB for review and continuing oversight of its human subjects research as described:

This agreement is limited to the following specific protocol:

Name of Research Project: Exploring the Decision-Making Process of Hispanic Adults to Pursue Citizenship in Siler City, North Carolina: A Narrative Analysis Using Photovoice

IRB Study # at Reviewing Institution/IRB: 3388

IRB Study # at Relying Institution: 13-2785

Principal Investigator at Reviewing Institution/IRB: Joanne Caye

Principal Investigator at Relying Institution: Joanne Caye

Sponsor or Funding Agency: n/a

Award Number (if any): n/a

C. **Reviewing Institution/IRB** agrees that it will:

- (1) Provide initial and continuing review for the research protocol(s) specified in Section B pursuant to 45 CFR 46 and its FWA. In performing this review, the Reviewing Institution/IRB will make all reasonable efforts to meet the human subject protection requirements of the Relying Institution's Office for Human Research Protections ("OHRP")-approved FWA.
- (2) Follow written procedures for reporting its findings and actions to appropriate official(s) at the Relying Institution via the principal investigator at the Relying Institution specified in Section B, with a copy to Relying Institution's Office of Human Research Ethics.

- (3) Make relevant minutes of IRB meetings and other relevant documentation available to the Relying Institution upon request.
- (4) Not use, or authorize others to use, the name, symbols or marks of Relying Institution in any advertising or publicity material, except for factual representations about Relying Institution's reliance on Reviewing IRB for review and continuing oversight of research involving human subjects that has been referred to Reviewing IRB, without Relying Institution's prior written approval.

D. Relying Institution agrees that it will:

- (1) Be responsible for the timely compliance of its employees, students, and agents with the Reviewing Institution/IRB's policies, procedures, and determinations regarding the research protocol(s) specified in Section B and with the terms of this Agreement and the terms of Relying Institution's OHRP-approved FWA.
- (2) Accept the final authority and decisions of the Reviewing Institution/IRB, including but not limited to directives to suspend or terminate designated research activities.
- (3) Be responsible for safeguarding the rights and welfare of each research subject in performance of the research protocol(s) specified in Section B by its own employees, students, and agents in accord with the determinations of the Reviewing Institution/IRB and the terms of the Relying Institution's OHRP-approved FWA.
- (4) Not use, or authorize others to use, the name, symbols, or marks of the Reviewing Institution/IRB in any advertising or publicity material or make any form of representation or statement in relation to the research protocol(s) specified in Section B which would constitute an expressed or implied endorsement by the Reviewing Institution/IRB, except for factual representations of the Reviewing IRB's performance of research pursuant to this Agreement.


E. Both parties agree to the following general provisions:

- (1) The term of this Agreement shall begin upon full execution by the parties and shall continue in effect until expiration or termination of the Reviewing Institution/IRB's approval of the research protocol(s) specified in Section B.
- (2) Each party will be responsible for its own negligence in connection with its performance of this Agreement and the research protocol(s) specified in Section B.
- (3) Upon the occurrence of events or incidents that require reporting to external regulatory agencies or other organizations, including without limitation the reporting of unanticipated problems or instances of non-compliance to OHRP or the agency sponsoring the research protocol(s) specified in Section B, the parties will make all reasonable efforts to determine which party has primary responsibility for making the required reports; provided, however, that both parties shall have a reasonable opportunity

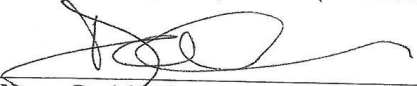
to review and comment on such reports. Both parties further agree to make all reasonable efforts to assist and cooperate in the preparation of any required reports relating to the research protocol(s) specified in Section B.

- (4) This document must be kept on file by both parties and provided to OHRP upon request.
- (5) Correspondence regarding the occurrence of events or incidents that require reporting to external regulatory agencies or other organizations, including without limitation the reporting of unanticipated problems or instances of non-compliance to OHRP or the agency sponsoring the research protocol(s) specified in Section B, shall be sent to the signatory officials listed below.

Signature of Signatory Official (or authorized designee) at Reviewing Institution/IRB:


 Name: Terri Lomax Date: 12 Sept 13
Institutional Title: Vice Chancellor for Research
Address: Office of Research and Innovation, NCSU, 103 Holladay Hall, Box 7003, Raleigh, NC, 27695
Phone: 919-515-2117
Email: terri_lomax@ncsu.edu

Signature of Signatory Official (or authorized designee) at Relying Institution:


 Name: Daniel Nelson Date: 9/3/2013
Institutional Title: Director, Office of Human Research Ethics
Address: UNC Chapel Hill, Medical Bldg. #52, CB# 7097, Mason Farm Rd., Chapel Hill, NC 27599
Phone: 919-966-5883
Email: daniel_nelson@unc.edu