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Hispanics in Education: A Look into Underrepresentation

An Honors College Project Thesis

Presented to

The Department of History and Global Studies and the Department of Education

Abilene Christian University

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for
Honors Scholar

By
Sarah JoAnne Dillinger

May 2019

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This Project Thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Honors College of Abilene Christian University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the distinction

HONORS SCHOLAR

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ABSTRACT

By 2045 the Hispanic population in the United States is projected to be at 25%. In Texas, that number is currently higher and continuing to rise. Despite large numbers of Hispanic students, they are underrepresented in schools among teachers and administrators. Could the lack of a cultural mirror play a role in this number since Hispanic students do not see as many Hispanic teachers and administrators in education? Through this paper, I will examine the cultural mirror theory briefly, but spend a majority of the paper analyzing the history behind desegregation in public schools. I will also review the literature of the experience of Hispanics in the education system and close by evaluating the current trends of Hispanics in education. This paper will focus on Texas and then specifically Abilene, Texas as a district comparison to the state.

Keywords: Hispanics, Teachers, Integration, Desegregation, Underrepresentation

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According to the US Census Bureau (2018), a projected 93.8 million Hispanics will make up a part of the United States population by 2045 which will account for a quarter of the national population. Currently, Hispanics are the largest minority group and may become the largest ethnic group in the near future since minority group percentages continue to increase across the board and the percentage of Whites decrease. Despite these numbers, many people in America believe racial tensions to be between African Americans and Whites. While not a separate race from Whites, on legal documents, Hispanics are considered a separate ethnic group. Recently, scholars have been researching Hispanics in a variety of categories. One such category is education. The staggering Hispanic population numbers carry into the percentage of school-age children, and certain states such as California and Texas already have Hispanic majorities in public schools. In California, 54.3% of students in public schools identify as Hispanic and in Texas 52.4% of students in public schools identify as Hispanic (Fingertip Facts on Education in California, 2017; State of Texas, 2017). Specifically focusing on Texas, Hispanic representation among teachers and administrators is significantly deficient in comparison to the student population. As of the 2016-2017 school year, 52.4% of students in Texas are of Hispanic descent but only 26.6% of teachers and administrators are Hispanic (State of Texas, 2017). This paper focuses on the research question of how the diversity of faculty has changed in Texas public schools since Brown v. Board of Education (1954). The answer to the research question comes after analyzing five court decisions about desegregation in education, reviewing the literature surrounding Hispanics in education, and researching current data for Hispanics in the Texas and Abilene education systems.

Integration of non-White students into public schools spans a short time in the history of the United States. Even though Hispanics are not a separate race from Whites, they were treated as such since Hispanics were barred from attending White schools. The landmark case of Brown v. Board of Education (1954) overturned the "separate but equal" doctrine from *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) and declared segregation to be a violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment ("Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka (1)," n.d.). Although this case involved an African American student, the case denounced segregation in public schools regardless of race or ethnicity. In the modern scholarly community, "race" is defined as a social construct rather than a biological characteristic, and throughout most of U.S. history, African Americans and Hispanics were treated as similarly because of the pigmentation of their skin. According to Pew Research Center, until 1930, Mexican Americans had been classified as White in the US Census (Parker, Horowitz, Morin, & Lopez, 2015). However, up until the time of Mendez v. Westminster (1947), Hispanics were socially considered "colored" which resulted in them being placed in schools with African Americans or in separate schools for predominantly Hispanics (Background - Mendez v. Westminster Re-Enactment, n.d.). These separate schools were unequal in comparison to the White schools, which led to Hispanics going to court to assert their rights. Finally, Hispanics received their opening with Brown v. Board of Education (1954), because it opened the door for more desegregation cases in public schools.

Years after *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), however, districts across the nation still had segregated schools. The Supreme Court decided in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* (1971) an appropriate solution for racial imbalances in

schools involved busing students to schools where geographic proximity to the schools gave students the right to go to higher performing schools ("Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education," n.d.). This case also allowed quotas as starting points for integration so that all students received an equal education regardless of ethnicity. The Supreme Court overruled the state-imposed segregation in North Carolina and provided solutions that were enforced so that other states started integrating their schools. This case displayed the strength of the Supreme Court over state courts and the consistent upholding of desegregation.

Despite upholding desegregation in schools, the Supreme Court did not correlate low-income schools with non-White students. In a 5-4 decision in the Texas case *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez* (1973), the Supreme Court upheld the state's education system which funded schools based upon property taxes ("San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez," n.d.). This system widened the disparity between affluent and poor districts, which affected Hispanics since many Hispanics lived in the poorer districts. The Supreme Court based their decision on education not being a fundamental right, and the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment not requiring absolute equality. This case negatively impacted the educational rights of non-Whites in Texas, as segregation gained momentum because low-income people stayed in low funded, poor-performing school districts. Since 20.6% of the impoverished population in Texas is Hispanic (US Census Bureau, 2017), this decision affected Texas' Hispanic population and their access into an equal education system.

A case involving limited English proficient (LEP) students expanded the rights of non-English speaking students. In *Lau v. Nichols* (1974), a California school with 2,856

LEP Chinese students were provided minimal English language courses for the students and all classes were exclusively taught in English ("Lau v. Nichols," n.d.). The Supreme Court mandated English language courses for schools with a large number of LEP students so that all students then receive an equal education, making this case important for immigrant and non-English speaking students. A significant number of Hispanic students speak Spanish as their first language, and for many, Spanish is the home language which means classes taught exclusively in English put them at a disadvantage. *Lau v. Nichols* (1974) gives Hispanics who speak primarily Spanish a way to learn English and then succeed in the classroom.

The final court case analyzed involves the rights of undocumented immigrant children in the education system. In *Plyler v. Doe* (1982), a Texas educational law withheld state funds to schools educating undocumented immigrant children, but the Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional and a violation of the immigrants' Fourteenth Amendment protections ("Plyler v. Doe," n.d.). This case allows undocumented immigrant children to receive an education and be free from discrimination based upon immigration status. With Texas bordering Mexico, this court decision positively affects Hispanics by giving all children access to education. Each of these court cases affects the rights of Hispanics in the U.S. public education system and influences the current education system, specifically within Texas.

The literature surrounding Hispanics in education since *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) further looks into the influences of segregation. In the book, *Chicano Students and the Courts: The Mexican American Legal Standards for Educational Equality*, Richard Valencia (2008) spends a chapter analyzing school segregation.

Although currently schools cannot turn students away based upon ethnicity or race, many schools remain ethnically and socioeconomically segregated. Valencia investigates the Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills (TAKS) results and the graduation rates of schools in a school district in Austin, Texas. The TAKS failure rate correlated with the percentage of combined Mexican American and African American students in the schools. This means the more segregated Whites are from other ethnicities in schools the lower standardized test scores will be for non-Whites. Along with academics, Valencia's data shows segregation also affects graduation rates, because schools with majority Hispanic and African Americans had a 68.2% graduation rate compared to a school with a majority of Whites with a 93.0% graduation rate (Valencia, 2008, p. 23). Segregated schools do not provide an equal educational opportunity, and before *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), schools for Hispanics were often overcrowded and dirty. The chapter in Valencia's book points out two ways that segregated schools negatively affect Hispanics, but there are also other reasons why segregation is harmful to students.

Other reasons segregation in schools harm children comes from the journal article "Keep Those Kids Out: Nativism and Attitudes Toward Access to Public Education for the Children of Undocumented Immigrants" by Davidson and Burson (2017). In this article, the authors analyze current public opinion of immigrants in the U.S. and specifically the actions taken in education since *Plyler v. Doe* (1982). They argue that education gives people upward mobility as they are able to increase their economic contributions to society, and education acts as a way to culturally assimilate by learning the language (Davidson & Burson, 2017, p. 42). But, when education is lacking, these benefits do not occur and thus the children in segregated schools, which are often poor

schools, do not receive the resources and benefits needed to function in society. Davidson and Burson point out that immigrant children are often guilty by association with their parents' immigration status and that nativism in the U.S. results in people being highly distrusting of newcomers (Davidson & Burson, 2017, p. 48). Even though legally children of immigrants are given access to education, public opinion taints the resources given to immigrant children.

A different journal article analyzes specifically Mexican-Americans in education since Brown v. Board of Education (1954). In "The Impact of Brown on Mexican American Desegregation Litigation, 1950s to 1980s" San Miguel Jr. (2008) points out that Mexican Americans considered themselves White and thus Brown v. Board of Education (1954) was not impactful until almost a decade after the case. Cases involving Mexican Americans up to Brown were based upon the argument of "Whiteness" and how Mexican Americans should be put in White schools not segregated with African Americans (San Miguel Jr., 2008, p. 223). However, in the late 1960s, ten years after Brown v. Board of Education (1954), Mexican Americans began working with African Americans to increase desegregation laws and promote integration. Civil rights lawyers began to switch from the "other White" strategy to arguing Mexican Americans were an identifiable ethnic minority group and thus protected under Brown v. Board of Education (1954) (San Miguel Jr., 2008, p. 223). This change in strategy impacts desegregation laws today and now Hispanics are considered an identifiable ethnic minority group with subcategories such as Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and others.

In the article "The deconcentration of minority students attending bad schools:

The role of housing affordability within school attendance zones containing good

schools" Ihlanfeldt (2017) explores the possibility of affordable housing as a means to integrate schools. He argues that since Hispanics and African Americans live in poorer neighborhoods with low-income school attendance zones (SAZ) then in order to integrate schools the people need to first live in better neighborhoods (Ihlanfeldt, 2017, p. 84). Due to Not In My Back Yard (NIMBYism) and anti-density zoning, people of color are pushed into poor performing schools and are segregated from Whites. The current policy right now is school choice, but schools remain segregated because low-income families cannot afford to live near high performing schools and so the choice is removed from them since it is not an unattainable option. Despite the Supreme Court Case *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez* (1973), Ihlanfeldt's research confirms the argument that low-income neighborhoods are filled with ethnic minorities and thus the education system is systematically segregated between Whites and non-Whites as Whites both afford high-income SAZ and use NIMBYism to push ethnic minorities into low-income SAZ (Ihlanfeldt, 2017, p. 87).

Court cases and literature reviews display the ongoing struggle for integration of Hispanic children in education, but what about the representation of Hispanic faculty in public schools? Since the 1960s, most demographic groups encountered increases in levels of education, but in 2000, working-age Hispanics had on average three years less of formal schooling than Whites and African-Americans (Tienda, National Research Council, & Mitchell, 2006, p. 81). Since being a teacher or school administrator requires a college degree, it is logical to conclude that because Hispanics have less formal schooling on average than other demographics, then Hispanics are underrepresented in jobs, such as education, that require a higher education degree. Furthermore, because

Hispanics do not become teachers, Hispanic students do not see teachers they can identify with as models for success which might contribute to the cycle of few Hispanic faculty in schools.

The theory of a cultural mirror, where people see others who physically look like them, is a determinant of success, especially in education. In her article "Improving Educational Outcomes for Latinos: A Study of the Interactive Policy Effects of Representative Bureaucracy and Personnel Stability," Morton analyzes the effects of representation within education and her research comes to the conclusion that "students directly benefit academically when working with a same-race teacher" (2015, p. 315). These benefits include personal connection because of the same ethnicity as well as feeling as if the person has a similar upbringing or lifestyle. The benefits also include a cultural understanding of linguistic differences, customs, and family expectations (Morton, 2015, p. 315). Representation among faculty in schools not only benefits ethnic minorities but benefits Whites as well. The diversity allows students to be more openminded toward people with different beliefs and physical characteristics which is a trait many jobs value. Also, cultural competence fosters unity among students and faculty as individuals have a greater appreciation for the unique differences as well as the similarities between each other (Morton, 2015, p. 315). Overall, research supports integration and representation as beneficial to academics and the development of character.

The cultural mirror theory puts into perspective the literature surrounding

Hispanics in education by further analyzing the emotional effects of underrepresentation.

The education system continues to use and teach curriculum written by White authors

and academics despite the increase of ethnic minorities in schools (Bishop, 2017). This lack of representation in books and the deficiency of diverse faculty in schools sends a devaluing message to ethnic minorities. While devaluing ethnic minorities, a deficiency of diverse faculty and books in education also hurts students from dominant ethnic groups by encouraging ethnocentrism (Bishop, 2017). This leads to the continuation of an "us versus them" mentality which leads to division not just within schools, but also permeating out into all aspects of life such as politics and jobs.

Historically in the United States of America, society has pushed for assimilation of ethnic minorities to fit into Western ideals. White voices dominated and to a degree still dominate the education system, entertainment industry, and the political system (Emerson, & Yancey, 2011, p. 118). These systems and industry push for Western heroes, history, and values which leads to ethnic minorities being underrepresented and undervalued. This inequality between ethnic groups leads to the majority ethnic group spreading their beliefs and controlling the distribution of resources (Emerson, & Yancey, 2011, p. 69). Currently, we live in a society that has ethnic divisions in schools which leads to students being unable to connect with the material or with the people around them because they are portrayed stereotypically or are ignored. Having a cultural mirror in schools and society provides a solution to these divisions.

Out of all ethnic groups in the U.S. since the Civil Rights movement and integration, Hispanics have continued to have low numbers in various statistics. Hispanics earn less money to the dollar and are less likely to own their own homes or have college degrees compared to Whites (Allen, 2011, p. 48 & 69-70). These statistics continue the cycle of Hispanics in low paying jobs despite the increase in numbers of the

Hispanic population. The cycle starts with earning less money to the dollar, which leads to not having college degrees which leads to low paying jobs which then starts the cycle over again. Low paying jobs are a factor of social class, and social class is the most influential indicator of success in schools (Allen, 2011, p. 98). The cultural mirror theory hypothesizes that people who see others who physically look like them is a determinant of success, specifically in school-age children. Comparing the cycle to the theory, the theory fits into the cycle because when an individual does not see people who physically look like them become successful then the individual does not have a model for success. With the continued cycle of ethnic divisions and inequality, the cultural mirror theory provides a solution that breaks this cycle and encourages unity.

Looking into Hispanic students and faculty in schools within Texas, the court cases and literature are put into perspective. The statistics and numbers of Hispanic students vastly differ from the numbers of Hispanic faculty within Texas and specifically, Abilene, Texas. As of the 2016-2017 school year, 52.4% of students in Texas are of Hispanic descent with the second largest demographic being White at 28.1% (State of Texas, 2017). This number shows a majority of students in Texas are Hispanic, with Whites making up a little less than half as many Hispanic students. In Abilene, these percentages are smaller, but the ranking remains the same. Abilene has a Hispanic majority of 43.6% of students and Whites as the second largest demographic make-up at 36.9% (Abilene ISD, 2017). Although the gap between Hispanic and White students in Abilene is 6.7% compared to the state difference of 24.3%, the results are the same with Hispanics being the majority of students. Another set of staggering numbers for comparison are the economically disadvantaged students. The Texas Tribune defines a

student who is economically disadvantaged as being eligible for free or reduced-price lunch or for other public assistance (State of Texas, 2017). The state of Texas has a majority of students being labeled as economically disadvantaged at 59%, whereas in Abilene the number is 70.8% of students are economically disadvantaged (State of Texas, 2017; Abilene ISD, 2017).

After analyzing the literature and court cases involving desegregation policies, the numbers show non-Whites are considered more likely to be economically poor than Whites, which puts into perspective the high number of economically disadvantaged students in Texas. The student percentages within Texas and Abilene involving Hispanics seems staggering, which is why court cases and literature have been conducted over this topic.

The percentages of Hispanic students, though daunting, pale in comparison to the percentage of Hispanic faculty in schools within Texas. The percentages for Hispanic teachers and faculty do not mirror the student percentages. In Texas, 59.8% of teachers are White with 26.6% being Hispanic as the second largest demographic (State of Texas, 2017). The 33.2% difference between White and Hispanic teachers displays underrepresentation for the majority of students. Despite a Hispanic student majority in Abilene, 81.4% of teachers are White with only 13.2% being Hispanic (Abilene ISD, 2017). The 68.2% difference between White and Hispanic teachers doubles the state difference, even though the student percentages were similar between state and district. According to the National Center for Educational Statistics web page, there were approximately 2,100 educational faculty members, which includes teachers and staff, in Abilene for the 2015-2016 school year and as of the 2017-2018 school year there were 30

schools in Abilene ISD (Search for public school districts - District detail for Abilene ISD, 2017). Even though Abilene numbers are small, the percentages of representation are still substantial.

After completing the literature review, I sent a survey out to 20 Abilene ISD school principals asking them to forward the cover letter, email, and survey link to any of their teachers or administrators that identify as Hispanic. After 3 weeks, I had received 18 responses with 17 of the participants identifying as Hispanic. The survey questions can be found in Appendix A and the survey summary results can be found in Appendix B. From this information, 66.7% of participants indicated yes to having at least one Hispanic teacher in school while growing up, and 55.6% of participants indicated yes to having at least one Hispanic administrator or office staff member in school while growing up. These percentages surprised me since my research led me to believe this number would be lower. However, the survey confirmed my hypothesis that Hispanics feel in the minority in school since 61.1% of participants indicated strongly agree or agree to the question of feeling in the minority at school while growing up.

The last question on the survey asked if the participant would be willing to be interviewed. Out of the 18 survey responses, 15 responded yes or maybe to being interviewed and from those 15, I had 6 participants schedule a time to be interviewed. The interviewees were all female, and 3 were elementary teachers, 2 were middle school teachers, and 1 was a high school teacher in Abilene ISD. The interview questions can be found in Appendix C. Out of the 6 interviewees, 3 were the first in their family to obtain a college degree. In reference to the question on how personal ethnicity affects empathy towards other students of the same ethnicity, the second interviewee responded, "It's

almost as if you are teaching yourself again" (Interview 2, personal communication, March 27, 2019). This interviewee explains further by describing how she sees herself in her students as they are discovering how to say words and she recalls what techniques helped her learn. This empathy helps strengthen the relationship between teacher and student as both connect to one another because of similar struggles. Several of the interviewees also explained that for students it is important to see a teacher who looks like them in order to connect, unless a teacher is good at building relationships and then building relationships creates connections regardless of ethnicity or gender. These interviews helped to further my research and put faces to names of the statistics I had found.

After analyzing five court decisions about desegregation in education, reviewing the literature surrounding Hispanics in education, and researching current data for Hispanics becoming faculty members, the answer to the research question includes Hispanics still being underrepresented in public schools within Texas. The court decisions affected desegregation policies in public schools and specifically impacted the education of Hispanics. The literature comprising Hispanics in education analyzed the court cases further and reviewed Hispanics experience in education from *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) onward. The current data of Hispanics in education, both students and faculty tied the court cases and literature together by determining that Hispanics are still underrepresented in public schools and that segregation continues to negatively affect ethnic minorities. 86.9% of Hispanic students in public schools graduate, however that number is the second lowest ethnic graduation percentage when compared with Whites, Asians, Pacific Islanders, American Indians, African Americans, and two or

more ethnicities (State of Texas, 2017). With projections of the Hispanic population to increase, the tensions caused by underrepresentation in education as well as continued segregated schools will heat up to a degree where politicians and people will not be able to overlook this systematic injustice.

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Appendix A Survey Questions

3/25/2019 Survey

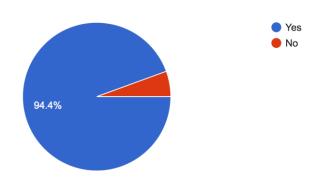
Urve Required	
1. Email	address *
2. I ident	tify as Hispanic. *
Mark	only one oval.
	Yes
\bigcirc	No
	nded a public school in Texas while growing up. * only one oval.
	Yes, all of my schooling was in a Texas public school
	No, none of my schooling was in a Texas public school
	Some of my schooling was in a Texas public school
	I did not attend school in Texas
	at least one Hispanic teacher while attending school growing up. * only one oval.
	Yes
	No
	Maybe
growi	at least one Hispanic administrator or office staff member while attending school ng up. *
Mark	only one oval.
	Yes
	No
\bigcirc	Maybe
	ghest level of education is * only one oval.
	Less than high school
$\overline{\bigcirc}$	High school/GED
	Bachelor degree
	Post-Bachelor degree

3/25/2019	Survey
	7. I felt as if I were in the minority in school while growing up. * Mark only one oval.
	Strongly Agree
	Agree
	Neutral
	Disagree
	Strongly Disagree
	8. I felt like the schools I attended were ethnically diverse. *
	Mark only one oval.
	Strongly Agree
	Agree
	Neutral
	Disagree
	Strongly Disagree
	9. I speak Spanish fluently.* Mark only one oval.
	Strongly Agree
	Agree
	Neutral
	Disagree
	Strongly Disagree
	10. My family encouraged me to pursue education as a career. * Mark only one oval.
	Strongly Agree
	Agree
	Neutral
	Disagree Character Biographic
	Strongly Disagree
	11. I would be willing to be interviewed for an undergraduate thesis paper on Hispanic representation in public education. The interview will approximately take 15-30 minutes on Abilene Christian University's campus in a private room in the library. *
	Mark only one oval.
	Yes
	○ No
	Maybe

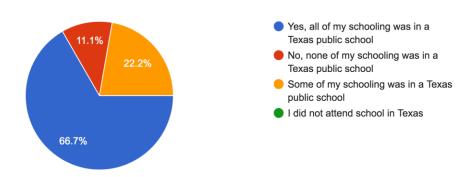
Appendix B Survey Responses

I identify as Hispanic.

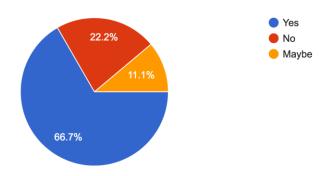
18 responses



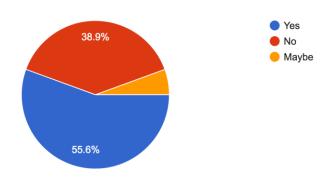
I attended a public school in Texas while growing up.



I had at least one Hispanic teacher while attending school growing up. 18 responses

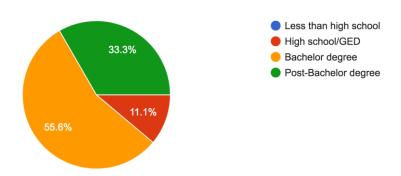


I had at least one Hispanic administrator or office staff member while attending school growing up.

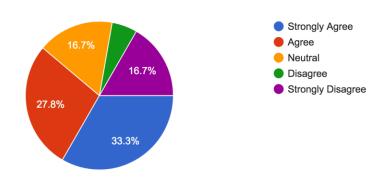


My highest level of education is...

18 responses

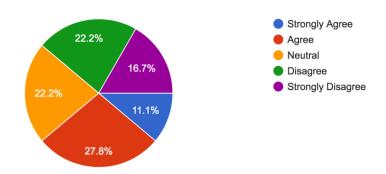


I felt as if I were in the minority in school while growing up.

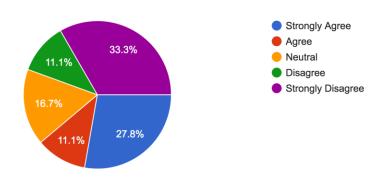


I felt like the schools I attended were ethnically diverse.

18 responses

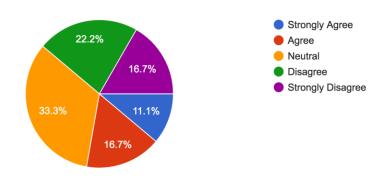


I speak Spanish fluently.

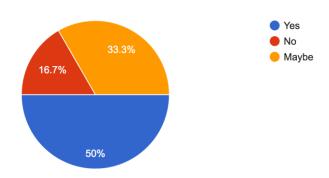


My family encouraged me to pursue education as a career.

18 responses



I would be willing to be interviewed for an undergraduate thesis paper on Hispanic representation in public educa...mpus in a private room in the library.



Appendix C Interview Questions

Interview Questions

- Describe the ethnic diversity of your teachers and administrators in school while growing up.
- 2. How did the ethnic diversity in your school while growing up affect your decision to become a teacher?
- 3. What was your family's reaction to your decision to become a teacher?
 - a. Do you have family members who are teachers?
- 4. How did people react when you said you were studying to become a teacher?
- 5. How do you feel your personal ethnicity affects empathy toward other students of your ethnicity?
- 6. Do you think schools in Texas now are ethnically diverse among students and staff? Why or why not?
- 7. Do you think schools in Abilene now are ethnically diverse among students and staff? Why or why not?