

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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The purpose of this study is to examine significant and persistent problems within the Salem-Keizer School District, particularly when comparing Douglas McKay High School to West Salem High School. Douglas McKay High School is one of the physically smallest schools in the district, with over 2000 students and has the highest percentage of Latino students with 65 percent Hispanic and 19% white (Salem-Keizer School District, 2015). Taking into account that in the U.S Latino students have the highest dropout rate with 32%, while dropout rates for White students have improved over the years, are reported at 9% (National Center for

Education Statistics, 2015) This study examines significant federal and state grants related to education equality and success (Oregon Department of Education, 2015). Exploratory data analysis of secondary data verifies that race is a critical factor affecting high school success rates for Latino youth. Research reveals that there are primarily three reasons for the failure of Latino students at Douglas McKay High School. The first reason for failure is the existence of disparities in educational opportunities and achievements that are offered to Latino students who attend Douglas McKay High School. The second reason for failure is that federal and state grants awarded to the Salem-Keizer School District culminated with discrimination against Latino students. Finally, Latino students at Douglas McKay High School fail to thrive due to poor administration, boundary implementation, and subsequent student overcrowding. Research also reveals specific tactics used to repress the advancement of Latino students, and finds that Salem-Keizer School District enables the outcomes for Latino students at Douglas McKay High School.

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A Tale of Two Schools: Exploring Race and Class Inequalities for Latino Students in
the Salem-Keizer School District

by

Lisa Hendrick

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APPROVED:

Major Professor, representing Ethnic Studies

Director of the Interdisciplinary Studies Program

Dean of the Graduate School

I understand that my thesis will become part of the permanent collection of Oregon State University libraries. My signature below authorizes release of my thesis to any reader upon request.

Lisa Hendrick, Author

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List of Acronyms

AYP – Adequate Yearly Progress

CCC – Chemeketa Community College

CTE – Career Technical Education Program

DLI – Dual Language Immersion

DMHS – Douglas McKay High School

ELL – English Language Learners

NCLB – No Child Left Behind Act

NSHS – North Salem High School

OAKS – Oregon Assessment of Knowledge and Skills

ODE – Oregon Department of Education

SES – Socioeconomic status

SIG – School Improvement Grant

SKSD – Salem Keizer School District

SOC – School Of Choice Grant

SSHS – South Salem High School

WSHS – West Salem High School

Keywords and Definitions

Race, ethnicity, gender, Latino, education, High School, Oregon Salem-Keizer School District, West Salem High School, Douglas McKay High School, Career Technical Education Program, No Child Left Behind Act, School Improvement Grant, School of Choice Grant, Oregon Assessment of Knowledge and Skills

The label ‘*Hispanic*’ is a historically discriminatory term used by the government to define disadvantaged minorities in regard to hiring, educational, and governmental diversity policies, and has since been adopted for self-identification (Mize & Delgado, 2012). The term Latino comes from a grassroots movement, which was started to oppose the bureaucratic label of Hispanic. The term Latino has since been increasingly adopted, to include various Latin American national-origin groups. For this thesis, I use the term Latino, as the words Hispanic, minority, and marginalized imply ideologies (Mize, 2013). I use the term Hispanic to signal the official and institutional designation of the group. My own preference is for the term Latino/Latina.

The *Salem Keizer School District* (SKSD) encompasses both the capital of Salem and the town of Keizer, in Oregon.

Career and Technical Education (CTE) is an educational program consisting of a combination of academic and technical courses that prepare students for post-secondary employment in a specific career field (U.S. Department of Education, 2009).

Dropout rates refer to the percent or number of students enrolling in ninth grade who do not graduate. This does not account for the actual number of ninth graders who enroll and actually graduate.

Labor force refers to people ages 16 and older who are employed or are looking for work. Workforce and labor force are synonymous and are used interchangeably. Similarly, when there is analysis of estimates for occupations, occupation and job are used interchangeably.

Poverty refers to the U.S. Census Bureau utilizes measurable income thresholds that vary by family size and composition. A family, along with each individual in it, is considered poor if the family's total income is less than that family's threshold. The official poverty definition counts money income before taxes and does not include capital gains and noncash benefits, such as public housing, Medicaid, and food stamps (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015).

Chapter One: Historical Context of Latino Populations in Salem, Oregon

Since the mid 1800's, Latino families were viewed by white Americans as foreigners in their own country—California, Texas, and New Mexico (Xing, Gonzales-Berry, Sakurai, Thompson, Jr, & Peters, 2007). Conquered by the Spaniards and then by the American army, Latino people have been the victims of colonialism. Despite years of colonialism and discrimination, Latino people respected their servants by providing adequate housing and education for the servant's children. The white society considered the idea of respecting "servants" costly, foolish, and economically inefficient. Because Latino families were gracious and hospitable to individuals, the American "Yankees" labeled them as "lazy," a cultural trait that gave the Americans superiority, and the right to move into California to take what they thought was theirs for the taking (Takaki, 1993). The white Americans claimed that God was providing them with "vast and hidden riches, and would soon make her resources useful by opening her swollen veins of precious metals" (Takaki, 1993, p. 177). The riches of California that were respected and revered by Latino families became the property of the white Americans whenever they felt it was theirs for the taking. The American law, written for the white middle-class, made life unbearable for Latino people in California. Unreasonable taxes forced Latino people to surrender their land and their rich life as cattle ranchers and gold miners. "...in the hands of an enterprising people, Mexican laborers found themselves in a caste labor system – racially stratified occupational hierarchy" (Takaki, 1993, p. 186). Laborers found themselves quickly under the command of white American landowners who took advantage of the opportunity to recruit cheap labor in the form of vaqueros, railroad workers, cotton pickers, and

field laborers, while Latino families who stayed in Mexico suffered from the consequences of the civil war.

From 1910 to 1930, Latinos moved north to escape instability and civil war in Mexico, to receive better wages and living conditions, and to live the “American Dream.” Instead, they found slave-like working conditions (Mize & Delgado, 2012). Trapped within labor contracts, they often found themselves unable to escape due to unreasonable housing and food costs charged by their white employers. Concerned that there might not always be a labor force, the American government placed the children of the workers in segregated schools that limited their years of education, “stop[ing] about the seventh grade” (Takaki, 1993, p. 327). Although Latinos were willing and capable of learning, white Americans ensured that Latino students would receive inadequate educations, thereby insuring a supply of laborers. In the 1920’s a teacher said to her student, “Your people are here to dig ditches, to do pick and shovel work... I don’t think any of you should plan to go to high school” (Takaki, 1993, p. 329). However, during the Great Depression, Latinos were viewed as a threat to the white American racial and cultural homogeneity. The government forced thousands of Latinos and their American-born children back to Mexico to ensure jobs for white families (Mize & Delgado, 2012). This would not be the last time that Mexican-born Americans would be deported. From 1942-1964, the American government found another way to exploit Latino people, by importing them as laborers through labor contracts under the U.S.-Mexico Bracero Program (Mize & Delgado, 2012). The first train in 1942 carried 1,500 Latinos, who were brought north to begin fulfilling 4.5 million labor contracts, which began the redefinition for the destination of Latinos (Chomsky, 2014). The number of Latinos gradually increased from 4,000 to 52,000 then 62,000

in 1944, and 120,000 a year later (Takaki, 1993, p. 392). By allowing Latinos to move north into the *United States* (U.S.), the American government would save millions of dollars in cheap labor through contracts written to take advantage of Latino families for the benefit of the white families. Capitalism gave the middle-class whites the ability to make more money with cheaper labor. Bound by contracts, many of Latino workers were trapped in a cyclical pattern of indenture. Many of the employers charged too much money for food and housing, knowing that the workers would have to stay to pay them back. Most could not send money home, least of all leave their place of employment.

By 1980, 32 percent of the California population was Latino. Schools had a 60 percent dropout rate, and the average educational level for Latino students was 10.4 years (Takaki, 1993, p. 421). With poverty at an all-time high in the 1980's, the need to educate minority youth to fill middle-class jobs became an urgent issue (Chomsky, 2014). Education would cost the government millions of dollars to fix what historically had been done to keep individuals of color in a particular class. California had to make a decision as to whether or not to invest in the future of the state's labor workforce. The problem was not just education; there were also problems with welfare, employment availability, and adequate housing.

As in California, Latinos soon became the largest minority population in Oregon (Gonzales-Berry, 2007). Latinos were attracted to Oregon's lush, fertile, and vast Willamette valley and the abundance of jobs working in fields harvesting fruits and vegetables. Robert Thompson makes note that Latinos were "largely itinerant migrants from Texas, California and Mexico who came with the crops, and who lived and worked in harsh conditions in rural Oregon" (2007, p. 22). Thompson also acknowledges that in 1976 there was a large increase in

Latino populations not just in Oregon, but all over the U.S. (2007, p. 23). This could possibly be as a direct result of a sharp reduction in U.S. legal visas for Latino immigrants in the 1970s, which forced immigrants either to stay in the U.S. or risk not being allowed to return. In addition, an increasing population growth and economic downturn in Mexico prompted an increasing flow of illegal immigration (Xing, Gonzales-Berry, Sakurai, Thompson, Jr, & Peters, 2007). The concentration of Latinos in California became low-wage workers, filling positions such as hotel maids, janitors, general laborers, garment and restaurant workers, farmworkers, and day laborers. They became the servants of the middle-class, replacing “the traditional image of the African-American female servant serving the white master” (Mize & Delgado, 2012, p. 153). Production and labor would rely on the influx of Latinos who were immigrating to the U.S.

The growth of Latino population in Oregon was soon viewed as problematic and a source of unwelcome competition for American workers. Oregon’s history as a white state with discriminatory conditions and social discrimination, which still is apparent today, was not just in the work place, but also in the schools, places of business, and neighborhoods (Xing, Gonzales-Berry, Sakurai, Thompson, Jr, & Peters, 2007). However, just north of the capital of Oregon, a town named Woodburn celebrates Latino language and culture. When the Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV) realized the importance of the migrant community being able to drive legally, Woodburn DMV quickly contracted Spanish-speaking employees in order to administer driver license tests (Wright, 2012). Latino communities worked together to assure that business and employment opportunities were readily available. For Latinos, Woodburn quickly became known as a place of opportunity.

In addition to entrepreneurial business ownership, healthcare, and house ownership, there were educational opportunities in Woodburn for Latino/Latinas students even if they were undocumented and did not speak English. The Oregon State Council of Churches followed the entrepreneurs and education with classes in nursing, English, and sewing, while the Oregon College of Education (now Western Oregon University) contracted with the Oregon State Council of Churches to provide one of the few schools for immigrant children. Realizing the importance of religion, the Catholic Archdiocese sponsored St. Luke's Church in Woodburn to provide Spanish-speaking priests (Gonzales-Berry, 2007). Latino communities congregated to form councils and city boards, and continued rallying for policies that declared the right to live and work with fair wages and affordable housing.

In response to grassroots organizing, the state government sponsored agencies to reform migrant labor policies in labor contracting, worker transportation, housing standards, and education (Gonzales-Berry, 2007). The community-based Migrant Ministry Council in Woodburn mobilized to address healthcare, and working and living conditions, as did the Valley Migrant League also in Woodburn, which required equitable representation through 51 percent of the board being comprised of migrant individuals (Stephen, 2007). The Virginia Garcia Health Center in Woodburn was organized with the help of the Tuality and St. Vincent Hospitals, which are located outside of Portland, Oregon, in the Washington county area (Gonzales-Berry, 2007). Yet even with these efforts, Latinos in Washington County, Woodburn, Independence, and surrounding areas struggled to obtain the same healthcare and schooling as the white population.

Social justice movements continue within Latino communities, creating a strong foundation for new migrants “who arrive daily in Oregon to continue picking our crops, washing dishes in our restaurants, making beds in hotels, building houses and, equally important, enriching our cultural landscape” (Gonzales-Berry, 2007, p. 107). However, the rise of Latinos in Oregon is not without struggle and hardship. The historical process of racism and classism share a negative impact on Latino communities.

Introduction

This study extends the literature on racial formation, the construction of race, and the role of race and class for Latino students within DMHS. My thesis explores questions such as: how did opening WSHS impact the *socioeconomic* status (SES) of Latino students in SKSD? Why is there a difference and disparity in education, resources, and academics between students from DMHS and WSHS? Was the *School Improvement Grant* (SIG) successful in bringing DMHS out of the “failing” status? I also analyze the student’s migration from DMHS to WSHS before and after the implementation of the *School of Choice Grant* (SOC) to analyze educational disparities. Finally, to explain the sudden low dropout rates and raised state standardized testing scores for DMHS, I analyze the *Career Technical Education* program (CTE). My goal in this thesis is to uncover the complexities that explain how Latino students in DMHS have the highest poverty level, the lowest dropout rate, and also the lowest graduation rates (Oregon Department of Education, 2015). I will illustrate through racial formation how specific historical processes and policies are at work through race and class causing inequality of education for Latino students of DMHS, which affect their academic success.

SKSD is the second largest district in the state of Oregon, with 65 schools enrolling 40,000 students, of which 50 percent are white and 40 percent are Latinos (Salem-Keizer Schools Statistics, 2014). With an ever increasing population, SKSD is looking for resolutions. Jay Remy, a spokesman for SKSD district, said “the district is researching the impacts of such an increase [student population]...There are a lot of variables.” (Statesman Journal, 2015). The search for a quick resolution leaves the district boundaries defined by six high schools: one in the north, two in the northeast, two in the south, and one in west Salem (Salem-Keizer School District, 2015). This study compares two high schools whose student population are just as different in race as they are in class.

West Salem High School (WSHS) is located in the hills on the west side of Salem, in an area with a total population in 2010 of 28,454 of which 25,356 identify as not Hispanic and 3,098 identify as Hispanic (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). WSHS is surrounded by three- and four-bedroom houses averaging \$240,000 in market value, and with families containing primarily two parent households (Zillow, 2015). The SKSD boundary of WSHS begins on the west side of the Willamette River, or what parents of WSHS refer to as “over the bridge,” meaning west of the Marion street bridge. This bridge is the only way to cross the Willamette River within an eight-mile radius in Salem, Oregon, effectively isolating WSHS from the rest of the SKSD school district (see Illustration 1.1).

WSHS is rated above average by the *Oregon Department of Education* (ODE). The primarily white students are encouraged by above standard teachers to move beyond a general diploma and achieve a 4-year university degree. An example of this is the graduating class of 2013-2014 who received over \$4 million in scholarships which are primarily academic

scholarships due to a larger percentage of families in a higher SES (these families would be denied the government Pell Grant due to class status). With 375 students graduating, 62 percent of the graduating students continued on to 4-year universities, while 22 percent continued to community colleges (Salem-Keizer School District, 2015). There are no borders of inaccessibility, because WSHS students have financial support from the parents, the community, and administration.

Although WSHS is physically the fourth largest school in the SKSD with only 1,600 students, it is home to the Ed Foundation (see Graph 1.2) (Salem-Keizer School District, 2015). Funded by local businesses, parental booster clubs, and administration fundraising, the Ed Foundation is a nonprofit organization used to provide scholarships for students needing financial help to attend activities, trips, or competitions. At WSHS, honors classes are offered for almost every scholastic subject, and the arts program thrives with support from the parents and the west Salem community. The CTE is also designed for employment success, with classes being offered for EMT-Paramedic, engineering, and computer science (Salem-Keizer School District, 2015). The newest addition to the school in the fall of 2015 is a new building for the fire science program, where students can earn college credit towards their EMT, Firefighter 1, or Wildland Fire degree.

With the highest graduation rate in SKSD and the second-lowest dropout rate, WSHS has an exceptional reputation. SKSD students who live outside of the WSHS boundary do not have the same opportunities as WSHS students, who either live in the boundary or have achieved an in-district transfer and can afford their own transportation.

In comparison, *Douglas McKay High School* (DMHS) is located in northeast Salem (see Illustration 1.1). The DMHS area population in 2010 was 40,176, of which 25,248 people identified as not Hispanic and 14,928 identified as Hispanic, which does not include individuals who might reside in this area and yet be undocumented (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). The DMHS boundary consists of primarily three-story derelict apartment buildings and very few houses (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Because of depletion of the resource capital, the northeast Salem area is where high poverty, low-income housing, and the working-class Latino families suffer economically, and students suffer academically.

The disparities between WSHS and DMHS include educational opportunities. With 65 percent of DMHS students identifying as Latino (see Graph 4.2), those who are at risk of not graduating with a general diploma are guided to the CTE program. Similar to vocational training, DMHS CTE classes—nursing, construction, and welding—are classist and racist in comparison to the CTE classes offered at WSHS (Salem-Keizer School District, 2015). Once a student enters the CTE program, the student graduates with either a modified or a general diploma (Salem-Keizer School District, 2015). Although the CTE program is beneficial for the SKSD because it keeps students from dropping out of school, it also traps students into what become poverty-level jobs. Although SKSD has vested state monies into the CTE program in an attempt to improve school statistics, it fails to address the population of Latinos as a potentially achieving group, and instead leaves them segregated.

DMHS is physically the second smallest high school in the district, and yet is currently overcrowded with 2,100 students (Salem-Keizer School District, 2015) (see Graph 1.2). With 49 percent ELL (see Graph 4.6), DMHS has the lowest dropout rate, yet has the lowest percentage

of students graduating or moving on to 4-year universities. The graduating class of 2013-2014 received over \$4 million in scholarships (this includes the government Pell Grant for qualifying low-income families), and had 349 students graduating, yet only 22 percent of the graduating students continued on to 4-year universities (Salem-Keizer School District, 2015). Because of the larger amount of Pell Grants awarded due to lower SES, the primary scholarships awarded were based on need and not necessarily academic ability. DMHS, originally labeled in 2002 as a “failing” school by the *No Child Left Behind Act* (NCLB), has received federal and state monies to assist in improving the school’s graduation rates, standardized test scores, and ranking (Oregon Department of Education, 2015). Regardless of the federal and state monies sent to DMHS, Latino students continue to have to navigate through a system of educational discrimination and segregation, as I argue.

Segregated by race and poverty, the DMHS school boundary is positioned to keep the working-class Latino families and students in the northeast area of Salem. In addition to socioeconomic factors that contribute to educational disparities for Latino students of DMHS, more importantly is the inability to access a quality school with equal educational opportunities. For Latino students of DMHS, the quality of schools and housing is linked directly to future economic opportunities (Gandara, 2010). The experiences of oppression, privilege, and other social positions are influenced by historically constructed inequalities between Latinos and whites. The “students on the hill” and the students from DMHS illustrate how levels of self-esteem, efficacy, and academic performance are directly related to statistical evidence of differences in income, employment, and school graduation rates (Flores, 2007).

Disparities for Latino students in DMHS reflect the result of living in poverty, receiving deficient education, and discrimination based on race and class basis. The construction of race dominates and controls the ability of Latinos to erase the border of difference and disparity. Through racial formation theory, the historical power and privilege of the white society help us explore the interactions and processes within social structures. The social and economic marginalization of Latinos is historically and socially constructed through intersections of racism and classism. This study will examine the educational, political, and academic disparities for Latinos in DMHS, and will show how privilege, power, class, and race have constructed two completely different high schools, as different in class as they are in race.

Problem Statement

Marginalized and segregated, Latino students of DMHS experience disparities in educational opportunities and achievements, which affect graduation rates. The second smallest school in the district with the second highest number of students, DMHS is experiencing a drain of physical capital (Salem-Keizer School District, 2015). As new schools are built with bond levies and supplied with new resources, DMHS suffers with the original equipment purchased when the school was built in 1979 (Salem-Keizer School District, 2015). Although federal and state implementations have been in place at DMHS to improve the overall state rating through the SIG, graduation rates remain the lowest in the district (Oregon Department of Education, 2015). However, DMHS maintains the lowest dropout rate in the district, which can be explained by the breadth of the CTE program—a classist and racially designed program—offering training only for low-paying and labor-ready careers (Salem-Keizer School District, 2015).

Research Questions

In order to accomplish the purpose of this study, the following research questions are addressed:

1. Why are there disparities in educational opportunities and achievements for Latino students in SKSD?
2. How do federal and state school grants resolve discrepancies in educational opportunities for Latino students within SKSD?
3. Are there significant demographic differences in class and race between the areas of west Salem and northeast Salem, and do the readjusted SKSD school boundaries potentially affect Latino students obtaining an equal education?

Outline of the Study

This study is organized into five chapters. The introductory section compares DMHS and WSHS locales, demographics, SES, and the background of DMHS academically struggling and structurally impacting Latino student's opportunities and academics. Chapter two explains the relevance of racial formation theory and intersectionality theory to the study of students in the SKSD. In understanding these theories we understand the impact of educational output on Latino students in Salem. Chapter three presents the research method and design appropriateness for the research questions. There is also a description of the population and how the data was collected and why it is valid and reliable. Finally there is a data analysis that includes a clear explanation of what techniques were used and why. In Chapter four, the results of the data analysis is presented comparing two populations. The data findings presented in this chapter are

organized describing each finding in addition to analysis of each illustration and graph. Chapter five concludes this study with the findings of analysis, and explore how the combination of race and class segregation, discrimination, school boundaries, the SIG, SOC, and CTE programs have resulted in disparities of educational opportunities and achievements for Latino students in DMHS. In this chapter, I also state limitations, and implications for future research and conclude my argument that race and class have been constructed to affect the educational outcome and future expectations of Latino students in the SKSD school district. As a result, this has disadvantaged them compared to other students who are in higher SES areas with financially and academically privileged schools who experience higher graduation rates and greater numbers of students who pursue 4-year universities for the higher SES families.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Framework

Racial Formation Theory

Race has, and still performs a unique role in the formation and historical development of nations, but none so much as the U.S. where race has been created by settlers and colonialists to control, manipulate, and dominate those who were here first or who came later. “Race is a master category – a fundamental concept that has profoundly shaped and continues to shape, the history, polity, economic structure, and culture of the United States” (Omi and Winant, 2015, p. 106).

The Eurocentric historical viewpoint often distorts the idea of what is American, and the debate over what is the American identity is intensifying a racial crisis. The white middle-class forget from where they came, and how they constructed race to keep particular groups of individuals in an assigned class. To not conform to the white supremacy ideal of language and culture would mean to be “othered,” which perpetuates the marginalization and segregation of people of color (Omi and Winant, 2015).

Race is fluid and cyclical in nature, and has the capability to shape identity as the white society insists so there is power and control over those who are “othered.” Race has always been in society, but has not always been the same, due to everyday practices and discriminations that shape everyday lives of the marginalized. “There has always been racism in the United States, but it has not always been the same racism. Political and cultural struggles over power have shaped the contours and dimensions of racism differently in different eras” (Lipsitz, 1995 p. 371). With each generation, there is always a need to redefine and modify race to accommodate the historical development of the white dominant culture.

Race informs the definitions of racism and classism, which are reproduced and organized by the historically white dominant construction of the “American people” (Omi and Winant, 2015 p 75). It is necessary to understand how race is the master category, and therefore racial formation theory is one way in which race categories are constructed, transformed, or even destroyed by white individuals in order to maintain power and control over those who are “othered.”

The first documented instance of whiteness is found in the 1790 naturalization act, the very first act of congress, which states that those who could become a citizen in the U.S. were white, male, and property owners (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 84). This act left out indentured servants, slaves, most women, and immigrants from the Pacific (such as Asians), all of whom were considered property and not persons. Anyone who was not a white male was incapable of casting an independent vote, thereby becoming the first notion of how law participates in racial formation (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 85). Law constructs race at every level; changing the physical features borne by people in this country, shaping the social meanings that define races, and interpreting concrete the privileges and disadvantages justified by racial ideology. This is the origins of whiteness and the beginning of the foundation of the nation in regards to limiting who is a citizen, who has all of the rights, and what it means to be American.

This racial formation theory differentiates between race and racism. “Race has no fixed meaning”, concludes Omi and Winant, is "constructed and transformed sociohistorically through competing political projects," as an understanding that there is a difference between race and racism, and both terms are not interchangeable. Omi and Winant propose the understanding of

“race” as a “social construction” by combining ideology (ideas, stereotypes) and social structures of domination such as institutions, laws, economic “rules,” and behavioral norms. Omi and Winant also refer to a “racial project” as one that “creates or reproduces structures of domination based on essentialist categories of race” (2015, p.71). Another translation from Omi and Winant of racial formation is “the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed” (2015, p. 55). A racial project can be defined as racist if it reproduces structures of domination based on essentialist categories of race (2015, p.71).

While racial formation theory is adequate to explain the conflict between the dominant society and those who are marginalized, there are intersecting oppressions created as a result of race, which are a direct result of how white hegemonic society constructs the result of race (Feagin et al., 2012). These situate race within social structure by, for instance, justifying why some people have less wealth or make more money than others on the basis of race, or, by pointing out that racism is alive and well, and that it impacts people’s experiences in society.

Because race is socially constructed, it remains fluid, constantly changing with political and social struggles. Omi and Winant assert that racial formation theory defines the meaning of race and the content of racial identities as unstable and politically contested (2015, p.106). Fundamental differences are based in power which masks those differences that are created in the contexts of interests that are hidden or exercised. Daily, racism is practiced in the workplaces, institutions, and daily lives that discriminate people on the basis of their race. Although there is knowledge of racism, it is the belief that those false divisions are ignorantly maintained by the white racial domination.

The conditions to create the dominant social force determine the degree of homogeneity within the structure of social classes. Historically, hegemony deemed race as a necessity to produce and construct privilege and oppression (Feagin et al., 2012). For example, the conquest of the indigenous people in the U.S. would have been unexecutable were it not for race, to distinguish between the white-Anglo-Eurocentric society and indigenous people. Without categories or conceptualization of race, the cyclical, systemic ability to oppress various ethnicities would be perplexing.

Segregation through Racial Formation

As white culture produces stereotypes that are used to segregate, stereotypes also limit the ability to explore and embrace cultures other than one's own. The marginalized become "those people" who "live over there," segregating them from the privileged "system of societal self-knowledge" (Parker, Deyhle, & Sofia, 1999, p. 27). Race thus is created not only for subjugation purposes, but also to have power and control over where the marginalized can live, go to school, be employed, and to what extent culture and language will be alienated.

To understand how race is constructed to shape and segregate the lived experiences of racialized communities is to view "the perceptions and underlying interests by the dominant group that define subordinate racial groups" (Mize, 2013, p. 358). Diversity of language and culture is steeped in U.S. history, but to acknowledge this diversity is to admit that inequalities exist. Depending on the structural and political context in which an individual exists, various identities are often required to navigate in a path of contextual fluidity.

Defining Race and Class

White hegemonic society dominates the subservient and marginalized, which has taken various forms from colonial time to the present day (Hall, 2002). Defining racism is not without considering racial politics, which are deeply bound with race. However, race and racism are not the same, nor is the relationship between them. While race is associated with segregation, economic opportunities, resources, and ethnocide, racism creates or reproduces structures of domination based on racial significations and identities. Omi and Winant argue that, “race has no fixed meaning, that is constructed and transformed socio-historically through the cumulative convergence and conflict of racial projects that reciprocally structure and signify race” (2015, p. 128). In this manner, racism exists to formally and informally converge and conflict to interact and infiltrate institutions, identities, and experiences.

Transforming through historical events, race and class are not fixed in structure; rather, they adjust and adapt so that the present may not appear as the past. Racism adjusts to the organizational manifestations of power hierarchies and their effects upon individuals and groups. Racial inequality is recognized to grant privileges or special benefits to strategically placed groups bringing incentives for maintaining or transforming racial inequality. Racism informs and shapes the interpretation and intertwining relationship of culture, class, gender, and capitalism. Stuart Hall confirms, “In part, this must be because one cannot explain racism in abstraction from other social relations – even if, alternatively, one cannot explain it by reducing it to those relations . . . to show how thoroughly racism is reorganized and rearticulated. . .” (2002, p. 57). Race and class not only coexist, they also rely on racism, and classism, for one cannot oppress without the others.

Examining the relationship between race and class simply is not enough. The problem is not that these two discourses fail by not acknowledging the issues of race or class, but that they alone are inadequate when examining the full dimensions of segregation through racism and classism (Hall, 1996). Strategically stratified classes gives rise to particular “life chances, or status order or ranked hierarchy which emphasize economic structures and processes. Any sort of unequal exchange symbolizes a “class” system.

Effects of class conflict are racially oriented around political and economic interests. White privilege is inherent through the production of traditional powers that appear to indirectly aim towards segregated powerless and marginalized human subjects (Lipsitz, 1995). Interests such as labor or immigration policy can be attributed to capitalists who seek higher profits and a more effective way to control the labor process. Strategies are used to “divide and rule” or to limit competition from lower-paid minority workers by which capitalists or white workers gain what minority workers lose. Forces of white privilege are understood to include all whites and is seen to impose inequalities in labor, capital, and consumption of goods in order to maximize white gain. A society in which inequality is in the interests of some but not all and state policies such as minimum wage laws, labor laws, are undertaken in response to the demands of white workers who are anxious to protect their jobs from competition from non-whites.

Race is not unique as a category of difference. Class, age, nationality, and culture have all been invoked to capture and explain the process of “othering” which is used to justify subordinate status, unequal treatment, to structure oppression and exploitation in various ways. One example is rather than equalizing education across the board, spending is less in schools that serve predominantly low-income and minority students than it is in schools that serve more

affluent and white students experiences. Social stratification and distribution of institutional arrangements such as political systems and laws are set by hegemonic ideals of what is “normal” or “white.”

Defining Racism

Historically, racism has been viewed as a set of negative feelings, beliefs, and actions directed against segregated minority races, particularly African Americans (Feagin et al., 2012). Racism was understood as feelings of contempt, disgust, hostility, and hatred toward Blacks, and a belief that they were inherently inferior to whites. Racism also included a number of negatively stereotyped traits such as laziness, criminality, low intelligence, and impulsiveness (Parker, Deyhle, & Sofia, 1999). Racist actions ranged from job and housing discrimination because of race, color, or class, to segregation and even physical abuse. Dominant society racializes different minority groups at different times, in response to capitalist needs with definite social consequences. Omi and Winant assert that race is unstable as it is constantly being transformed by political struggle. “Race is not something rooted in nature, something that reflects clear and discrete variations in human identity. But race is also not an illusion . . . race is indeed real as a social category with definite social consequences. . .” (2015, p. 110). Those social consequences extend to racism which remains because it still “pays off” economically, politically and within cultural institutions as it interacts and infiltrates institutions, identities, and experiences.

These social dimensions that the white society embraces, draws lines of exclusion and segregation, controlling the racially defined minority groups. Laws that are made to construct what is “normalized” – whiteness; where race becomes the descriptor of group identity, racism

draws dimensions of social stratification and distribution, of institutional arrangements, political systems, and laws.

When viewed through a conservative lens, the definition of race and ethnicity may appear complicated, or skewed. The boundaries defined by society's middle-class segregate by design, which enforces race and class. Likewise, if class is the only construct of representation, then as Stuart Hall asserts, capitalism is then relieved of race (Hall, 2002). However, capitalism needs race to differentiate among individuals along the racial lines that reveal themselves through ideological and political work. The white middle-class drives the necessity for race to maintain a continuous supply of working-class labor forces. Hegemony consecutively maintains what is normal and what is marginalized so that the working-class are informed of where they should live, work, and go to school. These intersections, which are maintained by white privileged society, ultimately begin and continue to define and construct boundaries of society.

Capitalism's power and control over the marginalized minority population maintains the manipulation of where the marginalized live, their employment opportunities, government representation, and lack of education (Lipsitz, 1995). Class, which is constructed by society, is dominated by the white middle-class in order to have power and control over those individuals that society deems different, deviant, or dysfunctional (Crenshaw K., 1997). Just as the historical process is cyclical, these constructs are always changing to serve the needs of the middle-class and capitalism.

However, poverty is far more than a personal problem; it is a social issue. Historically, a person's financial status was accompanied by specific beliefs regarding moral worth. In the discourse around poverty, it is common to blame individuals who are deemed "non-worthy" for

their poverty: if they had obtained an education, were honest, got a job, or were hard working, they could make it in America (Henderson & Tickamyer, 2009, p. 65). However, the white middle-class do not realize that poverty is not just about money; it also involves the intersections that create racism and classism, and is through no fault of the individual. The misconceptions that disadvantaged individuals are lazy, or are satisfied living on welfare are harmful effects that are constructed to segregate and name the marginalized. The consequence of this construction is seen in individuals and families with disparities of food insecurities, unemployment, substandard housing, and access to healthcare, all of which are interwoven into people's social location and identities.

Racial subordination and economic exploitation do not take place without one another. Instead, they exist inside a system of racialized and gendered capitalism that uses race and racism to create an exploited segment of a workforce. Latina domestic workers found themselves working as nannies, cleaners, hotel maids, seamstresses, and even in sweatshops (Weis & Fine, 2005). These women would allow for the illusion of upward mobility for the middle-class to appear as the super-rich. If not for the ability to pay below standard wages to Latinas, the middle-class would not be able to finance their lifestyle. The poverty that Latinas face because of their economic marginality and domestic significance makes them even more vulnerable than their male counterparts. Criminalization of poverty, immigration restrictions, and homelessness of Latino population is focused on the marginalized working-class (Crenshaw, K. 2012). These politically capitalist acts against the rights of Latinas produce disciplinary policing and subordination in all realms of their lives. Latinas suffer the effects of these political

policies, regardless of whether they are natural-born citizens, documented, or undocumented immigrants (Chomsky, 2014).

An example of politically racialized purpose is the relationship between capitalism, race, and class. The connection between Latino identity and illegality serves multiple political purposes, when deemed desirable by the demands of capitalism. The border opens and closes at the will of the U.S. government, and of capitalism and its need for cheap labor (Gonzales-Berry, 2007). Latino subordinate inclusion within the U.S. is primarily for exploitation as farm workers, domestic servants, gardeners, factory workers, or nannies (Lipsitz, 2012). The portrayal of Latino immigrants as “illegals” serves white supremacy as a device for the racialization and subordination of all Latinos, regardless of their citizenship status (Chomsky, 2014). Government raids on workplaces simply remove those without documentation; then U.S. capitalism brings them back across the border to the factory after the inspection (McLagen, E. 2007). For Latinos, this uncertainty creates fear surrounding job unpredictability and a resulting instability in the lives of workers and their families. Through all of the chaos within their everyday lives, Latinos become even more invisible as they lose their everyday right to bargain freely over wages and working conditions. The current system set forth by the privileged white sustains inequality to ensure that Latinos have no secure housing, and no ability to make long-term goals. Vulnerable, segregated, and racialized, Latino’s work goes unacknowledged and their communities continue to be exploited.

Intentional discrimination historically created vulnerabilities which are based on disfavored identity categories. Although anyone can be a victim of discrimination, Latinas suffer collateral injuries from barriers to housing that are collective and cumulative in nature. At the

intersections of race and gender, the welfare and dignity of Latinas are undermined by the national failure to enforce fair housing and fair employment laws, and by the concentration of poverty in neighborhoods inhabited largely by Latinos (Gonzales-Berry, 2007). Segregation produces an excess of public policies and private actions, and entails more than denials of rights and resources to individuals; exclusion exhibits the existence and extent of a concentrated political attack on communities of color. Latinas unfortunately play a pivotal role because policies are legitimized by the normative culture, and hegemonic family structure (Montoya, M; Delgado, G. 2012). This accelerates actual intersectional vulnerabilities that are created by multiple forms of contemporary capitalism, race, and gendered exploitation. This is important because capitalism functions under the guise that immigrant individuals will assimilate to the hegemonic culture and language.

In the meantime, humanity in the U.S is bound by colonial capitalism and the need for cheap labor to provide for the middle-class. Therefore, capitalism becomes the primary organizing tool for society to ensure racism, classism, and gender inequality, thereby allowing race to segregate and marginalize those who are different so the white privileged can exercise power and control as long as society allows.

Inequalities in Latino Education

Discriminatory education

Discriminatory education for Latino students is found in classrooms, which are limited to teaching in only the English language. Rather than meeting Latino students where their language and culture are equal concepts, they instead are challenged by the ability to learn white culture and the English language, and lack support inside the classroom (Madrid, 2011). However, in a

white Eurocentric classroom, achievement for Latino students is internalized when the school's programs begin to transmit knowledge through Latino student's culture and language. Racism through language in education is resolved using *dual-language immersion* (DLI) programs where a more rounded education in culture and language are internalized by all students (Books, 2007). DLI programs promote language learning through academic content instruction in both languages. Another goal is that each student becomes proficient in using both languages for communication purposes.

DLI programs reject the ideology of racism through English dominance that exists in most schools and official contexts (Freeman, 2000). Ultimately, DLI programs have become transitional, "with the explicit goal being the 'mainstreaming' of children into English-only classrooms" (Garcia 2014, p. 66). Unfortunately, this does not account for school districts that maintain DLI programs only in elementary schools, which fail to address Latino students who enter in at either middle school or high school. The abandonment of DLI programs by the public school system in middle school and high school reinforces racism as the system fails to meet Latino students' needs, resulting in high numbers of students who drop out. Segregated by race in an institution that's sole propose is to educate, Latino students exhibit performance at lower levels academically by no fault of their own.

Educational research has focused on low academic achievement by Latino students by emphasizing: lack of DLI education programs, Latino students' segregation in schools, tracking Latino students into CTE programs, and inequities in finance of segregated schools (Wei, 2014b). Marginalized and subjected, Latino English language learners (ELL) are required to be in English-only classes, which fail to provide a quality education with equal educational

outcomes. Academic proficiency is limited as ELL education is limited only to elementary school, after which Latino students are expected to be proficient enough in the English language to learn and be tested on academic material in English (Wei, 2014b). Academic achievement, well-furnished schools, highly qualified teachers, and the possibility of entering into higher education is realized only for white students.

Educational Barriers

Children who live in poverty, on average, perform at lower levels academically regardless of whether the language they speak is Spanish or English (Gandara, 2010). Contrary to stereotypes and interpretations, speaking Spanish is not fundamentally what holds Latino students back academically; opportunities for learning is a far more important factor (Madrid, 2011). Compared to students in poorer, high-minority districts, students in wealthier, mostly white districts get much more of almost everything that money can buy for schools: nicer buildings, better teachers, newer textbooks, more extracurricular activities, and state-of-the-art equipment (Weis & Fine, 2005). Well-qualified teachers lured by better teaching facilities, higher-performing students, and more supportive administration and parents, are dedicated to the student's intellectual development, which in turn grants the students better opportunities for scholarships, 4-year universities, and a more promising future. Latino students in lower SES areas attend schools whose physical infrastructure is often in need of repair, where classrooms lack high-tech equipment, and teachers lack credentials (Weis & Fine, 2005). These same students often are forced to share textbooks that are either outdated, in short supply, or are in disrepair, and have few electives or extracurricular opportunities due to a lack of district funding and community financial support. Rather than equalizing education across the board, spending is

less in schools that serve predominantly low-income and minority students than it is in schools that serve more affluent and white students (Books, 2007).

Social foundations of education bear insight to conflicts that Latino students endure despite language and cultural differences. Still, testing accountability raises politicized concerns for class and race rather than linking test scores to the classrooms, schools, and districts (Jambulapati, 2011a). The invisibility of Latino students should hold school districts and schools accountable for overcrowded, dilapidated schools with unqualified teachers. Latino students become victims of substandard curriculums, and the focus of standardized test scores results in low graduation and high dropout rates (Jambulapati, 2011a). Latino student population faces significant barriers to academic success. They are twice as likely as white students to be economically disadvantaged and more likely to drop out (Madrid, 2011). There are educational, political, and academic disparities for Latino students who are marginalized by socially constructed intersections of racism, and classism.

A long history of racial oppression has made being white and speaking English the normative of society. This white culture shows itself when teachers instruct history, literature, writing, or fail to recognize and credit Latino history, language, and culture (Baskin, P. 2015). It is easy to ignore the normative quality of white in education, and in doing so, the inequities of being Latino are made silent. It is through white norms and values that white American education is shaped to ignore Latino history, culture, and language, resulting in “subtractive schooling” (Valenzuela, 1999). In the schoolroom, there is a fundamental understanding that some people are better than others, and standardized tests are designed to reinforce this. Practices of privilege, discrimination, and hierarchy promote excellence, which is an effective

motivational device for students (Flores, A. 2007). Through practices such as segregation of class and race, education, and school, systems restore a sense of white supremacy and separate existence. Teachers who are assigned to classes of students labeled as “bright” must also have students who will graduate with honors and move to 4-year universities and obtain degrees resulting in middle-class employment (Gandara, P. 2010).

As resources are drawn away from Latino students, education discriminates and draws resources away from Spanish language education (Valenzuela, 1999). There are four assumptions made for this argument. The first is that there is no value in bilingualism, or fluency in a language or culture other than English (Valenzuela, 1999). The second assumption is that fluency in any language except English interferes with education, or at least does not contribute to education in any meaningful way (Valenzuela, 1999). The third assumption is that research on these issues is irrelevant based on personal experiences and opinions of English speakers (Valenzuela, 1999). The fourth and final assumption is that white English speaking members of the public are perfectly capable of deciding what is best for non-English speaking minority children (Valenzuela, 1999). These assumptions are problematic as Latino students experience racialization through classes and tests that are given only in English, thereby requiring strong English reading and writing skills, and therefore designed by default for white privileged students, which results in achievement gaps. It is perhaps not surprising, then, the difference in student outcomes from standardized tests designed for white, affluent, and English speaking students.

Chapter Three: Methods

Introduction

Chapter three focuses on research methods. It describes the research method, design, and appropriateness of the methods used. This study utilizes secondary datasets from two official databases, to explore the relationships of race, class, and segregation in Salem Oregon high schools. The data is derived from the U.S Census Bureau and the Oregon Department of Education, from 2000 – 2013. I analyze this data using exploratory data analysis (EDA). With descriptive analysis, I use the population of Latino and white high school students localized in the SKSD to assess research questions and inquire into racism, classism, and segregation.

To achieve this, I use sets of both outcomes and explanatory factors. The outcomes are: school boundaries, school population, square footage of facilities, scholarships, standardized test scores, graduation rates, NCLB, SIG, and SOC, transportation, income, wealth, education and occupation. The explanatory factors are: racism, classism, geographic location, SES, and ethnicity.

Research Method and Design Appropriateness

EDA is data driven to analyze, investigate, and summarize secondary data objectively (Sematech, 2015). EDA promotes realistic statements of accuracy by looking for flexible ways to examine secondary data without preconceptions. In this study, EDA is the optimum choice when compared to inferential analysis, which uses a small randomly sampled population to estimate both the quantity of data, and any uncertainties about the estimates (Smith, 2015).

This study uses EDA with descriptive analysis, which allows for a case study of various factors. Consequently, this enables different ways of looking at the secondary data. Descriptive analysis asks “what, why, and how” a particular explanatory factor becomes influenced by an outcome (Creswell, 1994). In this sense, descriptive analysis maps the way for analysis of the data, while EDA allows investigation of secondary data. The graphics derived from EDA data are reliant on descriptive analysis to map, correlate, and compare factors from two or more groups (Smith, 2015). I utilize data from the U.S. Census Bureau and the ODE to compare secondary data of two groups: Latino, and white ethnicities, specifically high school students in the SKSD. This research design helps uncover underlying structures, explore potential relationships between factors, test underlying assumptions, and detect outliers and anomalies.

Descriptive analysis uses algorithms that can be created differently. Outcomes are mapped to enable the researcher to study various topics (Creswell, 1994). For example, “school population” or “standardized test scores” are outcomes used in this study to visualize research questions about racism. My investigations into various outcomes reveal issues that influence and define research questions. Descriptive analysis effectively organizes the study from the general groups of outcomes to more specific notions considered in this study, for example, racism.

The goal of quantitative research, whether using primary or secondary data, is to determine the relationship between explanatory factors and outcomes (Smith, 2015). In addition, EDA research along with descriptive analysis establish associations between factors. To achieve an accurate relationship between factors, descriptive analysis study uses multiple options that make the relationship less likely to be biased (Smith, 2015).

Feminist qualitative research allows for subjects' voices to be heard, and this would be another choice for a future research study. Constrained by time and the need to attain parental permissions for interviews, I had to limit my research methods. Therefore, I determined that the optimal research method was to use EDA paired with descriptive analysis to analyze secondary data, which in turn would reveal objective and unbiased data analysis.

Research Questions

In order to accomplish the purpose of this study, I address the following research questions:

1. Why are there disparities in educational opportunities and achievements for Latino students in DMHS?
2. How do federal and state school grants resolve discrepancies in educational opportunities for Latino students within SKSD?
3. Are there significant demographic differences in class and race between the areas of west Salem and northeast Salem, and do the readjusted SKSD school boundaries potentially affect Latino students obtaining an equal education?

Population

The main focus of this research is high school students in Salem. I specifically focus on Latino high school students attending DMHS, who reside in low SES, and come from working-class families. My study compares Latino students from DMHS to white high school students attending WSHS, who are members of middle-class families.

Data Collection and Analysis

This study relied on secondary data that I collected from two official websites: Oregon Department of Education, and U.S Census Bureau. I selected the data categories, identified below, which were chosen in accordance to the data analysis plan:

- Percentage of ethnicities for DMHS and WSHS to explore possible segregation due to the school boundaries.
- Percentage of ethnicities for DMHS and WSHS to explore possible historical process of segregation due to the school boundaries.
- Attendance percentages for both DMHS and WSHS to correlate dropout rates with graduation percentages.
- Percentage of students listed as “economically disadvantaged” from DMHS and WSHS to compare location of high schools with economic status of students to find possible segregation due to SES.
- State standardized test scores for DMHS and WSHS from 2001 – 2013 to explore the possibility of low test scores due to state grants, individual schools, and unequal educational opportunities.
- SAT test scores for DMHS and WSHS from 2008 – 2013 to discover possibilities of state grants creating unequal educational opportunities.
- Average family income, cost, and number of houses for zip codes of DMHS and WSHS from 2000 – 2013 to discover the history of segregation by location by SKSD because of SES.

In exploring racial formation theory to address the research questions, I use the data analysis to address a number of research issues such as racism, classism, and segregation as addressed in the following two chapters. Chapter four offers the results from descriptive analysis when the outcomes are applied using EDA. The data is illustrated in graphs that correlate and

compare factors from two or more groups. Chapter five consolidates the findings of this study by exploring the explanatory factors.

Validity and Reliability

As the research relies on secondary data derived from two sources, as mentioned above, it was important for me to ensure the validity and reliability of these sources. Both sources have a number of checks and balances to ascertain the validity of the data published on their websites. The Census Bureau bases its information on reliable and accurate data that have been validated. Data captured in an economic census must be edited to identify and correct reporting errors. Data edits detect and validate data by considering factors such as proper classification for a given record, historical reporting for the record and industry/geographic ratios and averages. This encompasses development and determination of survey requirements and objectives, precision, desired, geographic scope, collection mode and respondent, the sampling frame, sample design, estimation specifications, variance estimation specifications, and other quality measurement specifications (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015).

The Census Bureau builds measurement of quality, process control, and performance into its data collection processes. The secure handling of collected data will be assured by appropriate means throughout the entire data collection process to preserve confidentiality and privacy. The Census Bureau also comprehensively documents all components of the data collection process to assure the consistency of its processes. The Census Bureau provides information that is accurate, reliable, and unbiased, and ensures that its information products are presented in an accurate, clear, complete and unbiased manner. This objectivity is achieved by

using reliable data sources and sound analytical techniques and by using highly qualified people to prepare data products that are carefully reviewed (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015).

In addition, data captured by ODE is edited and allowed verification for accuracy from districts to report errors. The Oregon Department of Education publishes data and allows schools and districts to appeal any questionable data every six months (Preliminary Tests Administration Manual, 2015). Individual establishment records are tabulated in different ways based on data product and analytical needs (Oregon Cumulative Average Daily Membership Manual, 2015). Tabulations include data summed by specified establishment-size, and products. Units of measure are converted from collected units and a variety of data flags and symbols are set and data fields are renamed for dissemination.

Oregon Department of Education assumes responsibility for determining sources of data (including administrative records and other data sources), measurement methods, and methods of data collection and processing. The Oregon Department of Education comprehensively documents all components of the data collection process to assure the consistency of its processes, and has established mechanisms providing individual districts and schools with the opportunity to seek correction of information (Assessment Inclusion Rules for Accountability Reports, 2015). Corrective actions may include possibilities of immediate correction or replacement of the information on the Oregon Department of Education website.

Conclusion

To explore the relationship between outcomes and explanatory factors with secondary datasets from the U.S. Census Bureau and the Oregon Department of Education, my research

uses EDA with descriptive analysis. The method approach and design appropriateness are crucial to exploring race, class and segregation for Latino high school students of DMHS in Salem Oregon. EDA analyzes and summarizes secondary data objectively while allowing for various viewpoints without preconceived notions. Descriptive analysis paves the road for exploration into various options making the relationships between the factors less biased.

I have gathered secondary data from two reliable and verifiable websites. The U.S Census Bureau and the Oregon Department of Education, which both maintain their data with checks and points that allow the states, cities, and the schools a window of opportunity to file the correction/s. With this data, I establish a number of issues in the SKSD in regards to Latino high school students in DMHS. This research is theoretically based on racial formation theory, and methodologically based on analysis of secondary data utilizing EDA to explore explanatory factors like racism, and outcomes like school population. In the following chapter, I explore the data in great details. I analyze the outcomes and offer a description for these assisted by graphs that illustrates the relations between two or more factors.

Chapter Four: Findings and Analysis

This chapter presents the results of the data analysis. The data focuses Latino high school students attending DMHS, who reside in low SES, and come from working-class families. The data compares primarily white high school students living in middle-class families and attending WSHS. Secondary data was collected and then analyzed using EDA to answer research questions listed in the introduction of this thesis. Data collection and subsequent analysis were driven by these fundamental questions:

1. Why are there disparities in educational opportunities and achievements for Latino students in SKSD?
2. How do federal and state school grants resolve discrepancies in educational opportunities for Latino students within SKSD?
3. Are there significant demographic differences in class and race between the areas of west Salem and northeast Salem, and do the readjusted SKSD school boundaries potentially affect Latino students obtaining an equal education?

Answering these questions required developing a base of knowledge about school boundaries, school population, square footage of facilities, scholarships, standardized test scores, graduation rates, NCLB, SIG, and SOC, transportation, income, wealth, education, and occupation. The findings presented in this chapter demonstrate how factors of geographic location, SES, racism, classism, and ethnicity have the potential for creating segregation and impacting education for Latino high school students.

To answer these three questions, I first gathered data regarding the SKSD school boundaries and analyzed segregation between Latinos and whites.

During my research, I found that in the year 2000, the U.S Census Bureau reported west Salem's population was approximately 17,440 residents, with a yearly average income of \$49,241 (see Graph 4.1) (2015). South Salem reported approximately 28,949 residents, with an average yearly income of \$43,496 (see Graph 4.1). North Salem reported 41,798 residents with an average yearly income of \$36,402 (see Graph 4.1). Specifically, the northeast area had a population of 26,000 people, with an average yearly income of \$36,000 (see Graph 4.1).

I found that in 2013, the U.S Census Bureau reported that the WSHS zip code 97304 had a population of 28,871 of which 25,096 (87 percent) were white, and 3,247 (11 percent) were Hispanic (2015). Less densely populated, with a greater percentage of middle-class white students, the facilities of WSHS are reflective of students who have successful after school activities, drive cars (5 parking lots), and thrive on parental, community and school support (see Illustration 4.7). In comparison, the northeast zip code 97305 had a population of 38,466 of which 20,603 (53 percent) were Hispanic and 13,810 (36 percent) were white (U.S Census Bureau, 2015). More densely populated with less houses and more apartments, DMHS is surrounded by strip malls and convenience stores (see Illustration 4.6). Illustration 4.6 shows the inability of the working-class to financially support DMHS. Field turf football field and two parking lots exemplifies the low numbers of students driving cars and after school activities that lack financial support. In the following analysis, I will discuss whether income was a major factor in segregation.

Next, I gathered the percentage of ethnicities by school for DMHS and WSHS, to explore the possible historical process of segregation due to school boundaries. During the 2011–2012 school year, DMHS reported that 65 percent of their students were Hispanic (see Graph 4.2). In comparison, WSHS reported only 24 percent of their students were Hispanic (see Graph 4.2). Therefore, Latino students were geographically concentrated at DMHS (see Graph 4.3). In addition, the population of Latinos for DMHS steadily increasing from 2001–2011 (see Graph 4.3), with 65 percent Hispanic and 24 percent white during the 2011 – 2012 school year (see Graph 4.2). Meanwhile the population of whites decreased from DMHS (see Graph 4.3). In contrast, WSHS student population from 2002 – 2011 revealed steadily increasing numbers of white students (see Graph 4.3) and in the 2011 – 2012 school year, WSHS reported a 19 percent Hispanic and 69 percent white student body (Oregon Department of Education, 2015) (see Graph 4.2).

Next, I explored the interaction between attendance percentages and dropout rates for both DMHS and WSHS to address the question of whether the CTE program is a favorable alternative to low dropout rates and increased test scores for DMHS. During the time period between 2002 and 2003, DMHS had the highest “year 4 dropout rate, with 33.7 percent” of their fourth-year students dropping out of high school. During the 2011–2012 school year at DMHS, only 73 percent of students attended 90 percent or more school days per year (see Graph 4.6), (Oregon Department of Education, 2015). However, the DMHS dropout rate has continually declined from 2010–2011 from 1.5 percent to .2 percent for the 2012 – 2013 school year. This number is the lowest dropout rate in the district. Although attendance percentages for WSHS students are higher, with 95 percent of students attending 90 percent or more school days per

year (see Graph 4.6), the dropout rate stays fairly consistent. In 2010–2011, the WSHS dropout rate was 0.7 percent, and by the 2012–2013 school year, the rate has dropped to 0.6 percent (Oregon Department of Education, 2015).

To check for possible segregation due to SES, I compared the percentage of students from both DMHS and WSHS that were considered “economically disadvantaged.” Economic status is based upon an average family’s monthly income. Families in WSHS maintain a higher average monthly income of \$2,492 (see Graph 4.7). This is reflected in the WSHS report card, which lists only 35 percent of their students as economically disadvantaged (Oregon Department of Education, 2015). In comparison, DMHS families have an average monthly income of 1,244 (see Graph 4.7), and greater than 95 percent of students at DMHS are reported as economically disadvantaged (Oregon Department of Education, 2015).

Next, I compared state standardized test scores for DMHS and WSHS from 2001–2013 to explore the possibility that low test scores were as a result of state grants and unequal educational opportunities. State OAKS test scores consistently showed that Latino students were academically falling behind white students in the SKSD (see Graph 4.8). During the 2002–2003 school year, DMHS 10th grade students had OAKS test scores averaging at: reading 32 percent, math 28 percent, math problem solving 56 percent, and writing 73 percent (Oregon Department of Education, 2015). In the SKSD, Latino students maintained approximately the same scores for the school years 2012–2013 and 2013–2014 in all subject areas, even though some Latino students moved during the SOC grant. During the same year, white students in the SKSD achieved slightly lesser scores in the areas of science and math (see Graph 4.8).

In order to check for the possibilities of state grants creating educational opportunities, I compared SAT test scores from the Oregon Department of Education for DMHS and WSHS from 2008–2013 (2015). During this time, DMHS students scored lower on SAT test scores than WSHS students (see Graph 4.9). When DMHS students transferred to WSHS in 2010, WSHS average SAT test scores did not change (see Graph 4.9). However, during this same time, SAT test scores at DMHS fell slightly (see Graph 4.9). When transportation between high schools was removed during the 2012–2013 school year, those students who could not afford their own transportation returned to DMHS. During this same year, SAT test scores at DMHS raised slightly (see Graph 4.9).

Finally, I explored segregation and the interaction between the average monthly family income from 2000–2013, and the number of houses and their average cost. Prior to 2002, SKSD school boundary lines already segregated students from middle-class families and students from working-class families (see Illustration 4.4). When WSHS was built in 2002, the boundary lines maintained the middle-class in Salem’s west, south, and southeast areas, and the poorer, working-class in the north and northeast areas (see Graph 4.3, and Illustration 4.4) (U.S Census Bureau, 2015).

Research from the U.S Census Bureau revealed that within the DMHS SES area during 2011-2012, the average monthly family income was \$1,244, and statistical data lists only 1,640 single-family homes (2015) (see Illustration 4.6). This differs vastly from west Salem, where residents have a monthly average family income of \$2,492 and there are 3,604 reported single-family homes (see Graph 4.6 and Illustration 4.7).

In the WSHS district, the average yearly family income in 2013 was \$75,574 (United States Census Bureau, 2015). This difference in monthly income illustrates why families in the WSHS district can afford to purchase houses that range in price from \$280,000 to \$1 million (Zillow, 2015) (see Illustration 4.7). In contrast, the DMHS district's average yearly family income in 2013 was \$43,737 (United States Census Bureau, 2015). Home values in the DMHS district also are drastically lower at \$100,000 - \$149,000 (Zillow, 2015) (see Illustration 4.6).

As stated in chapter one, students in high-minority districts and who live in poverty generally attend schools that are insufficiently funded and overpopulated, resulting in lower standardized test scores and graduation rates. With ill-equipped schools and unmotivated teachers, students also perform at lower academic levels. Consistent with wealthier districts, white students living in wealthier and more established districts have higher standardized test scores, higher graduation rates, and greater chances of continuing on in higher education. However, if students from working-class families living in poverty are given the same educational opportunities as the middle-class students, will the significant academic differences between the different classes be equalized? Finally, will Latino students from working class families, be given an opportunity to an equal education by federal and state funded grants? By comparing ethnicity percentages, test scores, graduation rates, dropout percentages, and average family income, the data indicates that race is socially constructed in order to dominate and control the minority population; which reveals the predicted duration of racial formation theory as discussed earlier in this thesis.

Descriptive Results

Illustration 1.1 displays the current high school boundaries of SKSD. It highlights the boundaries for west, south, and northeast Salem schools. The boundaries for North Salem and Douglas McKay high schools are concentrated in the working-class population areas, consisting of the highest percentage of Latino students in the most densely populated area.

Graph 1.2 displays the total square feet of each of the six high schools. Notably, DMHS is the second smallest high school with the second largest population next to North Salem High School. WSHS is the fourth largest school, yet has the smallest student population. The difference in square footage and school population is a factor of educational inequality due to the simple fact that more students require more space.

Graph 4.1 presents data gathered from the U.S Census Bureau that reveals the average yearly income and population from the south, west, north, and northeast sections of Salem for the year 2000. West Salem is the lowest populated area with the highest average yearly income. This is in stark contrast to north Salem, which is the most densely populated area with the lowest yearly average income. Although northeast Salem appears to have a low population, this does not account for undocumented individuals who may not have reported to the U.S Census.

Graph 4.2 presents the percentage of ethnicities within WSHS and DMHS, revealing that the largest percentage of Latino students (65 percent) reside at DMHS. Latino students therefore are highly segregated in northeast Salem. Conversely, the predominantly white middle-class students (69 percent) reside in the west Salem area.

Graph 4.3 displays the distribution of Latino and white students between WSHS and DMHS from the year 2000–2014. As expected, the results echo those of Graph 4.2, illustrating the gradual increase of Latino students in the northeast, and the increase of white students in the west. With the building of WSHS in 2002, a pattern emerges with gentrification and economics forcing the lower-class minority to the northeast Salem area. Unfortunately, racialization masks huge differences across Latino populations, which inevitably includes explanatory factors of racism, classism, ethnicity, SES, and geographic location.

It is also true that when the SOC grant was instituted in 2010 there was a direct relationship of the increase in student population for WSHS and a decrease in student population for DMHS. This reveals the fact that free transportation from the SOC grant is the main cause of the population difference, which is mainly due to Latino students from DMHS being able to transfer to WSHS. When the transportation grant was removed in 2012, explanatory factors of ethnicity, classism, racism, and SES impacted the student populations, as well as the percentages of ethnicities. The working-class students who were unable to afford their own transportation were forced to return to DMHS.

Illustration 4.4 presents the boundary lines drawn by SKSD in 2001. It is important to note that prior to the opening of WSHS in 2002, the students who would attend WSHS still attended South Salem High School. The U.S Census Bureau reports that in 2001, the south and west Salem areas were lightly populated with middle-class families, while the north and northeast areas were more densely populated with working-class families.

Illustration 4.5 presents the boundary lines drawn by SKSD in 2002 when WSHS was opened. One striking difference is the boundary lines that were originally South Salem high

school were changed by the division of the West Salem Bridge. Specifically, although North Salem and Douglas McKay high schools represent the higher student populations, and DMHS is the second smallest school, SKSD did not adjust the boundary lines to equalize the population, emphasizing explanatory factors of SES, classism, and geographic location for the students. SKSD's failure to shift the boundary lines—and subsequently address student populations—resulted in overcrowding and segregation of working-class students attending the North Salem and Douglas McKay high schools.

Illustration 4.6 illustrates the demographics of DMHS, zip code 97305, in 2015 (Google earth, 2015). DMHS, built in 1979, is the 2nd smallest school of 6 high schools, with a field turf football field, one baseball field, and two parking lots with 20 percent more students than WSHS. Economic disparities reinforce classism with the average yearly income of \$43,737 per household (United States Census Bureau, 2015). The map displays a lower number of houses compared to the high number of apartments as displayed in illustration 4.6, emphasizes explanatory factors of SES and classism. Working-class families are unable to afford houses and are forced to live in high densely populated areas with apartments. SKSD boundaries segregate with the smallest population in the newest school and one of the largest population of students in the oldest facilities.

Illustration 4.7 illustrates the demographics of WSHS, zip code 97304, in 2015 (Google Earth, 2015). West Salem high school, built in 2002, is the 4th largest school of 6 high schools, with an artificial turf, four baseball fields, five parking lots and four tennis courts with 20 percent **less** students than McKay. Middle-class families living in a sparsely populated area averaging \$75,574 per year are able to afford houses (United States Census Bureau, 2015). The illustration

4.7 emphasizes how SES influences the ability of the school to maintain state of the art equipment and successful after school activities. Students from WSHS, with the newest school in the district, have all of the amenities to be highly successful giving them greater chances of continuing on to higher education.

Graph 4.6 shows the percentage outcomes of economically disadvantaged, English learners, and students which attend 90 percent or more school days per year. Students from SKSD receive 166 days of instruction. 73 percent of students from DMHS attend 90 percent or more days, averaging approximately 121 days a year in comparison to a WSHS students, of which 84 percent attend 90 percent or more averaging approximately 149 days per year. Generally speaking, the same pattern is evident across datasets. The association between education, SES, and language seems particularly notable when analyzing classism and racism. Furthermore, close inspection reveals greater similarities in explanatory factors of SES, geographic location, classism, and the ability to attend school, especially for Latino population at DMHS.

Graph 4.7 shows the strong effect of the average monthly income and availability of number of houses for families in WSHS and DMHS boundaries. Further comparisons between these two explanatory factors reveal statistically significant outcomes. Because DMHS has less expensive housing, working-class Latino families are segregated in northeast Salem. However, there are a minimal number of houses in the DMHS area, leaving families to live in small, older, dilapidated and thus; affordable apartments. This result holds true in baseline models as well as in other outcomes where geographic location and SES are the explanatory factors.

Graph 4.8 compares two years of OAKS state testing—from 2012–2014 for Latino and white high school students. In these tests, Latino students scored consistently lower than white students, suggesting that explanatory factors of geographic location, SES, and ethnicity resulted in an educational inequality.

Graph 4.9 illustrates SAT scores for Latino and white students at both DMHS and WSHS, from 2008–2013. To study the effect of the SOC grant, I compared SAT scores from 2010–2012 for both high schools. These scores indicate that SAT scores for DMHS were relatively unchanged during this time, and that WSHS maintained above-average scores, even though the scores included Latino students who had transferred from DMHS. This points to the need to look at SES, geographic location, and classism. It should be noted that upon the return of Latino students to DMHS, SAT scores raised slightly, presenting the importance of the students who returned to DMHS with an advantage in education from WSHS.

Chart 5.1 compares the difference between a general diploma and a diploma for the Oregon University System. It is important to note the difference for a diploma to go to a 4-year university. Grades must all be a “C” or above and two consecutive years of the same foreign language. The SAT and/or ACT tests are required in addition to a 3.0 GPA minimum. Other areas of science and math, must have 3 years with sequential courses. General diploma requirements do not require a particular grade or GPA. Other classes such as math, science, or social science, do not require courses that are taken sequential and often subsections can vary within a general subject. For example: for a general diploma in math, a student could take a pre-algebra class, algebra and geometry, whereas a University diploma a student would take geometry, algebra II, and pre-calculus.

Graph 5.2 illustrates the 2015 national education ranking for West Salem and Douglas McKay high school. This graph illustrates a college readiness score, mathematics proficiency and reading proficiency. West Salem High School students are more prepared for college and their reading readiness is almost one point higher than Douglas McKay High School. Mathematics for both schools are relatively close.

Summary

In this chapter, I analyzed explanatory factors with outcomes such as school boundaries, school population, and square footage of facilities, scholarships, standardized test scores, graduation rates, NCLB, SIG, and SOC, transportation, income, wealth, and education. Exploratory data analysis investigates, and summarizes secondary data obtained from the ODE and U.S Census Bureau. Through descriptive analysis, outcomes such as standardized test scores and school population are assessed, revealing specific notions of racism, classism, geographic location, SES, and ethnicity.

In terms of disparities in educational opportunities and achievements for Latino students in DMHS, the results from EDA reveal that:

1. SKSD school boundaries segregate Latino from whites, with the greater population of Latino families residing in the DMHS area.
2. Historically, SKSD individual school boundaries segregate Latino and whites according to class and ethnicity.
3. Students from SKSD have 166 days of instruction. On average, a student from DMHS attends approximately 121 days a year in comparison to a WSHS student,

who attends approximately 149 days per year. Therefore, the lack of attendance becomes deleterious to the student's academic future.

4. Latino students live in considerably lower SES, which is a functional limitation of equal education, educational resources, and accessibility to higher education.

In terms of federal and state grants, the results from data gathered revealed that:

1. The SKSD's use of federal and state grants contributed to the inequality of education for Latino students. Graphs indicate that the educational impact of removing the SOC transportation grant resulted in Latino students returning to DMHS, and being forced to once again attend the second smallest school in SKSD with the largest population.
2. OAKS test scores changed relatively little for DMHS and WSHS during the SOC grant, which provides strong evidence that Latino students thrive in an educational environment that is enriched with financial and administrative support. Further comparison of scores from 2013–2014 reveals that students returning to DMHS contributed to the higher test scores.
3. Lower SAT scores for DMHS from 2008–2013 correspond with a lower percentage of students obtaining a higher education. In comparison, during the SOC grant from 2010–2013, scores at WSHS maintained above-average levels. Combined together, the results above indicate that Latino students experienced a substantially higher level of education with an enriched learning environment at WSHS.

In terms of class and race segregation, because of SES and geographical location, the results from the data reveal:

1. In 2001 the U.S Census Bureau reported that middle-class families were centrally located in the South Salem and West Salem high school boundaries. Building WSHS and failing to adjust school boundaries—and subsequently student populations—segregated middle-class families to the South Salem and West Salem high school, and left the working class families in the North Salem and Douglas McKay high schools. This resulted in overpopulating DMHS, and causing a statistically significant difference between quality of education between DMHS and WSHS.
2. Differences in SES reveals that students with a lower average family income and lack of affordable housing are less likely to complete high school. Families from DMHS experience a negative relationship with average lower monthly income, and a lack of affordable housing causing more families to live in densely populated low-income apartments in the DMHS zip code area.

In this chapter, I analyzed the effect of explanatory factors such as geographic location, racism, classism, SES, and ethnicity on the outcomes of school boundaries, school population, square footage of facilities, scholarships, standardized test scores, graduation rates, NCLB, SIG, and SOC, transportation, income, wealth, and education. In terms of disparities in educational opportunities, factors such as racism, classism, geographic location, and ethnicity contribute to unequal education and segregation between the areas of northeast Salem and west Salem.

Through the data, it becomes apparent that persistent inequality is the result of these factors, and

that this inequality continues to restrict learning for Latino students of DMHS. As a result, this subsequently limits Latino students' opportunities for advancement beyond the poverty characteristic of their working-class status in northeast Salem.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

A Tale of Two Schools

This study reinforces what is known about education inequality, and why SKSD—regulated under the NCLB, SIG, and SOC—did not facilitate improvements for Latino students’ educational outcome, as they did for white students. By closely analyzing the formation of race and intersections of racism and classism at WSHS and DMHS, dominant ideologies imbedded in white society are problematized to recognize the significance and quality of education for Latino students. The data retrieved from U.S Census Bureau and ODE databases were analyzed using EDA, and revealed the failure of SKSD to adequately address DMHS overpopulation of students, low test scores, graduation rates, dropout rates, and inequality of education during the period of 2008–2012; whereas during this same time, WSHS maintained its minimal population, thriving test scores and graduation rates. After much analysis, a common theme emerged: education and achievement was for the white middle-class, but not for the segregated working-class Latino students of DMHS.

By the year 2025, it is estimated that 25 percent of all students enrolled in the U.S in grades K–12 will be Latino (United States Census Bureau, 2015). Therefore, it is imperative to improve academic achievement for Latino students not only for the public school system, but also for the state’s and nation’s social, political, and economic future. Latino students in Oregon are disproportionately affected by the Oregon educational system’s increasing inability to address the achievement gap between Latino and white students. Generally, the current state of U.S schools that are serving Latino students are inadequately funded, overcrowded, under-equipped, and have teachers who ill-equipped to instruct in overpopulated classrooms

(ECONorthwest, 2009). Although Oregon public schools maintain that education is an equal opportunity movement, in actuality the institution of education lacks equal opportunities for Latino students (Madrid, 2011).

Due to the increasing Latino population in Oregon, it is essential that there exist a corresponding increase in Latinos enrolled in higher education to fill the need for qualified teachers. However, Latino students across the state of Oregon have been (and continue to be) underrepresented in institutions of higher education as a result of low graduation rates from high schools, and an academic environment that discourages Latino students from pursuing university degrees.

As the second-largest school district in Oregon (second only to Portland Public School District) with 65 schools for 40,000 students, SKSD is also home to the largest population of Latino students (Oregon Department of Education, 2015; Salem-Keizer School District, 2015). Therefore, it would seem likely that SKSD would be the largest supplier of Latino students to higher education. However, in fact a very small percentage of Latino students actually graduate from high school and go on to attend a higher education institution (Oregon Department of Education, 2005). With 58 percent of students living in poverty and 19 percent as ELL, SKSD is lacking in funding to provide for students from working-class families (Statesman Journal, 2015). Low test scores, SES, and segregation reveal a commonality of the SKSD's inability to provide for Latino students' futures. However, if segregation and SES are removed, will test scores comparatively increase giving Latino students the same opportunity as the affluent middle-class white student? By comparing two high schools within the same district, using factors of racism, classism, geographic location, SES, and ethnicity, contexts are revealed that

actually prevent Latino students from succeeding. While it is important to note that segregation is a primary factor, it is more important to disentangle the fundamentals that contribute to education inequality such as: The NCLB Act, SIG, SOC Grant, and the CTE program. This chapter explains the findings that result from comparing WSHS and DMHS, and from secondary data analysis that represents segregation and inequality of education for Latino students at DMHS.

When WSHS was built, it maintained a boundary of primarily white middle-class, (see Graph 4.1) west of the Willamette River (see Illustration 4.5). It became the fourth largest high school in the district, yet even today, houses the lowest population of students (see Graph 1.2). WSHS is supplied with state-of-the-art school equipment, supplies, technology, and the best teachers who migrated from the other, less privileged SKSD high schools (U.S. News, 2015) (see Illustration 4.7). The U.S Census Bureau lists the west Salem zip code (97304) as having middle-class families averaging \$75,574 a year in 2013, and living in homes averaging \$280,000 to \$1 million (2015; Zillow, 2015). Access to housing is limited to the middle-class, where elements of white privilege are evident due to gentrification; the once disintegrating apartments are now two- and three-story houses. Class-based disparities in wealth and income distribution greatly impact which side of the bridge a family lives on, and where a student attends school. These demographics of WSHS manifest in classism as well as racism. The notion that “over there,” or, “on the other side of the bridge,” created the description of a city divided, and a pocketed community thriving in its entirety (Williams, 1997, p. 7). Although west Salem is the affluent community, it was not always a community of its own.

The historical process of segregation by SKSD can be traced to 2001, before WSHS was opened (see Illustration 4.4). The middle-class to the south and the working-class to the north and northeast begat a scenario of classism when creating school boundaries. Geography and economic coercion remained true in historical fashion, reinforcing segregation by class; those that could afford to live on the west side, and those that couldn't moved to the north and northeast areas in Salem. Class unity across racial lines correlated to depressed wages, though less so for whites than for Latinos. This combined race and class struggle would force Latino families to move to northeast Salem, into deteriorating, less expensive three-story apartments.

In 2000, the population differences in SKSD high schools reflected racism and classism. The west Salem area had the lowest population with the highest average yearly income, revealing classist segregation due to cost of living (see Graph 4.1). In comparison, the most densely populated and lowest income area is in north Salem, accounting for the high population of working-class families in North Salem High School (see Graph 4.1). Although the northeast area appears less dense, the U.S Census Bureau cautions that the numbers may be misleading due to a potentially higher number of undocumented individuals who might not have been counted (2015).

In 2001, classism was structuring school boundaries. South Salem High School was enrolling students from middle-class families in the west and the south areas of Salem (see Illustration 4.4). Working-class families were left to attend north and northeast schools that were one-third larger in student populations than South Salem High School which covered south and west Salem (see Illustration 4.4). Equality of education for the students of working-class families would only be possible with a redistribution of funding and student numbers by shifting

school boundary lines. Rather than adjusting these boundaries and combining students from working-class families with middle-class families, SKSD built WSHS to accommodate a growing middle-class urbanopolis (see Illustration 4.5).

In 2002, when WSHS opened, segregation became extensive; racial and classist categories of Latino and white informed where culture and ethnicity would become racially hybridized and segregated to an unprecedented degree. West Salem would coerce the lower-class by “accumulation by dispossession,” increasing the polarization of the racial wealth and income gap (Omi & Winant, 2015, p. 94). WSHS maintained economic capital within the middle-class population, for funding of WSHS and city facilities such as police and fire departments. Those who could not afford the wealth of west Salem would be considered exploitable, and thus were forced to move to the working-class northeast area of Salem, while their apartments in the WSHS district were replaced with houses and small elite strip malls.

While the new and spacious WSHS became the envy of the other high schools, DMHS would attempt to accommodate the sudden influx of students from working-class families moving to northeast Salem (see Graph 4.3). Affordable housing would also be an issue due to the lack of adequate living spaces. Working-class white and Latino families would either live in otherwise abandoned houses built in the 1970’s, or inexpensive, deteriorating, multi-story apartments (City of Salem, 2015). The factors of income, race, and SES became even more apparent at DMHS as the ratio of white-to-Latino students grew increasingly further apart, along with the growing student population (see Graph 4.3).

The allocation and hierarchy of race and class became evident as each race fell into the particular niche. Secondary data gathered for WSHS and DMHS reveal that percentages of

ethnicities within the schools echoed the city data for the specific zip codes of each school. School percentages of population by ethnicity reveal a more drastic percentage difference (see Graph 4.2). The population of students and ethnicities were relevant to the percentage of dropouts and low test scores (see Graphs 4.6, 4.8, and 4.9). The analysis of ethnicities, population and SES illustrates that for as long as Latino students continue to live in high-poverty, high-density areas, and continue to attend inadequate and overcrowded schools, dropout rates, low test scores, and graduation rates will foster unequal education due to segregation.

Educational opportunities and achievement are proportionate to the quality of education. Patricia Gandara argues that opportunity is linked to the success of children in American society, and states that success is for those students who have, "... [a]ccess to greatest areas of job growth, high-quality public services, networks to jobs and college, and many other forms of opportunity" (2010, p. 4). The cyclical pattern of low-income households in areas of ill-equipped schools is relative to educational achievement and employment opportunities. Students with inadequate education due to high dropout percentages qualify only for entry-level jobs, thus repeating the cycle of poverty of the family (Coleman, 1978, p. 94). Students from working-class families in the DMHS area live in a lower SES, which consequently affects not only DMHS, but also funding for city facilities and services.

In northeast Salem, families live in low-income housing with very little community support. Because property values are low in the DMHS area and taxes are a primary source of income for schools, the lack of revenue directly impacts the integrity of the building and its contents. Therefore DMHS, which was built in 1979, is expected to provide teachers with the ability to instruct overcrowded classrooms with original equipment. After school activities for

students are also failing due to the inability of the community to financially support programs where the school falls short. Northeast Salem has perpetuated working-class levels of living for Latino families because of low economic capital, dense population, and deteriorating housing. In comparison, WSHS maintains the balances of power by imposing the white hegemonic society with middle-class jobs, and a school that is financially supported by the parents, community, and local businesses. By marginalizing and segregating Latino families, the schools and city have limited the future possibilities of the students making the opportunity to attend a 4-year university almost unattainable. Eurocentric systemic segregation and racialized discrimination have created a hierarchy of power and control based on race and class between two schools.

As master categories of oppression, race and class have solidified a template for both difference and inequality. The white hegemonic society has historically inflicted race and class to maintain power and control over those who are considered different. The consequences of falling outside of the white hegemonic border becomes complicated as the formation of race informs the intersections of oppression for Latino students. Unable to compete with the white middle-class school, DMHS reveals the consequences of Latino students attending an over-populated, deficiently funded and unequipped high school; dropout percentages increase while standard test scores and graduation rates drop. If standard test scores drop below average, the NCLB Act singles out those schools for improvement grants such as the SIG and the SOC. However, if the improvement grants fail to increase quality of schooling, then the grants are withdrawn and students are left experiencing inequality of education (Oregon Department of Education, 2015).

In 2001, nearly one-fourth of U.S schools were failing according to the standards set by the NCLB (Theodoropoulos, 2011). A disproportionate number of these schools serve America's poor and minority students (Basken, 2015). Educators have argued that higher standards, increased accountability, and expanded school choice can motivate educators to work hard at improving schools. Yet motivation alone cannot produce the magnitude of gains in student learning that is necessary to turn around troubled schools (Wei, 2014a).

Although the NCLB act was touted as a way to narrow the achievement gap, it still allows for increasing racial and ethnic segregation in our public schools, a persistent disparity in intra-district funding, and a growing gap in access to quality education. The education bill was meant to bring more federal funding to the poorest and neediest schools, with the intention of closing the apparent achievement gap. However, the bill has actually ensured that schools hide the under-achievers in order to increase school-wide test averages.

OAKS and SAT Tests

In 2007, the SKSD had 11,897 Hispanic students, the highest number of any school district in the state, and almost twice as many as the second highest school district—Beaverton—with 6,589 Hispanic students (ECONorthwest, 2009). According to research by ECONorthwest, Hispanic students who were tested on the Oregon Assessment of Knowledge and Skills (OAKS) achievement tests have a considerable achievement gap (Oregon Department of Education, 2015). Lagging behind their white peers by 28 percent in math and 33 percent in reading, it would seem that the demographic differences between Latinos and white students in Oregon's schools can affect academic achievement (ECONorthwest, 2009, p. 8). However, other more

relevant factors exist that affect Latino students and the ability to succeed in school: ethnicity, socioeconomic status, English as a second language, mobility, and/or changes of teachers.

Boundaries informed by society's white middle-class, marginalizes Latino families. These families are constructed by the privileged society how to live, and where to work or go to school. Ultimately, the boundaries also define how the middle-class perceives the working-class. Teachers who view Latino parents as noncommittal to education forget that many parents work afterhours to provide for their children. Working twice as hard for half as much as the middle-class parents, Latino parents hold education in high esteem and encourage their children to stay in school (Madrid, 2011). Language can be a barrier, as Spanish-speaking parents often feel inadequate when trying to help their children with school work or attending school functions because they do not speak English very well, if at all (Vega, 2010). Furthering Latino students' struggles for an equal education is the assumption that Latino students have less academic potential than white students, and therefore are also less likely to be recommended to enrichment, scholarships, or accelerated programs (Flores, 2007). Teacher's attentions fall on the white students who are deemed more worthy than Latino students making the assumption that Latino students are 'parentless' and in need of guidance. Latino students suffer through education where the white student is educationally, economically, and socially advantaged with a privileged, two-parent working household.

During the school year of 2002 – 2003, DMHS was the lowest academically rated school in the SKSD. Due to overpopulation, low test scores, and a high percentage of low SES families, DMHS became a Title 1 school. According to ODE, Title 1 gave DMHS financial assistance to improve test scores and lower the percentage of students who were failing or most likely to fail,

therefore meeting state academic standards (2015). Despite the support from ODE, DMHS, with the largest percentage of Latino and ELL students and lowest percentage of graduates, was not able to improve either federal or state test scores. Compelled by the NCLB Act, DMHS would receive funding from other federal and state funds in an attempt to resolve academic inabilities.

No Child Left Behind Act

Required by the NCLB Act, standardized testing is used to grade schools and the effectiveness of their teachers. Students take state standardized tests every year, due to the NCLB, which mandates that every high school student across the U.S be tested to demonstrate that all schools and districts are making “adequate yearly progress” toward the goal of all students reaching proficiency in state-designated reading and math tests within 12 years (Oregon Department of Education, 2015). Scores from these tests are used as a diagnostic tool. However, some schools and school districts across the U.S that are desperate to report high test scores have used other tools to obtain results (Books, 2007).

Standardized testing goes further than just grading a school and the teachers; it also reflects the system’s inability to prepare children for success (Yosso, 2006). The consequences are deleterious to the marginalized minority of students who live in poverty, are primarily of color, and who are pushed out in order to make room for the school’s students who deliver positive graduation rates and test scores (Sciences, 2015). This failed policy leaves one to question the rhetoric about leaving no child behind when in fact the students are not left behind, they disappear. One easy way to improve test scores is to remove (or, *relocate*) the bottom percentage of performers before they even take the test. To avoid severe sanctions, some schools in the U.S have been known to expel students who exhibited low test scores, prior to state testing

(Books, 2007). Other states make students “disappear” through test score accountability. The school averages test scores by adding only those tests with passing scores (Books, 2007).

Another increasing phenomenon is students who are being held back a grade to improve test scores, which is one of the biggest variables to students dropping out in grades 9 – 10.

School Improvement Grant

However, test scores, graduation rates, and dropout percentages did not improve for DMHS. In 2007, DMHS was awarded the SIG to provide ongoing professional support that would focus on instructional leadership and school management. High quality training was provided for school leaders so that strong leadership and successful academics would change state standardized test scores. According to the Oregon Department of Education, the goal was to help improve the school and student achievements from a level 1 to a level 4 using NCLB standards (2015). DMHS would have to choose one of the four recommendations to implement the federal monies brought specifically for the SIG implementations.

Some reformers encourage instruction overhaul for failing schools, where teachers and school leaders build strong professional communities within the schools that address various approaches to instruction (Wei, 2014a). However, research shows that most often this type of intervention is less than successful, with only a few schools showing any real signs of instructional improvement (Wayne & Youngs, 2003). After all, those schools that were denied the SIG extension because they did not meet the federal requirements also would struggle to find alternatives to meet minority students’ needs. A design can fail because of a poor approach to implementation, it can fail because of an ineffective approach to instruction, or it can fail for both reasons. There was no guarantee that all failing schools would succeed because of the SIG.

In response to the federal government's requirements for results from the schools under SIG, administration officials struggled with how to evaluate teachers to determine if they should be retained, promoted, or rewarded based on student outcomes. "Star principals and teachers may have been moved to a SIG school and the staff at the SIG schools just reassigned to other schools" (Klein, 2012). In addition, teaching resources were redirected from groups of students who were likely to demonstrate proficiency, towards those who were marginally below proficient (Klein, 2013). Advanced materials were replaced with basic materials, and teachers' attentions were redirected from students who were likely to pass the tests, to the failing students (Wei, 2014a). Teachers were encouraged to focus their efforts on students who were close to meeting the standards, so that the school's *Adequate Yearly Progress* (AYP) would meet standards, thus rewarding teachers with high performance for increasing test scores (Basken, 2015). Teachers were evaluated based upon student achievement and test scores, as the ODE required that all students be brought to proficiency in math and reading (Oregon Department of Education, 2015). The NCLB, however, allows states to adjust both their tests and formulas by which they calculate AYP, leaving questions as to the accuracy of the conclusions about any such numbers (U.S Department of Education, 2015). Some schools average the passing scores, while others move low-scoring students into a previous grade to take a standardized test.

Regardless, the fact remains that many schools actually slid backward despite the federal investment, which is "a little bit alarming" said Robin Lake, the director of the Center on Reinventing Public Education at the University of Washington, which has studied the impact of the SIG program in Washington state (Klein, 2015). "Given the amount of money that was put in here, the return on investment looks negligible at this point," she said. "I don't know how you

can interpret it any other way” (Klein, 2015). It is impossible to tell whether WSHS—a particularly high-performing school—is pulling up the average for DMHS, which did not do nearly as well. But 23 of the state officials surveyed by the Center on Education Policy (CEP) believe the strategy is promising. Another 18 said it was too soon to tell. Diane Stark Rentner stated, “This is just the tip of the iceberg on the information we really need.” She remarked, “It will be difficult to draw hard and fast conclusions about the three-year program's effectiveness until there's a third year of data,” adding “Plus, it's unclear whether schools' gains can be traced to the program itself, or to homegrown turnaround efforts already in progress” (Klein, 2012). Ten states reported that they pulled grants from one or two schools, for reasons including lack of fidelity to the SIG model and a lack of progress on so-called “leading indicators,” such as teacher- and student-attention, program implementation, and overall effectiveness (Klein, 2013).

Rather than replacing teachers, SKSD chose to transfer principals within their high schools in the district in an attempt to keep structure and stability for the students (Wei, 2014a). However, this move did not resolve the fact that DMHS was still an ill-equipped facility with teachers who were subjected to over-populated classrooms with the largest percentage of Latino and ELL students in the state of Oregon. As the population of DMHS increased, the standardized test scores during the 2008–2009 school year for DMHS did not increase (see Graph 4.9). Left to improve graduation rates and test scores while maintaining the highest population of students in the second smallest school in the district, SKSD would implement the SOC Grant (see Graph 1.2) (Salem-Keizer School District, 2015).

School Of Choice Grant

While the SIG program was being implemented, SKSD also received the SOC Grant, which enabled parents to move their children from a failing school (according to the NCLB), to a school that was above average (Oregon Department of Education, 2015). The SOC Grant would provide funding for transportation of the students from their original failing school to the above-average school as determined by SKSD. The above-average schools were also given additional funding for resources to accommodate the increase in population of migrating students (see Graph 4.3). For students attending a failing level 1 school, transportation was provided if their parents wanted them to attend a level 4 school. The transportation grant paid for bussing students from their assigned school to the high school of choice. This enabled students to not be trapped at failing schools just because their parents could not get their children to the higher performing school.

When money from the SOC Grant for transportation ran out, SKSD halted free transportation between schools, and the student population again shifted (see Graph 4.3). Students who originally had attended DMHS and who were now attending WSHS were forced to either find the means to transport themselves to WSHS, or return to DMHS. Latino students from DMHS had experienced two full school years of academic support, excelling in afterschool programs, and endless opportunities in a middle-class school despite their financial situation. This emphasizes that notwithstanding race, students are successful because of the quality of teachers, academics, and financial support, which illuminated the direct result of poorly equipped facilities, unmotivated teachers, and an administration enabling the segregation of race and class. WSHS students experience almost everything that money can buy for schools: state of the art

buildings, up-to-date textbooks, extra-curricular activities, and teachers who are well qualified. Teachers at WSHS are dedicated to the student's intellectual development, and provide plenty of opportunities to participate in art, music, extracurricular activities, and sports programs. Inspired to excellence by the staff and supported financially by the middle-class community and the Ed Foundation, DMHS students attending WSHS were encouraged to exhibit their academic ability and pursue higher education, while being offered scholarships from universities across the U.S. Latino students originally from the working-class northeast Salem area experienced what white middle-class students have always had at WSHS—the idea that they could be something more than working-class, and the possibility of moving the family out of the poverty riddled northeast Salem area.

Once the transportation grant was removed, those Latino students coming from working-class families and who were unable to provide their own transportation to WSHS had to look for other alternatives for transportation. They found that the only available form of public transportation—the city bus system—was not an option, as the schedule and hours of operation were limited. As a result, the WSHS student population fell, and the DMHS student population increased again. The loss of transportation was responsible for the percentage of Latino students at DMHS increasing (see Graph 4.3). These returning students experienced instability, loss of friends, a depressed educational environment, loss of opportunity, and more importantly, loss of teachers who had become mentors (Wei, 2014a).

Students who were forced to return to DMHS, the second smallest school in the district with the largest population of students, (see Graph 1.2, and 4.3) found less academic support from teachers, and little reason to pursue higher education. As evidenced by declining OAKS

and SAT scores (see Graph 4.8, and 4.9), it became obvious that DMHS was still struggling with overcrowding, understaffing, and inadequate programing. Teachers with little resources failed to maintain the morale and support that transfer students from the white middle-class WSHS had experienced for two years. Despite being located in the working-class area of northeast Salem, and struggling with overcrowding, DMHS was endeavoring to improve graduation rates and lower dropout percentages. In fact, under extreme pressure to lower the dropout rate, DMHS took drastic measures to make test scores raise and graduation percentages higher. One solution was the CTE program; a program which first intakes students who would normally drop out or fail standardized tests, and then place them in a blue-collar educational training program.

CTE Program

In 2013, the Oregon Legislature set aside \$7.5 million in competitive grants to revitalize the CTE programs. Learning through a chosen career, the student works with a mentor/instructor to prepare for a specific career, such as nursing or construction. Gradual reduced funding for schools cut the number of CTE programs to less than half, until 2011 when the Oregon Legislature allocated \$1.9 million in grants to revitalize the state's programs (Oregon Department of Education, 2015). CTE programs would allow those students who are characteristically called "*I dislike academics*," (IDA), and who will predominantly choose the CTE courses providing a substantial positive effect on IDA students and graduation rates (Bishop & Mane, 2004). While the CTE program increases the graduation rate for the IDA students, there is still a possibility that the CTE student will drop out because there are some academics courses that are taught. The CTE program also is another method used to lower the dropout rate and raise graduation percentages (Wong, 2014). Conveniently, SKSD used part of

their CTE grant funds to expand their CTE programs and facilities (Oregon Department of Education, 2015).

Even though SKSD utilized part of the CTE grant to broaden their northeast Salem area CTE program, students in the northeast area are offered classes only for lower-paying technical trades such as welding, mechanics, and construction. SKSD invested part of their CTE grant monies into moving their northeast Salem CTE program to a 150,000 sq. ft. warehouse off of Portland Road in northeast Salem (DeWitt, 2015). In this building, CTE students spend a full school day with their instructors learning math, reading, writing, and science as it relates to their technical course of choice, while eliminating standardized testing. Instructors not only teach the courses, they also teach the core curriculum courses but without the pressure of “teaching to test” (DeWitt, 2015). Although the CTE courses prevent the school’s aggregate test performance scores from falling, students in the CTE courses become pawns for taking appropriate measures in winning the standardized testing “game” (Packard, Leach, Ruiz, & DiCocco, 2012). One of the consequences is that these courses are not meant to transfer to a college, and their credits qualify only for a high school general diploma (Wong, 2014). Mark Lewis, STEM director of the Oregon Education Investment Board stated, “When students graduate, they obtain a general diploma from their resident schools, but many of their credits are earned at CTE and they’ll have applicable skills for an industry job” (DeWitt, 2015). However, these general diploma classes are not transferrable to a 4-year college. Therefore, students who graduate under the CTE program with a general diploma and who later decide to pursue a four-year college degree will be required to start their college courses at a community college due to lacking credit in core curriculum courses (Wong, 2014). This is because of the varying academic requirements in

Oregon between graduating with a general diploma and graduating with an Oregon University System diploma (see Chart 5.1).

The CTE program for some would seem like a “miracle worker.” Yet in truth, it enables the failing school to disguise actual failure rates, particularly the growing number of students who drop out by the 10th grade. Although the SIG was awarded to improve DMHS’s graduation rate and state standardized scores, and to remove the school from the “failing” status, the students who were “at-risk” of failing or dropping out due to low test scores would instead be guided to the CTE program.

Disparities in educational opportunities and achievements for Latino students in high schools are at a defining moment, as the more highly educated individuals obtain the jobs that are more technically oriented rather than service oriented (Gandara, 2010). As other ethnic groups continue to increase their share of college degrees over time, Latinos have made almost no progress (Pew Research Center, 2015). In 2008, Latinos were half as likely as African Americans and one-third as likely as white students to obtain a college degree. Construction, production, and other blue-collar jobs fell by 475,000 while professional and management jobs grew by 180,000 (Pew Research Center, 2015). Latinos remain concentrated in lower-skill jobs due to diminishing employment opportunities and low paying jobs; one out of three Latinos is in middle-class employment, and two out of three are in lower-skilled jobs. As the job market continues to demand more education and Latinos make up a larger and larger portion of the workforce, educators must look closely at how education is addressing this issue.

While some students—mostly middle-class white—are prepared for higher education and promising careers, others who test lower in standardized tests are systematically pushed into

classes that avoid state testing. As such, high-stakes testing and graduation rate accountability fall heaviest on the most disadvantaged students. The CTE for DMHS enabled the failing number of students to change academically as they were moved from an academic environment to a program designed to increase the school's graduation rates and test scores, while maintaining employees for a working-class workforce.

Because of the CTE program, consequences of racism and classism adversely affect DMHS students. For DMHS, SKSD's CTE program is the solution to high dropout percentages and low test scores, and the end result for students who find themselves qualified for only a low-class workforce. SKSD advertises the CTE program as a course designed for those students who are not seeking the traditional definition of success, or who do not wish to pursue higher education and instead want to pursue a career in high-demand, labor-ready jobs with good pay. However, even though the CTE program enables graduating students to find jobs immediately, these students will only be certified for working-class, labor-ready jobs such as construction, woodworking, certified nurse assistant, or mechanics (Oregon Department of Education, Major Investment in Career Technical Education will Expand Hands-on learning to 140 Schools, 2015). With access to CTE programs, DMHS has improved their test scores and dropout percentages. Students who would have normally dropped out of school were sent to the CTE program, which enabled DMHS for the 2013 – 2014 school year to have lowest dropout percentage in the district at only two percent (Oregon Department of Education, 2015). Although still suffering from low standardized testing scores, DMHS uses the CTE program to help raise their overall test scores by exempting low-scoring students from state standardized testing, while still enabling them to

graduate with a general diploma in either nursing, construction, or welding (Salem-Keizer School District, 2015).

For those students in white middle-class WSHS, the CTE classes offered are for EMT-Paramedic, engineering, and computer science, which provide more opportunities for higher-paying jobs. Prior to the grant, in 2012, Marion County Fire Department's original training for EMT and Firefighter 1 classes were held at the Chemeketa Community College campus (City of Salem, 2015). However, Marion County was forced to close the station 8 training department and move the program to the Marion County Regional Training Facility in Brooks Oregon. This meant that those students who could not provide their own transportation to the new training facility were denied an equal opportunity for training. The Marion County Regional Training Facility is designed for training in public safety, emergency services, and fire protection. With no available public transportation to Brooks, students must drive either 12 miles from WSHS or 7 miles from DMHS. For students who lack the financial ability to transport themselves to the training center, the selection of CTE courses becomes even more limited.

Some of the federal grant money was awarded to WSHS to open their own "Fire Tower" CTE facility on campus in fall of 2015. This facility will feature an outdoor training area where students can learn to use fire equipment including hoses, nozzles, ladders, and fire protection gear—far more than the training facilities and equipment available to DMHS. WSHS also has an ambulance and fire truck slated for future purchases so students can earn college credit towards their EMT, Firefighter 1, or Wildland Fire degree (Salem-Keizer School District, 2015). Benefitting from community support and middle-class status, even students at WSHS in the CTE program are destined for employment in a middle-class field.

When interviewed, other students who graduated from CTE courses wished they had taken more advanced classes because they discovered later that they were not prepared for either the workforce, or if they wanted to pursue a 4-year degree. “I wish I had taken math my senior year because I only know basic algebra and not advanced algebra or calculus” (Packard, Leach, Ruiz, & DiCocco, 2012, p. 140). Those students who were able to obtain jobs after graduation found that the jobs were class-biased, with the majority of the available jobs for the middle-class work force (Fluhr, 2014). Guidance counselors at overpopulated schools with minority students are often overwhelmed, and are not given enough time or resources to assist hundreds of students in making future educational choices. Even if minority students could be given other options in education, they would never have the guidance to discover them. Predetermined from the history of race and class, most Latino students are encouraged to pursue the CTE program which will easily place them in working-class jobs.

Because of the increase in number of SKSD CTE student graduates, *Chemeketa Community College* (CCC) is preparing for an influx of students coming from high school CTE programs who are now choosing to continue with their education in their chosen trade (DeWitt, 2015). The partnership between SKSD and CCC is critical for CTE students, because with their general diploma, they will not be able to directly attend a 4-year university and obtain a bachelor’s degree.

For example: the Oregon Consortium for Nursing Education (OCNE) which has approved nine Oregon community colleges and six university campuses prepares nurses for access directly to baccalaureate education (Oregon Consortium for Nursing Education, 2015). Nursing, one of the largest CTE programs at DMHS is not approved through the OCNE. Without

education from an OCNE certified school, students not only have to pass the NCLEX (National Council Licensure Examination), they also have to compete with hundreds of other students applying to enter the baccalaureate nursing program. Admission into the program highly competitive, and the process can include additional classes, applications, and testing verses the OCNE program which directly processes students. This position is not specific to nursing. Students taking CTE courses in other areas such as: construction, welding, or accounting will also experience the same situation, leaving them to spend more time and money verses directly entering a 4-year university.

Study Implications

This study assesses the impact of the NCLB Act, SIG, SOC Grant, and the CTE program's influence on segregation of Latino communities by city and school, in addition to unequal education for Latino students. It is up to future research to take these findings and explore more closely how and why discrepancies transpire. Some of the other findings in this current study may warrant further examination. For instance, it was an intent of this study to explore how race and class in the CTE programs influence education inequality. Facing historically rooted academic hurdles and barriers, Latinos still experience classism and racism in the CTE program. Latinos are tracked toward auto shop where other appropriately constructed tracks for Latinas relegate them to nursing or cosmetics, informing racial classifications. Another classist example is the category of CTE courses offered at the different high schools. Latino students at DMHS attend manual labor CTE programs in comparison to WSHS which has technical programs.

The disparities in income and education are some of the highest inequalities between the west and northeast SKSD school boundaries. In an attempt to resolve the “failing grade” status, DMHS has advanced the CTE program while dissolving any chance of a dual immersion program in the high schools. In comparison, WSHS, with 69 percent white students, continues to excel nationally in attendance, testing scores, graduation rates, and percentage of students entering colleges and universities (see Graph 5.2). These wealth, race, and educational achievement gaps within the Salem-Keizer area continue, and remain persistent and pervasive.

Limitations

While this study is designed to explore the link between Latino high school students, the SOC program, and boundaries imposed by the city of Salem and the SKSD, it is by no means an exhaustive study and cannot take into account every single factor that can influence the failure or success of Latino students in post-secondary schools. Additionally, the data gathered was developed based upon data collected by others, such as reports of post-secondary results. Despite these limitations, current research concerning Latino students in post-secondary SKSD schools and CTE programs could add to the existing literature and serve as a means to inform future curricular approaches, student recruitment to CTE, and district school boundaries revision.

Short term recommendations

Subsidized Housing

School desegregation through programs designed to move working-class families into suburban areas where children can attend stronger schools would give students equal opportunities. The state can provide incentives to require developers to build housing that

promotes integration and residential stability while subsidizing more low-income housing in areas where schools are primarily middle-class with less densely populated schools. This would also provide opportunities for schools to bring working-class and middle-class families together, thereby breaking segregation.

Bilingual Teachers

The federal government can help to train staff through graduate fellowships, more bilingual, bicultural faculty, who then can become teachers for bilingual students eg. Latino students. To prepare for bilingual teachers, grants could be written to provide universities additional monies for recruiting, training, and certifying bilingual teachers to support dual-language programs. In addition, scholarships, grants, and ensuring cost-free education for Latino college students who agree to work as teachers in public schools will encourage more Latino students to serve low-income students as teachers from Latino communities.

Dual-immersion programs K-12

By implementing a dual-immersion program in grades K-12, Latino students will have equal-opportunity education, thus possibly increasing enrollment of Latino students in universities. A comprehensive dual-language program will also allow schools to embrace a more multicultural environment, including Latino language and culture. Dual-immersion programs would then become an incentive by including students who are mastering subject matter in more than one language. Students in dual-immersion programs would be taught literacy and content in academic areas in both languages. This multilingual program would close the historical opportunity gap for Latino students in addition to providing opportunities for bilingual education.

Adjusting high school boundaries and overcrowding

The SKSD high school boundaries are currently one of the greatest contributor to overpopulation and segregation of Latino students at DMHS. When WSHS was built in 2002, boundaries were not readjusted to accommodate the growing numbers of students. To repair this, SKSD needs to adjust school boundary lines to decrease the populations for North Salem and Douglas McKay high schools, while increasing the larger, less populated South Salem and Sprague high schools.

In addition to SKSD adjusting school boundaries, another solution to overcrowding and segregation is to significantly remodel DMHS to accommodate more students, and to provide the same amenities as WSHS. This remodel would be extensive, as the building would require classrooms be added on and enlarged, halls widened, and large meeting areas such as the library, auditorium, and cafeteria expanded. Infrastructure would need to be replaced and updated, and the entire building brought up-to-date. By increasing the number of classrooms and incorporating state-of-the-art equipment, Latino students would have access to the same amenities and resources as WSHS students. Additionally, the school would now be large enough to comfortably accommodate their number of students.

Alternatively, SKSD could review the cost effectiveness of building a new high school in the center of the DMHS district. Costs should include purchasing land (assuming they do not own land already in this area of town). By relocating and rebuilding the high school closer to the center of the school boundary, students who do not have access to transportation would have easier access to school, thereby making them more likely to participate in both before- and afterschool activities, including before school classes (zero period), study groups, clubs, and

extracurricular activities. This also potentially could lower SKSD bus expenses as students would be able either to walk to school, or take the public transit system.

If SKSD rebuilds DMHS in a different location, they then could consider several options for what to do with the old DMHS facility. SKSD could sell the property to a developer, thereby recouping some of the costs of building the new high school. Alternatively, they could lease the building to another private school, as SKSD has done previously with closed elementary schools. SKSD also could repurpose DMHS by turning it into a middle school to accommodate the growing student population. For example, the current Waldo Middle School was built in 1957, and currently shares space with Washington Elementary. If SKSD moved the current Waldo middle school into the DMHS building, this would free up more room for Washington Elementary, and the new middle school would allow for the increase in student population, thereby decreasing overcrowding in both the elementary and middle schools.

CTE Program

CTE school counseling in high schools and career counselors should inform students of their choices pre-graduation so they are more aware of their future employment options. These conversations should include the importance of good academics, testing results, financial aid, and scholarship options in order to encourage a realistic dialogue regarding future employment opportunities. Students often misperceive how their educational track will qualify them for their desired career. Data gathered from the National Education Longitudinal Survey shows that several students who believe they are on track to obtain a specific employment position, in fact, are not (Meer, 2007). Lacking necessary credits, educational course work, credit, or skill sets can have a negative effect on future occupations and income.

As many young people lose their guidance for future employment after leaving high school, strategic implementations to assist young people will help them to more fully maximize their future potential. Another option is dual enrollment, whereby high school students would be allowed to take courses at the community college while attending high school. This would expose them to higher education and college life, so in turn they might pursue college programs that will be valuable for entrance into a four-year university and career advancement.

Examining the marginal effect of both academic and CTE credits would be of use as well. It is possible that there are incremental benefits to the CTE program as the added benefit of dropout prevention. The lower dropout rates from DMHS is evidence that the CTE program helps to keep students in school. Without the CTE program, more at-risk students could drop out of school each year.

Over time, the CTE program could also serve as a vehicle to assist students in evaluating technology jobs that require less education. As Jacobs and Grubb (2003) state, “to prepare students for high-paid challenging employment, the [CTE] program must take account of the knowledge revolution.” In any case, whether the CTE program serves as a safety net or an alternative path for those with different skills, interests, or needs, the CTE program should not be stigmatized as a lesser or demeaning option.

Long term recommendations

Latino-organized grassroots movement

Although there are several Latino organizations that currently are well-respected community and advocacy groups in the state of Oregon, the Salem-Keizer area lacks

representation and leadership for Latinos who are marginalized and undocumented.

Organizations such as CAUSA, Mano a Mano Family Center, Pineros y Campesinos Unidos del Noroeste (PCUN), and Salem/Keizer Coalition for Equality exist to support Latino families.

However, even with their efforts, the undocumented and marginalized continue to experience racism, segregation, and inequality in educational opportunities within the SKSD. Without the voice of Latino communities, SKSD will continue to attempt modifications without causing change for the marginalized minority.

A grassroots Latino community activist coalition is needed to create a positive force that would address proper educational facilities, overpopulation, and equalization within education. These activist groups would publically expose educational discrimination and apply pressure to the school district to abide by laws and policies that protect marginalized and minority students. Once the grassroots movement is active, the resulting demand for bilingual parent meetings and school programs would encourage Latino parents to participate, eventually resulting in a closer community, greater attendance, and a stronger connection with the school. With SKSD facing an increasing Latino student population, these parents would have a greater voice in future district facilities and educational planning processes. Latino parents would then be able to participate in transforming the traditional practices of schooling so all Latino students could receive access to a rigorous curriculum and uniform quality of instruction that reflects the cultural inclinations of a pluralistic society. Still, undocumented Latinos have no voice surrounding political issues, social services, and equality of education because of lack of citizenship status. This would be an area that these activist groups would need to overcome.

Anti-discrimination laws and citizenship

Citizenship status plays a critical role for undocumented Latino individuals to be able to vote. Grassroots coalitions currently lobbying for the rights of undocumented Latino individuals need to educate other voters (US citizens). How can a grassroots coalition successfully educate the white middle-class who has hegemonic ideals of society? The grassroots coalition's partnering with friendly well established organizations could have these conversations between the administration, educators, and the parents of Latino students. Students can be an integral influence on educating adults on the inequalities that exist for Latinos, the history of migrant workers, and why it is important for them to have citizenship. Once undocumented Latinos obtain the right to vote, they could help pass policies that would influence education, segregation and racism.

Schools may be unaware of where attitudes about stereotypes persist in academic environments such as bias in admissions processes, students' test scores or grades, and guidance toward CTE programs. In response to large corporate organizations such as Intel, Google, and Twitter recognizing the need for diversity within their employee population (lowest to highest-level employees), there is an acknowledged need for racial and gender diversity among leaders, trainers, and teachers. If the schools do not adequately educate Latino populations, how can they be recruited to educate the next generation or become the next generation middle class or higher workforce? Students who see role models within the same ethnicity are more likely to respond to a teacher or leader. Anti-discrimination laws at a state and local level would address issues such as segregation, citizenship status, and educational funding which could result in a larger,

more diverse population of middle-class workers who will be able to levy state and local taxes – improving education equality for Latino students.

State and local taxes

In order to equalize education throughout SKSD, an additional solution is to raise educational dollars through corporate taxes. Corporations have always influenced children's education, and employers directly benefit from the type of workforce turned out by schools. Large corporations looking for a more diverse population of employees should pay toward the development of the workforce.

Another source of funding for education lies with the Oregon legislators, who are always discussing new options for school funding such as sales taxes, property tax increases, and tax levies and bonds. Undocumented Latino individuals, if allowed to vote and informed by grassroots coalitions, could vote to pass increased funding.

State and local tax spending that benefits Latino students is shown to be greatly lacking. To bring accountability, Latino individuals who are given citizenship and the ability to vote will be able to represent themselves and bring racial equality into the school's administration. Voting ballots could change to include more Latino representation for individual state, local, school and council positions. With class and race in the balance, monitoring of school funds would extinguish segregation and racism of Latino students.

In Conclusion

In conclusion, the effects of the intersections of race and class will never disappear as long as the white middle-class society continues systematic racism and classism. No person will

be free of race or class regardless of their identity, because race and class are ingrained in the U.S society. The white hegemonic culture ensures that there will always be a comprehensive system of advantages and disadvantages. Omi and Winant illustrate how change can interrupt racism at both macro and micro levels. “. . . a great deal of thought and action has been devoted to the problem of fostering anti-racist practice. . . fostering the interruption and interrogation of racism and extending the reach of anti-racism in workplace, politics, family, school, cultural life, [is] the practice we want to support” (2015, p. 266).

Historically, Latino families are one of the biggest proponents of education and push their children to learn algebra, calculus, chemistry, government, history—subjects that would enable them to achieve an Oregon University school diploma. However, when a Latino student is forced to attend some of the lowest-performing schools because of increasing classist and racist segregation, these public schools systematically remove the framework for achievement, causing students to underperform or even drop out. The structure of unequal opportunity is prefigured through a reality of social stratification by class, race, and ethnicity. Inevitably, higher education aligns with the social stratification by favoring those with the least financial need and systematically choosing students for merit-based scholarships rather than financial need-based scholarships. Students from the white middle-class families are six times more likely to achieve admission to a selective university than Latino students from a working-class family (Books, 2007, p. 17). Race and class become variables for the opportunity to attend a public school, which does not necessarily equate to an opportunity to achieve higher education. Unfortunately, education becomes an unequal opportunity through boundaries placed by race and class,

affecting society's most precious resources—children—who pay the enormous price of the failing public school system.

With a greater understanding of the link between discrimination within the political system and Latino domestic civil rights, Latino groups have consistently developed grassroots movements to bring social justice against discrimination. However, white privileged society continues to exclude Latino's ethnically, racially, and culturally to maintain the white power and control over the marginalized. The Eurocentric white hegemonic society deems that the marginalized minority can survive if they assimilate into the white culture. Imagine a young Latino boy who is successful because he leaves the northeast side of town and moves to the west side to live with a white middle-class family. His accomplishments in high school are positively affected by the white family that provided opportunities for his success. The price of success requires Latinos to leave behind their language, culture, and ethnicity on the other side of town. This is an example of why there is a need for investigating the relationship between race and class, in order to enrich the conversation. This discourse should bring about an understanding that racism and classism inequalities are not a problem brought about by any individual of color or class, but rather experienced by these individuals through no fault of their own. The idea that individuals of color are attracted to specific jobs, living conditions, or material conditions springs from classism and racism that blames them for their disparities. Instead, it is race and class constructing boundaries, segregation, and inequality to regulate the bodies that we inhabit and the lives that we lead. Changing the face of education is imperative so that all children will have an equal opportunity to pursue their dreams that they deserve. Opportunity is not just for those who are white; opportunity must be a right for everyone.

West Salem High School
(WSHS)

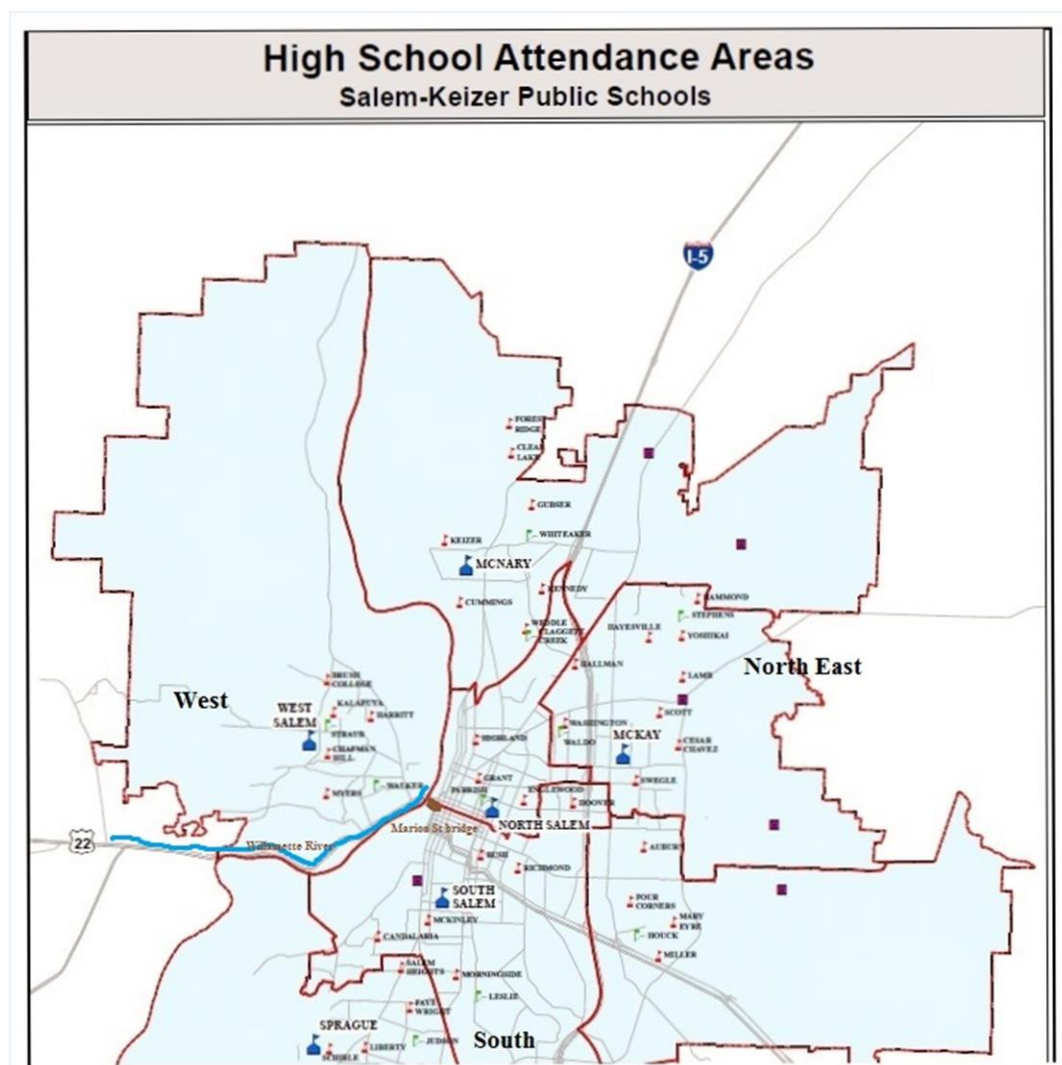


Douglas McKay High School
(DMHS)

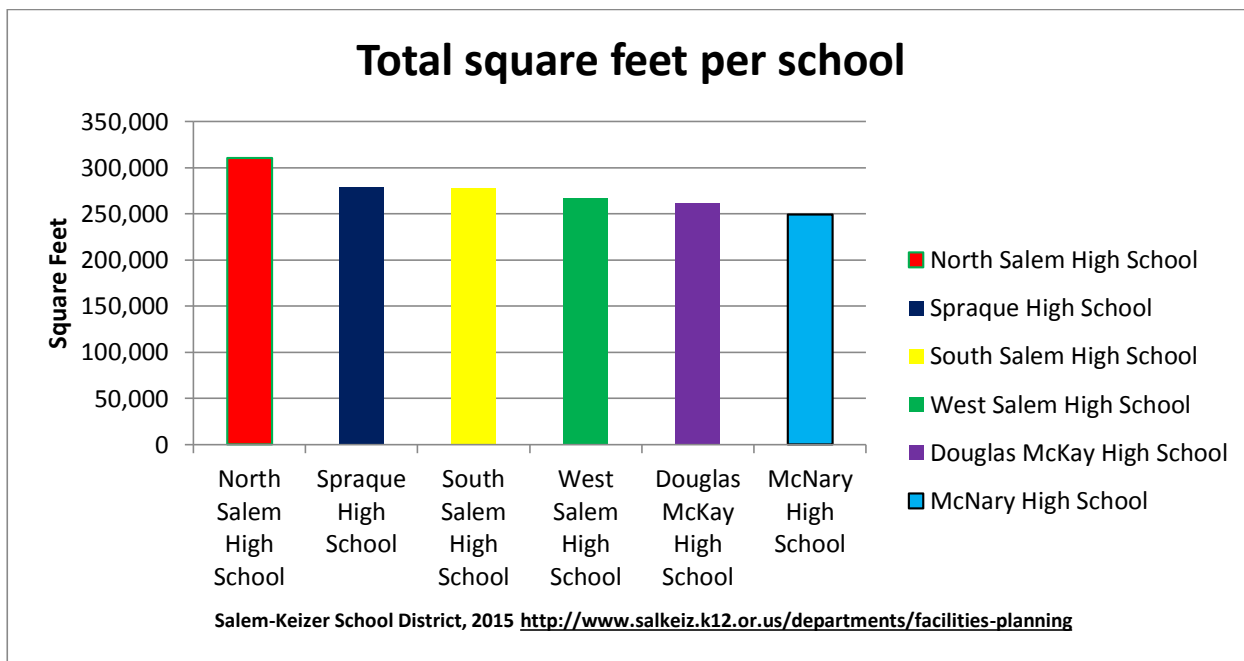


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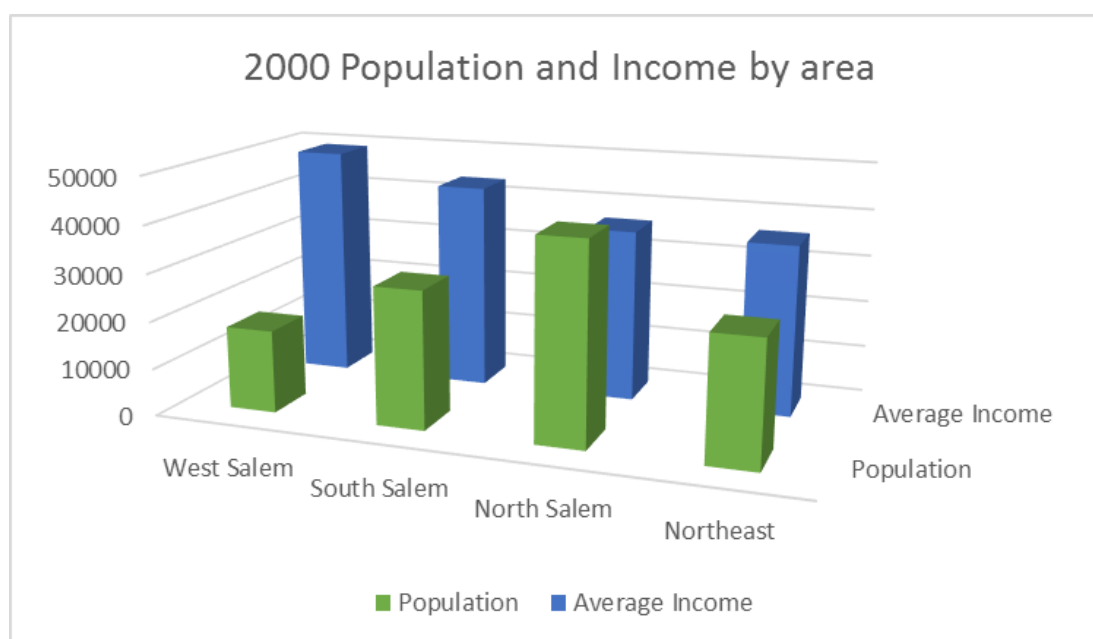
Illustration 1.1: Salem-Keizer School District high school boundary map 2014



Graph 1.2: Total number of square feet per school



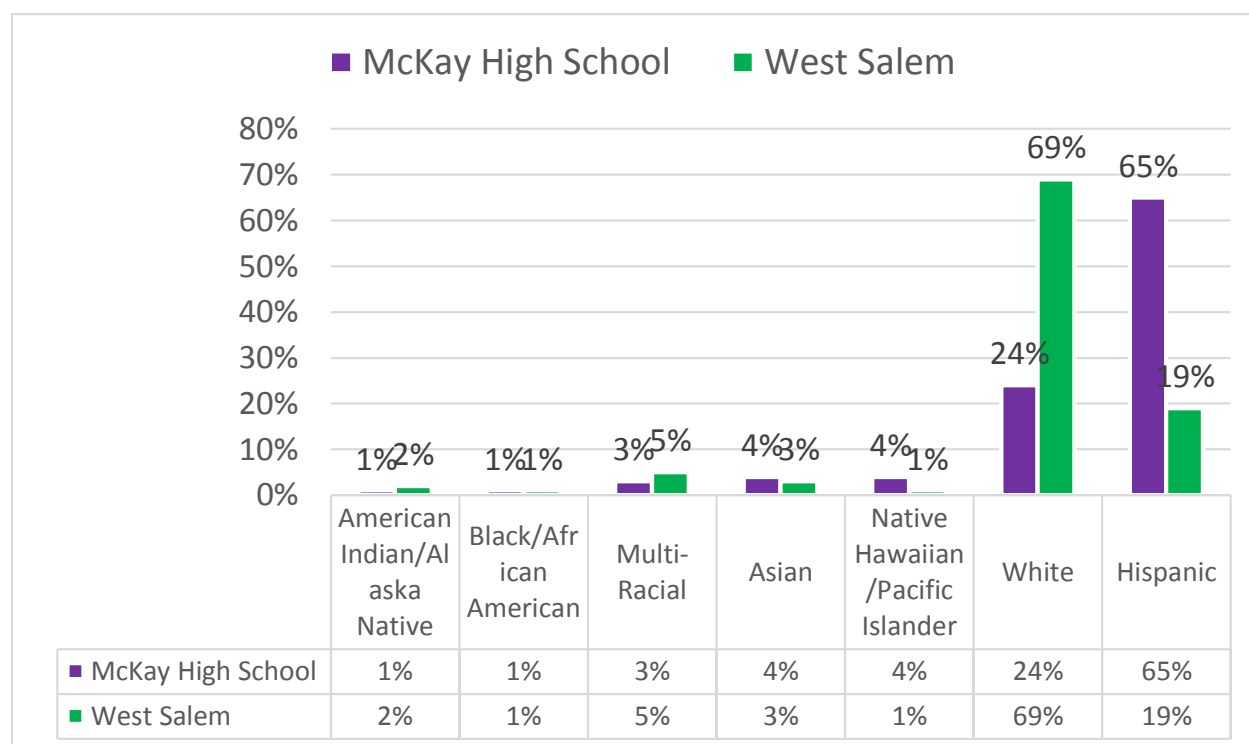
Graph 4.1: 2000 Population of west, south, north, and northeast Salem areas, and average yearly income



U.S. Census Bureau, American Fact Finder

http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=DEC_00_SF1_DP1&prodType=table

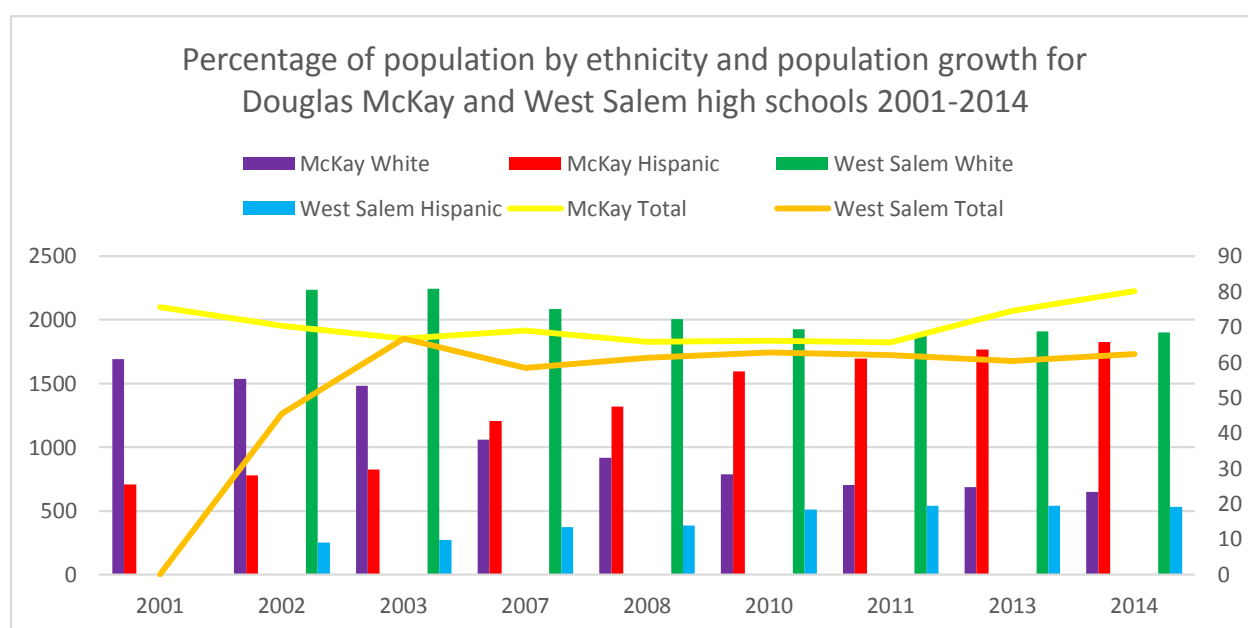
Graph 4.2: Percentage of population by ethnicity in Douglas McKay and West Salem high schools 2011 – 2012



Oregon Department of Education, 2011-2012 Report Card

<http://www.ode.state.or.us/data/reportcard/RCpdfs/13/13-ReportCard-3463.pdf>

Graph 4.3: Student population by ethnicity and population growth for Douglas McKay and West Salem high schools, 2001-2014



Oregon Department of Education

<http://www.ode.state.or.us/sfda/reports/r0067Select2.asp>

Illustration 4.4: Salem-Keizer School District high school boundary map 2001

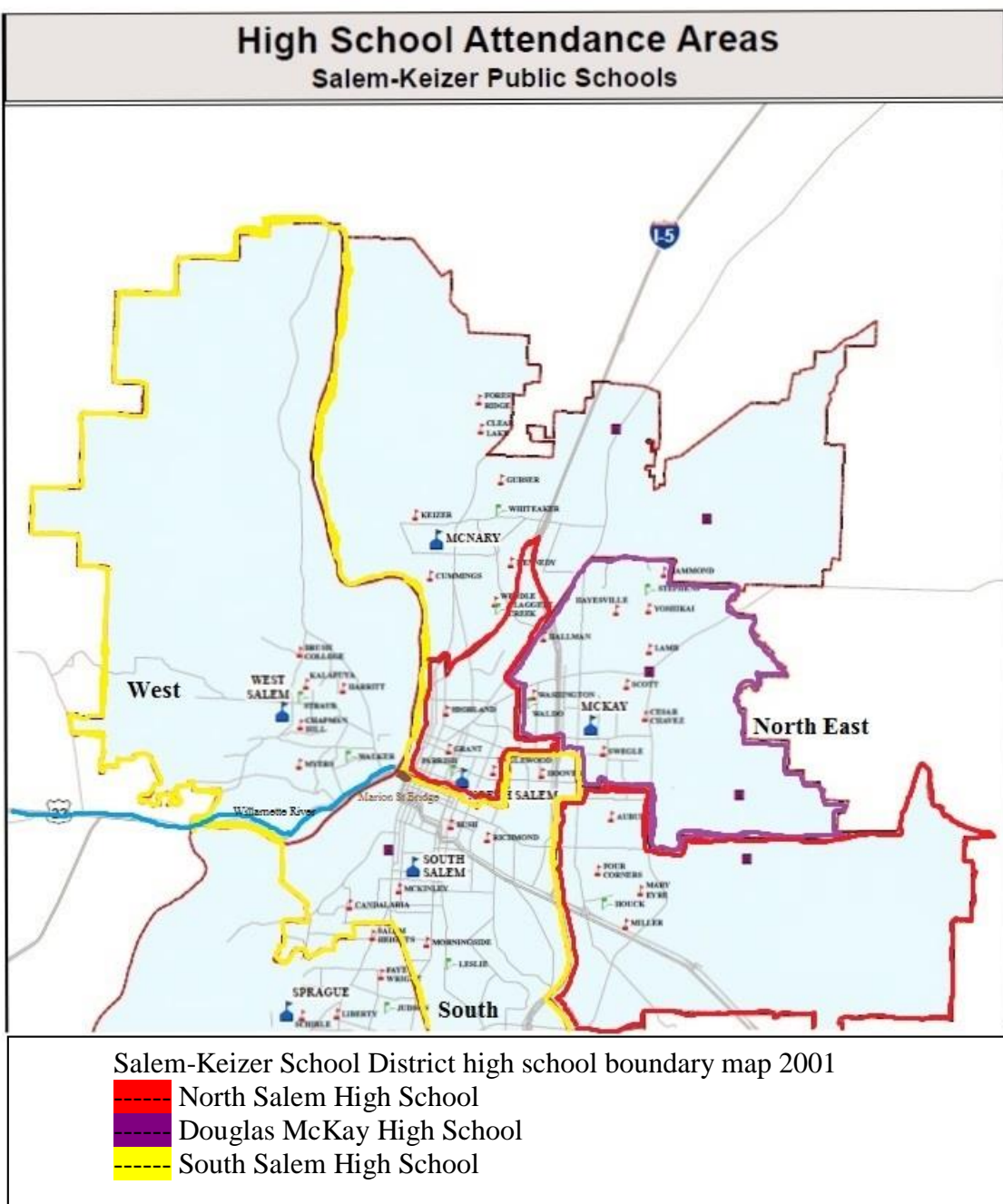


Illustration 4.5: Salem-Keizer School District high school boundary map 2002

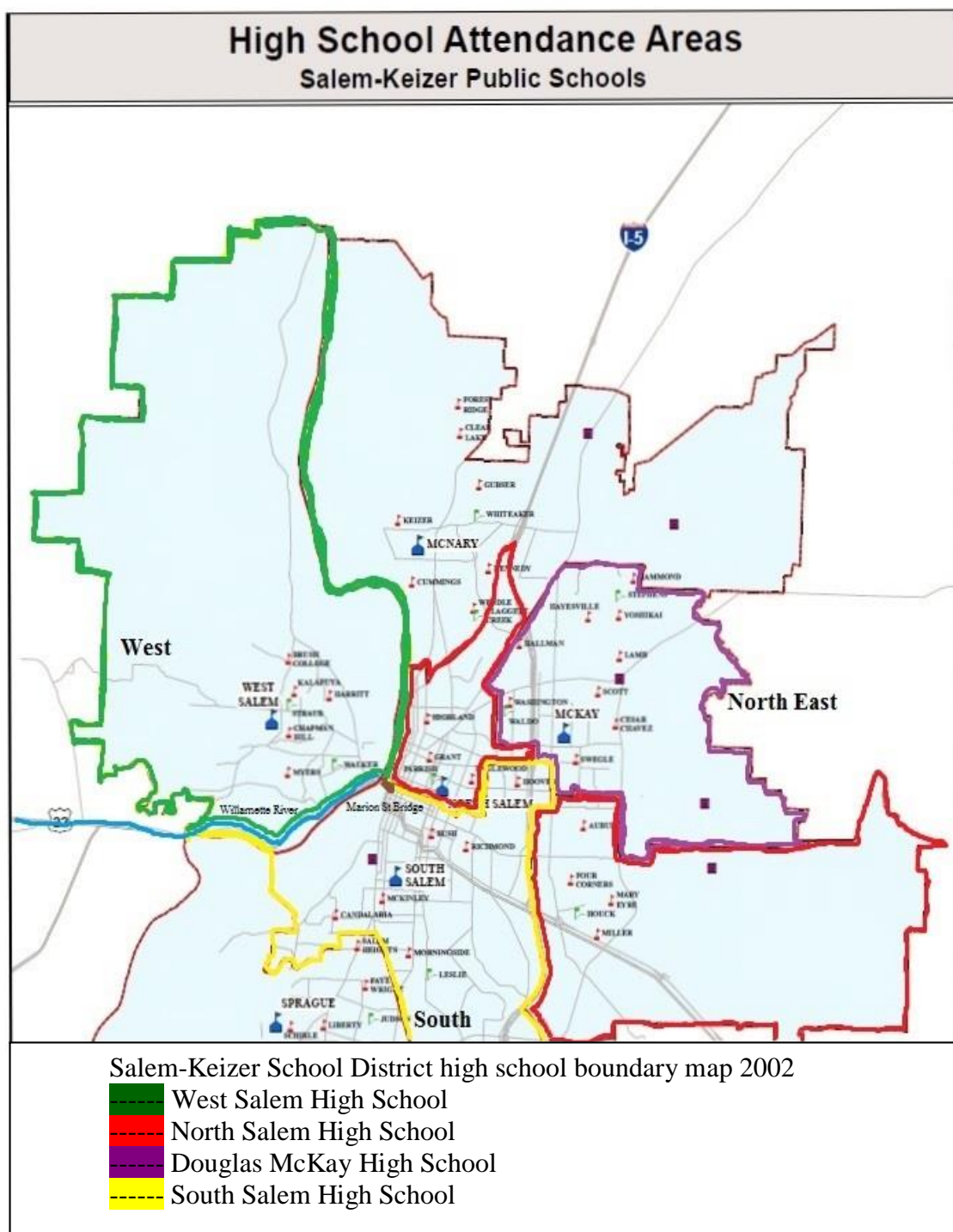


Illustration 4.6: Google Earth Map of Douglas McKay High School

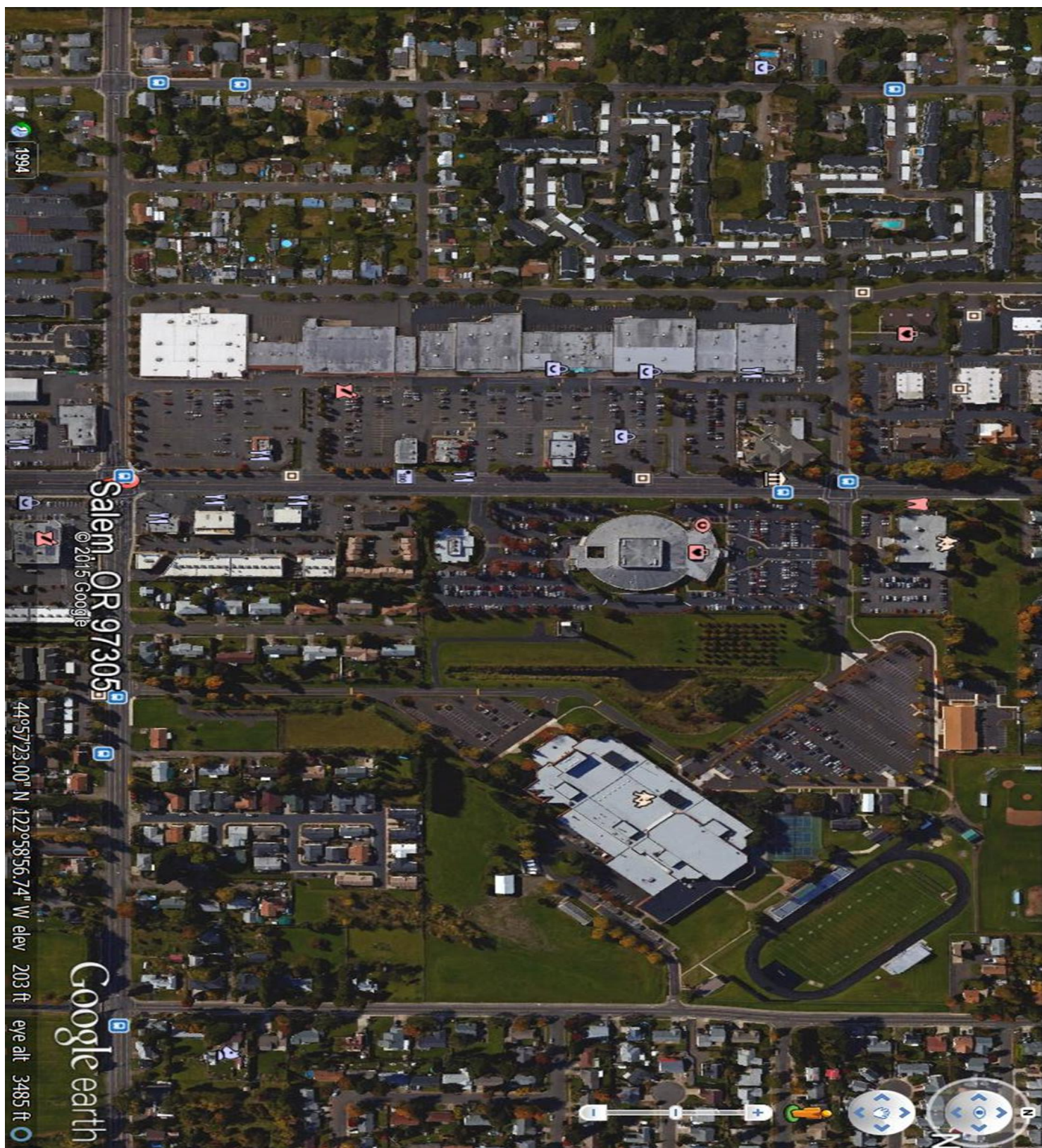
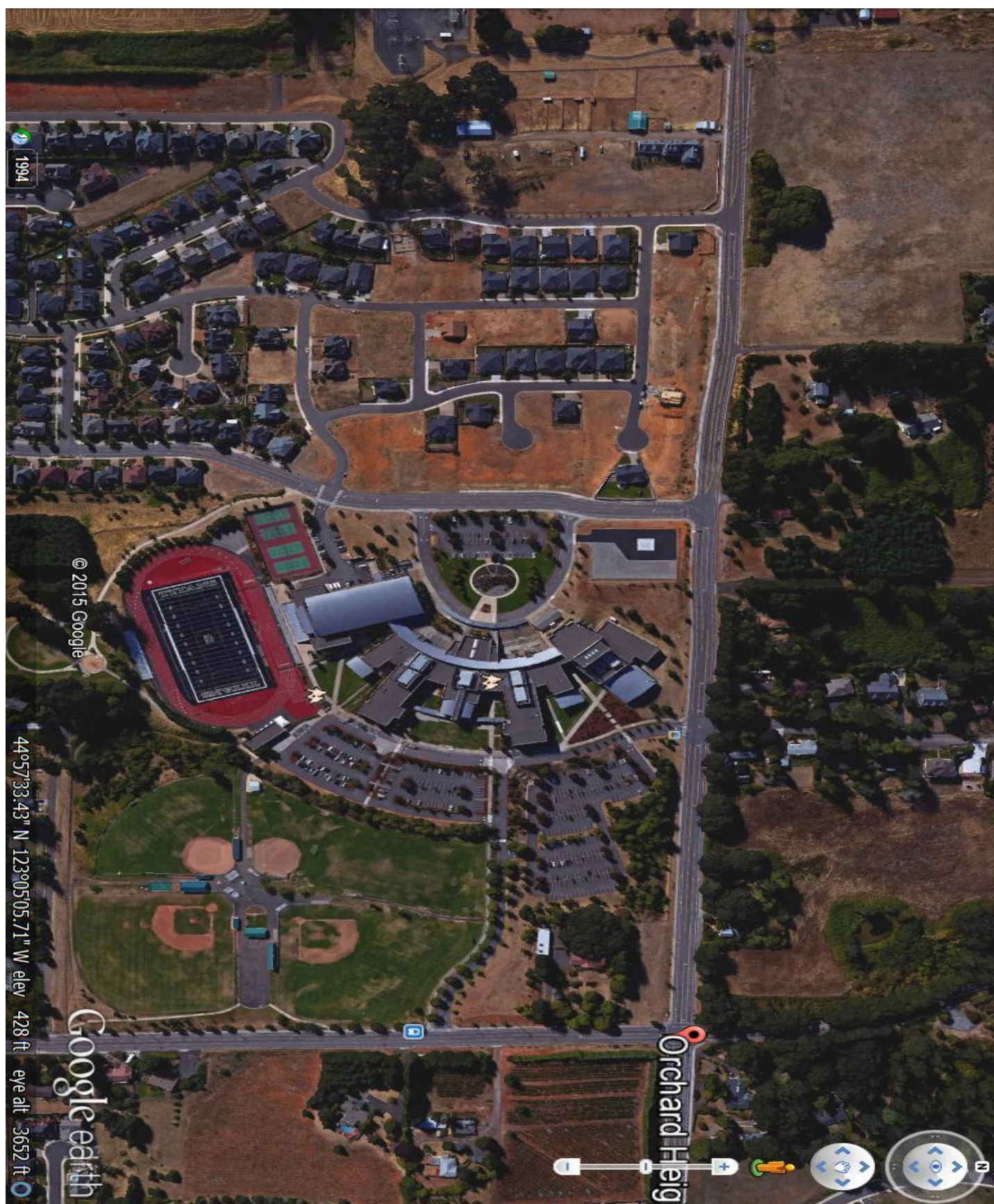
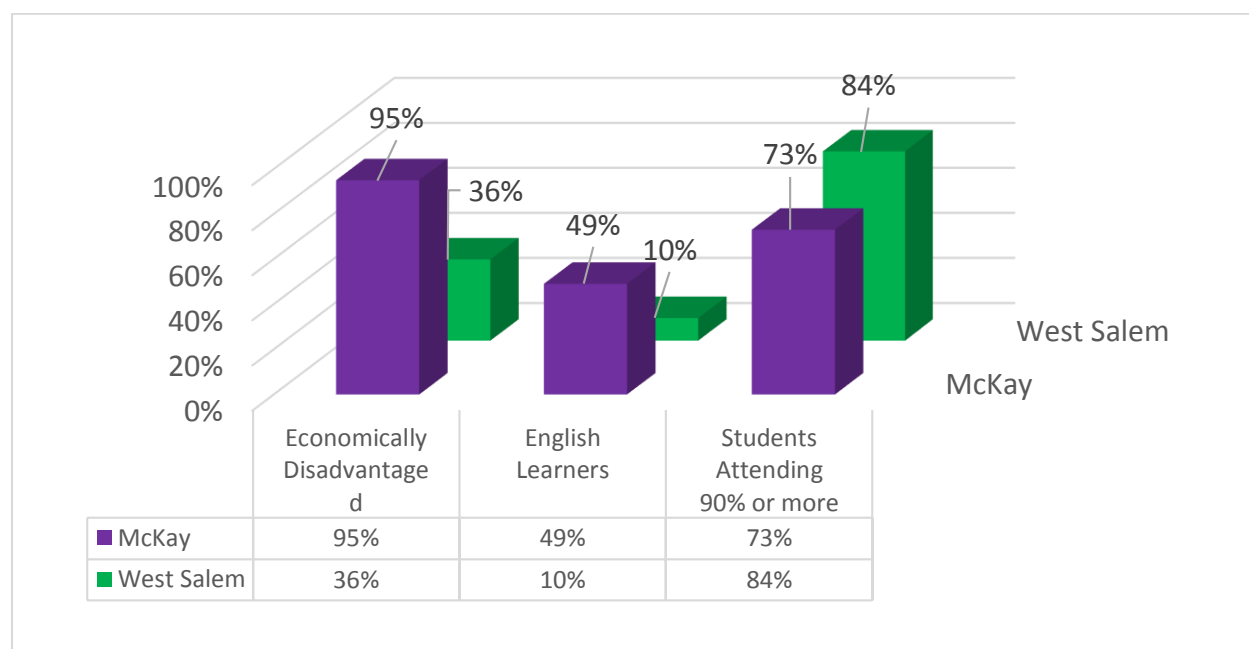


Illustration 4.7: Google Earth Map of West Salem High School



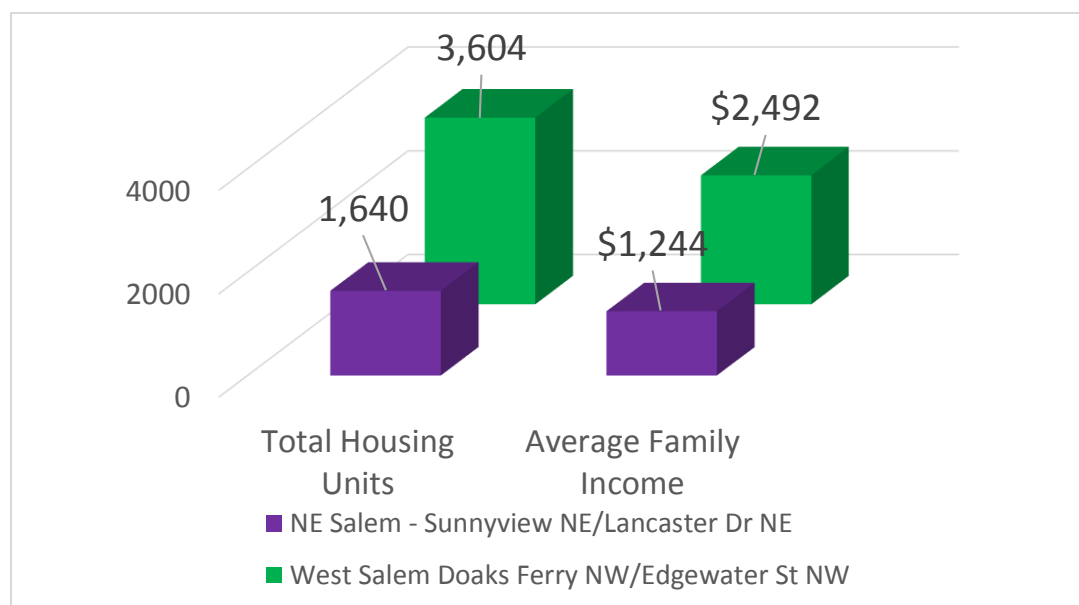
Graph 4.6: Douglas McKay & West Salem high schools' demographics – economically disadvantaged, English learners, and students attending 90% or more of school days, 2011-2012



Oregon Department of Education, 2011-2012 Report Card

<http://www.ode.state.or.us/data/reportcard/RCpdfs/13/13-ReportCard-3463.pdf>

Graph 4.7: Mean average housing units & average family income northeast Salem & west Salem areas 2005-2009

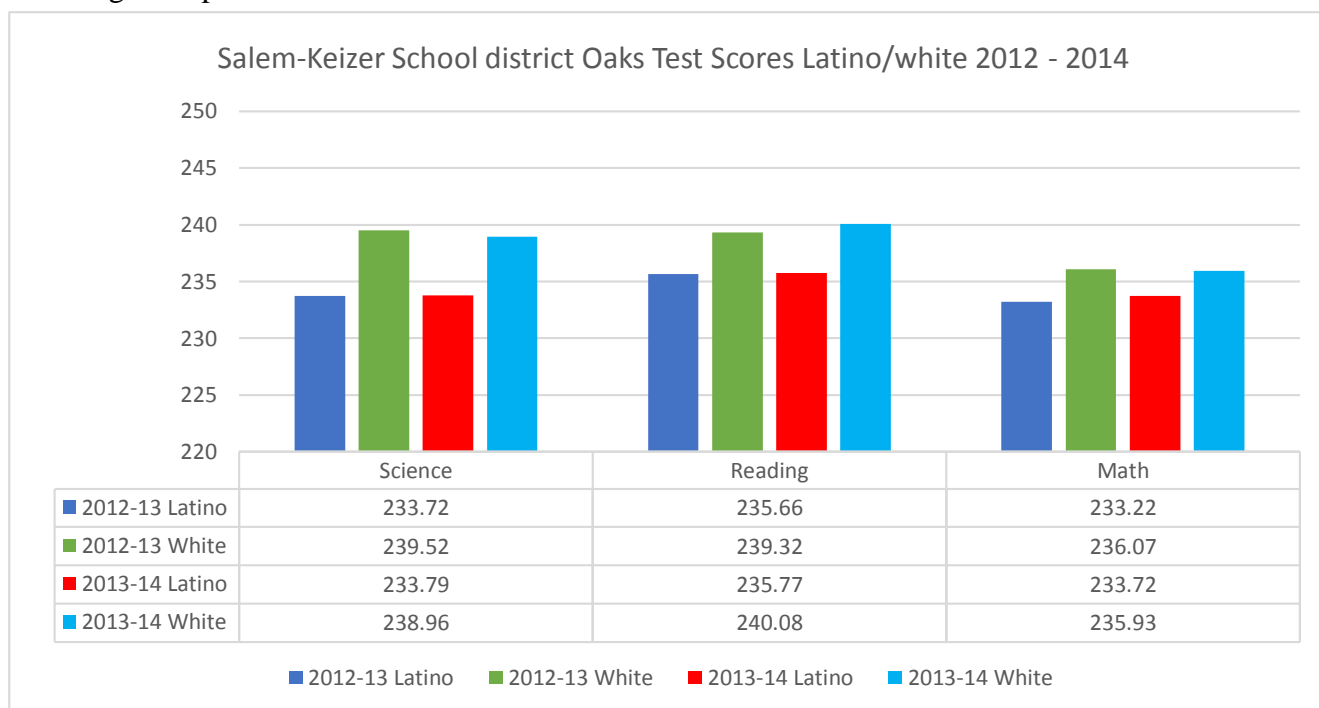


U.S. Census Bureau, American Fact Finder

http://factfinder.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?pid=DEC_00_SF1_DP1&prodType=table

Graph 4.8: Salem-Keizer School District OAKS Test Scores Latino/white 2012-2014

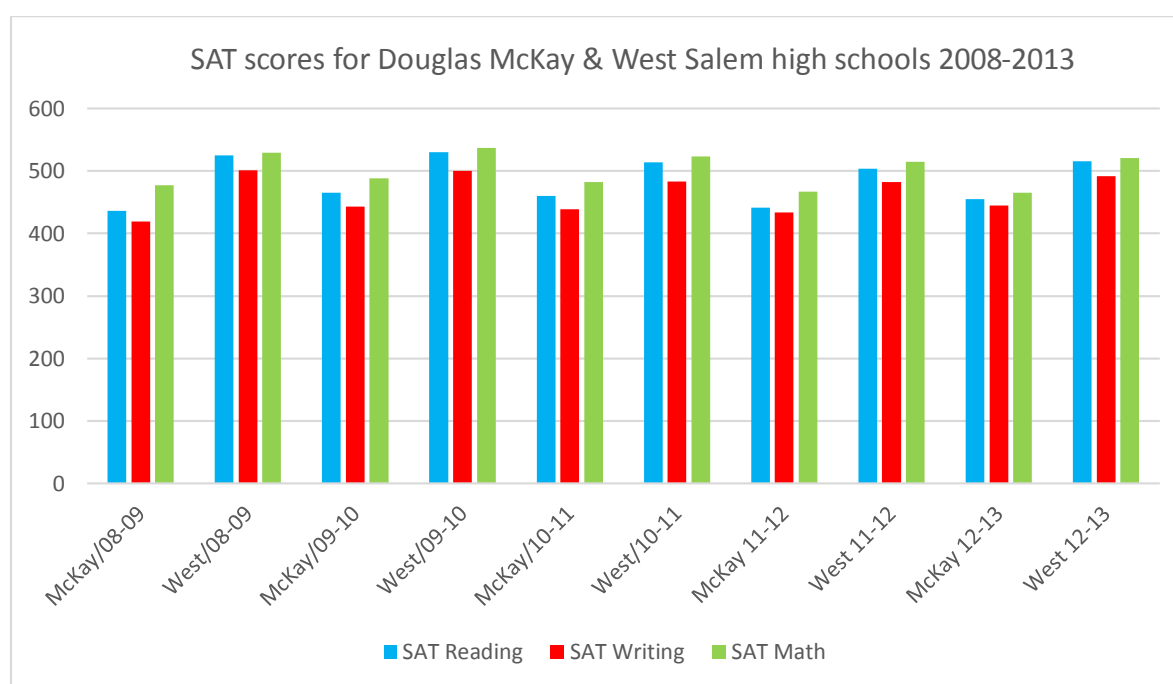
Oregon Department of Education



Oregon Department of Education Reports

<http://www.ode.state.or.us/search/page/?id=1722>

Graph 4.9: SAT test scores for Douglas McKay & West Salem high schools, 2008-2013



Oregon Department of Education Reports
<http://www.ode.state.or.us/search/page/?id=1722>

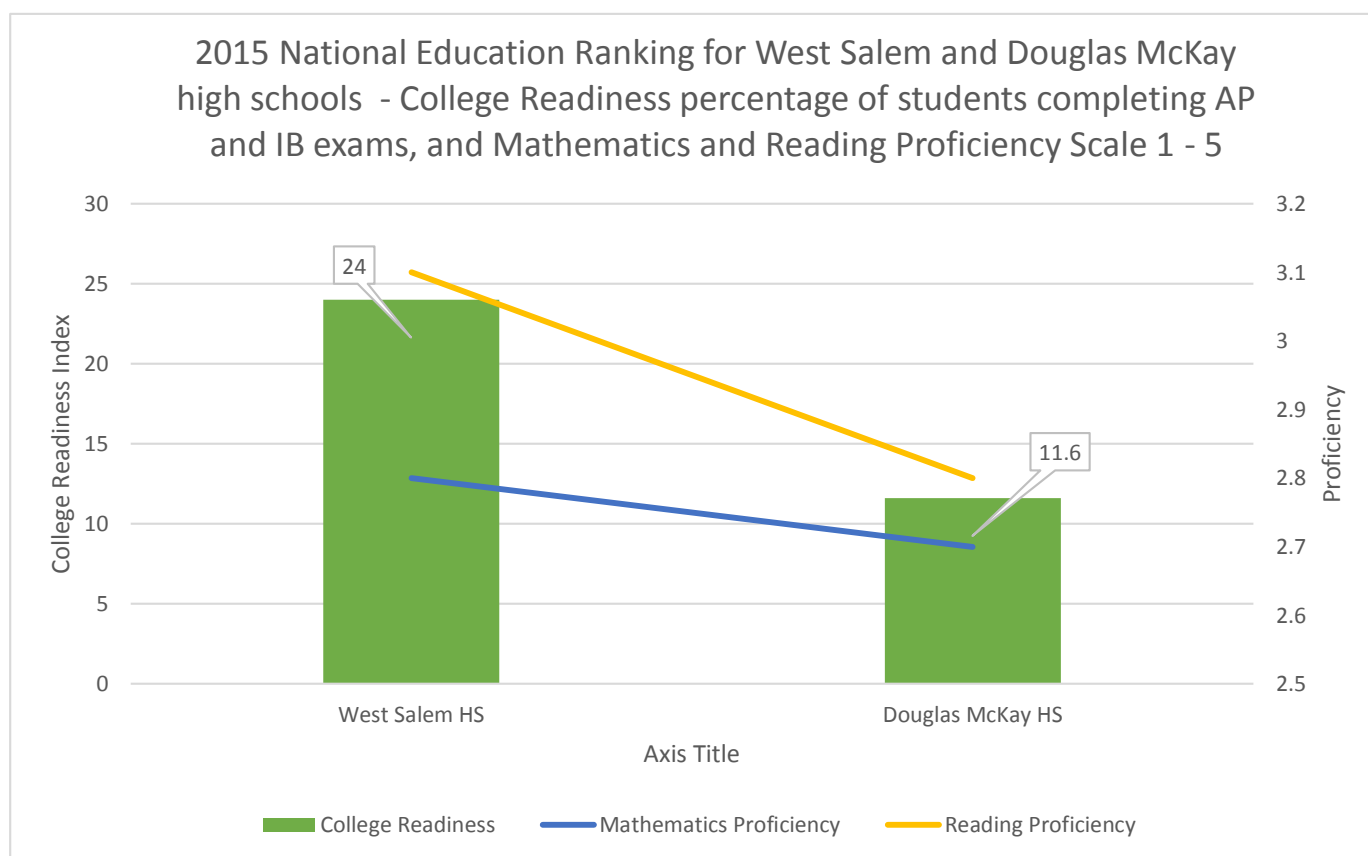
Chart 5.1 General diploma credits versus admission to Oregon University School system requirements

General Diploma Verses Oregon University System (OUS)		
Subject Area	Salem Keizer Diploma	Oregon University System
English	4 Credits – Literature 3, Composition 1	4 Credits in English Grades must be C or above
Math	3 Credits Algebra I and above	3 Credits of Algebra or above, with completion of Algebra II or higher Grades must be C or above
Science	3 Credits Regular or Honors Level Physical Science, Biology, and a third year either of Chemistry or another science	3 Credits in Science Grades must be a C or above, including at least one year each in two different fields of science
Social Science	3 Credits 20 th Century I, II Economics American Government or AP US History	3 Credits in Social Studies Grades must be C or above
Health	1 Credit Grade 9 Wellness Skills I Grade 11 Wellness Skills II	None
Physical Education	1 Credit Grade 9 Personal Fitness Grades 10 thru 12 any Physical Education Class	None
Applied Arts, Fine Arts or Second Language, Career/Tech Ed.	3 Credits Any courses in Art, Business, Computer Science, Foreign Language, Career & Technical, Drama, Music, Yearbook	2 Credits Foreign Language Must be the same Language 2 consecutive years in a row and Grade must be C or above One year at the high school
Other Requirements	All graduates will need to complete: Essential Skills Extended Application Education Plan and Profile	GPA requirements (most OUS schools require a 3.0 minimum), SAT and/or ACT requirements

West Salem High School Course Catalog

<http://westsalemhigh.com/Admin/files/6669beff-9e85-4e46-a7cb-56965fada37e.pdf>

Graph 5.2: 2015 National Education Ranking for West Salem and Douglas McKay high schools - College Readiness, Mathematics and Reading Proficiency



U.S. News Education Rankings

<http://www.usnews.com/education/best-high-schools/oregon/districts/salem-keizer-public-schools/mckay-high-school-16640/test-scores>

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