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The Political Resources Model of Representation: A local approach

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THE POLITICAL RESOURCES MODEL OF REPRESENTATION: A LOCAL APPROACH

BY

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This study is respectfully
dedicated to my parents,
who taught me the need
for education.

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ABSTRACT

THE POLITICAL RESOURCES MODEL OF REPRESENTATION:

A LOCAL APPLICATION

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The purpose of the study was to determine the applicability of the Political Resources Model of Representation to the Rio Grande Valley and to ascertain if political resources (poverty levels, educational attainment, and Hispanic representation) provide an adequate explanation of educational outcomes (ACT, TEAMS, and dropout rates).

The political Resources Model of Representation, used by Meier and Stewart, served as a theoretical framework for the study. Formerly, the model had been used at a national level and a state level. Representation variables were used to predict the applicability of the model to a region.

Political Resources variables were used to explain educational outcomes. The sample included 31 school districts in South Texas with a Hispanic majority population.

Results confirmed that the Political Resources Model of Representation is applicable to a regional study. School districts with a higher level of Hispanic poverty had lower ACT and TEAMS test scores. Revenue per Pupil also had a positive effect on TEAMS test scores.

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The Problem

Introduction

Texas has a long history of neglecting the education of Hispanic people. Research shows that while there has been a long and tedious battle towards educational equality, Hispanics still have not reached the point where they receive the same education as other Texans (San Miguel, 1987). The lower Rio Grande Valley has a very high drop-out rate and a work force which is one of the least educated in the United States (Maril, 1989).

The lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas lies at the extreme southern tip of Texas on the border with Mexico. The Rio Grande Valley covers approximately 4,200 square miles and is divided up into the four counties of Cameron, Hidalgo, Starr, and Willacy (Maril, 1989). Although located in the United States, the Rio Grande Valley has its own set of characteristics.

There are over 700,000 people in the Rio Grande Valley and approximately 80 percent of the Valley's inhabitants are Mexican-American, or Hispanic (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). The Rio Grande Valley is one of the few locations in the country where Hispanics comprise

a majority in terms of population. This Hispanic population sets the Rio Grande Valley apart from the rest of the state of Texas, as well as the United States, which have considerably smaller Hispanic populations (Table 1-1 and Table 1-2).

Table 1-1

Population and Ethnicity

of the Rio Grande Valley, 1990

County	Total Population	Hispanic Population	% Hispanic
Hidalgo	383,545	326,972	85.2
Starr	40,518	39,390	97.2
Cameron	260,120	212,995	81.9
Willacy	17,705	14,937	84.4

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1990.

Table 1-2

Population and Ethnicity

of Texas and the United States of America, 1990

	Total Population	Hispanic Population	% Hispanic
Texas	16,986,510	4,339,905	25.5
United States	248,709,873	22,354,059	9.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1990.

The Rio Grande Valley is consideraly different from the state of Texas and the United States in several other ways as well. Poverty afflicts Rio Grande Valley residents almost 3 times more than the state average and 4 times more than the national average (Table 1-4). This high rate of poverty is non-discriminate toward age of resident or type of household (Table 1-3).

Table 1-3

Poverty Levels

of the Rio Grande Valley, 1990

County	% of Families below Poverty Level	% of Female households below Poverty Level	% Persons over 65 below Poverty Level
Hidalgo	36.3	55.4	28.4
Starr	56.5	65.7	53.8
Cameron	33.7	53.9	26.9
Willacy	37.6	71.1	34.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1990.

Table 1-4

Poverty Levels

of Texas and the United States of America, 1990

	% of Families below Poverty Level	% of Female households below Poverty Level	% Persons over 65 below Poverty Level
Texas	14.1	35.4	18.4
United States	10.0	31.1	12.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1990.

Another area in which the Rio Grande Valley lags behind the rest of the state and the U.S., is income. Over half of the households in the Rio Grande Valley earn less than $25,000 (Table 1-5). This is considerably lower than the state of Texas or national averages (Table 1-6).

Table 1-5

Income of the

Rio Grande Valley, 1990

County	% income less than $15,000	% income from $15,000 to $24,999	% income from $25,000 to $49,999	% income over $50,000
Hidalgo	45.9	20.7	23.3	10.2
Starr	65.2	16.4	13.4	5.0
Cameron	44.3	20.4	24.4	10.9
Willacy	51.1	19.9	21.7	7.3

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1990.

Table 1-6

Income of Texas and

the United States of America, 1990

	% income less than $15,000	% income from $15,000 to $24,999	% income from $25,000 to $49,999	% income over $50,000
Texas	27.6	18.8	32.3	21.3
United States	24.3	17.5	33.7	24.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1990.

Although there have been campaigns promoting better education in the Rio Grande Valley and Texas, the valley residents still face a very low level of education. Nearly half of valley residents over the age of 25 do not have a high school diploma and less than 10 percent of persons over 25 have graduated from college (Table 1-7). Levels of educational attainment for Rio Grande Valley residents are much lower than state and national averages (Table 1-8).

Table 1-7

Education in the

Rio Grande Valley

County	Persons 25 and over, % high school graduate	Persons 25 and over, % with a bachelor's degree
Hidalgo	46.6	11.5
Starr	31.6	6.7
Cameron	50.0	12.0
Willacy	42.9	8.8

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1990.

Table 1-8

Education in Texas and

the United States of America

	Persons 25 and over, % high school graduate	Persons 25 and over, % with a bachelor's degree
Texas	72.1	20.3
United States	75.2	20.3

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1990.

Typically, Hispanics are not equally represented in most areas of local, state, or federal employment (Table 4-10 and 4-11). While there has been little research done on minority representation in the Rio Grande Valley, there is an abundance of research in many areas. These areas include employment in municipalities (Dye and Renick, 1981; Hall and Saltzstein,1977; Saltzstein, 1983), city councils (Karnig, 1976,1979; Robinson and Dye, 1978), school administrators (Arevalo, 1973), and school boards (Meier and England, 1983; Dometrius and Sigelman, 1988; Fraga, Meier and England, 1986; Meier, Stewart and England, 1989; Meier and Stewart,1991).

Statement of the Problem

Virtually all of the research that has been done on minority representation in school districts and municipalities has been done with a relatively small percentage of Hispanic students. There has been very little research on school districts in which an ethnic minority makes up a majority of the population. There has also been relatively little research done on Hispanics in particular.

The Problem for the study is as follows:

1) to determine the applicability of the Political Resources Model of Representation for the Rio Grande Valley. This model was used by Meier and Stewart at a national level, and Polinard, Wrinkle and Meier at the state level, and to ascertain if Political Resources (poverty levels, educational attainment, and Hispanic representation) provide an adequate explanation of educational outcomes (ACT, TEAMS, Dropout Rate).

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study will be to determine the relationship between the percentage of Hispanic school board members, the percentage of Hispanic administrators, the percentage of Hispanic teachers, the Hispanic population and educational outcomes.

Hypothesis

I Posit the following hypotheses:

1) The percentage of Hispanic students in a school district is directly related to the percentage of Hispanic school board members.
2) The percentage of Hispanics with a high school diploma is directly related to the percentage of Hispanic school board members.
3) The percentage of Hispanic school board members is directly related to percentage Hispanic school teachers.
4) The percentage of Hispanic high school graduates is directly related to the percentage of Hispanic teachers.
5) The percentage of Hispanic teachers is inversely related to dropout rates.
6) The percentage of Hispanics in poverty is inversely related to ACT scores.
7) The percentage of Hispanic teachers is directly related to ACT scores.
8) The percentage of Hispanic school board members is directly related to TEAMS test scores.
9) The percentage of Hispanics in poverty is inversely related to TEAMS test scores.

Significance of the Study

There are increasingly more minority students entering our nations schools. Hispanic populations are increasing very quickly. This research is timely in fashion and seeks to help construct a better view of Hispanic education in the Rio Grande Valley. The findings of this study will aid in both academic and pragmatic areas of education and minority representation.

This study will be useful in an academic setting to determine the relevance of this research. As mentioned earlier, little research has been done on an area in which Hispanics make up a majority in terms of population. It will be important to see if Hispanics behave as the literature proposes, or if Hispanics (when a majority) stop behaving as a minority, and start behaving more like a typical (Anglo) majority.

The findings of this study will help the education community determine better ways of providing a successful educational experience to the growing number of Hispanic students. This could be done by evaluating the current relationships between Hispanic students, teachers, administrators and school boards. The study can also be used to help school board members select their personnel. If school board members are conscious of their statistical hiring practices, the school board members will be able to evaluate their own hiring practices, and be able to hire the appropriate personnel without bias.

Definition of Terms

For clarification, the following definitions describe the principle terms as they will be used in the present study.

Hispanic

For the purpose of this study, Hispanics are defined as people of Mexican descent regardless of whether the individual was born in Mexico or the United States. Lujan says that this term is used when the information to be secured is found in written reports, surveys, etc (Lujan 1976, p.6).

Anglo

The term Anglo refers to Americans of non-Mexican heritage. It is further restricted in this study to mean only those Americans who are members of the Caucasian race and whose residence is in the United States. Hispanics or African-Americans are not termed Anglo.

Graduation Rate

This term refers to the percentage of all 7th graders enrolled in 1984-85 who graduated in 1990.

Dropout Rate

This term refers to the percentage of students who quit school in a particular year.

Test Scores

The term test scores refers to the Texas Educational Assessment of Minimum Skills (TEAMS) test. The TEAMS test, a criterion-referenced test, was designed and mandated as part of the 1984 reform legislation aimed at improving performance and accountability in Texas schools. The test assessed students in grades 3, 5, 7, 9 and 11. Test scores used in this study will encompass all grades tested.

At-Large Elections

This term refers to the type of election where all voters in a school district vote for all candidates of the school board.

Ward Elections

This term refers to the type of election in which the school district is divided into smaller sections called election wards and elect individual board members from each ward with voting restricted to ward residents.

Second Generation Discrimination

Practices that limit the integration of schools and deny minority students access to education, such as academic grouping and discipline in a discriminatory manner, are referred to as second generation discrimination (Bullock and Stewart, 1978, 1979).

Limitations

The following limitations were inherent in this study:

1) While the setting limits its applicability, and relativity to Rio Grande Valley school districts located in the state of Texas, this study can be used to determine if the Political Resources Model is applicable to this study,
2) another limitation is the nonrandom sample that will be used in this study. No attempt was made to choose a random sample. The Rio Grande Valley has the largest concentration of Hispanic students in Texas. Every independent public school district in the Rio Grande Valley was included in the study.

Theoretical Model

This research rests upon the assumption that once Hispanics gain political resources, their educational outcomes will increase. As Hispanics become educated, they have an increasingly better opportunity of obtaining a position in which they have the ability to strengthen the educational process. The increase in Hispanic school board members should lead to more Hispanic school administrators. More Hispanic administrators should lead to more Hispanic teachers, which would furthermore lead to better education for Hispanic students. As these

Hispanic students receive a better education, educational outcomes (dropout rate, graduation rate, test scores) should change favorably.

Summary

This first chapter has given the purpose of the study as well as the vital need for the study. A summary of the Rio Grande Valley was included to acquaint the reader with a general background and understanding of the area. The limitations have been declared so that inferences from the data are relevant only to the population in the study.

Chapter II

Review of the Literature

Introduction

This chapter provides a historical overview of Hispanic education in Texas as well as a review of the research literature relevant to the study. The literature includes, but is not limited to, employment in municipalities, city councils, school boards, and various educational outcomes such as SAT and ACT test scores, drop out rates, and graduation rates. The attitudes of school administrators and how they differ will also be included. This review shows how these subjects relate to the political resources model of representation, as well as the education of minority students.

Historical Overview

There have been problems for Hispanics in the arena of public education since the inception of public schools in the late 1800s (San Miguel, 1987). In the state of Texas, problems with language surfaced even before schools. In 1856, the speaking of Spanish was outlawed in courts. English was spoken if either one of the parties involved or the Justice of the Peace spoke

English (San Miguel, 1987). In less than two years after the first funds were allocated to the establishment of public schools, there was the passage of a law mandating the speaking of English (San Miguel, 1987). This problem concerning spoken language followed into the 1900's.

In 1923, Annie Blanton became state superintendent of public instruction. Blanton believed in total assimilation stating, "If you desire to be one with us, stay and we welcome you; but if you wish to preserve, in our state, the language and the customs of another land, you have no right to do this (San Miguel,1987 p.32)." More laws were passed including one which made it a criminal offense to teach in any language other than English (San Miguel, 1987). There were many other ways in which an "English only" attitude continued to hinder the education of Hispanic students who did not wish to completely assimilate.

Many groups, both public and private, offered support and contributions to English only nonpublic schools. These groups include the State Department of Education, the Texas Congress of the Parent-Teacher Association, the Texas State Teachers Association, and the state superintendent (San Miguel, 1987). As odd as it may seem, many people in the Mexican communities studied by San Miguel, had few problems with speaking only English at school.

Many Mexican children did not attend school so they did not feel an immediate effect of the English only laws. Those Mexican students who did attend school wished to learn English. The Mexican community was generally supportive of Americanization. The problems arose in regard to culture and tradition. "Texas Mexicans favored the learning of English but not at the expense of their Spanish language or their cultural traditions (San Miguel, 1987, p.37.)."

In 1929, the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) was formed. LULAC was formed by first generation Americans of Mexican descent and was interested in the "eradication of discriminatory treatment based on national origin (San Miguel, 1987 p.71.)." LULAC was interested in the political arena and all members were U.S. citizens and registered voters.

LULAC entered the campaign for educational equality by challenging the practice of segregated schools. It encouraged superintendents and lawmakers to reconsider their approach to education. By putting together committees, LULAC investigated whether Hispanic students were being given the same education as others. These committees brought up questions concerning schools in the San Antonio area (San Miguel, 1987). Why did the Anglo community have 100 more rooms than the Mexican schools if both schools had the same number of students? Why did the school district spend more than 10 dollars

more per person on the Anglo students? While LULAC was not able to make many of the changes they wished for, they were able to focus attention on issues and pave the way for other groups.

Segregation was still in practice after World War II. LULAC and the American G.I. Forum sent letters of protest to several government offices, including the attorney general of Texas, and requested that the practice of segregation be halted (San Miguel, 1987).

In 1949, a newly formed Mexican American organization filed a complaint against the school district of Del Rio for segregation. Later that year, Del Rio lost its accreditation. Between 1950 and 1953, over seven cases were brought to the state commissioner for failing to desegregate (San Miguel, 1987).

In 1968, a San Antonio lawyer, Pete Tijernia formed the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund (MALDEF). Maldef's goal "was to fight for equality in all areas of life by engaging in a sustained legal attack against racism in the Southwest (San Miguel, 1987, p.171)". Later that year, MALDEF won its first case against the Edcouch-Elsa school district. The case involved the expulsion of over 60 students. Between 1970 and 1980, MALDEF filed over 71 cases pertaining to segregation of schools (San Miguel, 1987).

There are still problems facing Hispanic students today. Some children are still held in segregated

classrooms. As a comparable percentage, there are still too few Hispanic teachers and administrators, and the number of Hispanics entering higher education is lower than Anglo and African Americans (CNN, 1996; Meier and Stewart, 1991).

At-Large Elections

Literature shows that at-large elections are particularly harmful to minority candidates for school board positions when voting is polarized by race (a frequent condition) and blacks constitute a minority of the voting population (Meier, Stewart and England, 1989). The most detrimental to black representation is at-large elections (Davidson and Korbel, 1981; Engstrom and McDonald, 1981). Studies of Hispanic representation agree that at-large elections are detrimental to equal representation. Ward elections improve the chances of minority representation (Polinard, Wrinkle, and Longoria, 1990; Meier, Stewart, and England,1991).

Hiring Practices

There is an obvious relationship between the school board, school administrators, and teachers. The school board hires administrators, and in most cases the administrators hire the teachers. Literature shows that people often hire those with similarities to themselves. For example, an Anglo man is more likely to hire a man

who is Anglo than a Hispanic man (Meier and Stewart, 1991.)

As the number of African-American administrators increases, so should the number of African-American teachers (Meier, Stewart and England, 1989). This should also be true for Hispanics, because the school board hires the superintendent who hires the administrators, who in turn hire the teachers (Meier and Stewart, 1991).

When a Hispanic is elected, that individual brings with him a set of values and perceptions. Thus, as the number of minorities in local elected office (such as the school board) increases, local public policies should begin to reflect this increase (Scavo 1990).

Minority Teachers and Students

Teachers who resemble their students have a more positive experience. One way to help improve the success rate of minority students is to let minority teachers teach them. African-American teachers seem more effective in teaching African-American children than would Anglo teachers (Bridge, Judd and Moock, 1979).

The literature shows that those districts with large minority populations are more likely to employ minority teachers. Growth in Hispanic teachers occurred most in districts with Hispanic students (Meier and Stewart,1991).

Teacher Testing

Minority students do not perform very well on standardized tests and controversy surrounds the TEAMS and TAAS test that students have taken in Texas. Literature shows that many of these tests are biased. These biases also hold true for minority teachers. In the summer of 1984, the sixty-eighth Texas Legislature enacted House Bill 72, which called for Texas public school educators to pass a test in reading and writing as a condition for continued certification (TEA, 1985). The Texas Examination of Current Administrators and Teachers (TECAT) is a test designed to measure key reading and writing skills needed by public school educators. It is a criterion-referenced test (TEA, 1985). The state average was 96.7% passing. Twenty out of thirty Rio Grande Valley school districts had lower percentages than the state average.

Teacher testing will decrease the number of African-American and Hispanic teachers. In Texas, the drive for quality in public education will proceed at the expense of one widely shared goal, that of achieving and maintaining a racially-ethnically representative educational system (Dometrius and Sigelman, 1988).

Second-Generation Discrimination

Second-generation discrimination is any practice that limits the integration of schools and deny minority students access to education (Meier and Stewart, 1991). These practices may include, but are not limited to, segregation of minority students, academic tracking, bias in testing, and teacher and administrator attitudes.

Second-generation discrimination plagues minority students across the country. The literature discusses many ways to combat second-generation discrimination. One way is to have more minority teachers. As stated above, the research shows that students who have teachers of the same race or ethnicity have a better chance of success. This also cuts down on second-generation discrimination. Increasing the number of Hispanic teachers increases the number of Hispanic students in gifted education, decreases the number of Hispanic expulsions, decreases the number of Hispanic drop outs and suspensions, and increases test scores (Meier and Stewart, 1991).

Graduation Rate

Graduation rates are different for Hispanics and Anglos. At a national level, Hispanic students have a lower rate of graduation than their Anglo counterparts (Meier and Stewart, 1991).

Graduation rates vary from region to region, but the literature shows that school districts with a large population of Hispanic students have lower dropout rates than those districts with fewer Hispanic students (Meier and Stewart, 1991).

Dropout Rate

The literature shows that Hispanic dropout rates increase in districts where there are: fewer Hispanic students, fewer Hispanic administrators and school board members, and tracking of students (Meier and Stewart, 1991).

Hispanic and African American students make up disproportionately smaller percentages of graduates and larger percentages of dropouts when compared with their percentages in the student population (TEA, 1990).

Test Scores

Tests are given to students so that they can or may graduate from high school. These tests are mandatory and must be passed in order to graduate. The literature shows that there are differences in the scores of these tests depending on ethnicity. Hispanic students score lower on tests than Anglo students (Meier and Stewart, 1991; Maril, 1989; Bridge, Judge and Moock, 1979).

There are also differences on the SAT and ACT tests. Anglo students score higher than minority students

on standardized exams (Powell and Steelman, 1984). Explanations for this disparity include socialization differences and cultural biases in the content of the exams (White, 1981; Williams, 1983).

Attitudes

While teachers and administrators urge education as the means to a better life, their attitude towards certain groups of students can affect them negatively in terms of the attention and time spent on minority children.

Public schools are often seen as a part of political patronage where education is not the main goal, but the capturing of resources that provide jobs, salaries and contracts for services (Maril, 1989). Many school districts in the Rio Grande Valley have been charged with this practice. The attitudes of teachers and administrators often lead to second generation discrimination. Studies have found that a disproportionate number of minority students were placed in classes for the educable mentally retarded, the trainable mentally retarded (Meier and Stewart, 1991; San Miguel, 1982). The literature also shows that minority students are more likely to be recipients of corporal punishment, suspensions and expulsions (Maril, 1989; Meier and Stewart, 1991; San Miguel, 1989).

Summary

This chapter provided a historical overview to acquaint the reader with some of the problems surrounding educational equality since the inception of public schools in the state of Texas. The review of the literature shows pertinent information to the study.

The review of the literature indicates that Hispanic children receive a more positive educational experience if they are taught by Hispanic teachers. The literature also shows that most Hispanic teachers are statistically hired by Hispanic Administrators, which in turn are statistically hired by Hispanic school board members. The most effective way to elect a Hispanic or other minority to the school board is to have ward elections instead of at-large elections. At-large elections hurt the chances of minority candidates.

Chapter III

Research and Methodology

Introduction

This chapter contains a description of the subjects, the data, the Political Resources Model, the variables and the analysis. An explanation of multiregression analysis has been provided to aquaint the reader with the method used. The dependent and independent variables have been included as well as a brief rationale as to why these variables were selected.

Subjects

The universe for analysis will be thirty one school districts in the Rio Grande Valley (Appendix A). The thirty one Rio Grande Valley school districts were chosen because they represent the largest collection of school districts with a Hispanic majority population in the state. Most uses of the Political Resources Model have been where Hispanics have been a minority in terms of population. This focus allows a different slant to the existing literature. District enrollment ranges from 229 to 36,538. The political Resources Model generally has been applied at a state or national level.

For example, Meier and Stewart, (1991) and Polinard, Wrinkle and Meier, (forthcoming). Meier and Stewart use the Political Resource Model for all Hispanics (including those of Cuban and Puerto Rican descent) in the United States in school districts of over 5,000 students and at least 5 percent Hispanic (Meier and Stewart, 1991, 30). As discussed by Polinard, Wrinkle and Meier there are problems with intra-regional and ethnic group differences (forthcoming, p.11). These problems have been avoided by concentrating on a particular region with virtually only one minority group.

Data

All data collected was from the 1990-1991 school year. Three separate data sources were used in this study. Ethnicity of School Board members and ethnicity of school administrators were gathered from the Texas Education Agency Texas School Directory which was released November, 1990. Ethnicity of school board members and school administrators was calculated by Hispanic surnames in the Texas School Directory. The number of Hispanic school board members were divided from the total number of school board members to obtain a percentage. Hispanic school administrators were also calculated by counting the Hispanic surname administrators and dividing by the total number of

administrators. Natives from the area were able to assist with identifying names which were unclear as to ethnicity.

Data for family income, percent of Hispanics with a high school education, percent of Anglos with a high school education and percent of Hispanics living in poverty were taken from the dataset used in the Polinard, Wrinkle and Meier (forthcoming). All data from this dataset had been previously calculated.

Data for percent Anglo, percent Hispanic, dropout rate, percent passing TEAMS, percent Anglo passing TEAMS, percent Hispanic passing TEAMS, SAT scores, ACT scores, percent staff minority, percent Hispanic teachers, and total revenue per pupil were collected from the Texas Education Agency Snapshot '90 School District Profiles (1990). These data were calculated for all school districts by the Texas Education Agency.

Political Resources Model

The Political Resources Model is one of the political science approaches used to study educational politics (Meier and Stewart, 1991). Polinard, Wrinkle and Meier say this model assumes that the level of political resources available to minorities influences the development of strategies and tactics to achieve goals (forthcoming, p.4).

As mentioned briefly in chapter I, the Political Resources Model rests upon the assumption that as Hispanics gain resources, the Hispanic community will use these resources to achieve greater political and economic power within school districts. The model suggests that as Hispanics become more educated and affluent, they will take a more active role in educational policy and elections. Polinard, Wrinkle and Meier (forthcoming) say that for educational policies, this process anticipates the election of minorities (African Americans and Hispanics) to the school board, who hire minority administrators, and the administrators in turn will hire minority teachers. These teachers have a beneficial impact on the minority student population Thus, educational outcomes for Hispanic students are enhanced.

The Model

The Dependent Variables: As discussed by Meier and Stewart; Polinard, Wrinkle and Meier, and Meier and England, it is important to select reliable and effective measures of student performance. This study uses a variety of educational outcomes. These outcomes include dropout rates, TEAMS scores and ACT scores. For the test of the Political Resources Model of Representation, Hispanic school board members and Hispanic teachers were included as dependent variables.

Dropout Rate

The literature shows that Hispanic and African American students make up disproportionately smaller percentages of graduates and larger percentages of dropouts when compared with their percentages in the student population (TEA, 1990). Graduation rates are different for Hispanics and Anglos. Hispanic students have a lower rate of graduation than their Anglo counterparts (Meier and Stewart, 1991).

Dropout rates have a direct affect on the Political Resources Model. A community with a high dropout rate will have fewer people obtaining political resources needed to influence educational outcomes.

TEAMS Test

The 1989-1990 school year marked the fifth and last year that the Texas Educational Assessment of Minimum Skills (TEAMS) test was administered. The Texas Assessment of Academic Skills (TAAS) test has been used since 1990-1991. TEAMS is a criterion referenced test. A criterion-referenced test relates test items to specific learning objectives. TEAMS was defined and mandated as part of the 1984 reform legislature aimed at improving performance and accountability in Texas schools (TEA, 1990). The measurement used in this study is the percent of students passing all tests taken.

ACT Test

The component of the American College Testing Program (ACT) test is a standardized test which measures social studies and natural sciences, in addition to English and mathematics. A perfect score on the ACT is a 35 (TEA, 1990).

The independent variables: The independent variables are educational and political resources. These independent variables include enrollment of the district, Hispanic enrollment, minority staff, Hispanic teachers, Hispanic administrators, Hispanic school board members, revenue per pupil, family income, Hispanics with a high school education, Anglos with a high school education, and Hispanics in poverty.

Enrollment

Enrollment is a count of students taken on a single day in the fall of each school year. Enrollment includes all students in the district from pre kindergarten through grade twelve. This count is used by the Texas Education Agency to calculate per pupil amounts presented in this study. Enrollment was included in this study to control for size of the district. As mentioned earlier, districts in the Rio Grande Valley range from 229 to 36,538.

Hispanic Enrollment

Hispanic enrollment is the percentage of the total enrollment that are Hispanic. Each school district in the Rio Grande Valley has a majority of Hispanic students. The literature suggests that Hispanic students receive a better education from minority teachers (Bridge, Judge Mook, 1974; Meier and Stewart, 1991).

Minority Staff

Minority staff is a count of all personnel reported as non-white expressed as a percent of total staff FTEs. All staff counts are expressed as full-time equivalents (FTE). Minority staff includes all occupations for the district such as cafeteria workers, bus drivers, clerks etc. Minority staff is included to show a relationship with minority teachers, minority administrators and minority school board members. I expect school districts with a larger percentage of minority staff to have higher minority student success rates on standardized tests such as the ACT and the TEAMS. I also expect that school districts with a larger percentage of minority staff will have lower dropout rates. The literature suggests that minority staff is the weakest link in the chain (Mladenka, 1989b).

The literature suggests that minority teachers are the strongest factor in determining the educational outcomes of minority children. Since staff includes many jobs which do not require college or in some cases even a high school diploma, the staff is not as educated or affluent as are teachers, administrators or school board members. Thus, their role in the Political Resources Model is diminished.

Hispanic Teachers

Hispanic teachers is calculated as the count of teachers reported as Hispanic expressed as a percent of total teachers. The literature shows that Hispanic teachers have a positive relationship with the education of Hispanic students (Bridge, Judge and Mook, 1974; Meier and Stewart, 1991; Polinard, Wrinkle and Meier, forthcoming). I expect that the higher the percentage of Hispanic teachers, the better the minority student performance on the ACT and TEAMS tests. I also expect those districts with a larger percentage of Hispanic teachers to have a lower dropout rate. I expect the relationship between the independent variable teachers and the dependent variables to be stronger than other independent variables such as Hispanic staff, Hispanic Administrators, and Hispanic school board members.

Hispanic Administrators

Hiring practices suggest that as the number of minority administrators increases, so should the number of minority teachers (Meier, Stewart and England, 1989). Districts with a higher percentage of Hispanic Administrators should have a higher percentage of Hispanic teachers. I expect that school districts with a higher percentage of minority administrators will have higher ACT and TEAMS test scores. School districts with a higher percentage of Hispanic administrators should have a lower dropout rate.

Hispanic School Board Members

Hispanic school board members is included as an independent variable to determine the applicability of the Political Resources Model in the Rio Grande Valley. When a Hispanic is elected, that individual brings with him a set of values and perceptions. Thus, as the number of minorities in local elected office (such as the school board) increases, local public policies should begin to reflect this increase (Scavo, 1990). I expect that school districts with a higher percentage of Hispanic School Board members will have higher ACT and TEAMS test scores. School districts with a higher percentage of Hispanic school board

members will have lower dropout rates. As mentioned earlier, I expect the relationship between teachers and the dependent variables to be more significant than the relationship between school board members and the dependent variables.

Revenue Per Pupil

Revenue per pupil was calculated as total revenue divided by total enrollment. There is an obvious relationship between revenue and education. The level of resources is one of the most significant characteristics of a school district (Polinard, Wrinkle and Meier, forthcoming). Revenue per pupil allows the comparison of both large and small districts and is consistent with earlier research (Bidwell and Kasarda, 1975; Polinard, Wrinkle and Meier, forthcoming).

Family Income

Family income was included to show economic resources in the Rio Grande Valley. Those districts with lower family income will have fewer educated affluent people. Districts with lower family income will have fewer chances to impact educational outcomes through the Political resources Model. I expect that those school districts with lower family income will have lower ACT and TEAMS test scores. School districts with lower family income will have higher dropout rates.

Hispanics with a High School Diploma

Hispanics with a high school diploma were included to show political resources in the Rio Grande Valley. Those districts with fewer Hispanic high school graduates will have limited access to change through the Political Resources Model (Meier and Stewart, 1991). I expect school districts with lower percentages of Hispanic high school graduates to have lower ACT and TEAMS test scores. I expect school districts with lower Hispanic high school graduates to have higher dropout rates.

Anglos with a High School Diploma

Anglos with a high school diploma were included to show the political resources Anglos have in the Rio Grande Valley. Descriptive statistics showing differences in educational attainment, poverty levels and graduation rates are included in chapters 1 and 4.

Hispanics in Poverty

Hispanics in poverty were included to show political resources in the Rio Grande Valley. Those school districts with a higher degree of poverty have limited access to the Political Resources Model since there are fewer educated, affluent people in residence (Meier and Stewart, 1991). I expect school districts with higher rates of poverty to

have lower ACT and TEAMS test scores. I expect school districts with higher rates of poverty to have higher dropout rates.

Data Analysis

The analysis of the data will be both descriptive and statistical. The descriptive analysis will be included to provide a picture of education in the Rio Grande Valley as a whole. The descriptive analysis will show how the Rio Grande Valley compares with the Meier and Stewart study in terms of the Political Resources Model.

The statistical analysis will be multiple regression. Multiple regression is a statistical procedure used for interval level data designed to incorporate more than one independent variable. Multiple regression can be used with an unlimited number of independent variables. Regression with three or more independent variables is nothing more than a straightforward extension of the two variable case (Meier and Brudney, 1993). As recommended by Meier and Brudney (1993), a computer program (SPSSpc) will be used to calculate the regression. This program provides values for multiple R, R Square, Adjusted R Square, Standard Error, Significance of the Equation (F), the slope, and performance of the t score. Significant levels for the f test and t test will be .05 or less. An example of a multiple regression equation with

four independent variables is as shown

$$Y = a + ß1X1 + ß2X2 + ß3X3 + ß4X4$$

where Y is the percentage of Hispanics passing the TEAMS test, a is the intercept, X1 is Hispanic school board members, X2 is enrollment, X3 is Hispanic poverty rate and X4 is total revenue per pupil. An equation is acceptable if the Sig F is .05 or lower and variables are statistically significant if they have a Sig T of .05 or lower. N is the number of cases. In this study this means that there are 31 school districts included in this equation. The adjusted R Square is the ratio of the explained variation to the total variation in Y. The adjusted R Square ranges from zero (data do not fit) to one (data fit perfectly) (Meier and Brudney, 1993).

Chapter IV

Results

Introduction

This chapter is made up of three sections. The first section provides a descriptive and statistical detail pertaining to Rio Grande Valley school districts which is then subdivided into three separate categories. The first category is poverty and education characteristics of all of the people in the district, the second, is student characteristics, and the third pertains to revenue.

The second section addresses the applicability of the Political Resources Model to this study. The Political Resources Model is usually used in a national (Meier and Stewart) or state (Polinard, Wrinkle and Meier) setting. This section evaluates the use of the model to the Rio Grande Valley.

The final section of this chapter details the results of the multiple regression analysis of the data. Educational outcomes such as dropout rates, ACT, and TEAMS scores will be discussed.

Rio Grande Valley

The Rio Grande Valley has the largest concentration of Hispanics in Texas. Hispanics make up the majority population in every school district located in the Rio Grande Valley. The Rio Grande Valley is an area that has limited income, low education levels, and high poverty rates.

A statistical profile of persons in the school districts is shown in table 4-1. Persons in the school district include all people and families residing in the school district. Graduation rates were calculated for those persons living in their individual districts over the age of twenty five. The average family income for each school district was $17,460. A smaller percentage of Hispanics(21.7) have a high school diploma when compared to Anglos(57.8). Almost half of the Hispanic people in the sample were living in poverty(48.1%)

Table 4-1

A Statistical View of People in the Study

Characteristic	Mean	Standard Deviation	Low	High
Family Income	17460.839	4889.668	9181.0	35083.0
Hispanic Grad.(%)	21.742	5.040	13.0	36.0
Anglo Grad.(%)	57.839	12.305	10.0	70.0
Hispanic Poverty	48.194	7.674	32.0	65.0

A statistical profile of the school districts in the sample is shown in table 4-2. The average school district in the Rio Grande Valley had approximately 6,310 students. An overwhelming majority of those students were Hispanic(93%) while Anglos only comprised approximately 6%. The Hispanic population in the sample as well as the low (229) for enrollment and the high (36538) for enrollment, show that the school districts in the sample are representative of educational experiences in Rio Grande Valley school districts. Hispanics comprise a majority regardless of the size of the schol district.

Table 4-2

A Statistical View of Districts in the Study

Characteristic	Mean	Standard Deviation	Low	High
Enrollment	6310.516	7905.040	229.0	36538.0
Anglo (%)	6.226	7.219	0.0	26.0
Hispanic (%)	93.581	7.270	74.0	100.0
Dropout Rate	5.682	3.799	0.4	15.2

A statistical profile of TEAMS and ACT test scores for the school districts in the sample is shown in table 4-3. The mean score for TEAMS test represents the percentage of students passing all sections of the TEAMS test. The mean score for TEAMS test scores in the Rio Grande Valley is only 63.8. This is ten points lower than the state average of 73.8 (TEA 1990). In the sample, 62.6% of Hispanic students passed all portions of the TEAMS test. 75.8% of Anglo students in the sample passed all sections of the TEAMS tests. This is a difference of over 13 percent. Anglo students in the sample scored slightly higher than the state average. The state average of students passing all TEAMS tests was 73.8% (TEA, 1990). The sample average of Anglo students passing all TEAMS tests was 75.8%, a difference of 2 percent. While test scores for the Rio Grande Valley as a whole are well below state averages, Rio Grande Valley Anglo students scored better than the state averages for the TEAMS test.

The ACT composite scores for the sample ranged from 8.6 to 17.9 with a sample mean of 13.7. This is significantly lower than the average composite score on the ACT in Texas, which is 17.4 (TEA, 1990). The ACT composite sample mean of 13.7 also falls considerably short of the national average ACT composite of 18.6 (TEA, 1990).

Table 4-3

A Statistical View of TEAMS and ACT

Test Scores in the Study

Characteristic	Mean	Standard Deviation	Low	High
TEAMS	63.819	10.707	45.0	85.2
Anglo TEAMS	75.881	25.267	0.0	100.0
Hispanic TEAMS	62.642	10.200	45.0	85.2
ACT	13.763	2.204	8.6	17.9

A statistical view of revenue per pupil is shown in table 4-4. Revenue per pupil is total revenue (state, local and federal) divided by total enrollment. School districts in the study are shown to have a mean revenue of approximately $4,050 per student. The low for the study was $3,099, while the high was more than twice-as much at $6,397.

Table 4-4

A Statistical View of School Revenue

Per Pupil in the Study

Characteristic	Mean	Standard Deviation	Low	High
Revenue per Pupil	4050.903	718.490	3099.0	6397.0

Hispanic Representation and the Political Resources Model

The Political Resources Model of Representation, used by Meier and Stewart; Polinard, Wrinkle and Meier assumes that as Hispanics gain resources, the Hispanic community will use these resources to achieve greater political and economic power within the school districts. The model suggests that as Hispanics become more educated and affluent; they will take a more active role in educational policy and elections.

There are two different types of representation. Meier and Stewart say that passive representation concerns the similarity between representatives and the represented (1990, p.87.) Active representation, according to Pitkin, is acting in the interests of the represented (1967, p.209). These two types of representation are used in the Political Resources Model but must be linked together.

As discussed by Meier and Stewart, there are two linkages present in the Political Resources Model of Representation. They are the electoral linkage, and the socialization linkage. The electoral linkage is used in areas of representation involving elections (school board), while socialization linkage is used for non-election areas of representation such as school administrators and teachers.

The electoral linkage assumes that a school board member desires to remain in office (Meier and Stewart, 1990). If a school board member fears the loss of their position through electoral defeat, the school board member would vote consistent with constituency wishes regardless of his or her own views (Meier and Srewart, 1990).

The socialization model of representation is used mostly for bureaucracies. Mosher says that a bureaucracy is representative to the extent that the social origins of the representatives mirror the social origins of the represented (1968). The socialization linkage is applicable to this study because the demographic origin that remains the best predictor of attitudes is race (Meier and Stewart, 1990). The existing literature shows that Hispanics have very different opinions from Anglos and African-Americans on issues distinct to Hispanics (Gilliam, 1988; Meier and Stewart, 1990).

School Board Representation

Table 4-5 shows that the average school board in the sample was approximately 75% Hispanic. Although this number seems very high, as mentioned in chapter one, the population of the study is 87% Hispanic. The difference in these percentages is minimal when determining the applicability of the Political Resources Model of Representation to this study.

Table 4-5

Hispanic Representation

among School Boards

Characteristic	Mean	Standard Deviation	Low	High
% Hispanic School Board	74.981	25.851	28.6	100.0

Table 4-6 presents Hispanic representation as a function of Hispanic resources. The only independent variable that was statistically significant was Hispanic enrollment. As mentioned in chapter three, in order to be statistically significant, a variable must have a probability of .05 or less. The variable for Hispanic

enrollment had a slope of 2.84 with a standard error of .523 and is statistically significant. The percentage of Hispanics in poverty, and the percentage of Hispanics who graduated high school, were not statistically significant to Hispanic representation. The large negative slope shows that there needs to be a large Hispanic population before any school board representation occurrs. The variable which is the best indicator of school board positions is Hispanic enrollment. This provides evidence that the Political Resources Model of Representation works for the Rio Grande Valley.

Table 4-6

Hispanic Representation

as a function of Hispanic Resources

Dependent Variable=percent Hispanics on School Board

Independent Variable	Slope	Standard Error
% Hispanic Enrollment	2.84***	.523
% Hispanic Poverty	.20	.682
% Hispanic High School Graduate	.61	1.044
Intercept	-214.26	70.263

R Square	.59379
Adjusted R Square	.54866
F	13.15622
Significant F	.0000
N	31

* p less than .05

** p less than .01

*** p less than .001

Administrative Representation

The Political Resources Model of Representation is used for school administrators in the same way that it is used for school board seats. Meier and Stewart say that an Hispanic administrator is assumed to be more

likely to make decisions that benefit other Hispanics (1991, p.11). This supports other literature by Shockley, 1974; Mladenka, 1989; and Dye and Renick, 1981.

The literature for the Political Resources Model of Representation shows that the one variable that must be added to the model when examining Hispanic administrators is school board members. Districts with a higher percentage of African-American school board members have a larger percentage of African American school administrators (Meier,Stewart and England, 1989, p.73). This should hold true for Hispanics as well since school board members hire school administrators. The literature on hiring practices shows that people often hire those with similarities to themselves (Meier and Stewart, 1991; Meier, Stewart and England, 1989).

Table 4-7 shows the 1990 Hispanic administrative representative ratios, school board ratios, and the ratio of Hispanic students in the study. With few exceptions, most of the districts in the study are fairly represented. Total percentage ratios show a difference of approximately 15 points for students and administrators, and approximately 18 points for students and school board members, and virtually no difference in the percentage of Hispanic school administrators and Hispanic school board members. This shows that the Political Resources Model of Representation is applicable to this study.

Table 4-7 Political Resources and Educational Outcomes in the Rio Grande Valley

District	% Hispanic Student Population	% Hispanic Administrators	% Hispanic Teachers	% Hispanic School Board Members	% Passing ACT	% Passing TEAMS	Dropout Rate
Donna	97	77.8	69	100	13.4	50	5.6
Edcouch-Elsa	99	100.0	90	100	14.3	68	4.4
Edinburg	94	75.3	77	86	13.9	62	10.0
Hidalgo	99	81.3	76	86	10.6	47	4.7
La Joya	99	85.7	82	100	11.5	48	10.2
La Villa	100	100.0	93	100	8.6	60	NA
McAllen	87	64.9	58	43	15.8	69	8.5
Mercedes	97	77.8	79	86	12.5	70	2.9
Mission	95	78.9	66	57	14.8	72	5.6
Monte Alto	96	100.0	82	71	NA	70	NA
P-S-J-A	98	87.0	85	86	13.7	65	7.1
Progresso	100	100.0	58	86	9.9	49	8.8
Sharyland	74	47.0	47	29	16.4	71	2.2
Valley View	100	80.0	75	100	NA	58	1.2
Weslaco	95	79.2	44	29	14.6	66	6.5
Brownsville	96	70.0	71	67	15.5	63	12.1
Harlingen	83	87.0	45	57	14.5	70	15.2
La Feria	87	58.3	51	43	14.8	77	.4
Los Fresnos	87	63.7	43	57	17.9	70	3.0
Point Isabel	81	65.0	47	57	17.8	63	2.7
Rio Hondo	93	27.3	50	29	12.7	63	1.1
San Benito	95	65.2	73	86	13.6	67	6.7
Santa Maria	99	100.0	65	100	NA	45	1.1
Santa Rosa	98	100.0	62	100	12.3	64	4.1
La Sara	99	100.0	80	100	NA	85	4.5
Lyford	93	70.1	61	86	14.7	65	2.1
Raymondville	92	33.3	42	57	14.3	64	6.3
San Perlita	74	60.0	31	29	13.5	85	2.0
Rio Grande	99	87.9	86	100	12.0	49	10.2
Roma	99	96.4	88	100	11.9	48	9.9
San Isidro	96	100.0	90	100	16.1	79	NA
All Districts	93	78.0	67	75	13.7	64	5.7

Hispanic Teacher Representation

The literature suggests that Hispanic representation in terms of Hispanic teachers has improved dramatically in the last twenty years (Fraga, Meier and England, 1971; Meier and Stewart, 1991). As the literature further suggests, it is very important for Hispanic students to have Hispanic teachers for many reasons. Meier and Stewart say that Hispanic teachers can serve as role models to Hispanic students and illustrate the potential of succeeding in the education system (1991, p.109). Although literature suggests that Hispanic teachers are beneficial to Hispanic students, Hispanics are not well represented in many school districts. Representation for Hispanics in all California schools reveal a ratio of only .21 (Garcia and Espinosa, 1977, p.220). Another study of Hispanic teachers in thirty-five large school districts revealed a ratio of .27 (Fraga, Meier and England, 1986, p.860). The literature suggests that Hispanics hold about one fourth of the teaching positions that their population warrants (Meier and Stewart, 1991, p.109).

Table 4-8 shows the ratio for Hispanic Teachers in this study. Although the ratio for Hispanic teachers is better than the representation literature would expect, Hispanic students are still underrepresented by more than 26 points. While this number is large, the percentage of Hispanic teachers supports the Political Resources Model of Representation.

Table 4-8

Hispanic Teacher

Representation

Characteristic	Mean	Standard Deviation	Low	High
Hispanic Teachers	66.645	17.323	31.0	93.0
Hispanic Students	93.581	7.270	74.0	100.0

Table 4-9 shows teacher representation as a function of Hispanic Resources. Size of the district and the percentage of Hispanics with a high school diploma were not a factor in determining Hispanic teachers. The variable that is the largest factor in determining Hispanic teachers, is Hispanic school board members. The variable for Hispanic school board members falls well below .05 and is statistically significant. This supports the assumption of the Political Resources Model of Representation. As the literature suggests, the amount of Hispanic teachers is likely to increase as the amount of Hispanic school board members increases.

Table 4-9

Teacher Representation as

a Function of Hispanic Resources

Dependent Variable=Ratio of Hispanic Teachers

Independent Variable	Slope	Standard Error
Hispanic School Board Members	.57***	.078
Enrollment	3.53	2.454
Hispanic High School Graduates	.19	.406
Intercept	17.42	

R Square	.68032
Adjusted R Square	.64480
F	19.15311
Significant F	.0000
N	31

* p less than .05

** p less than .01

*** p less than .001

Although there have been great strides in Hispanic representation, Hispanics still remain underrepresented in most areas, excluding service and maintenance positions. The literature shows that most Hispanics are at the bottom of the bureaucratic hierarchy with underrepresentation at the administrative level, and overrepresentation at the

service level (Meier and Stewart, 1991; Dometrius, 1984; Welch, Karnig, and Eribes, 1983; Dye and Renick,1981).

Table 4-10 shows Hispanic representation ratios of cities and states combined (Meier and Stewart, 1991 p.104). The literature on representative bureaucracy suggests Hispanics are under represented in all areas except Service/Maintenance positions.

Table 4-10

Representation Levels of Hispanics:

State and Local Government Employment

Type of Position	Representation Ratio
Administrators/Officials	.35
Professionals	.47
Technicians	.62
Protective Services	.65
Paraprofessionals	.64
Clerical	.84
Skilled Craft	.81
Service/Maintenance	1.08

Source: U.S Bureau of Census, 1989; Meier and Stewart, 1991, p.105

Table 4-11 shows representation levels for the federal government (Meier and Stewart, 1991, p.104). The ratio of representation for all federal employees is .58. This supports the literature on representative bureaucracy. Both Table 4-10 and 4-11 show the pattern of underrepresentation of the Hispanic population in government employment (Meier and Stewart, 1991, p.104).

Table 4-11

Hispanic Representation

in Federal Government Employment

Level	Representation Level
Wage Board	.88
GS 1-4	.69
GS 5-8	.57
GS 9-12	.46
GS 13-15	.25
Executives	.17
All Federal Employees	.58

Source: U.S Bureau of Census, 1989; Meier and Stewart, 1991, p.105.

Table 4-12 shows representation levels for Hispanics in the study. As the literature suggests, Hispanics are underrepresented at all levels. The level of Hispanic representation closest to Hispanic population is staff. Staff jobs include janitorial, cafeteria, maintenance and clerical positions.

Table 4-12

Representation Levels for

Hispanics in the Study

Level	Representation Level
School Board Members	.75
Administrators	.78
Teachers	.67
Staff	.80

Educational Outcomes

The literature also determines that there are differences between Hispanic and Anglo students in terms of dropout rates (Meier and Stewart, 1991). Brown calculated national figures for dropout rates with a Hispanic dropout rate of 40% and an Anglo dropout rate of 14% (Brown, 1980, p.36).

Dropout rates were calculated in grades 7 through 12, expressed as a percent of the total number of students enrolled in grades 7 through 12 (Texas Education Agency, 1990, p.257). Dropout rates for the Rio Grande Valley had a mean of approximately 5.68. This is lower than the state average of 6.1 (Texas Education Agency, 1990, p.6).

Table 4-13

Dropout Rates in the Study

Characteristic	Mean	Standard Deviation	Low	High
Dropout Rate	5.682	3.799	.400	15.200

Table 4-14 reports my findings concerning Hispanic dropout rates. One variable in the study has a positive effect on dropout rates. It has been found that the larger the enrollment of the school district, the larger the percentage of dropouts. Enrollment was used to control for the size of the school districts in the study. The equation was statistically significant and had an adjusted R Square of .41017, indicating a good fit with the data.

It is expected that school districts with a large percentage of Hispanics with a high school diploma, and high Hispanic teacher ratios, would negatively affect dropout rates. Neither of these variables were significant. Revenue per pupil was included to control for the amount of money spent for each child in the study.

Table 4-14

Dropout Rates

Dependent Variable=Dropout Rate

Independent Variable	Slope	Standard Error
Revenue per Pupil	-7.25	.001
Family Income	-1.54	1.285
Enrollment	3.08**	8.472
Hispanic High School Graduates	-.06	.154
Hispanic Teachers	.01	.042
Intercept	9.53	6.803

R Square	.51940
Adjusted R Square	.41017
F	4.75513
Significant F	.0043
N	31

* p less than .05

** p less than .01

*** p less than .001

Table 4-15 and Table 4-16 report the findings concerning ACT scores. Both of these tables show that Hispanic poverty levels affect ACT scores negatively. The larger the percentage of Hispanics in poverty, the lower the ACT test scores. Table 4-15 has an adjusted R Square of 4.1964. This determines that almost 42% of cases with low ACT scores can be explained by the independent variables used in table 4-15. It was expected that Hispanic teachers would have a positive effect on ACT scores, but that was not the case. Hispanic teachers did not meet the necessary requirements to be significant.

Table 4-16 isolates Hispanic poverty as the only independent variable. When poverty levels are isolated, the adjusted R Square remains virtually unchanged. This shows that Hispanic poverty levels are the only determinant of ACT scores.

Table 4-15

ACT Scores

Dependent Variable=ACT Scores

Independent Variable	Slope	Standard Error
Revenue per Pupil	-1.54	6.300
Hispanic Poverty	-.14**	.049
Enrollment	4.42	4.813
Hispanic Teachers	-.03	.025
Intercept	23.13	3.349
R Square	.50893	
Adjusted R Square	.41964	
F	5.70001	
Significant F	.0026	
N	27	

* p less than .05

** p less than .01

*** p less than .001

Table 4-16

ACT Scores as a Function

of Hispanic Poverty

Dependent Variable=ACT Scores

Independent Variable	Slope	Standard Error
Hispanic Poverty	-.18***	.041
Intercept	22.52	2.031
R Square	.43292	
Adjusted R Square	.41024	
F	19.08538	
Significant F	.0002	

* p less than .05

** p less than .01

*** p less than .001

Table 4-17 lists ACT scores for all of the school districts in the study. The mean for the study was approximately 13.8, the average composite score on the ACT in Texas was 17.4, and the national average ACT composite was 18.6 (Texas Education Agency, 1990, p.9). ACT scores for the Rio Grande Valley are lower than both state and national scores.

Table 4-17

ACT Scores for the Rio Grande Valley

Characteristic	Mean	Standard Deviation	Low	High
ACT Score	13.763	2.204	8.600	7.900

Table 4-18 reports the findings concerning Hispanic pass rates for the TEAMS test. The equation is sound with a significant F of .0012. The adjusted R Square of approximately .41114 shows that over 41% of the cases pertaining to TEAMS pass rates for Hispanics, can be explained by the variables in the equation.

As expected, Hispanic poverty negatively affected the Teams test pass rates for Hispanic students. The larger the population of Hispanics in poverty, the lower the TEAMS test pass rates for Hispanics in the study. Hispanic poverty level was the greatest indicator of TEAMS test scores.

Unexpectedly, Hispanic school board members negatively affected TEAMS test scores. Revenue per pupil, which was used to control for the amount of money spent on each student in a school district, was also statistically significant.

This positive relationship shows school districts with more state and local funds per student will increase TEAMS test scores. This supports the existing literature which states an obvious relationship between revenue and educational outcomes (Meier and Stewart, 1991; Polinard, Wrinkle and Meier, forthcoming).

Table 4-18

TEAMS Test Scores

Dependent Variable=TEAMS TEST

Independent Variable	Slope	Standard Error
Hispanic School Board Members	-.16*	.070
Enrollment	1.11	1.998
Hispanic Poverty	-.54*	.210
Revenue per Pupil	.01*	.002
Intercept	77.74	14.461
R Square	.48966	
Adjusted R Square	.41114	
F	6.23656	
Significant F	.0012	
N	31	

* p less than .05

** p less than .01

*** p less than .001

Chapter V

Conclusion

Introduction

This concluding chapter is divided into three sections. The first section gives a final word on Hispanic education in the Rio Grande Valley and the state of Texas, the second details the applicability of the Political Resources Model of Representation to the Rio Grande Valley. The final section concentrates on educational outcomes. Research findings will be reviewed for their relevance to equal access to education.

Hispanic Education

Hispanics have not had the same access to education as Anglo students. As discussed by Meier and Stewart, Hispanics were trapped in a legal limbo, at times being considered "white", and at other times being considered "non-white" (meier and Stewart, p.201, 1991). As previously discussed in detail in chapter two, the struggle for equal education was assisted by the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund

(MALDEF), and the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC). These organizations helped Hispanic students receive legal recognition from the courts, unfortunately, by this time, school desegregation efforts were over and schools remained segregated (Meier and Stewart, p. 201, 1991).

Hispanic students in the Rio Grande Valley suffer from a lack of access to education in two ways: within the Rio Grande Valley, and at the state level.

In terms of access to education within the Rio Grande Valley, only 21.7% of Hispanic citizens over the age of 25 had a high school diploma while a higher rate (57.8%) of Anglo citizens over the age of 25 had received the same level of scholastic achievement. This is a noteworthy difference in percentages. The literature shows that as people become more educated and affluent, they become more likely to vote (Meier and Stewart, 1991).

Political resources affect standardized test scores. In the Rio Grande Valley, Hispanic students are not being able to pass standardized tests at the same rate as Anglos. Only 62.6% of Hispanic students passed all sections of the TEAMS test, while 75.8% of Anglo students passed all sections of the TEAMS test. There is a difference of over 13 points in percentage of students passing the TEAMS test. This shows that Hispanic students in the Rio Grande Valley are not receiving the same access to education as Anglo students.

In comparison to state averages, the Rio Grande Valley scores fall behind on standardized tests. The average Texas SAT score is 876 (TEA, 1990), while the average SAT score for the sample is 833, a difference of 43 points. The average composite score on the ACT in Texas is 17.4 which is significantly higher than the Rio Grande Valley composite score on the ACT, which is a 13.8. This is a difference of over 3 points. These differences show that students in the Rio Grande Valley are not receiving the same access to education as other students in Texas.

Political Resources Model of Representation

The political Resources Model of Representation, although previously applied at state and national levels, is applicable to the study of the Rio Grande Valley. The model as used by Meier, Stewart, and Polinard; Wrinkle and Meier, assumes that as Hispanics gain resources, they will use these resources in their own communities to acheive greater political and economic power within the school districts. The model suggests that as Hispanics become more educated and affluent, they will take a more active role in educational policy and elections.

With regard to school board members, the Political Resources Model is applicable making the difference in

the percentage of Hispanic population (87) and Hispanic school board members (75) minimal. The independent variable most responsible for predicting Hispanic school board members was Hispanic enrollment.

The Political Resources Model of Representation is also applicable to the Rio Grande Valley in terms of Hispanic administrators. The literature concerning the model suggests that Hispanic administrators are more likely to make decisions that benefit other Hispanics (Meier and Stewart, 1991; Shockley, 1974; Mladenka, 1989; and Dye and Renick, 1981).

The difference in the percentage of Hispanic administrators (78) and the percentage of Hispanics in the general population (87), is smaller than the difference between school board members and the population. The difference between Hispanic school board members (75) and Hispanic administrators (78) is only three points. This supports the model because as Hispanics gain education and affluence, they will move up the Political Resources Model, first as teachers, then as administrators, and finally as school board members.

The largest disparity is between the percentage of the Hispanic population (87) and Hispanic Teachers (67). While this is a 20 point difference, the Political Resources Model is still applicable. The comparatively low percentage of Hispanic teachers can be partly

explained by school district hiring practices. Many Rio Grande Valley school districts actively recruit teachers from northern states due to a teacher shortage. For example, P.S.J.A. ISD often recruits first year teachers from Moorehead University in Minnesota.

Overall, the Political Resources Model of Representation fits the Rio Grande Valley very well. Each of the assumptions of the model has been discussed, and proven to be applicable to the study.

Educational Outcomes

For the most part, the existing literatue was correct in predicting educational outcomes for the study. Poverty plays an essential role in the Political Resources Model of Representation. For an increase in educational outcomes for the Hispanic community, poverty must decline.

Hispanic community to become part of the model, they need first find a way to escape poverty. It would be naive not to consider money as a resource. In politics, such as school board elections, money plays a crucial role. As expected, school districts with a higher level of Hispanic poverty had lower test scores. As the Hispanic poverty levels increased, scores on standardized tests such as the ACT and TEAMS tests decreased.

Polinard, Wrinkle, and Meier say that one of the most significant characteristics of school districts is their level of resources (forthcoming). This holds true

for the Rio Grande Valley as well, where revenue per pupil has a positive effect on TEAMS test scores.

There were some unexpected outcomes in this study. Hispanic school board members had a negative effect on TEAMS test scores. This was one of the few instances where the Political Resources Model of Representation did not fit. Enrollment, which was included in order to control for the size of the district, was the largest determining factor to predict dropout rates. The study shows that school districts with larger enrollments will have a larger percentage of drop outs.

Education is an essential tool needed for minority persons to empower themselves. This study suggests that educational policies can be influenced by political resources. Future research is necessary to determine how these resources can be obtained by minority groups.

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APPENDIX A
List of Districts included in the Study

Donna
Edcouch-Elsa
Edinburg
Hidalgo
La Joya
La Villa
McAllen
Mercedes
Mission
Monte Alto
P-S-J-A
Progresso
Sharyland
Valley View
Weslaco
Brownsville
Harlingen
La Feria
Los Fresnos
Point Isabel
Rio Hondo
San Benito
Santa Maria
Santa Rosa
La Sara
Lyford
Raymondville
San Perlita
Rio Grande City
Roma
San Isidro

VITA

Joe Manuel Cavazos was born in Albany, New York, on May 5, 1971, the son of Manuel and Charlotte Cavazos. He graduated from Cairo-Durham High School in Cairo, New York, and then attended Columbia-Greene Community College, in Hudson New York, where he received his Associates degree in Social Science. Next, he enrolled in the State University of New York, New Paltz, where he earned his B.A. in Political Science. After graduating from SUNY, New Paltz, he moved to the Rio Grande Valley where he entered the Masters of Public Administration and Alternative Certification programs at the University of Texas-Pan American. After earning a Teaching certificate in 1993, he began teaching in public schools. While currently single, Joe M. Cavazos plans to marry Marlene Muzquiz, December 6, 1996.