UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
IRVINE

Exploring the Latinx Male Teacher Pipeline

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Education

by

Juan Miguel Gaytan

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2022

DEDICATION

To

my family/friends and the community that
made this possible through their support

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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VITA

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A note from the author:

Throughout my academic career, but particularly during the writing of this dissertation, I have wrestled with what terms to use. Do I follow the contemporary academic standard and use the label Latinx or Latine, or do I reflect the language of my participants and use Latino and Latina? It is a duality that has been present in my career as I have engaged in work both for academia and my community.

When I asked participants how they self-identified, I left the question open ended. They were open to answer with any label they chose. These labels included one or several of the following: Latino (12), Mexican American (11), Chicano (7), Hispanic (7), Mexican (5) and Latinx (3). It is my belief that the troublesome task in labeling the group referred to at this point in history as Latinx illustrates the subjective nature of these labels and solidifies race as defined simply by what you choose to define it as. In other words, it reifies its existence as being entirely socially constructed.

I recognize the emergence of the term Latinx as an attempt to push beyond the socially constructed gender binary that is present in the a/o suffixes and instead present a gender nonconforming term. I honor the work of the many scholars and activists that have come before me have engaged in to challenge the patriarchy embedded in those terms. In the project of liberation, I stand firmly in solidarity, both as a scholar and a member of society, with those that engage in work to dismantle patriarchal structures that have long maintained the subordination of women and other gender non-conforming individuals.

However, I find the term Latinx, though in some contexts serves to signal me as an accomplice to the struggle against the patriarchy, in other contexts it further alienates me from the community I actively serve. I frequently present for audiences that are monolingual Spanish speakers and the term Latinx signals to them I am a complicit member of academia, which has in many ways done great harm to these and other marginalized communities.

I have been conscious of these alterations in my vocabulary and in completing this project, I needed to ask myself: who is this for? The participants of this research study were offered no incentives for participating. Data collection, which was completed during the early part of the COVID-19 global pandemic, included at least a one-hour interview through Zoom. As educators, they were all new to the virtual learning spaces and many commented on the exhausting nature of their school year due to the amount of time they had spent on their computers. Despite this, they graciously shared their stories with me, and many were excited to hear about my work y me dieron animo to get the word of my research out to the world.

For their gracious participation and encouragement, I dedicate this dissertation to the Latino men that offered me their stories to share. As such, I find it appropriate to use the terms they use in my writing. Moving forward, the term “Latino” will be used for individuals that identify in the racial/ethnic group recognized for having heritage or background in the lands south of the arbitrary U.S. Mexico border, and who have a masculine gender expression. The term “Latina” will be used to identify their feminine gender expression counterparts. When referring to this group across gender lines, I will use the term “Latino/a”.

Another practice I wrestled with in writing this project was the use of Spanish words. Traditionally, when Spanish is used in writing, they are differentiated by italics. I find this practice serves to further "other" and mark Spanish as "foreign" while centering English as the dominant, academic language. I thus will not engage in the practice of italicizing the Spanish used in this dissertation.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Exploring the Latinx Male Teacher Pipeline

by

Juan Miguel Gaytan

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

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Professor Rossella Santagata, Chair

Professor Glenda Flores, Chair

Despite concerted efforts over the course of decades to increase the number of Teachers of Color, the profession persists as being demographically homogeneous, with White women constituting the majority of teachers. As the student body becomes increasingly diverse, having educators that are culturally and racially representative of their students will become a growing need. However, in order to increase teacher diversity, there must be an understanding of how to effectively recruit diverse teachers as well as address the deterrents that keep them from the profession. This qualitative research study explores these and other questions by asking Latino teachers (n=14) and credential students (n=17) about their journeys into the teaching profession. The research questions addressed are: 1) How have the experiences of Latinos in schools and on their journeys to becoming teachers been shaped by their racial and gender identity? 2) How do they conceptualize the teaching profession and what has motivated them to pursue that career? and 3) Why do they believe there are so few Latino teachers and what are strategies for recruiting more?

The emerging themes for the first research question were Negative School Experiences (Interactions with administration and Reprimanding Spanish) and Damaging School Structures (Segregated Schools and School tracking). The emerging themes for the second question were the Teacher's Journey (Soft Exposure to Education and Peers' suggestion), Conceptualization of Teachers (Building Relationships, Developing Citizens and Guides to the World) and Motivations for Teaching (Giving back to their Communities, Becoming Cultural Guardians). The emerging themes for the third research question were Deterrents to the Profession (Educational Negative Feedback Loop and Gender Norms) and Suggestions for Recruiting (Mending School-Student Relationships, Pipeline Programs, Teachers as Recruiters, Addressing Gender Norms and Offering Tutoring Experiences)

This study offers the perspective of a highly marginalized group within the education system and their insights offer opportunities to develop effective recruitment practices and expose gaps in equity within our schooling system that must be addressed. By introducing diverse and marginalized voices to the discussion of teacher recruitment, we can begin to fully understand the complexity of the issue and can act appropriately in addressing it.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

"Are you sure you're in the right class? This is an honors class." This is the question my 7th grade teacher, an older, rather short, white lady with brown hair and glasses asked me as she came towards me and my friends on the first day of school. Of the three of us students standing there, I was the only one that identified as a person of Color. My friends did not get asked if they were in the right class. She directed the question to me. Something about me indicated to this teacher that I did not belong in an honors course. She did not know me. She had no knowledge of my academic abilities one way or the other. She had only a brief look at me and in that moment, she had concluded that I was in the wrong class.

I did not know what had happened at that moment. It was not until years later that I realized where that question was coming from. It came from assumptions made about me based on my race. Assumptions reified in every facet of society about who Latinos are and what they're capable of (Ready & Wright, 2011; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007; Okonofua, et al, 2016). It took a lot of internal work to reach a place where I personally felt like I belonged in those spaces. The spaces of intellectuals, academics, the "smart kids." It took even more work to realize I could present my Mexican heritage while being in these spaces. For so long I felt like doing so would only further cement me as an outsider, a fluke, an aberration. But at that moment, I was not prepared to make sense of that question. Instead, I just kept my head down and went above and beyond to ensure she learned that I belonged in that room. Each and every day I had to prove myself to her that I was "honors class" material. I now know it was more work than a 12-year-old should ever be asked to do just to feel like they belong in a classroom.

I know I am not the only one with a story like this. Stories like these are scattered throughout my entire academic journey, from my early years in elementary school to my time in a doctoral program. Instead of feeling a warm embrace in school, I felt a cold shove. I felt a constant reminder that I did not belong; that others like me do not belong. How are we supposed to thrive in a space like that? In a place where teachers hold such low expectations because of the Color of a student's skin or the language they speak or where they were born? If people knew this side of the story, would they still call us drop-outs? Would they instead see students who just need someone say to them "I believe in you"? My work aims to create that environment for students. Students like me. Students who should feel welcomed and like they belong in any and all classrooms.

My first day of 7th grade and other similar stories are the reason why I choose to focus my research on ways in which we can improve educational experiences for students. The research about this is crystal clear: having teachers of Color (TOC hereafter) translates to positive outcomes for students of Color (Redding, 2019; Dee, 2004; Quiocho & Rios, 2000; Achinstein & Ogawa, 2011). However, our current teacher workforce is such that students of Color rarely encounter teachers of the same race and cultural background (National Center of Education Statistics [NCES], 2021). It is a statistic that has persisted for decades despite concerted efforts to recruit teachers from diverse backgrounds. My hope is that my research serves as a piece of the puzzle so we can begin to effectively recruit teachers from groups that have historically not chosen it as a profession. I focus specifically on Latinos because of their incredible rarity within the teacher workforce.

What follows is a deep dive into the lived experiences of 31 Latinos who, despite many obstacles and barriers, chose to enter a feminized and racially traumatic occupation to become teachers. With them, I explore their perspective on the problem of teacher diversity, and they offer their insider knowledge on how we can bring more men like them to the profession. They also share their personal experiences within schools and the role that played in their career trajectory. Bringing their voices to the forefront of this topic is a crucial step in ensuring their stories are told so the rest of us can learn from a group that seldom has a voice.

These interviews were conducted in the hope of providing a counternarrative to the majoritarian story told about education and schooling. Mainly that schools are spaces that are race-neutral, unbiased, subjective, equitable and fair for all (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Using these men's narratives, I explore the following questions: 1) How have their experiences in school and on their journey to becoming teachers been shaped by their racial and gender identity? 2) How do they conceptualize the teaching profession and what has motivated them to pursue that career? 3) Why do they believe there are so few Latino teachers and what are strategies for recruiting more? These questions serve as catalysts for exploring a perspective on education that is not often heard. It is my hope that what follows will bring much needed attention to this issue and that these stories that were shared serve as a foundation for more work to be done.

The Current State of Teacher Diversity

As a response to the rapid increase of students of Color attending public schools in the past four decades, the recruitment and retention of a teacher workforce that is racially and culturally representative of its students has been an enduring and growing concern. Programs developed to attract people of Color to the teaching profession have been implemented since the

1970s and 1980s (Ogletree, 2004). However, despite concerted efforts to recruit more people of Color into the profession, teachers as a whole have remained fairly homogenous, with white women constituting over 70% of all teachers while students of Color currently account for over half of all K-12 students nationwide (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2021). The disparity in representation between teachers and students is most pronounced among the Latino/a community, specifically, Latinos. Nationally, Latino/a teachers account for 9% of the teacher workforce, while Latino/a students make up 26% of the student body (NCES, 2021). This disparity is further emphasized when looking at gender with Latino teachers comprising just 2% of all teachers while Latino students are 11% of all students (NCES, 2021).

It becomes clear when looking at the statistics that it is difficult to fix a pipeline that doesn't exist because what we have instead is what I suggest is a funnel.While a significant portion of the national student body identifies as Latinx, they are underrepresented in the teacher workforce at a rate nearly 3 to 1. Even in a Latinx heavy state like California, where 54% of students identify as Latinx, only 21% of teachers are Latinx (California Department of Education [CDE], 2022). However, when accounting for gender, yet again we see a greater disparity where approximately 27% of students identify as Latino but only 5% of teachers are Latino or just over a rate of 5 to 1 (CDE, 2022).

This means that Latino students rarely encounter a teacher of the same race and gender. Racial mismatch is significant because research indicates the positive benefits of racially matched teachers for students has across myriad outcomes. For example, scholarship shows that having racially matched teachers results in higher academic expectations of students of Color (Gershenson et al., 2016), higher academic performance for students of Color (Dee, 2004), more

equitable disciplinary responses (Lindsay & Hart, 2017), and the ability to culturally connect with each other (Ahmad & Boser, 2014). Moreover, being taught by a TOC also benefits white students (Brown & Chu, 2012). Taken together, these positive outcomes suggest the need for educational leaders and policy makers to examine ways to recruit and retain more TOC and invert the funnel. An initial place to consider is the beginning stages of individual career decision making – high school. Yet, according to a report by ACT, only 4% of high school students were interested in becoming teachers, with a majority of those interested being white girls (ACT, 2015). The lack of interest in teaching, especially among students of Color, is a concern that we must begin to critically understand.

It is clear there is something unique to the schooling experiences of Latino students that is influencing how many matriculate to a job as a teacher, otherwise we'd expect the demographics of educators to roughly match the demographics of students. Therefore in order to examine how students of Color perceive the teaching profession and whether they want to pursue the career or not, it is important to examine their schooling experiences. Among Latino/a students, there are several studies that suggest white teachers are not adequately equipped to ensure their academic success. This is particularly true for Latinos, who often have more negative schooling experiences than Latinas, such as facing disproportionate disciplinary actions and discrimination (Ferguson, 2001; Rios, 2011). Higher levels of discrimination are shown to correlate with lower perceived importance of education and lower school attendance among Latinos, which contributes to the school context as a negative and traumatic space for them (Cooper & Sanchez, 2016). Latino students are also assigned to lower-level or remedial courses due to lower expectations of students held by teachers (Rodriguez, 2012). In essence, the schooling experience of Latinos must be examined using a lens that accounts for how the

intersection of race and gender result in a particularly negative experience of education as an institution.

Given the experiences of Latinos in schools, we can begin to hypothesize that lower interest in the teaching profession is a result of negative schooling experiences due to schools not having enough teachers that can connect culturally with their students. However, there is a paucity of research that focuses specifically on Latinos' interest in the teaching profession. Existing research on these topics does not account for how intersecting racial and gendered identities influences Latino's schooling experiences. For example, Griffin (2018) explored the reasons why 90 Latino/a teachers entered the teaching profession, across five states. This study provided detailed insight into Latino/a teachers' motivations for becoming educators, however, the sample was not disaggregated by gender; therefore, it is unclear how/if gender identity played a role (Griffin, 2018). Their findings, however, do illustrate the ways in which Latino/a teachers promote a positive educational environment for their co-ethic students such as serving as advocates, connecting with their Latino/a students, and being translators for their families. But until then, students may need to find the support and encouragement they need in other spaces.

Affirming Spaces for Latinos

In 2003, while in 7th grade, I was invited to participate in a Career Exploration Conference, which was hosted at CSU San Marcos. It was a program promoted by a non-profit that I had never heard about. Despite it being a brand-new organization, my immigrant parents were quite eager to have me participate. The organization's name was in Spanish, and it was called Encuentros. At this point, there was rarely this much proximity between my home language and my education. The conference was an opportunity for young Latinos and their

fathers to step onto a college campus and discover the various career opportunities afforded to those that completed their college education. My father and I attended the program. It was the first ever program hosted by this new non-profit called Encuentros Leadership. It is an organization that to this day I continue to be intimately involved with in hopes of bringing their vision to a wider audience.

Encuentros Leadership was formed in the early 2000s as a response to the lack of support of Latino students in San Diego County schools. This resulted in an incredibly high push-out rate for these students and was the catalyst for community leaders to come together and attempt to reverse this trend. The idea behind the organization was to teach leadership competencies and imbue a college going mentality to Latino youth so they could help uplift and guide their communities. This was done through a number of programs, the most prominent of which was the Leadership Academy. It was a week-long program where students stayed in college dorms and were introduced to numerous college educated Latinos from various fields. They shared their stories of hardship and perseverance in order to inspire the youth to also achieve great things. More importantly, the boys were exposed to dozens of mentors throughout the week who all shared one unifying message: We believe in you.

As a student of the academy myself in 2008, I can attest to it being an incredibly moving and empowering experience. It was the first time I ever felt noticed within an educational setting. It was the first-time people with any semblance of educational authority took the time to tell me that I belonged in college. It was the first time I saw someone giving a lecture who could relate to eating conchas and watching El Chavo del Ocho growing up. It was the first time I could talk to someone with a college degree that looked like me. It was like nothing I had ever experienced

while in school. It was a feeling of someone finally caring what happened to me in school. It instilled in me a sense of responsibility to not only complete my education but to give what I gain back to my community. What's more, not one speaker even hesitated in their faith that we could finish college.

Years later I think about why this outside entity needed to enter my life in order for me to feel like education was a viable path for me? Why was this not a core component of my education already? Where were the people that believed in me? Where were the teachers that saw themselves in me? I later learned they simply weren't there. Latino teachers are so few and far between that I should expect this trend to continue with my own children. In my K-12 educational journey, I had a total of two Latino teachers: one in kindergarten and one in 11th grade for Spanish.

Challenges to Recruiting Latinos

Currently, high school students have very little interest in pursuing a career as an educator. As stated earlier, most of those aspiring to become teachers are white women so it is not surprising that the teacher workforce remains a fairly homogenous profession. In fact, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) in 1990 warned that the number of TOC would continue to decline unless there was intervention policy put in place to recruit and retain more TOC. The homogeneity of the profession is problematic because the student demographics are rapidly shifting towards a more racially diverse student body (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2018). One proposal to help solve this concern is aiming recruitment efforts to high school students of Color (Tandon, Bianco, & Zion, 2015).

Before recruitment can be effective, there must be an understanding of the processes these students undergo in determining their career trajectories and more specifically, what mechanisms seemingly actively deter Latinos from becoming teachers. However, current theoretical frameworks on occupational choice do not account for the experiences of people of Color (Torres, et al., 2004). Studies researching occupational choice theory are conducted using samples of primarily white, middle-class men so they do not appropriately capture how race, ethnicity and other identities impact people's career choice processes (Farkas, et al., 1999). Others have also argued this same point (Oliver, 1988) by indicating that these theoretical frameworks do not address discriminatory labor practices against people of Color, past experiences of discrimination, etc. For this reason, using previously established frameworks of occupational choice theories would be inadequate in understanding Latino's deliberation in becoming teachers because it does not address critical factors that contribute to occupation choice for people of Color.

However, some research has been conducted to understand what factors are important for students of Color in seeking out a career path. These include 1) socio-economic status, 2) degree of acculturation, 3) racial or ethnic identity, 4) appearance based on phenotype, 5) the educational attainment of parents and the individual, 6) self-efficacy, and 7) the amount of experienced discrimination (Arbona, 1995). Many of these factors, such as socio-economic status, race/ethnicity and phenotype, contribute to the amount of experienced discrimination, which then becomes especially relevant when discussing students of Color and the teaching profession. If instances of discrimination are ubiquitous to the schooling of Latino students, in addition to this being an institution all youth are obligated to attend, it is only logical that Latinos

are discouraged from entering this profession because of the discrimination they experience in these spaces.

Another indicator that could be used to understand Latino students' career choice as it pertains to becoming educators is the perception of the career. Research shows that the perception and status of the teaching profession has declined in communities of Color (Neal, Sleeter & Kumashiro, 2015), and may be a result of the perception by students that teachers are a part of a system which disenfranchises their communities; in addition to their many negative experiences with teachers and schools (Gordon, 2000). Other potential contributors to this negative perception include the overrepresentation of students of Color in special education programs (Harry & Klingner, 2014), low expectations white teachers have of students of Color (Gershenson, Holt, & Papageorge, 2016), and the increased likelihood of students of Color facing disciplinary actions and school suspensions (Tajalli & Garba, 2014). This data suggests that students of Color, including Latino students, experience schools in a generally negative way.

Torres et al. (2004) state "There are still relatively few rigorous studies regarding the reasons why different minority groups are attracted to and decide to enter the teaching profession" (p. 38); while 11 years later, Leech et al. (2015) stated "to date, no research has been published regarding urban high school students' motivation to attend college to become a teacher. This is especially true for high school students of Color" (p. 961). Clearly, there continues to be limited research on this topic. However, some studies have pointed out stark differences in the reasons why white teachers and TOC become educators (Su, 1997). For example, TOC cite becoming teachers for its potential to engage in social justice at higher rates than white teachers. Part of this drive was the inequalities they themselves saw or experienced

and were subsequently drawn to the profession in order to positively change it. Although these studies are informative, they still draw from samples that combine the experiences of Black and Latino/a teachers, and are majority female samples.

In order to gain a comprehensive understanding of this phenomena, we must be able to disaggregate the experiences by gender because it has become quite clear that men, particularly Latinos and other boys of Color, face unique challenges while in schools. In a previous study (Gaytan, 2021) I asked a group of high school Latino students with aspirations of becoming teachers why they are pursuing that career. What emerged were three major themes: 1) Developing interpersonal connections with their students, 2) creating larger systemic changes, and 3) giving back to their family and community. This study validated previous research on why TOC teach as it applied to Latinos. However, this study did not explore the reasons why many Latinos instead do not choose to pursue a career in teaching. Although it is important to understand what could be leveraged to implement effective recruitment strategies, it is also vital to understand the mechanisms that are actively deterring them from teaching.

Duel(ing) Identities

When my parents received a flier with the name and logo of Encuentros Leadership from my high school, I was swiftly and vigorously "encouraged" to attend. I protested but to no avail. The week-long program ran in the summer and I was resistant to giving up my summer time to attend what I believed would be more school. This is what I told my parents, but the real reason why I objected was because of what it was. I was told it would be a program for Latino youth, yet I felt like I would not fit in.

At a young age, I was placed into the honors track. I struggled in my transition to an all English curriculum but my math abilities translated well enough. This was what allowed me to be identified as "gifted" and I was placed in a special program called GATE in the 4th grade. From this point on, I was taking a full slate of honors classes in middle school and Advanced Placement (AP) classes in high school. Too often I was one of a few, if not the only, Latino/a in my classes. That's despite attending schools with majority Latino/a students. Too often I would hear from my teachers that I was one of the good ones or they'd say "Why can't *those* students be more like you." I remember one teacher in high school even being relieved that *those* students dropped our AP class because "they would have lowered our AP test score average."

Later in life I came to fully understand my privilege in school. I was insulated from these implicit and perhaps explicit attitudes by being in the Honors/AP track. I was assumed "one of the good ones" for the simple fact of being in this track, but my co-ethnic peers did not have the same luck. They instead had to be taught by teachers who would never actually tell them they didn't believe in them, but who would openly share their disdain to the AP students. I often wondered how my friend Rafael, a Mexican American student, described my favorite teacher as "an asshole." I now understand how that happens. We didn't go to the same school. Not really. School tracking served as de facto segregation (Francis & Darily, 2021), keeping the AP courses mostly white, and keeping the students of Color on the ironically named "college preparation" track. So, while the teacher I had was funny, lenient, trusting and encouraging, my friend never had a class with him. He was taught by someone else entirely.

Latinos' Experiences in School

Latinos face very unique barriers and struggles in schools due to the way they are racialized and gendered by society, which is then reflected in the schools they attend. Disciplinary practices such as referrals, suspensions and expulsions are disproportionately used on Black boys and Latinos, i.e. boys of Color (Fergus, Noguera, & Matin, 2014). This has been shown to be a result of implicit bias held by teachers and other school personnel that are more likely to interpret actions by boys of Color as more severe and defiant (Van Dyke, 2016; Lewis et al., 2010; Whitford, Katsiyannis, & Counts, 2016).

Exclusionary practices such as suspensions and expulsions result in less time in the classroom for boys of Color which in turn impacts their academic performance, thus adding another layer to the multifaceted opportunity-gap many students of Color face (Gregory, Skiba & Noguera, 2010). This poses several barriers to boys of Color completing their education: 1) the resulting impact on their academic performance negatively impacts their college trajectory and 2) it understandably makes schools sites places to be avoided due to the pervasive racial traumas experienced. However, targeted disciplinary actions are only one of the ways in which schooling actively pushes Latinos and other groups to the margins and eventually out altogether.

School Tracking

Though school tracking has been found to grow educational inequities, it continues to persist as a regular practice of schooling (Solorzano & Ornelas, 2002; Blanchett, 2006). Tracking is predicated on stratifying students based on perceived academic and intellectual abilities. As discussed previously, Latino/a youth and other marginalized groups tend to be perceived as having lower academic and intellectual abilities. In addition to this, the racialization of Latino/a students within this system has been found to begin as early as kindergarten (Green, 2008) and

upward mobility between tracks later in their education tends to be difficult (Archbald, & Farley-Ripple, 2012; Mulkley et al., 2009). Being placed into lower tracks is associated with numerous negative impacts such as lower quality of education and curriculum, lower expectations, and lower confidence in students' academic abilities (Ansalone, 2001; Blanchett, 2006; Oakes, 2005; Chiu et al., 2008).

Schools will also use language as a proxy for race and place Latino/a students into an English Learner (EL) track. One characteristic of the EL track that impacts a feeling of belonging in schools is that these classes tend to be segregated from the main parts of school campuses (Katz, 1999; Kanno & Kangas, 2014). EL environments have also been found to consist of low-level work in response to the perceived lower language skills students possess (Harklau, 1999).

By contextualizing young Latinos' educational outcomes with the backdrop of these school practices, it becomes apparent that there are certain entrenched mechanisms in schools that systematically create barriers for these students to advance in their education. From the ways disciplinary practices are disproportionately used on students to the ways in which students are stratified into tracks, Latino students face a unique challenge due to the intersections of their gender and racial identities.

It is these experiences that ultimately contribute to the funneling of Latino students towards a career as teachers in several ways. For one, even obtaining the sufficient education to become a teacher is a task made more difficult for this demographic group than for others. Despite these barriers, there are still, if only a few, Latino that do become teachers. We still know very little about their experiences in school or about why they were not deterred from becoming teachers. These questions are pivotal to answer if we are to create a schooling

experience that is equitable for marginalized students because who is teaching is vitally important.

The Role of Teachers

A critical component of students' education is their teachers, and more importantly, the relationships they build with teachers (Frisby & Martin, 2010). As Callahan (2005) notes, "a relationship with a single teacher is unlikely to determine a student's entire academic trajectory; however, a series of negative relationships cannot help but diminish a student's academic self-concept." Unfortunately for Latino/a students, the relationships they build with educators are often afflicted by implicit, and at times explicit, biases and stereotypes educators hold of Latino/as. This leads directly to many educational disparities (Liang & Rivera, 2017; Hinnah at al., 2009) such as lower track placement of Latino/a students and their exclusion from programs for "gifted" students, which has been shown to negatively impact a wide range of educational outcomes (Blanchett, 2006; Vega & Moore, 2018).

The quality of relationship between student and teacher also plays a key role in academic achievement in students (Wentzel, 2010). Positive student-teacher relationships can positively impact student motivation within a schooling context (Colarossi & Eccles, 2003; Federici & Skaalvik, 2013) by promoting a sense if acceptance and belonging leading to long-term academic attainment in students (Goodenow & Grady, 1993). As has been made quite clear, Latino students are not afforded the privilege of having teachers that can promote this sort of growth.

According to the 2013 National Assessment of Educational Progress, while 91% of white students are taught by white teachers, only 20% of Latino/a students are taught by Latino/a teachers (Yarnell & Bohrnstedt, 2018). This becomes an issue because studies have shown that

white teachers struggle to meet the needs of students of Color (Gay & Kirkland, 2003; Henfield & Washington, 2012; Miller & Harris, 2018). As Callahan (2005) alluded to, these negative relationships become ubiquitous in Latino students' educational journey, and it adversely impacts students on many levels.

One of the impacts, that has not yet been explored, is how these experiences impact Latino students' desire to become a teacher. Of the literature available, it is logical to conclude that these negative experiences serve as deterrents for Latinos to return to school in any capacity. This is a topic that is deeply explored during participant interviews, but this is something that, at least to some degree, Latinos that went through school all inherently understand already.

"Why do none of you want to be teachers?"

After attending the Encuentros program in high school I was invited the following year to serve as a mentor to the new cohort of academy students. I then continued to return year after year as a college mentor until 2019 when I became the director for one of the new programs. This new program, the Teacher Academy, became one of the most personal and meaningful experiences I have engaged in, and its inception is emblematic of the depth and severity of the challenges Latino face in school.

The Leadership Academy, which focused on fostering leadership competencies in students, had been running successfully for over a decade. We had served cohorts between 30 to 40 boys from all over San Diego County and each year the then director and founder of Encuentros Leadership would begin the week with a question to the boys: what do you want to be when you grow up? Having been a mentor for every cohort to date, I had listened to boys answer this question for years. The responses were generally the same. "I want to be a lawyer",

"I want to be a doctor", "An engineer", "A firefighter", etc. It had been over a decade of this program and not once had a young man announced their desire to become a teacher. In 2016, our founder posed a different question to the cohort: "Why do none of you want to be teachers?" The auditorium fell silent for a moment. I don't think it was a question the students had given much thought to before. Finally, after a few moments of deafening silence, a young man in the back raised his hand and said, "Why would I go back to a place that doesn't want me?" The room again fell silent, but everybody's head was nodding in agreement. I too found myself nodding right alongside the students. Though I had never put it to words, I had felt it all along. That feeling of a system working against you rather than with you. That feeling of teachers who never quite believed you could do well in school or of being asked to shed your racial/ethnic identity to fit in. That student's answer took me right back to my 3rd period class in 7th grade, when my teacher judged me, solely based on appearance, that I was not "honors class" material.

At this moment, we the staff of Encuentros understood the issue afflicting our community was more than simply equipping them with the right skills to navigate their education. We needed schools full of teachers that would be willing to believe in their students, regardless of their background. We needed to encourage our young men to become teachers so they can be the ones to uplift others like them. The issue was that our young men had no interest in becoming teachers. In order to address this issue, in 2017 we launched our Teacher Academy, a program modeled after our Leadership Academy but instead focused on recruiting young men interested in becoming teachers and providing them the support, guidance, and mentorship they need to complete their degree and credential.

The pilot cohort had 12 participants. The following year we had 27 students signed up to attend. By the summer, we had launched a second career focused program, the Engineers Academy and when we began our Teacher Academy that year, we had seven students attending. The rest had left for the Engineers Academy. This experience indicated to me that this was not going to be like our other programs. If we wanted to encourage young Latinos to become educators, we would need to be much more intentional and methodical in our approach. It is at this point that I felt like I had finally found my research topic and I dedicated my graduate studies to learning about and creating ways to recruit and retain more of these young men to the teaching profession. My first task was to delve into the existing literature for anything that could aid us in bringing young Latinos to our program. A challenge that seemed just as daunting after searching the literature as it did before.

Why do Latinos Teach?

Very few research studies have solely focused on the experiences of Latino teacher credential candidates and the reasons why they chose to enter a teacher credential program. Due to their small numbers, research studies tend to merge the experiences of Latino teachers, or preservice teachers, under the umbrella terms Latino/a teachers, Hispanic teachers, TOC, or male TOC (Irizarry, 2011). Doing so impedes the experiences of Latinos from being fully explored because it ignores some of the racial and gendered discrimination faced by Latinos within the school context.

Teacher candidates of Color, which includes Latinos, are less likely to complete their teacher credential programs and are more likely to leave the profession than white teacher candidates (Casey et al., 2015) which shows there is a clear need for both recruiting and retaining

more Latinos and TOC generally. However, research that explores why Latinos choose to pursue this career or their perceptions of the teaching profession is virtually non-existent (Bradley, Ranellucci & Kaplan, 2019). Instead, we must cautiously lean on the literature which combines Latinos' experiences with other marginalized groups in education.

One theme consistently found in the literature on credential students of Color is their awareness of discriminatory and oppressive experiences in schools for students of Color and their motivation to become change agents of those systems (Su, 1997; Gomez, Rodriguez & Agosto, 2008; Salinas & Castro, 2010). In fact, teacher credential students of Color have been shown to have an awareness of these social justice issues at higher rates than their white classmates (Su, 1997). In response to this, teacher candidates of Color express a desire to improve the lives of their students through their role as teachers (Brown, 2014). In a study on the experiences of three Latinos in their teacher credential program, Gomez et al. (2008) found that candidates sought to become role models for their students, aimed to counter prejudice and discrimination in schools, and wanted to get their co-ethnic students and their families more involved in school. This study aimed to understand the candidates' experiences in their credential programs as well as their aspirations once they became teachers. In contrast, a core focus of my interviews includes exploring why they chose to become teachers.

One study on preservice Latino teachers focused on identifying the drawbacks and barriers Latinos considered when pursuing a career as teachers (Bradley et al., 2019). Their findings indicate that some of the teachers' concerns included the emotional cost of the job, working conditions, the demands of the job, low salary and other concerns relating to finances and social status. However, despite being aware of these drawbacks, these teachers continued to

pursue this career. Examining this persistence is critical to understanding Latino teacher candidates' motivations for entering that profession.

The few studies that focus on Latino teacher candidates address the factors they consider drawbacks to the profession (Bradley et al., 2019) or their general educational experience (Gomez et al., 2008). While these studies help shed light on the experiences of Latino teacher candidates, my study explores the reasons why they started on their path to become teachers. Doing so will help us understand what makes these individuals different from the vast majority of their peers who are dissuaded from becoming educators and ultimately aid in recruitment efforts by being able to present the profession through a lens that is more appealing for Latino youth.

Developing a Curriculum

When I was tasked with directing the young Teacher Academy, I was excited by the opportunity to implement my ideas, but at the same time the task seemed daunting. I very quickly realized there was little literature available for the sort of project that I was developing, at least regarding research that focused on Latinos. As a base for the program's curriculum, I thought it would be crucial to understand why the boys that were attending were there in the first place.

I conducted a research study using the first cohort of Teacher Academy attendees from the 2017 class (Gaytan, 2021). I wanted to explore why they had chosen to become teachers. All participants were high school students, and all indicated an interest in becoming a teacher. I conducted semi-structured interviews with all participants of the Academy (11) either during their stay at the program or shortly after. What emerged from that study was 3 main themes for

why they were pursuing a career as teachers: 1) they wanted to be able to connect with their students, but particularly with their co-ethnic students, 2) they wanted to create changes on a systems level and address the institutionalize inequities present in education through their role as teacher, and 3) they wanted to give back to their family and community in some capacity for the sacrifices made i.e. the Immigrant Bargain.

These themes then became the basis for the new Teacher Academy curriculum. A curriculum that focuses on drawing attention to the ways becoming a teacher could be transformative in the lives and communities of the students they serve. It also focuses on dismantling oppressive structures within our schooling system and shows them how being a teacher can serve as a buffer against such systems. Though this curriculum seems promising, it will be years before we can see if participants decide to become educators. However, initial feedback from participants is promising. My hope is that this current study can add to this project and offer more insight into the elusive task of recruiting more diverse educators.

When Latinos become Teachers

The recruitment and retention of TOC has been an ongoing issue in the teaching profession, despite programs being implemented since the 1970s and 1980s to diversify the teacher workforce (Ogletree, 2004). In fact, TOC leave the profession at a rate 24% higher than that of white teachers (Easton-Brooks, 2021). Various research studies have been conducted on the topic and have revealed various barriers TOC face in the profession which impacts their retention. Some of these include feeling a lack of support in negotiating sociocultural issues (Achinstein & Aguirre, 2008), susceptibility to stereotype threat due to underrepresentation in the profession (Milner & Hoy, 2003), and feelings of isolation and being prescribed

stereotypically defined roles (Madsen & Mabokela, 2000). Overall, this highlights that TOC must endure a racially toxic work environment which creates more job dissatisfaction and higher turnover rate than for white teachers (Ingersoll & Connor, 2009).

Schools themselves as educational institutions promote a Eurocentric perspective and worldview (Calderon, 2014) that also prioritizes white middle class values (Olivos, 2006) while devaluing the values, culture and strengths of their culturally diverse students and staff (Kohli, 2018). In these environments, "Color blindness and racial microaggressions manifest as macro and micro forms of racism and take a toll on the professional growth and retention of teachers of Color" (Kohli, 2018). Despite these experiences being ubiquitous for TOC, a comprehensive literature review by Achinstein et al. (2010) found that research on TOCs' experiences in the profession did little to connect racism or racial climate as a possible factor in their attrition.

While research continues to explore the various reasons why TOC are being pushed out of the profession at every level of the teacher pipeline, little research has been conducted on the factors that contribute to TOCs' persistence in the profession. In a meta-analysis of literature on retention and recruitment of TOC, Achinstein et al. (2010) found that a substantial amount of literature currently exists on recruitment but research on retention and persistence remains small.

However, there is some research that shows a correlation between TOCs' persistence in their job and the number of students of Color they are teaching (Horng, 2009; Scafidi et al., 2007; Connor, 2008). Several other factors used to analyze TOCs' retention are 1) teacher demographics, 2) teacher qualification, 3) school organizational characteristics, 4) school resources and 5) school student body characteristics (Dowling, 2008). While several studies have used this framework for their analysis, this research simply provides an answer to the "what"

question but does little to answer the "why" of teacher persistence. This research project fills this gap by not only understanding the reasons why Latino teachers, a numerical minority within an already small subset of teachers, remain in their profession, but also to develop an effective recruitment model to bring in more diverse educators into the teaching profession. Something critical for providing equitable education for an increasingly diverse student body.

Benefits of a Diverse Teacher Workforce

The research showing that negative teacher experiences by students of Color adversely affects their education is quite clear and robust. Conversely, there is extensive literature demonstrating the myriad positive effects of having teachers from diverse backgrounds that can better racially and culturally match with the increasingly diverse student body. In fact, some of the disparities found between students of Color and their white counterparts could be mitigated when school principals and the teachers are representative of their student body (Grisson, Rodriguez & Kern, 2017).

Teachers of diverse backgrounds are better suited to meet the social and emotional needs of their students of Color, and this holds true for Latino/a teachers with their Latino/a students (Ochoa, 2007; Quiocho & Rios, 2000). In fact, there is a correlation between the presence of Latino/a teachers and the Latino/a students enrolling in AP classes (Kettler & Hurst, 2017), perhaps due to improvements to students' aspirations and feelings of belonging to schools (Flores et al., 2007). However, these benefits are not exclusive to students of Color and in fact, all students benefit from having diverse teachers (Nevarez, Jouganatos & Wood, 2019; Ladson-Billings, 2015)

When looking at the body of literature on teacher diversity and the impacts on students, it becomes clear that teacher diversity is imperative to the academic success, as well as socio-emotional well-being of a student group that continues to grow. This much has been clear for several decades. Likewise, for several decades efforts to recruit more diverse teachers have failed to keep up with the diverse student body, as evidenced by the student-teacher disparities that currently exist. This indicates that we perhaps have yet to fully understand the present issue of teacher diversity. If we fail to fully comprehend this phenomenon, we risk perpetuating the problem rather than solving it.

Study Justification

Research on the topic of teacher diversity has been ongoing for many decades and there is a rich body of literature that informs our understanding of TOC. However, one group we know very little about is Latino teachers. They are deferring from the teaching profession at a higher rate than even their Latina peers, indicating their experience is incredibly unique. It is in exploring this unique experience that can help us understand much more about teacher diversity and recruitment. It is critical we center the experiences of Latino teachers to learn more about how they circumvented all the barriers they faced, if they did, to become teachers, and in turn this will inform us about the hidden mechanisms at play in schooling and how we can leverage them for more recruitment of TOC.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

One day I received an email from a student that attended the first Teacher Academy program in 2017. He asked me how I was and asked if I could write him a letter of recommendation for a scholarship he was applying to. I said absolutely. In fact, I was delighted to see he was not only preparing for college but continuing his aspirations to become a teacher. Shortly after my response he wrote me back, incredibly grateful and with all the materials I needed to write his letter. He referred to it as his "brag pack", which I found clever. In it I could see his transcript, information about the scholarship and a summary of his future plans. In it he shares that he wants to become a teacher, but he only wants to teach AP students because "those are the good ones." That last line felt like a sharp sting. I then experienced a storm of emotions: sadness, disappointment, anger, among others. Sure, we had a Latino on his way to becoming a teacher but what difference would it make if he would be reproducing the same ideology that was so harmful to communities of Color?

At the time I had this interaction with this student, I was already working on the new curriculum for the Academy I would be directing. This interaction validated my intuition that some things needed to change in the program curriculum. In the early iterations of the program the messaging to our students was simple: "become a teacher because there are not many Latino teachers." This never personally resonated with me. I felt that argument could be made about nearly any other profession. This issue was bigger than simply placing brown bodies in front of classrooms, which was another mantra of the early iterations. I believed we needed something with more depth and nuance. We needed something that would directly address the deterrents

Latinos face in considering teaching as a career and helping them reimagine what it means to be a teacher.

In developing the curriculum, I used Critical Race Theory (CRT) as my foundational framework. It was pivotal that we be able to discuss race and racism because it is an inextricable part of marginalized communities' experiences in education. I needed to be able to address the elephant in the room with the students. That being their uniquely difficult, and sometimes painful, experience in school. The students responded with extreme vulnerability and brutal honesty about their experiences in school. Tears were shed throughout the week as we all were able to process the traumas we had experienced. Through CRT we were able to label our experiences and had the language to finally diagnose our ailments. Within the brief community we built during that week, we were able to heal from our injuries.

By shifting the framing of the curriculum, students were then able to see the true potential of teachers in making a difference in the world. Becoming teachers wasn't about changing demographics or teaching content, but rather it was about making a difference. Teaching was about impacting students for years to come, uplifting communities and disrupting the problematic parts of school so students would no longer need to endure these trials and tribulations. This new approach was only possible with a shift in framing to our approach to the issue.

The difference in outcomes was drastic. In stark contrast to the student from the 2017 cohort, I ran into a student from the 2019 cohort at a local education conference. He was part of the first group to participate in the new CRT based curriculum. I asked him during the lunch break, as we were in line to get tacos, "now that you went through the academy, what has it been

like going back to school after being exposed to the curriculum?" He said, "it changed a lot. Before, when my Latino friends would say they were going to drop out, I would just say 'dude, you're dumb' and move on. Now, when I hear them say that, I tell them, 'no, you can't. You have to stay in school, and we need to change things.'" These are the teachers we need. Teachers that are not going to let a single student fall through the cracks. I felt incredibly validated when I heard him say that.

Framing is incredibly important. I would not be able to properly conduct this research were it not framed in a way that could illuminate my participants' experiences with fidelity. To this end, this research study necessitates a framework that can address the racialized realities of participants so we can explore their unique lived experiences. I believe that both Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Latino/a Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) are the appropriate framework to conduct this study and they, like with students, ensure that we can progress towards a more equitable and just world.

The History of Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT), which grew out of the Critical Legal Studies (CLS) movement, was first developed by legal scholars in the mid-1970s as a response to the regress or stalling of the gains made in the 1960s regarding civil rights (Bell, 1995; Crenshaw, 1988). Some of these founding scholars include Derrick Bell, Alan Freeman, Richard Delgado, Kimberle Crenshaw, Mari Matsuda, and Patricia Williams, to name a few. CRT provided a framework through which race and racism could be critically analyzed from a legal point of view, which was necessary due to the changing nature of the legal manifestation of racism in the United States; a racism that CRT posits is embedded in the very fabric of the United States' legal

landscape. CRT concerns itself with understanding how white supremacy and the subordination of communities of Color have been created and maintained, while rejecting the notion of meritocracy, objectivity or race-neutrality (Crenshaw, 1998). Though CRT focuses and centers on race, it also recognizes multiple forms of oppression (gender, class, immigration status, etc.) because race alone cannot account for the multidimensional subordination marginalized communities experience (Willis, 2008).

There are multiple pillars or tenets of CRT that have been defined by CRT scholars. In general, CRT scholars agree with the following major tenets: 1) CRT is race-centric, 2) it addresses racism that is embedded in the social and legal fabric of the United States, 3) it critiques legal and social systems of the United States and rejects claims of neutrality and Colorblindness, 4) it uses an eclectic approach as it draws from various disciplines and research methodologies, 5) it legitimizes experiential knowledge of people of Color and recognizes it's integral role in understanding racial subordination and 6) CRT has a commitment to social justice and the elimination of all forms of oppression (Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, & Crenshaw, 1993; Tate, 1997; Yosso, Villalpando, Delgado Bernal & Solorzano, 2001).

CRT in Education

The application of CRT in educational research is a seamless transition given CRT's inception in law and how the United States' schooling and education systems are formed. Individual States are tasked with establishing laws and regulations which give education its form and function (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Scholars began using CRT around the 1990s as a framework to explain the inequalities apparent in education by using CRT's tenets and applying them to a school context (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Solorzano, 1998). In essence, CRT

challenges the dominant discourse on race and racism within an educational context to illustrate how educational policy, theory and practice are tools in the subordination of communities of Color (Solorzano & Yosso, 2000).

CRT also offers critical researchers a lens to examine how multiple forms of oppression intersect in the lives of people of Color and how these intersections mediate their education and schooling experiences (Huber, 2010). In more contemporary research that critically analyzes education, CRT has become an essential framework to use in addressing educational topics such as educational opportunity, school climate, curriculum, and representation (Ledesma & Calderon, 2015).

History of LatCrit

Latina/o Critical Theory (LatCrit) emerged in 1995 out of a colloquium on the relationship of CRT to Latino/a communities and is a response to the "long historical presence and enduring invisibility of Latinas/os in the lands now known as the United States" (Valdes, 2005, p. 148). From its inception, the LatCrit movement prioritized centering the experiences of Latino/a people within legal discourse, but it also embraced the diversity within the pan-ethnic terms "Latino/Hispanic". LatCrit also embraces the multidimensional identities of Latino/a people and addressed forms of oppression such as racism, classism, sexism, but also examines other forms of subordination that are more unique to the Latino/a community such as immigration status and language (Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001).

LatCrit was among a wave of new perspectives on law theory which aimed to include formerly "missing voices" into socio-legal discourse (Valdes, 2005). These new strands, including LatCrit, focused on the ways gender, race and other social identities are embedded in

law and how that has been used to privilege the in-group i.e., white, wealthy, heterosexual, cisgender men, and exploit out-groups i.e. people of Color.

CRT and LatCrit

Both CRT and LatCrit serve as frameworks to understand racial inequity and how racism is embedded in our society. Both of these frameworks reject the dominant discourse that educational structures and schools are meritocratic and race-neutral/Colorblind and instead recognizes that, although legally sanctioned overt forms of racism may no longer exist, more subtle forms of racism continue to persist through proxy terms and labels (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). While they each hold the same assumptions (racism is endemic, race is central, challenges the myth of meritocracy, etc.), LatCrit provides a more focused context to the socio-historical and political experiences of the Latino/a community, which will be imperative given the geographic location and participants of this study. Rather than be viewed as in opposition, in relation to CRT, LatCrit should be viewed as building on the work and achievements of CRT and as illustrating the unique systems of oppression experienced by the Latino/a community (Johnson & Martinez, 1998). LatCrit also serves to expand from CRT's often critiqued Black/white paradigm and provide a more full and further contextualized analysis of other forms of white supremacy, particularly its impact on the Latino/a community (Iglesias, 1996).

Theoretical Application

This study contextualizes the experiences of Latino educators through a Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) framework. This provides an appropriate lens that acknowledges the multiple forms of subordination experienced by the participants in relation to the teaching profession and their schooling experience by

acknowledging and interrogating the white supremacy rooted in the US's schooling system. Contextualizing their experiences using these theories rejects the silencing of race and racism and instead places them at the forefront of the study. By doing so, we gain a much deeper understanding of the processes at play and how the intersections of race and gender play a significant role in this issue of teacher diversity.

CRT and LatCrit in education uncover how schools and teachers reflect and enforce problematic societal ideologies such as illusions of objectivity, myths of meritocracy and a preference for Colorblind pedagogical approaches. Teachers and schools thus become, at times unknowingly, complicit in the oppression of Latino youth by reinforcing these ideologies within a school context. The teaching profession can be thought of as an integral component of the system of oppression that Latino students encounter; therefore, choosing to become a teacher would equate to joining the system of subordination that they have experienced as oppressive and also oppresses their community (Rios, 2011). This further perpetuates a cycle in which Latino students do not see representation in the teacher workforce, discouraging them from pursuing it as a career; thus creating a vicious cycle. It then becomes all the more imperative to understand the mechanisms or explanations that Latino teachers, the very few that do become teachers, choose to instead break from the cycle.

Methods

Critical Race Methodology and Counter Storytelling

In keeping with a CRT framework, this project enacted a critical race methodology (CRM) (Solorzano & Yosso, 2006). Because this methodology is based in CRT, it shares the same foundation as CRT. Solorzano and Yosso (2006: p. 24) define CRM as:

> *… a theoretically grounded approach to research that (a) foregrounds race and racism in all aspects of the research process…(b) challenges the traditional research paradigms, texts, and theories used to explain the experiences of students of Color; (c) offers a liberatory or transformative solution to racial, gender, and class subordination; and (d) focuses on the racialized, gendered, and classed experiences of students of Color. Furthermore, it views these experiences as sources of strength and (e) uses the interdisciplinary knowledge base of ethnic studies, women's studies, sociology, history, humanities, and the law to better understand the experiences of students of Color.*

It was pertinent to use CRM given the population and research topic of this study. CRM affirms that research and data which chooses to address experiences of racism, white supremacy and other forms of oppression within education are "valid, appropriate, and necessary forms of data" that contextualize the experiences of students of Color (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002). Historically, much of the research on people of Color in education perpetuates a master narrative which privileges white individuals and cites biology and/or culture as the culprits for the underachievement of students of Color when compared to their white counterparts (Valencia & Solorzano, 1997; Coleman, 1966; Terman, 1916). These deficit-based narratives are used to frame the experiences of students of Color and their academic achievements. Doing so, ignores the very real privileges white students benefit from and distorts the lived experiences of individuals whose lives are affected by racism and its intersections with other forms of oppression while also propagating the dominant discourse.

Another method often deployed in CRT research is counter storytelling. This methodological approach is well suited for a study framed by CRT because it "aims to cast doubt

on the validity of accepted premises or myths, especially ones held by the majority" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Solorzano and Yosso (2002: p 32) define counter-storytelling as:

> *a method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told (i.e., those on the margins of society). The counter-story is also a tool for exposing, analyzing, and challenging the majoritarian stories of racial privilege. Counter-stories can shatter complacency, challenge the dominant discourse on race, and further the struggle for racial reform… Indeed, within the histories and lives of people of Color, there are numerous unheard counter-stories. Storytelling and counter-storytelling these experiences can help strengthen traditions of social, political, and cultural survival and resistance.*

This research project necessitates the ability to interrogate the racialized experiences of the participants if it is to faithfully contextualize their experiences in schooling. In order to appropriately contextualize their lived experiences, it was necessary to use a methodological approach that allows for race and racism to be foregrounded. CRT and LatCrit challenges researchers to incorporate the social processes of racialization, gendering and the intersections of numerous social identities into the interpretation of phenomena. For the purposes of this study, systemic racism within schooling must then also be interrogated as it pertains to pushing Latinos out and away from the teaching profession.

This study may otherwise have reinforced the master narrative that these participants struggle in schools due to their own short-comings rather than because their experiences deviate from the master narrative regarding schooling. The experiences of these participants directly challenges the master narrative that schooling is race-neutral/Colorblind. Instead, we must

contend with the fact that schooling is very much inextricably linked to students' race and other social identities. However, this now allows us to look into ways that we can directly address this issue, rather than explain it using a problematic ideology.

Autoethnography

As has been made clear, this research topic is of great personal importance and significance to me. Not only for the professional implications this carries for my work as a doctoral student and in the non-profit sphere, but for my personal processing of the racial trauma I have endured throughout my educational journey. Being able to connect my own experiences to the experiences of my participants and then validate it through the literature was incredibly healing. I also found that grounding the research with real world stories aided the project come to life.

There isn't a definitive consensus on how to define autoethnography. Ellis (2004) defines it as "research, writing, story, and method that connect the autobiographical and personal to the cultural, social and political" (p. xix). Belbase et al. (2008) describe how in an autoethnography "the author of an evocative narrative writes in the first person, making him or her the object of research and thus breaching the conventional separation of researcher and subject; the story often focuses on a single case and thus breaches the traditional concerns of research from generalization across cases to generalization within a case" (p. 87).

As for how the autoethnographical narratives fit within the larger scope of this project, they are intended to serve less as a research method and more of a literary technique used to anchor the research. They are an opportunity for me as a writer to situate my lived experiences

within the body of literature which exists and is being generated, and for the reader to better understand the personal significance of this research.

Recruitment

A snowball sampling method was used for recruitment. There was an initial convenience sample that was recruited leveraging my professional and personal networks. This included contacts in administrative positions at several schools, and contacts in the County Office of Education. However, due to the low numbers of Latino teachers in general, there was an overall small pool which yielded few eligible participants. These initial participants were then asked to assist in finding other Latino teacher participants which was a successful strategy for obtaining the full sample.

Credential students were recruited through credential program networks that allowed me to send a recruitment email to various credential programs throughout the state. Much like with recruitment of Latino teachers, there was a small pool of eligible participants in these various programs, often there being no more than 2-3 Latinos per cohort. The final participant pool consisted of 7 different credential programs.

Data Collection

The data collection methods used for participants were in-depth, semi-structured interviews. These interviews were relegated to being done virtually through video calls due to the ongoing global COVID-19 pandemic at the time of data collection. Interviews lasted between 40 minutes to one hour in length and were audio recorded using a video call program before

being transcribed verbatim using a built-in transcription feature which were subsequently checked for errors.

Each participant, prior to beginning with the interview, completed a Face Sheet which collected basic demographic information, information regarding their parents' education and occupations, and current teaching position/anticipated teaching subject and grade. Though most participants resided in southern California, specifically in San Diego County, several were from other parts of the state.

In considering the theoretical frameworks of this research study, semi-structured interviews were most appropriate. Their flexibility allows for participants to discuss topics not previously planned in the interview protocol, thus truly allowing data to emerge from the participants themselves, rather than through assumptions, whether conscious or unconscious, by the researcher. Interviews in general also allow participants to discuss the research topic using their own words, stories and narratives. The open-ended nature of the protocol invites an exploration of the topics led by the participants themselves.

Latino Teachers by the numbers

Nationally, Latino/a teachers constitute 9% of all teachers (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2021). Of that 9%, only 2% identify as male. Considering Latino/a students make up nearly a quarter of all students and is a growing population, Latino/a teachers are an incredibly underrepresented group.

These numbers are only marginally more representative in Latino/a heavy California. In the state, 20% of all teachers identify as Latino/a. Though this nearly doubles the national

percentage of 9%, the number of students that identify as Latino/a make up 55% of the student body (California Department of Education, 2020). However, of that 20% of Latino/a teachers, only 5% identify as male.

Participant Sample

The participants for this study included 31 Latinos involved in education. Of the 31 men, 14 of them were working teachers at the time of the interview and 17 were students enrolled at the time in a credential program. Geographically, the majority of respondents were from southern California with several others residing in northern or central California.

The intention with collecting data from these two groups was to learn more about the teacher pipeline by seeing how themes that emerged during the credentialing period would change or stay the same from the group that has been teaching for several years. In other words, the two groups were meant to be analyzed separately as their own unique group, given their differing positions along the teaching career continuum. What developed instead was an opportunity to triangulate the emerging data from the two groups because both groups had the same themes emerge from their interviews.

There are certainly other differences that are of note. For one, while the teacher group completed their credential program across a wide span of years, the credential students are collectively completing theirs in the same year. It is important to also note that contemporary credential programs seem to be moving towards more explicitly highlighting values of equity, social justice, and diversity in their curriculum; something that may not have been the case for all teacher participants when they attended their credential programs, which was an average of 12 years ago. The convergence of emerging themes may also be a result of this movement towards

equity, diversity and social justice that is prevalent in educational spaces in California more generally. However, analyzing the pedagogical differences in participant teacher preparation programs and how they influence their perspectives of education and on teaching is beyond the scope of this research study. Instead, I will disaggregate the two groups demographically to capture their characteristics that would otherwise be lost were they to be combined.

The credential students interviewed were on average 26 years old, with the oldest being 35 and the youngest being 21. The majority of them (15) were born in the US while two immigrated from Mexico at the age of 10 and 15. Most of the credential students were English/Spanish bilingual (15) and all but one learned Spanish first.

Participants were also asked about their family background to gain a better understanding of the environment they grew up in. The majority of the teacher credential candidates had parents that worked service industry jobs. The most common jobs reported for their mothers were as stay at home parents or service jobs such as working in agriculture, custodial work or in the fast food industry. The most common jobs reported for their fathers were jobs in landscaping, construction or as truck drivers. Their reported average family income was $41 thousand a year, excluding an outlier that reported a family income between $200 and $300 thousand a year. The second highest reported income was $100 thousand and 12 reported growing up with a family income of less than $50 thousand.

Most credential student participants were first generation college students, with two having mothers with some college education and only 1 with a college degree and no fathers with any college experience. In addition, 11 of their fathers had less than a high school education. Many of the parents were born in Mexico and immigrated to the US (12 of the

mothers and 13 of the fathers). The other countries of birth represented in this sample were from the US (three mothers and two fathers), Guatemala (one father and mother) and El Salvador (one mother).

The credential students represented a total of eight different credential programs throughout the state of California. When asked what level they would like to teach at, five responded wanting to teach at the elementary level, three in middle school and six in high school.

The teachers interviewed in this study were on average 41 years old with the oldest being 56 and the youngest being 30 years old. This group had more immigrants (six), all of which came from Mexico. The other eight were born in the US. All but one of the teachers were English/Spanish bilingual and 10 of the 14 learned Spanish first.

Many of the teacher's parents were currently retired but many of their past jobs were very similar to the credential group. These included jobs in the service industry such as in agriculture, construction, factory workers, etc. However, this group had three participants with mothers who were teachers at one point. The reported average family income for this group growing up was $46 thousand a year.

Much like the credential students, the teacher group was majority first generation college students. Of their mothers, nine had less than a high school education while nine of their fathers had at most a high school diploma. However, this group did have more parents with at least a college degree (three mothers and two fathers). This group also had a majority of their parents immigrating from Mexico (eight mothers and 10 fathers) with the rest being born in the US (five mothers and two fathers), El Salvador (one mother) and Ecuador (one father).

Currently, seven of the teacher participants teach at the high school level while three teach in middle schools and four at the elementary school level. They had an average teaching experience of 12 years in teaching with the most veteran teacher having 30 years of experience and the most novice having four years of experience.

Table 1
Participant Information (n=31)

Name (Pseudonym)	Age	Educator Status (years teaching)	Subject Taught or Anticipated Subject	Bilingual	First Language
Salvador	29	Credential Student	Elementary Multiple Subjects	Yes	Spanish
Lorenzo	24	Credential Student	High School English and Spanish	Yes	Spanish
Antonio	31	Credential Student	N/A PE	Yes	Spanish
Cesar	29	Credential Student	High School Special Education	Yes	Spanish
Jacobo	21	Credential Student	High School Chemistry	Yes	English
Roberto	27	Credential Student	Middle/High School Algebra through Calculus	Yes	Spanish
Marcos	27	Credential Student	Elementary Multiple Subjects	Yes	Spanish
David	27	Credential Student	High School Math and AVID	Yes	Spanish
Humberto	29	Credential Student	Elem. or High School Science	Yes	Spanish
Omar	24	Credential Student	High School English	Yes	Spanish

Kevin	25	Credential Student	Elementary Multiple Subjects	Yes	Spanish
Carlos	22	Credential Student	Middle School English	Yes	Spanish
Miguel	29	Credential Student	High School Biology	Yes	Spanish
Ernesto	22	Credential Student	Undecided Dual Immersion	Yes	Spanish
Gabriel	26	Credential Student	Elementary Multiple Subjects	No	-
Jorge	35	Credential Student	Middle school Math	Yes	English
Adan	25	Credential Student	Middle school Math	Yes	English
Erick	46	Active Teacher (19)	High School AVID	Yes	Spanish
Alan	30	Active Teacher (8)	Middle School Dual Language Social Studies, ELD	Yes	Spanish
Ivan	56	Active Teacher (30)	Middle School ELD	Yes	Spanish
Santiago	43	Active Teacher (17)	High School World History	Yes	Spanish
Mateo	43	Active Teacher (12)	High School Career Technical Education, Intro to Green Technology	Yes	English
Diego	48	Active Teacher (20)	Elementary School Multiple Subjects	Yes	Spanish
Leonardo	36	Active Teacher (10)	High School English	Yes	Spanish

Cristian	44	Active Teacher (13)	High School Social sciences	Yes	Spanish
Luis	36	Active Teacher (6)	High School Spanish	Yes	English
Jose	31	Active Teacher (6)	High School Humanities	No	-
Pedro	37	Active Teacher (4)	Middle School PE	Yes	Spanish
Pablo	39	Active Teacher (4)	Elementary School Multiple Subjects	Yes	Spanish
Gerardo	47	Active Teacher (24)	Elementary School Multiple Subjects	Yes	Spanish
Emiliano	43	Active Teacher (6)	Kindergarten	Yes	Both

Interview Protocol Questions

The interview protocol used could be divided into three main categories, each intended to address a specific research question: Experiences in school, the Journey to the teaching profession, and Recruitment of Latino teachers. The first category was intended to provide a detailed illustration of their time attending their K-12 schools. Questions included: What were the schools you attended like? How would you characterize your experience in K-12 education? What was the faculty like at your school? The second category was intended to elicit their narrative of how and why they pursued a career in teaching. Questions for this category included: Tell me your story of how you decided to become a teacher. What influenced you to choose this career? What were some of your motivations for becoming a teacher? What does it mean to you to be a teacher? How did you develop this meaning? The final category was intended to leverage

participants' insider knowledge as Latino men in teaching to gain insight into the challenge of recruitment. Questions for this category included: Why do you think there are so few Latino teachers? What can be done to recruit more Latino teachers?

Data Analysis

All participant interviews were audio recorded and transcribed to facilitate qualitative analysis. The qualitative coding method used for this project was Structural Coding method (Saldaña, 2016), which inductively generates codes and themes from the data itself. By deriving codes using Structural Coding, the codes that emerge from the data are used to categorize the data itself. After each iterative review of the interview transcripts and codes, the codes and categories coalesced into more appropriate codes until a coding scheme was developed and themes emerge from it. An appropriate metaphor for this process is a funnel where during the early iterations of coding there are large amounts of codes available, but with each subsequent revision the existing codes become grouped to form new codes that encompass the previous codes. This is continually done until the result is a streamlined coding scheme where the major themes of the interviews are captured. This was done using a qualitative coding software, where each transcript was uploaded and manually coded.

An example of this process is the way the final theme of The Negative Educational Feedback Loop emerged. During the first iteration of coding, numerous codes were made. Some of these include, "schools were not a safe place for them," "students want more money," "they don't see Latino teachers," "not enough get into college," "schools are not welcoming for Latinos," "toxic home communities," etc. Upon completion of a single iteration of coding, codes are then combined based on similarity. For example, "schools were not a safe place for them"

and “schools are not welcoming for Latinos” would be combined into a single code that reflected the nature of the combined codes. The remaining codes are screened for frequency and if they remained low in frequency after the following coding cycle, the codes were dropped from the coding scheme. Some of the codes that were dropped included “students want more money” and “toxic home communities” due to their infrequent appearance in the interviews. After several cycles of this process, the codes for this research question that emerged were 1) Students have negative experiences in school, 2) Students are pushed out of education, 3) Not enough Latinos finish college, and 4) There not enough Latino teachers, among others. These four codes were then coalesced into one theme that encapsulated all of them: The Negative Educational Feedback Loop.

This research study centers participants’ race and gender within educational environments, thus the analysis focuses on the various ways these social identities influenced their experiences in school and on their path to become teachers. By centering race and racism within the schooling context, what emerged were the ways a Latino identity manifested a unique set of experience for participants. It is within these unique experiences that this study hopes to shed light on and use to explain the state of Latino teachers.

Reflexivity

There are numerous social identities that I, the researcher, share with the participants of this study. I identify as a cisgender Latino and like many of the participants, grew up speaking Spanish and was raised in a low-income environment by immigrant parents from Mexico in southern California. Also, like many of my participants, I have schooling experiences that were a result of the ways I was gendered and racialized in these spaces. In fact, many of the stories I

heard from participants were strikingly similar to some of my own experiences in school. Because of this, participants were met with a sense of validation in sharing their experiences with me. I believe our shared experiences created a context that allowed participants to express how they felt in school without the added burden of needing to prove their experiences of racism and discrimination (Zinn, 1979). We held a shared understanding that this was an unfortunate reality for many marginalized groups.

This research topic and project is of deep personal importance to me. I have been engaged in community work that aims to create a more equitable schooling system for all students. Central to that mission are the collaborations with institutions and organizations I have made in order to recruit more Latinos to the teaching profession so this research, its findings and implications are of great significance to me both personally and professionally. I found this sentiment, at least in part, was also shared with participants. Many of them reported engaging in social justice work and in instituting equity in their schools and communities. In this way, the researcher-participant relationship might be described instead as two accomplices in the project for racial justice within the education system.

Given my positionality as a Latino researcher in the field of education, it is safe to say I hold a high degree of insider knowledge on this research topic. Holding such knowledge creates several advantages such as facilitated access to certain topics, a familiarity with certain experiences, recognition of implied messaging and a deeper understanding of participants' reactions and experiences (Padgett, 2016; Kacen & Chaitin, 2006). This insider knowledge also allows me to have an awareness of certain topics that need to be addressed which an outsider may not know or not fully understand (Berger, 2015).

Some may argue that insider knowledge could be detrimental to the project of the construction of knowledge through research. I would argue that stripping research of insider knowledge when conducting research on marginalized groups is counterproductive and instead replicates and reifies the majoritarian discourse of the topic. In this way, research must adhere to the existing master narrative that places white, middle-class values and perspectives as "objective" in relation to all others. Though this is an important epistemological discussion, for the purpose of this study, I choose to value insider knowledge and engage in research that exposes the inherent marginalizing nature of the master narrative. This is done by centering the experiences and narratives of those often relegated to the margins and in so doing, we find that there is no single lived experience but a mosaic of experiences and each should be recognized and validated.

Chapter 3: Study Findings

In the many years I spent in my doctoral program, I was able to TA for many cohorts of teacher candidates. My TA assignment for the summer of 2020 was unique because it was entirely online due to the ongoing pandemic. This was also the time I did the majority of my data collection. I was invited to a webinar where students would have the opportunity to hear from Sylvia Mendez, a civil rights activist and child that the *Westminster v. Mendez* supreme court case centered around.

She spoke at length about her experiences attending schools in segregated California and about being at the center of a court case. She shared that it wasn't until she was much older that she understood the gravity of what she was involved in. As an 8-year-old at the time, her only motivation for desegregating was to be able to attend the school "with the nice playground." Unfortunately, her and all the other Latino/a students were relegated to certain schools. She told a story about her friend getting caught in an electric fence that surround the playground, teachers that would reprimand children for speaking Spanish and a total lack of teachers that looked like her. Her firsthand accounts were riveting, and it was infuriating to hear what Latino/a students had to endure in school.

After her webinar I had an interview scheduled with a participant. He shared stories of his own of going to school in southern California, just like Sylvia Mendez had, except this was over half a century later. Despite how much time had passed, his experiences in school unfortunately did not sound too different from what Sylvia Mendez experiences. He shared stories of being reprimanded for using Spanish in the classroom, not having teachers that looked like him and feeling like a second-class citizen at his own school. Despite all the time that had passed, all the

legislative changes and progress, the experiences of a Latino/a attending school in the 40s was not too different than attending school in the 2000s.

In hearing these accounts back-to-back, the importance of making these stories known was magnified. It should serve as a wakeup call that there is still much work to be done and that young Latino/a students continue to suffer in schools. My hope is that through this research, I can amplify the voices of my participants and make their narratives known. I hope that what they said about their time in school and why they want to be teachers be the catalyst for change.

What follows are the detailed accounts of 31 Latinos that were teachers at the time of the research or are most certainly teaching by the time this is written. Their stories helped me answer research questions that are critical for the future recruitment and retention of Latino teachers: 1) How have their experiences in school and on their journey to becoming teachers been shaped by their racial and gender identity? 2) How do they conceptualize the teaching profession and what has motivated them to pursue that career? 3) Why do they believe there are so few Latino teachers and what are strategies for recruiting more?

The following sections are divided by research questions and then subheadings indicate major themes that emerged within their answers to the research questions. The first research questions contextualized participants' relationship to education by exploring their experiences within the schooling system. The second research question is an interrogation of the teaching profession and what being a teacher means personally to each individual. The last research question aims to leverage the latent insider knowledge participants have in order to inform recruitment efforts of diverse teachers. Together, these questions provide a comprehensive overview of the relationship between Latinos and education.

The following chart is an overview of the coding scheme that emerged from the data collected. Each theme that emerged had several corresponding codes that fit under the umbrella of its theme. For the sake of clarification, this is not an exhaustive list of everything that emerged from the data. These are simply the most universal experiences shared among all or most participants in this research study.

Table 2

Emerging Themes and Codes

Research Questions	Themes	Codes
How have Latinos' experiences in school and on their journey to becoming teachers been shaped by their racial and gender identity?	Negative School Experiences	• Interactions with administration • Reprimanding Spanish
	Damaging School Structures	• Segregated Schools • School Tracking
	Allies in Education	• Cultural Bonds
How do Latinos conceptualize the teaching profession and what has motivated them to pursue that career?	Teacher's Journey	• Soft Exposure to Education • Peers' Suggestions
	Teaching Beyond Content	• Building Relationships • Developing Citizens • Guides to the World
	Supporting the Latino/a Community	• Giving back to their Communities • Becoming Cultural Guardians
Why do Latino educators believe there are so few Latino teachers and what are strategies for recruiting more?	Deterrents to the Profession	• Educational Negative Feedback Loop • Gender Norms

	Suggestions for Recruiting	• Mending School-Student Relationships • Pipeline Programs • Teachers as Recruiters • Addressing Gender Norms • Offering Tutoring Experiences

Research Question 1: How have Latinos' experiences in school and on their journey to becoming teachers been shaped by their racial and gender identity?

There is a consensus across the literature that Latino students' schooling experience is unique due to the intersection of their racial and gender identities. Research finds that Latino students have quite negative experiences in school and often due to their own teachers. However, due to a lack of research on the topic, we don't know what the experiences of Latino students who became teachers were like. The path to become a teacher seems so narrow and perhaps by exploring Latino teachers' educational journey we may be able to better understand why the few Latinos who chose to become teachers made that choice. There are certainly outside pressures that give shape to the Latino teacher funnel where, of the many potential Latino teachers, by the time they reach the necessary education there is a much smaller pool.

What we find is that these Latino educators chose to become teacher despite having faced a plethora of racism and discrimination by both individuals and at systemic levels. We find how controlling images of Latinos have become institutionalized in schools and how the bias school staff both generate and serve to validate that controlling image. However, participants also had some positive experiences with some of their teachers and others that nudged them towards the path of becoming a teacher.

It is not clear how or if these experiences played a direct role in their journey to become teachers, but it is of note that these were experiences shared across various participants.

Negative Schooling Experiences

The following section chronicles negative experiences in school that many of the participants had while attending school. Most participants could point to both negative and positive experiences while at school, and the ones highlighted in this research were experiences entirely predicated on the ways these participants were racialized and gendered *within* the school system. Some participants expressed deeply positive experiences in school as well, particularly with a single impactful teacher. However, participants' racial and gender identity would, more often than not, result in negative experiences in school, which is consistent with the literature on this topic.

Experiences with Administration.

In discussing participants' experiences with educators, there was a mix of both good and bad experiences. However, one entity at schools that was consistently mentioned by participants as having been particularly negative were their experiences with people in administration. Humberto, a credential student, shared a story of his experience with an administrator at his school that is emblematic of the challenges many participants faced. When he arrived at the new school, he had been placed in a lower track than he was in at his previous school. When he approached his counselor about the issue, he was dismissed. "She didn't want to file the paperwork. That was the bottom line," he shared. He, however, later reflected on how this issue was deeper than simple paperwork. With tears coming down his face, he continued:

> *When that happened, I don't know what happened, but my blood was boiling and [there were] thoughts running through my head like "how are you an educator? How are you doing these things? How many kids have you done this to already?"...it made me*

understand not everybody's going to have your back, even in the school system because of old mentalities.

This issue of lost paperwork and participants being placed into lower tracks and struggling to return to their previous track seemed too widespread across too many schools and districts to be mere coincidence or an issue with any individual administrator. It seemed that there was something much more universal that informed the way these administrators operated. Participants implied that they felt this treatment was a result of being Latino and was probably happening to other co-ethnic peers. As Humberto mentioned, these experiences resulted in feeling like the school system was working against them because administrators demonstrated a lack of faith in their abilities simply due to their race. Humberto was finally able to change his classes through the collective effort of a former teacher and his older sister.

Another student, Lorenzo, a recently immigrated credential student, became apathetic towards their school's administration. He shared: "They would just ignore us...After that I decided not to even talk to admin [sic] anymore. I told my parents they're not even doing anything. They put the blame on me." Lorenzo and Humberto both share how mistrust and lack of support creates feelings of alienation from these authority figures within formal educational structures. Feelings of alienation also contribute to feelings of disinterest, passivity, and lack of engagement in schools (Hawkins et la., 2000). Fortunately for all participants, they were able to navigate their education well enough to obtain a teacher credential, however, it is clear that, especially for first-generation students, this can become a much more challenging journey without the guidance and support of knowledgeable others. School counselors are meant to fulfill that role and serve as a resource for students to be academically successful but this was clearly

not the case with many participants. Lorenzo, like other participants, had to find other resources in order to navigate his education because his relationship with school administration had become tainted by a string of negative experiences. These relationships with individual authority figures within schools can have significant impact on student's engagement with the schooling process (Schultz & Rubel, 2011)

People in administration, as illustrated in these examples, consistently acted as barriers to participants' academic trajectories. Because of this, participants relied on help from peers or others to help navigate school. In fact, Latino/a families will often seek guidance about navigating educational structures from outside entities such as churches, members from non-profit groups and employers rather than the schools themselves (Poza, Brooks & Valdez, 2014). Counselors and other administrators serve as gatekeepers in schools and there were consistent narratives of them keeping participants out of the honors/AP tracks or simply not placing students in optimal tracks for graduation or college, which is a finding consistent with the literature (Martinez, 2003; Vela-Gaude et al., 2009; Acevedo-Gil, 2019).

Spanish Language as Criminal

Many participants recalled experiences related to language and the implicit, or at times explicit, messaging that positioned English as superior and Spanish as delinquent. This sentiment was reflected in laws from the state and comments made by their teachers. Language is a marker of cultural background so linguistic hierarchies are reflections of cultural hierarchies (Wang & Winstead, 2016). Ernesto, an aspiring elementary school teacher remembered his experience in school when using Spanish, "That's what happened to me where it was like, 'Well, you're in America. You learn English.'"

At times, this sentiment by teachers would manifest into material consequences for students, as described by this credential student:

> *The teachers have this disconnect with the Latino population. They wouldn't understand. As soon as they heard kids speaking in Spanish, the teachers automatically assume [students are] talking about something else that's not about the class. They would quickly shut down any type of Spanish speaking in the classroom. When in reality, most of us were actually talking about what they were talking about, but in our language… If we tried to explain ourselves, they would just tell us. "Well, you know, I'd rather you guys not talk about it in Spanish. Just talk in English." Some of them were actually a bit more like "We're in America" kind of a thing.*

This is supported by research showing that teachers would rather their Latino/a students assimilate to the dominant culture rather than foster their own home culture (Marx, 2008; Schwieter, 2011). For participants, this created a lose-lose situation where the only way they could engage with academic material was to first comprehend it using their home language, but they were not allowed to use their home language in the classroom, which meant they were being asked to comprehend a concept they don't understand in a language they don't know. This created an environment that was not conducive to learning because of the cultural policing by their teachers. There were other examples of ways teacher would leverage their position of power to maintain English dominance in their classroom as described by Lorenzo who at the time was a recently immigrated student:

> *When we were in the classroom with a teacher and we were done with our assignments, if you speak with another person besides you or in front of you. If you speak in Spanish, the*

professor will say, "Oh, what did you say? Can you repeat everything in English?" and, at that time, not knowing the language because we were in ELD, we didn't know how to express ourselves. It was intimidating. That's why [students] were a little bit afraid.

These actions by teachers were clearly rooted in an assimilation ideology which resulted in a volatile classroom environment for English learners that dissuaded engagement and participation. As a result of this discourse, language surveillance would extend beyond the classroom and into the homes of the students. Many participants shared the ways their parents had adopted assimilationist ideologies and prevented their children from learning the Spanish language. This, at least in some instances, was a direct result of their own parent's upbringing in the US school system as Mateo, a teacher of 12 years, shared "I think [my parent's] approach, based on their school upbringing, was all about assimilation and knowing they needed to do everything they possibly could to fit in, so my sister and I didn't grow up speaking Spanish." This home experience is the result of the implicit messaging of the English-only movements that tend to correspond with the growth of Latino/a populations in the U.S. and are a result of anti-immigrant sentiment which continues to this day (Barker et a., 2001).

This ideology by some of the participants' teachers is a reflection of larger societal discourse regarding language and the implied racial hierarchy that is maintained by doing so (Hurtado & Rodriguez, 1989). Teacher's actions regarding language use in academic spaces become complicit in generating feelings of shame and resentment in their bilingual students towards their home language and culture (Phinney, 2001). This manifests in classroom settings as tools to dissuade class participation, inhibit generational cultural transmission and create an

environment of fear for students who use, in these instances, Spanish as the primary language for communication.

System-Level Barriers

Participants highlighted several mechanisms within schools that serve to, in many ways, perpetuate and maintain racial segregation in schools. These are separate from the previous section in that these are mechanisms that operate outside of interpersonal interactions and are instead built into the schooling system itself.

Segregated Schools

Participants made extensive comments about the student demographics of the schools they attended and the way they racially shifted based on numerous factors. This is no surprise given the shift in the way segregation occurs, given how "macro-level segregation between states and counties gave way steadily to micro-level segregation between cities and neighborhoods" (Massey et al., 2009). Most participants attended, at least at some point, a predominantly Latino/a school. However, demographics could change but it seemed to always be a binary between predominantly Latno/a or white. Gerardo, an elementary school teacher, shared his experience: "The demographics of the first school was mostly Latinos, Spanish speaking...and then in this magnet school, I was one of only two Latinos in my class."

This shift in school demographics were reflections of the larger housing segregation that has persisted in society. Antonio, an aspiring PE teacher, highlights this through his experience of moving from a lower-socioeconomic neighborhood to a more affluent neighborhood: "Instead of it only being like Latinos and African Americans. It was whites and Asians." These

observations indicate that socioeconomic status serves as a proxy for race, and thus creates housing segregation within these communities.

Even amongst these already segregated schools, there was another level of segregation within the schools themselves through school tracking that was noticed by participants. This underrepresentation of Latino/a students in AP and honors courses was referred to by Solorzano and Ornelas (2004) as a "school within a school effect" (p.16). Roberto, an aspiring high school math teacher, shared "Even though a majority population was Mexican American, Latino, Hispanic, in school, in AP classes, starting in 10th grade, you see less and less [Latino/as] as you go higher...and then you're one of a couple [of your own race] in a large class." This sort of racial segregation has been well established in the literature. These racial differences are perpetuated by long held beliefs in the academic aptitude, or lack thereof, of Latino and other marginalized groups.

These observations by participants are the natural result of what they indicated was happening in their interactions with administrators in their schools. Participants showed how they were being denied access to the higher academic tracks due to administrators keeping them out, rather than as a result of academic aptitude or ability. We can then see the larger and more wide-spread consequences of the discrimination Latinos face in schools. When gatekeepers hold a racial bias towards a certain group of their students, these biases will manifest in other parts of the school, such as in the low-number of Latinos in honors and AP tracks that participants indicated. Participants' observations regarding the stark demographic differences highlights the various educational and social mechanisms that operate to maintain these racial divides both within and between schools. Though the permanence of segregation is widely accepted, these

observations contextualize participants' experiences in schools and set the foundation why some of their other experiences are of particular concern.

English Language Development classes and School Tracking

Participants shared their experiences navigating the various school tracks and many participants had personal experiences regarding the ELD track. What was recognized by participants was the clear academic/social hierarchy that existed between the different tracks, with the ELD track being at, if not, near the bottom. This sentiment could manifest in various ways such as the way school segregated the students, as Kevin, a multiple subjects credential student shared: “In our middle school, we were separated from the rest of the sixth graders...So we were in separate classrooms and I [remember] they were these bungalows that were barely made and we were way out there.” Creating physical distance between ELD classrooms and the main campus contributes to feelings of otherness for ELD students. This otherness is reinforced by some teachers so students are left to feel like their language and culture is rejected by their schooling.

Participants also recalled having issues with the content itself and felt it was doing more to further entrench students into the track than to help them grow. Leonardo, an English high school teacher, recalled “I remember my mom would have constant arguments with administration because she wanted me out of those [ELD] classes. She felt that the curriculum was watered down.” There was a general sense amongst participants that being in the ELD track meant there would be less academic rigor, an idea rooted in negative stereotypes about the intelligence of people of Color, and would provide less academic opportunities in the future.

Many also recognized that being tracked into ELD was racially based and not always predicated on an actual need for English language development. Luis, a high school Spanish teacher, recalled an experience he had when he moved to a new school:

> *One of my first experiences at this new school was the counselors wanting to put me into remedial English and wanting to test my English...My mom went into the school and she was really angry because she didn't understand why they were doing this, considering my transcript. I was in honors English classes in my previous high school. It was really my first experience of discrimination based on my last name because I guess it was just a policy or an unwritten policy that they had that any student that had a Hispanic sounding last name, they were going to test them.*

This story, and many others, show how accomplices such as vocal parents and family members, peers or sympathetic educators helped many participants navigate these administrative spaces. This finding begs the question of how many other students weren't privileged enough to have allies and were tracked out of the college path. The ELD track served as a filter specifically designed to sequester Latino/a students, thus resulting in the de facto segregation we currently see in school tracking to this day.

Allies in Education

In addition to the myriad negative experiences participants faced in their k-12 schooling, there were also some positive ones. Some participants who had a Latino/a teacher expressed how that experience was particularly impactful for them, and in some cases, these positive experiences became a catalyst for students pursuing a career as teachers.

Cultural Bonds

"All of my teachers, now that I think about it, all of them were white, except for my ELD teacher," said Ernesto, an aspiring elementary school teacher. This realization seemed to be a common experience among participants. "I guess as far as thinking of teachers I didn't see, oh yeah! My fourth grade, there were two Latina teachers" said Ivan, a teacher with 30 years of teaching experience. Additionally, some indicated that these same demographics continue in schools to this day, as Ivan continued to say, "In this school that I work in, I mean, we're over 80% [Latino/a students]...we could use more Latino faculty." However, the positive impact these few Latino/a teachers had on participants became apparent in their narratives, as Salvador continued in his story:

> *My fourth grade teacher was a Hispanic man. [He] was the big turning point in my life as a student. I think he just took that extra time with me, he saw that I had a lot of potential, but he understood that it was a language barrier that created that [struggle] with me. So I didn't care as much about school but he actually took the time tutoring me during lunch sometimes…That year, I was a most improved student for fourth grade because I think just him taking the time and seeing that potential within me.*

TOC honing in on their students of Color and being able to provide support for them is something seen in the literature. In Ivan's story, we see how he didn't have much interest in school until his teacher took the time to cater to his needs, rather than write him off. The teacher seemed to have recognized that Ivan's struggles were due to a language barrier, rather than a lack of academic capability and this belief in him led to Ivan drastically improving at school.

Examples of Latino/a teachers being able to meet the needs, or even understand the needs, of these Latino participants was evident in several of their recounts of their schooling. "I

remember one teacher in particular. It was in second grade. She was very helpful. What stood out to me, she was a Latina and it was like the first time I got exposed to a bilingual [teacher]." shared Marcos, a bilingual credential student. Latino/a teachers simply seemed to connect with participants in various ways that other educators that didn't share the same background could not. For example, Humberto, a credential student, shares how Latino/a teachers could additionally connect with the parents of Latino/a students.

> *My teacher was Latinx, [Bolivar], and he can speak to our parents. Like "no, no, no. Yo conosco a su hijo. Su hijo no está haciendo lo que le está diciendo. Pero hable con el. Talk to him one on one," and he's able to do that translation himself and parents are able to be more amicable with him and they resonate with him so students are expected to show up and participate and it's like they will want to go to school.*

Being able to connect with the parents of students adds another layer of connection between students' home lives and their culture with their schooling. Not only that, but parents could then be made to feel like an integral part of their student's education because their role is facilitated through the teacher who is culturally bilingual. The impact of this connection is expressed by Humberto in saying that students thus wanted to participate and engage in their schooling.

Participants had shared that the messages sent by schools, teachers and other staff was that their culture should be excluded in these spaces, which would make teachers unapologetically displaying their Latino/a culture all the more powerful and impactful. Erick, a teacher of 19 years shares:

The Spanish teacher that was also a history teacher by the name Mr. [Cardenas], he really wanted to help out the kids that were involved with MECHA so he really tried to get the Latino kids motivated to do something, to be proud of who they were, as opposed to not being taught anything about their history.

Latino/a teachers seemed to encourage the cultural empowerment of their Latino/a students. In many ways, the environment created by these educators served as respite from the hostility many participants faced outside of these spaces.

Understanding the impact these experiences with Latino/a teachers is beyond the scope of this research study, however, it is worth noting that many participants had memorable connections with these educators where a cultural connection was a key component of fostering that bond. It is also worth noting that we can see these experiences mirrored in many ways with the values and goals of many participants now that they are teachers or about to become teachers. Regardless of the potential implications, what is clear is that participants' identity as Latino helped Latino/a teachers gravitate towards them and provide positive experiences in school.

Summary

Participant's responses to this question demonstrate the various ways their race has impacted their schooling experience, both positively and negatively. Although this section demonstrated the existence of both interpersonal and structural barriers, they can also be read as working in conjunction with each other and feeding into each other. The apparent discrimination from school counselors and administrators directly impacts Latino's access to the honors and AP tracks, which is something that is supported by the literature (Vela et al., 2013). This then creates a cascade of effects because honors and AP classes are critical for successful college admission

(Geiser, 2006; Chajewski, Mattern, & Shaw, 2011). Thus, these gatekeepers may very well be inhibiting future academic achievement for students.

These interpersonal interactions also contribute to the within-school segregation apparent in the honors and AP courses, which is yet another insidious feedback loop that ultimately keeps Latino/a students out of these spaces. Feelings of belonging in honors and AP classes remains low for Latino/a students, thus making the threshold for leaving the class much lower than for students with a strong sense of belonging in these spaces (Bjorklund, 2019).

Participants also discussed the way language politics played a role in their schooling experiences. English language dominance is a practice that can be argued has roots in the global imperial project of the United Stated and Great Britain (Phillipson, 2008). In fact, some language scholars have argued that language has more to do with defining people and creating hierarchies (Garcia et al., 2007; Crump, 2014). This is seen demonstrated in how teachers reacted to the use of Spanish language and the treatment and perception of the ELD track in schools.

Despite these barriers, stories of bonding with teachers were still apparent in participants' stories. Although their racial identities resulted in discrimination, it also signaled to co-ethnic teachers to dedicate more time and attention to them. Their shared culture and background facilitated a unique bond that could only be built through that cultural familiarity.

These findings contribute to the existing literature that demonstrates the ways students are racialized within schooling structure, and furthermore the ways in which this racialization manifests into tangible barriers for their educational success. These findings also validate the research that demonstrates the positive impact TOC have on their co-ethnic students.. What becomes clear is that participants had experiences in school that were a direct result of their

racial identity, and their stories contribute to the growing literature that the schooling system itself is pushing students such as these to the margins and ultimately out altogether but TOC are playing a role as Cultural Guardians for these students.

Research Question 2: How do Latinos conceptualize the teaching profession and what has motivated them to pursue that career?

There is very little we know about the relationship between Latino teachers and the teaching profession such as their reasons why they become teachers, what being a teacher means to them and what can be done to recruit more. It seems clear that Latino students encounter unique challenges in school which ultimately impact every facet of their education. However, despite these challenges, some Latino students persist and decide to return to these spaces and become teachers yet we know very little about why. The career path participants have taken is incredibly narrow and not walked by many other of their co-ethnics. However, by better understanding this path we may be able to leverage that understanding to expand the path and funnel more individuals onto it. The recruitment of diverse teachers has been of national concern for decades yet very little progress has been made, if any. In order to bring in more TOC, we must engage in a deep exploration of the experiences of current TOC. Understanding what their journey was like, what it means to be a teacher and asking what their motivations are could be vitally important information to recruiting in the future.

On the Teaching Career Path

A theme that emerged was that of the serendipitous nature in which participants began their careers as teachers. Many participants shared the common narrative of having "fallen into" the teaching profession. This could have been a result of the need for any job or a suggestion by a friend or colleague. Regardless of how their path on this career was initiated, what became clear was that this was rarely a deliberate, premeditated, or intentional decision made by them.

Instead, it was a life circumstance that led them to the profession and a discovery of a love for the job that motivated them to continue.

Soft Exposure to Education

Many of the participants found themselves starting on their journey to being a teacher from a job or volunteering experience as a tutor or mentor. These experiences were the catalyst in many of their narratives for recognizing teaching as a viable career option. “I was nervous at first working with these kids,” said Cesar, an aspiring Special Education teacher. “To be honest, working with those kids, I liked it and I decided I wanted to be a teacher for these kids. There’s something about working with these kids that I enjoyed a lot.” Salvador, an aspiring elementary school teacher, had a similar experience: “I started as a tutor and then I became a teacher for kindergarten and first grade. I saw that when you take the time with this specific group, they grow every day. You just see them flourish [and] grow so quickly.”

These experiences as tutors exposed these men to some of the benefits of working with students such as seeing their development and growth and forming connections, without the commitment to a career as teachers and thus eluded the negative stigma as well. Instead, they experienced the benefits first, which then prompted a consideration for pursuing a career in education.

Volunteering in school contexts also served as an entry point for some participants, as Marcos, a credential student noted, “I was a volunteer and coach for volleyball and soccer there at the middle school that I used to go to. After that, I found a job within the district as a paraeducator.” These soft exposures to education placed these individuals within close proximity to a teaching career, in a way no other part of their schooling journey had done. Paraeducators

and other non-teacher pools have been considered a viable recruitment population to bring in culturally and racially diverse teacher to schools (Genzuk & Baca, 1998) Although participants were not part of a pipeline program or other recruitment strategies, these experiences in education operated as critical catalysts in their pursuing a profession as teachers.

It may be possible that not many Latino students receive this exposure due to how jobs involving children and caretaking are considered to be jobs for women. There is a social discourse regarding gender roles at play that may preclude men from taking on these roles as tutors and volunteers. However, as seen with these participants, once they have experience mentoring or tutoring they find that they particularly enjoy it and choose to pursue a career related to that experience despite it being a feminized career.

At the Suggestion of Others

Another common narrative among participants was how it was someone in their inner circle who suggested they pursue a career as a teacher, or at the very least put them in the vicinity of a job in education. Luis, one high school teacher of 6 years shared "my wife said… 'why don't you become a substitute teacher?'" which was something he hadn't considered before. "I started working at the school she was at" he continues, "that's when I feel I found my passion for teaching." Luis, like many others, may not have considered a job in education were it not the suggestion of a peer or colleague, and in Luis's case his wife. Perhaps participants, who all identify as male, would not have considered working in education because of the gendered nature of the job. Some participants shared how jobs such as construction, landscaping and other manual jobs come more readily to mind as jobs for men. Without the suggestion of those around them, it does not seem likely like many participants would have sought out a job at a school.

Insider knowledge participants' peers had regarding job openings or opportunities within schools was what allowed participants to enter a space of education as an instructor and, in many cases, igniting their passion for education. Humberto, a credential student from southern California, shared "He's like 'we're looking for AVID tutors'...I applied three years ago. That slowly started opening my eyes to being an educator and pushed me to pursue that career." Some might have considered a job as a mentor or tutor to help them develop a resume for a teacher education program but with participants, it was only after taking on these roles that they found a passion to become teachers.

There is a clear pattern in the way participants had education put on their radar. Participants leveraged their peer's or colleague's social capital to obtain entry level positions into the schooling system. It was rarely, if ever, an intentional choice made by the participant. Rather, there is a pattern of others suggesting they consider these opportunities as volunteers, tutors, substitute teachers, etc. This may also indicate how rarely education comes to the minds of Latinos when considering fields for a job. Instead, other individuals, usually women, are the ones that shift their attention to education as a viable option.

Teaching Beyond Content

Overall, in response to the question of what it meant to be a teacher, participants seemed to agree that teaching was about more than the content of their respective subjects. Participants conceptualized teaching as being more about other factors related more to interpersonal factors and enacted a form of education more reminiscent of educación, which is more focused on moral development. Because of the way participants viewed the profession, teaching took on a much

more profound meaning which involved playing a significant role in shaping the future through guiding youth.

It was interesting to note that none of the participants cited their own school subject or grade as being particularly crucial or at the center of the importance of their role. Instead, they chose to speak to the importance of much more intangible topics such as morality, ethics, relationships, and roles in society. There was an understanding that the things students should walk away having learned from their class shouldn't be the subject content but these much more universal traits.

Teaching and Building Relationships

A prominent theme that emerged regarding the ways in which participants conceptualize the teaching profession was the theme of building relationships with students. Emiliano, a kindergarten teacher from the Bay area, said, "When I think about what it means to be a teacher, I really think about those personal dynamics...Teaching, for me, is about personal relationships." This sentiment was one that was echoed in the majority of participants' responses. The literature also suggests that the quality of student-teacher relationships is critical for many positive outcomes (Eggum et al., 2011; Roorda et al., 2011; Sabol & Pianta, 2012). It was quite clear that interpersonal connections with students were a major focus in these educators' approach to teaching and, more importantly, how they conceptualized the role of a teacher being.

Developing relationships with students was viewed as a critical component of being a teacher and participants articulated a number of reasons why it was important. For example, participants recognized how building relationships with students was simply good pedagogy and a way to help students learn. "I think if they feel accepted and respected by you, the learning will

come," said Diego, an elementary school teacher with 20 years of experience. "If you build rapport, with them and their family" he continued, "I think all of that helps them to learn." This teacher, like many others, illustrates how building relationships with students inherently creates an interpersonal dynamic from which learning can more easily occur.

Not only were participants aware of the importance of building these relationships, but they were also aware of the ways in which this could be accomplished. David, a credential student from Orange County said, "The teacher needs to understand where that student is coming from. After they build that prerequisite, then the teacher is able to understand how they can have the biggest impact in that student's life. They can understand what their issues are. They can understand how they can help." There was a recognition of the need to understand and get to know the student holistically beyond just the academic. What seems to be understood is that students have various facets to their identities and participants view their role as teachers as being all encompassing. Leonardo, an English teacher with 10 years of experience, shared, "It's basically being whatever the student needs you to be at that moment. I think that's the important part. So it's like [being] a jack of all trades." Seeing students holistically was a shared perspective among many participants.

Being able to see the multi-dimensionality of students' identities helped participants tend to the diverse needs of their students. Omar, an aspiring high school English teacher, said, "Before we can address their educational needs...we have to address the social-emotional needs, get to the root cause of why it is they're not performing well in school [and] a lot of that has to do with building those relationships with students." In this way, participants would be situated better to address the challenges their students of Color may face, as opposed to teachers who

view their role as simply delivering content knowledge. Participants seem willing to tend to the less academically focused challenges students face, which for many students of Color includes experiences of isolation, discrimination, etc.

Some of this understanding of the need to tend to race and racism has to do with their own identities as Latino. Participants were keenly aware of the way their identities as Latinos could be leveraged to connect with those students that may not be able to culturally connect with anybody else in the school or in their educational experience to that point. Alan, a middle school teacher of 8 years summarized this dynamic nicely:

> *As an educator, obviously I love all my students, but I always feel for the students that have a similar background as I do. I can tell you that because every year there are one or two students that just stand out and that I want to help and guide them. I think it's that connection, knowing that they have experience or are experiencing the same things that I experienced as a student, but I think it's that level of connection that allows Hispanic teachers to connect with Hispanic students, and that's why there is a need for more Hispanic teachers to enter this profession.*

This teacher articulated the importance of having teachers that are culturally representative of students. It relates to a teacher's ability to connect with their students, and unfortunately, because the teacher workforce is highly homogeneous there are some students that will rarely encounter a race or culturally matched teacher. The research on the positive impacts of race-matched teachers and students is robust (Irvine, 1989; Lindsay & Hart, 2017; Luke, 2017; Redding, 2019) and considering participants' responses it becomes clear why. Participants seemed willing, and in some cases view it as their duty, to tend to students' various needs.

Additionally, participants shared a knowledge of the importance of being able to culturally connect with their co-ethnic students, thus we see why TOC are uniquely suited to meet the needs of students of Color.

Developing Citizens

Another theme that emerged regarding a teacher's role was that of developing citizens. In this context, citizen is not in reference to legal status or exclusively in relation to civic engagement, but rather as citizenship to society. Developing citizens is meant to invoke the ideal member of society. One that understands and follows rules and laws, is self-sustaining and is thriving within a larger capitalist society. Antonio, a credential student from San Diego said, "[teaching is] a huge responsibility to set our future society up the right way and we have the opportunity to set the foundation to what type of citizens we want in our society. We're going to have to develop hardworking individuals and just overall good principles." Participants seemed quite preoccupied with ensuring their students could be "productive" members of society and would be able to seamlessly integrate into it.

There was an additional layer which included ensuring the development of morality and ethics in their students. David, an aspiring high school AVID teacher, said, "Overall, teachers are there to support student [learning] as well as ensure that the student is developing appropriately. Their minds, their virtues, their values are all developing in the correct manner." Developing citizenship in this regard may be connected to the concept of educación. Espino (2016) describes educación as "the ways in which Mexican American families incorporate the values of personal development and respect for others as part of what it means to be educated as well as layer lessons taught in the home with lessons taught in the classroom" (p. 75). In this way, participants

may be enacting a much more culturally relevant conceptualization of the role of education with their students. This may also be indicating how participants' own home culture may be influencing how they conceptualize the teaching profession.

Other participants connected the idea of citizenship with becoming ideal laborers within a capitalist society. For example, when asked about the role of teachers, Jose, a high school teacher of six years responded, "to help ensure that everyone is able to climb the economic ladder." A credential student from Riverside, Salvador, put it quite clearly when he said, "It's very important to have the student be prepared so they can go out to the work force and just be better workers, better leaders, better everything so they can make our capitalist society function a little bit better." In this way, participants viewed their role as developing socially deemed "productive" laborers for society. These ideals reflect the movement at the turn of the twentieth century to use schools as a way to train youth for work and to join the labor force (Kantor, 1986). Schooling is also often framed as the vehicle for upward economic mobility, which seems to inform how participants think about their jobs.

Through this theme we can see how various discourses intersect to inform how participants enact their role as teachers. In focusing on students' ethical and moral development, we see how participants' home culture and ideas about educación may be informing their role. This may even demonstrate why Latino/a teachers are better equipped to connect with Latino/a parents since their expectations of what students should be receiving from school are so similar.

Even though participants cited this as a general conceptualization of teaching for all students, throughout the interviews many also indicated wanting to work with co-ethnic students especially. It may be that this focus on developing law-abiding, positive contributors to society

may be informed by the controlling images of Latinos as criminals. In this way, participants may be attempting to ensure their Latino students steer away from criminality by emphasizing rule following and a collectivist ideology.

Guides for the world

Many participants connected the role of a teacher to that of a guide. Be it a guide for navigating the complex world outside and beyond the school context or to ensure a successful journey through academia, it was part of a teacher's role to help their students through it. "The role of a teacher is a bridge," said Leonardo, a high school English teacher of 10 years. "That connection that helps bring kids into the real world to maybe help them understand the world around them a little better."

According to participants, one of the ways teachers could be effective guides is through their roles as mentors and role models. In fact, to many participants, the role of a teacher was synonymous with being a mentor and/or role model. "I think being a teacher, first, is being a good mentor," said Gabriel, a multiple subject credential student. "Hopefully," he continued, "if I do end up working somewhere [under-resourced], I could be that positive mentor and role model."

At times, this role of a guide was focused on helping students navigate their education. Latino/a teachers leveraging their cultural capital and position to aid their co-ethnics navigate schooling is something previously found in the literature (Griffin, 2018; Flores, 2017). Humberto, a credential student, said, "I'm there as a mere tool to help [students] become what they need. I'm a guide. I'm there to help them go through their academic career and explore those options." Teachers thus embodied the role of individuals who could help guide students

through the labyrinthic schooling system so they can succeed in their aspirational endeavors. This might be informed by some of their negative experiences they had in school. Returning to Humberto, he had shared a story of struggling to get the support and help he needed from his school counselor. Others similarly struggled and felt alone in navigating their education, which explains why participants felt a responsibility to serve as that resource for students.

What is interesting is how the role of guide as described by participants extended beyond the subject they teach. In fact, some made that point explicitly as Cesar, an aspiring special education teacher, said:

> *For me, to be a teacher is more than teaching a student a subject. It's to help them have a healthier way of living and a guide that helps students have a better future. Yes, we're going to talk about Spanish or English, but at the end of the day, if you want to go to college, these are the skills that you will need if you are going to graduate.*

Alan, a middle school teacher, put it simply as "I have to find ways to connect what we are learning in the classroom to the real world." In doing so, teachers become guides for students to navigate and overcome any obstacles. Whether the challenges include going to college or navigating the world, a teacher's role is consistently that of someone who plays an integral role as a support and scaffold for their students.

By indicating a need to become a guide for students, participants may be suggesting that they feel many students do not have a resource to offer guidance. This perspective may be rooted in their own personal experiences in school which, as illustrated previously, included unhelpful administrators and in fact, the majority of participants are first-generation college students. In

this way, participants are attempting to ensure help for the students that may not otherwise be helped in school, i.e. marginalized students.

Supporting the Latino/a community

What becomes increasingly clear regarding participants' motivations for becoming teachers is an innate sense of community. With that sense of community, there is a commitment to care, support and protect members of that community. What these themes illustrate is that participants' chose to become teachers for the sake of their communities.

Giving Back and the Immigrant Bargain

A prominent theme related to participants' motivations for becoming teachers was their desire to give back to their community. "That's the reason why I'm in this profession. I just want to give back in the form of education" said Omar, a 24-year-old credential student, about returning to the community he grew up in. Narratives of participants returning to the same schools or districts they were raised in and helping students that they identify with and are facing the same challenges they faced served as motivation for them to become teachers.

In some instances, participants had received these messages from their own teachers. What makes this particularly interesting is the way this theme then becomes iterative and self-replicating. For example, if participants had teachers embodying this theme of giving back to their community through teaching, the students that see and hear that message are then inclined to follow suit. As Miguel, a multiple subjects credential student, shares:

> *A lot of these teachers, the very first day, he would literally say those words. "I want to give back to where I came from." It's those phrases when I heard them back then I'm like*

"Okay." Now it's "Oh my gosh, I get what they mean. That's beautiful. That's great. That's what I want to do too." They literally would say directly towards us "this is where I'm from and it's important for me to come back next year."

Some participants shared that this would be a way to give back to the community that had provided them with the support they needed to reach their goals. As Jacobo, a credential student aiming to be a chemistry teacher, shared, "If I had the opportunity, how can I give back to other people? Because I had received so much support from other people in order to get to where I was so that was just always in the back of my mind: 'how can I help other people?'" To many, teaching could have such a profound impact in a community that it became an ideal profession to help them fulfill their desire to provide support to their communities.

At times, participants focused specifically on the sacrifices made by their families and embodied the concept of the Immigrant Bargain. The Immigrant Bargain refers to the way working class individuals immigrate to a new country in hopes that the sacrifices they incurred would be validated through their children's upward mobility through academic and financial achievements (Courtney, 2006). Carlos, a 22-year-old credential student, succinctly captures this concept: "I just wanted to give back to [my parents] so much for everything they've done for me. My parents did come here to give me and my little brother a chance to do what we want...so I really want to make my parents proud. That's what's primarily keeping me motivated."

The Immigrant Bargain was not necessarily seen as a way to motivate participants to become teachers specifically but rather served as motivation to continue their education. The Immigrant Bargain has been found to be a strong motivator for children of immigrants to make the most of the opportunities available (Louie, 2012). Central to making the most of parents'

sacrifices is continuing in their education. Pablo, an elementary school teacher, notes, “I would hear from my parents, ‘you have to be educated. Look at me. I’m working really hard jobs and it’s all because I wasn’t educated. So we came here to give you the opportunity to be educated.’” Parents and families played an important role in instilling these values and reinforcing these messages as Gerardo, an elementary school teacher with 24 years of experience, shares, “It’s been instilled in me, not just from my parents but just being around people that are activists...that idea of not forgetting where you come from and giving back to the community. They definitely told me that school was important and they made sure to tell me and repeat it over and over again.”

Embedded in the Immigrant Bargain is also a recognition of the contribution of others to any individual’s success. This may be informing participants' conceptualization of the teaching profession and why they view their role as a vital part to students’ success. Participants seem to also be embodying the strength of Aspirational Capital from Yosso’s Community Cultural Wealth model (Yosso, 2014). The narratives participants share serve as a model for their co-ethnic students to see themselves in and draw strength from other sources of capital not based on white-middle class values and privilege. This serves as yet another example of why students of Color benefit from having TOC.

Being Cultural Guardians

Many participants shared that they were motivated to become teachers in order to engage in Cultural Guardianship (Flores, 2017). Cultural Guardianship is the role educators take on in order to protect or mitigate the impact of oppressive structures in education on their co-ethnic students. This came as a result of their recognition that these oppressive structures existed and

that they had faced them in their past. Participants were concerned with ensuring their co-ethnic students would not be afflicted by these barriers, as Adan, a single subject credential student shared:

> *Now that I'm being exposed to discrimination or the prejudice that happened throughout our schooling, I want to shield students away from that or I want to provide them with alternative perspectives...just because you're Latino or Black that it's possible to succeed...and that you shouldn't be pushed out because of whatever structural barriers are out there.*

It became clear that knowledge of existing structural inequities became a catalyst for reinforcing their motivation to become teachers. Research has shown that TOC are more aware of structural inequalities in schooling, thus allowing them to address them or mitigate their impacts through their roles as teachers. In this way, participants are validating the research that shows why TOC are better equipped to work with students of Color. Participants are keenly aware of how race is a factor in students' schooling and thus are choosing to specifically address this. What was also of note was that the use of this particular terminology came primarily from the credential students, perhaps indicating a wider recognition of these issues within more contemporary teacher preparation programs. This is something that Roberto, an aspiring high school math teacher, illustrated clearly:

> *In my schooling, I didn't experience it, per se, but as I started learning more about structural inequalities in my criminology law and society classes, I started learning about stereotype threat... and I noticed that a lot of performance ties back to race, culture and ethnicity...and that can come from teacher biases, the administrators, society, or culture*

in general. It's just very frustrating or very disappointing that that happens to a lot of minority populations and it's not fair at all. I want to stop that from happening to them so that they are able to succeed.

Others leveraged their personal experiences into motivation for engaging in Cultural Guardianship. As Omar, a 24-year-old credential student put succinctly, "I want to become a teacher because I want to help the students that have the same history as me." It is because of their intimate knowledge of these structural barriers that they themselves faced in school that made them want to take particular care of their co-ethnic students. As Ivan, an ELD teacher with 30 years of experience shared, "It wasn't all about academics... [It's about] making sure our Latino students are able to figure it out and continue their education." Participants understood that their students needed a particular care and support that wasn't embedded in school which meant it was a challenge, and added work, they themselves would take on once they become teachers.

Summary

The purpose of this research question was to gain an understanding of the relationship between Latino educators and the teaching profession. It was to understand what being a teacher means to them and what provided them the motivation to pursue a career as a teacher. The findings indicate how participants' racial and gender identity contribute to their journeys to becoming teachers.

Their initial steps towards a career as teachers can be characterized as having happened serendipitously, either through experiences as tutors and volunteers in schools or through the suggestion of those around them. None of the participants had long-held aspirations to become

teachers that they eventually were able to realize. Instead, they happen to find themselves in educational spaces, realize or develop a passion for their position, and then decide to pursue their teaching career. However, their first step into education came from external factors rather than internal aspirations or desires. Without those outside factors, participants may not have pursued their careers in education. Perhaps it is the feminization of the career that makes it so teaching does not readily come to mind for Latinos when thinking of which career to pursue. Men in this society are not raised to take on roles as caretakers or work with children so it is no surprise men do not see themselves pursuing careers that encompass that. However, the same associations perhaps are not as robust with tutors, volunteers and other paraeducator roles. It is possible that this explains why participants were initially willing to take on these roles, which then served to expose them to a potential career as teachers. Participants received a small sample of what it would be like to be a teacher and it was clearly very appealing to them. This then highlights a barrier for many men to become teachers, namely it's the feminization of the profession. Without that association, it is possible more men would also find the role of teachers to be something they would more willingly pursue.

We also find that building relationships with students, educating them on citizenship and helping guide them through the world are integral components of how they conceptualize their role as teachers. It is interesting that to participants, teaching is more related to these interpersonal factors of connecting than it is to a transference of content knowledge. In this way, participants' conceptualization of teaching is diametrically opposed to what Freire (1996) refers to as the Banking Concept of Education, whereby "knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing" (p.72). Instead, participants opt for a much more student-centered conceptualization, which has been

shown to be much more effective (MacSuga-Gage et al., 2012; Paolini, 2015). In this way, participants are challenging the model of schooling that is far more test centered for one that prioritizes the application of knowledge in contexts outside of schooling.

How participants conceptualize the teaching profession also reveals what they believe the needs of their students are. From other parts of their interviews, it became apparent that many participants lacked the institutional support and guidance they needed while in school. Seemingly as a response to this, many participants expanded their role as classroom teachers to encompass supporting students through their educational journey, provide guidance, support and mitigate the negative impacts of schooling on their students of Color. This form of support is made possible due to participants' experiences in schools as part of a marginalized group. From their vantage point as outsiders, participants are better suited to see the various cracks in the schooling system and they choose to intentionally address these shortcomings in their classroom with their students. This perspective is also predicated on participants' understanding that students of Color are particularly susceptible to certain barriers in school and are thus motivated to engage in Cultural Guardianship of their co-ethnic students. Participants and other TOC thus provide indispensable insight to schools that can serve to support those students often relegated to the margins of mainstream support and guidance, which is something previously established in the literature (Quoicho & Rios, 2000; MacDonald, 2004; Ochoa, 2007).

It is also clear that participants are drawing cultural knowledge in conceptualizing their role as teachers. Their focus on moral and ethical development is reminiscent of the concept of educación. By enacting this in their pedagogy they provide co-ethnic students with a familiar embodiment of what it means to be educated and one that is probably echoed at home by parents.

Creating this connection between home and school demonstrates the subtle ways TOC are able to form relationships with their co-ethnic students and their families by validating their home values and priorities through their schooling.

Research Question 3: Why do Latino educators believe there are so few Latino teachers and what are strategies for recruiting more?

Participants were asked explicitly why they believed there were very few Latinos, like themselves, in education. Participants offered unique insight into the question due to their positionality as insiders within the teacher pipeline and in the education field. The low number of Latino teachers is something that was acknowledged by all participants and even noted during their own schooling experiences. Furthermore, all participants also recognized the importance of recruiting more Latinos into the teaching profession. However, first I felt it was important to explore the mechanisms and reasons they believed serve as deterrents to many Latinos. The responses participants provided highlighted an aggressive negative feedback loop that may be important in recognizing when engaging in recruitment efforts for diverse educators. The second major factor that emerged is related to gender norms and the various ways this dominant discourse serves as a deterrent for Latinos.

The Educational Deterrent Feedback Loop

Three of the major codes that emerged from participant interviews seemingly work in conjunction with each other to produce a larger systemic issue that compromise efforts to diversify the teacher workforce. These themes were 1) Negative Latino male student experiences, 2) Low college completion rates, and 3) Low numbers of Latino male teachers. Though this entire cycle was not explicitly mentioned, when these various noted reasons for the low number of Latino teachers are considered, a vicious cycle comes to light.

Negative experiences were a ubiquitous part of many participants' experiences in school and of their peers. "I had a friend who came crying to our next period class because the teacher

said ‘I don’t think you’re prepared for college’” shared Roberto, a credential student. Teachers’ role in negatively impacting students’ academic trajectories has been well established in the literature (Crisp & Nora, 2010; Solórzano, Villalpando, & Oseguera, 2005). In previous sections, participants shared the numerous obstacles and challenges they faced as Latinos in school and which many indicated still persist. Diego, an elementary school teacher of 20 years, shared how he has personally witnessed poor treatment of Latino students in the school he works at:

> *I see a lot of Latino boys treated [poorly] and assumptions made about them. Their intelligence or their behavior, just because of them being who they are and I think that obviously affects your experience at school...Not that everyone is that way, but I've witnessed that [behavior] from faculty or from administration.*

Participants then connect these negative experiences explicitly to students’ lack of interest in the teaching profession. If Latino students’ associations with their education and teachers have consistently been negative, it becomes an inevitability they forgo consideration for a career as a teacher. Mateo, a high school teacher with 12 years of experience said “Not enough males who would consider teaching have had positive experiences with school or educational experiences.” Kevin, an aspiring elementary school teacher, mentioned “I think there are many factors that can deter someone from teaching and make school seem so unsafe. Why would I want to go back to a place that I didn't like or that didn't notice me or didn't value me... Having grown up having so many friends who are Hispanic males, I know that a lot of them felt that, in certain ways, they were unwelcomed and unnoticed.”

Research has shown, and participants also connected, the way these negative experiences result in low numbers of Latinos, and other marginalized groups, in institutions of higher

education (Irizarry & Donaldson, 2012; Monzo & Rueda, 2001; Ocasio, 2014). Roberto, a credential student, pointed out "At some point, [Latinos] give up and they don't finish. I do have a lot of Latino friends who did not finish high school. I only have maybe a handful of friends that finished college after high school." As these negative experiences compound and eventually expel many Latinos from school, the pool of Latinos with the sufficient education to become teachers is considerably small. As David, an aspiring AVID teacher mentions, "I know there's an achievement gap. That ultimately limits the opportunity to become a teacher in the first place because you'd need a bachelor's degree." Latinos being pushed out of school has the unintended consequence of validating the deficit perspective about Latinos and education. The reality is that this is more like a self-fulfilling prophecy but it becomes justification for teachers, administrators and society as a whole to hold low-expectations of Latino students, further validating their perspectives, thus creating another feedback loop.

Another way this issue becomes self-fulfilling is how not having Latino teachers makes it so Latino students don't see themselves as teachers. Marcos, a credential student from a school in Southern California said "A lot of Hispanics, especially in some of the schools, don't get the opportunity of seeing a male Hispanic teacher." Diego, an educator of 20 years, further makes the connection between this and students' consideration for the profession.

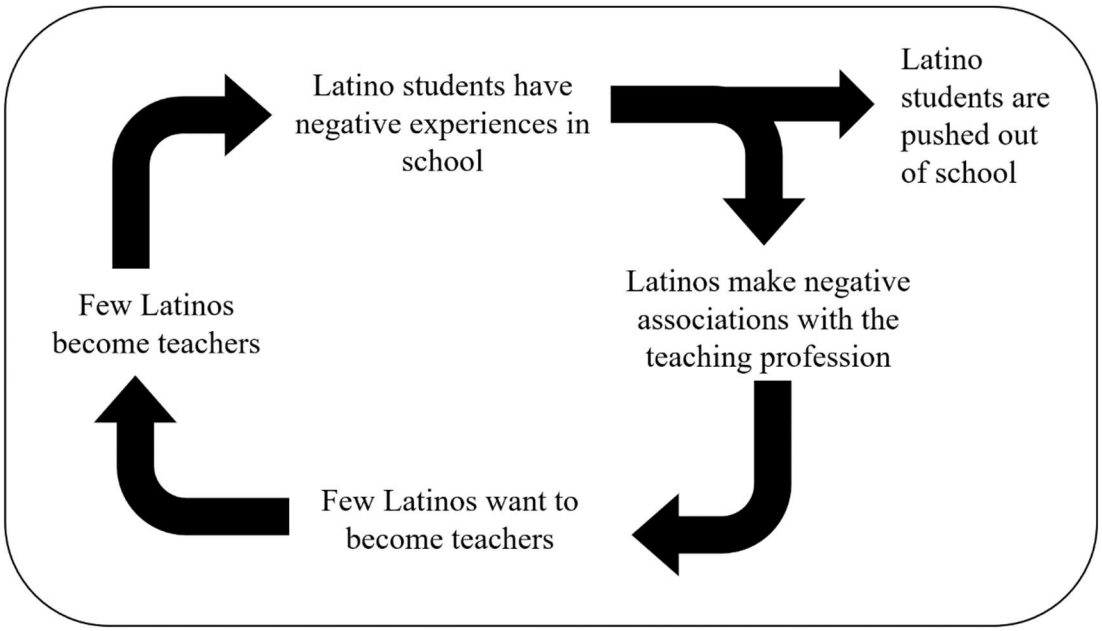
> *If they're not seeing Latino teachers to begin with, either in elementary school or high school or middle school, then why would you even consider doing that?... It's almost like the system itself won't produce more Latino teachers if there's none to begin with. So it seems hard to even plant that seed in their brain if they don't even see it themselves. If it's*

not in their reality. We really need more of us just to start to show that you can do this too.

These three themes are intricately connected to the issue of recruiting diverse educators. The low number of Latino male teachers are a result of the small candidate pool of individuals with the sufficient education to become a teacher. This is due to the negative experiences Latino male students face throughout their academic journeys, which in part is the result of not having enough educators that can culturally relate to them and that they identify with.

Participants' responses illustrate how this issue is self-replicating, thus making it extremely difficult to address. No single entry point in this cycle will yield a solution, it must be addressed at every point. Participants were also asked what solutions they offer in recruiting more Latino students. Their answers will be explored in a later section

Table 3
The Educational Negative Feedback Loop



Gender Norms

One of the most consistent responses to the question of why there are few Latinos in education was one that related to traditional gender norms. While women have been entering male-dominated professions at higher rates, men entering female-dominated professions, such as teaching, is still relatively rare (Hardie, 2015). Participants acknowledged how this thus makes teaching particularly unappealing for men to pursue. The three codes that emerged under the gender norms umbrella were 1) gender related stigmas, 2) teaching as a feminized profession, and 3) low teacher salary. In many ways, participants themselves didn't challenge the dominant discourse around teaching and masculinity but rather seemed to acknowledge it more as an occupational hazard, so to speak. There were also many respondents that connected this most directly to the concept of machismo, the Latin American cultural conception of toxic masculinity (Arciniega et. al., 2008). Many of their responses were a collection of one or several of these codes, however, each of them shows how dominant discourses around masculinities play a direct role in deterring many men from becoming teachers.

Ernesto, a dual language candidate said, "Traditional Latin American culture, no matter where you go, there is machismo and probably being a teacher isn't seen as the most macho thing out there. Especially as an elementary school teacher. I feel like that stigma probably contributes to there being so few Latinx male teachers." Participants agreed that becoming an educator was detrimental to one's masculinity (Lupton, 2000). As Carlos, a credential student, noted "I think if you become a teacher, it removes that sort of masculinity from you." It seems that social pressures put on men to perform masculinity ultimately deters them from wanting to engage in any career that may jeopardize their masculinity. Participants also seem to be suggesting that

these pressures are amplified in the Latino/a community, implying that machismo necessitates men to follow this doctrine more faithful than in other cultures. It is at this intersection of race and gender that we find Latino students and why, according to participants, recruiting teachers is an incredibly difficult task.

Another trend found in the literature relating to men in female dominated professions is how men tend to also leave these professions soon after entry into them (Torre, 2018). Humberto, a 29-year-old credential student, shared how comments from friends and family could influence male teachers' retention in the profession: "His brother whispered in his ear that [teaching] wasn't manly enough, and lo and behold, he dropped the education gig and followed his brother into the electrician gig." In previous sections, the focus was on how schooling systems and actors within schools could be deterrents for Latinos to become teachers but it seems that even peers can serve as deterrents as well. Latino educators seem to be facing pressures from various angles pushing them away from the profession because it is a prescribed role for women.

Part of the contribution to the feminization of the profession is rooted in the idea that working with children is inherently women's work. Kevin, an aspiring elementary school teacher, said "I think teaching in general is very gendered to be female. I think that is the number one thing. I think anyone would notice it's women's work. It's taking care of kids and teenagers. Males aren't really expected to do that kind of work." Professions or jobs cited by participants as being more "fit" for male identifying individuals included "more manual jobs," such as construction and police work or "high profile" professions such as being a lawyer or a doctor. Others connected the idea of working with children being women's work as a component of

Latino/a culture. As Cesar, a credential student who plans to become a special education high school teacher, said, “In Latino culture it's usually always the women who care for the young and so I feel that's part of why there's not so many Latino teachers.”

A third component associated with gender norms and the teaching profession is teacher salary. It is well known that jobs that involve “care work” towards children and the elderly are the most poorly paid (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001) and hold lower prestige (England, 2010). As Humberto, an aspiring high school science teacher said “I think people are afraid of the salary. It's not pretty. It's not enticing. I feel if there was a difference in wages in education, I feel like people would look at it differently.” Salary and income signify many things in society, which includes status, wealth, power, all of which are also inextricably linked to masculinity and teachers having a lower salary compared to other professions, indicates low prestige, power, and ultimately hinders an individual’s masculinity. This low salary was directly cited as a deterrent by many participants.

Others also connected this to ideas of gender norms and discourse surrounding the role of men in a family. As Mateo, a high school teacher with 12 years of experience, noted “In our culture, there's still a big sense of machismo and to start off as a teacher, unless you get placed in an amazing district, it's a low starting salary. You can make so much more as a skilled laborer. So that might be a piece. The machismo piece being that you have to provide for your family.” The low pay of a teacher is not compatible with the dominant discourse of men fulfilling the role of the breadwinner in a family. This social pressure then pushes men to pursue other higher paying jobs in order to conform to traditional gender norms.

It is clear that dominant discourses about gender play a role, according to participants, in deterring Latinos from the teaching profession. In many ways, this is a reaction to the socially constructed ideas that are embedded within the teaching profession, primarily being that working with children is feminine, thus it is undervalued and underpaid in our society and it can be a threat to men's masculinity if they choose to pursue that career path.

Suggestions for Recruitment

Participants were also asked what they believed could and should be done to recruit more diverse educators, and specifically more Latino teachers like themselves. Two major themes emerged from their responses: 1) school level changes and resources and 2) addressing gender norms. The former theme includes numerous action items that overall illustrate ways in which changes to and by schools and other institutions can ultimately bolster the Latino teacher pipeline. The latter theme was a general suggestion of addressing the same gender norms cited as deterrents and actively working to change them. A third theme emerged, not from direct suggestions made by participants, rather from a pervasive narrative in their stories: experiences tutoring or as para-educators. This served as an entry point to teaching for so many participants and I find it to be a viable recruitment tool that is not marred by the negative associations the teaching profession has.

Mending the school-student relationship

Participants cited addressing the negative association young Latinos have with the school environment as an integral part in having students consider teaching as a viable career option. David, a single subject credential student said, "Changing the atmosphere that male Latino teenage boys feel around their schools would have to be a starting factor before we can talk

about how we can get them more involved in the teaching profession." Research shows that boys of Color tend to have negative experiences in schools in the form of higher rates of discipline, harsher punishments and face more racial aggression than their white peers (Okonofua et al., 2016; Gregory et al., 2010; Skiba et al., 2011). These findings in the literature were not only echoed in the stories of participants but are also cited as a reason why recruitment efforts for Latino teachers are unsuccessful. Another candidate, Kevin from northern California, noted "Some experiences that [students] went through turned them off from teaching or from school in general... If you want to recruit more Hispanic males, you have to first ask them, 'how was school for you?' No one should be surprised that they don't want to be a teacher if they didn't have the best experience at school."

What participants were indicating was that schools must acknowledge their role in creating the current disparities in the teacher profession. This not only would validate the experiences of marginalized groups, but it also necessitates taking responsibility for pushing students away from the profession, which is a critical first step towards healing. Negative perceptions of the teaching profession by communities of Color has been well documented in the literature. As Gordon (1994) wrote nearly 30 years ago in her study about why students of Color did not want to become teachers, "Almost one third of respondents noted negative experiences in school as a reason students of Color opt not to stay in education for their life's work." Unless students begin to experience schooling more positively, we might expect these current trends to continue. Diego, an elementary school teacher, shared "Obviously [Latino male students] need a more positive experience at school. That whole thing is a [systemic] problem. I think that would make a big difference."

Participants are suggesting that we critically think about how schooling is for marginalized students and to reframe our approach to teacher recruitment. Doing so necessitates an acknowledgement that schooling in fact is not designed for all students. By doing this, schools must contend with a challenge to previously held myths such as the myth of color-blindness, meritocracy and race-neutrality. Challenges to dominant discourse and white supremacy are often met with great resistance and denial because it upsets the current order which privileges some and marginalizes others. However, participants are citing this as a necessary step towards increasing diversity in the teacher workforce.

Pipeline Strategies

Participants recommended several program-based strategies to bolster recruitment efforts through several means. Despite initiatives for diverse teacher recruitment launched on both state and federal levels (Ahmad & Boser, 2014; Stohr et al., 2018; Boser, 2011), participants seem to imply still not enough is being done. Looking at teacher demographic data, it may be understandable why they feel this way. Some of their suggested pipeline programs include using mentorship programs to connect students with race-matched educators that can connect and introduce teaching as a viable career option. The second was an investment in pipeline programs that could encourage students to look at teaching as a career.

Santiago, a high school teacher, noted "I think [teacher recruitment] programs are really helpful to guide Latino males to be teachers." Exposure to the career was cited as an important part of recruitment to the profession. Though students are exposed to teachers throughout their schooling experience, they are not exposed to it as a profession for them to pursue. Roberto, an aspiring math teacher used his own experience to inform his answer: "I wasn't really exposed to

teaching until I joined the Teacher Academy program that my high school provided. That's why I joined and I learned more about teaching." This targeted approach was echoed by Ivan, an ELD teacher: "If there were more programs in college that target male students...that would play a crucial role in increasing those levels of Hispanic male teachers entering the teaching profession." What these and other quotes indicate is that they do not believe there are active targeted efforts to recruit Latino male students to the profession.

What is clear from participants' responses is that a targeted approach to recruit Latinos could make an impact. Some of their suggestions also included the role current Latino teachers could play in these recruitment strategies. This indicates how concerns of diversity and equity in schools are often shouldered by TOC, creating yet another task TOC must contend with (Kohli, 2018). This burden is of course compounded by the fact that there are very few Latino teachers, and TOC in general, so the same teachers are continually tasked with these roles. This is not to suggest that participants' recommendations are wrong, but rather to indicate the challenges of this strategy.

Teachers as Recruiters

The value current Latino educators play in recruitment efforts was emphasized by participants. Some cited mentorship as a form for recruitment, others noted that simply having Latinos represented in the profession could lead to more Latino students becoming teachers. What becomes clear is that participants are self-aware of the importance they could and are playing in bringing in other Latinos to the teaching profession.

Omar, an aspiring high school history teacher, said, "providing students those mentors that look exactly like them" is a strategy for bringing them into the profession. The sort of

relationships Latino teachers could build with their Latino students was presented as a building block from which recruitment to the profession could be built on. Mateo, a high school teacher, emphasized the importance teachers could have in creating positive associations with schooling and thus the teaching profession. He notes:

> *More Latino males need to leave school feeling like they were loved by their teachers... you want them to think about education or being a teacher. That's not going to happen if all they had were negative experiences with their teachers, so we need to have more students walk away feeling some love from their teachers. It helps a lot to be able to go to school with somebody that looks like you and had similar experiences as you.*

Implied in these recommendations is how negative interactions with educators are ubiquitous in Latinos' experiences in school and how Latino teachers, who can see themselves in their co-ethnic students and culturally connect with them, could serve to mitigate these negative experiences. This is because TOC are also more likely to take an intersectional approach that addresses the unique needs of their historically and traditionally marginalized student groups, such as Latinos (Lynn et al., 2013). By being able to address their needs, TOC are able to create a more positive schooling environment for their students.

However, as was pointed out by Ivan, an ELD teacher, visibility of Latino teachers is paramount to recruiting more Latino teachers because they help in breaking free from a cycle that normalizes teachers as being of one particular race and gender: "It's a cycle. We need to get more educators in elementary schools so they see them. We need to get more [Latino] educators in middle schools, in high schools, so we see them." This suggestion, however, faces the same challenges as the previous recommendation of pipeline programs that TOC are already asked to

do a lot for their students of Color, often for no compensation, and having them play a central role in also recruiting students to teaching is adding another task for them to complete.

Addressing Gender Norms

Another hurdle to recruitment regularly mentioned by participants was of addressing the gendered, and specifically feminized, nature of the teaching profession. "Letting people know that [teaching] is for everybody. It's for both males and females" suggested Miguel, a 29-year-old credential student, in response to how Latinos could be recruited to the teaching profession. As was mentioned by participants, the feminization of teaching serves as a barrier for Latinos to become teachers and directly challenging that discourse was cited as critical to recruit more men to teach. However, attempts have long been made to recruit men to teaching (Brown, 1960; Foster & Newman, 2003) yet their underrepresentation persists.

Participants would note that there needs to be a reframing of the profession and that there needs to be a deconstruction of the ideas of which professions are for men and for women. Humberto, a credential student from San Diego, said "Letting students, specifically men, know that it is okay to do these jobs and it's not just teaching, but nursing." In their discussions of the topic, there is an implied cultural and social barrier around the gendered nature of the teaching profession that needs to be overcome in some capacity by students. Lorenzo, a credential student born in Mexico, noted "They have to forget about their cultural mind because they can do whatever they want. They can be a teacher. They can be a nurse. We are living in a different culture, to be honest."

Regarding specifics of how this can be accomplished, participants had little to suggest. There was simply a general consensus that adherence to traditional gender norms acted as

deterrents for many Latinos to become teachers and individuals would need to move beyond these hegemonic ideas if more men are to become teachers.

Tutoring Opportunities as Recruitment

No participant suggested that providing tutoring opportunities for students could function as a way to recruit students to the teaching profession, however, tutoring experiences were the most universal experiences among participants. Tutoring became an entry point for participants to enter educational spaces as educators, rather than students, which created opportunities for them to pursue careers as teachers. Some tutored because of a passion for helping, others simply because they needed a job. Regardless, tutoring served as an introduction to teaching and to their identity as educators.

"As soon as I graduated, I just couldn't get a job and I needed a job." shared Miguel, an aspiring high school biology teacher, of his journey towards becoming a teacher. He continued:

> *So I ended up working with kids with autism at the Boys and Girls Club and that was when I knew that just helping out someone in an educational, after school program, helping them feel welcomed or helping them try to relate to a group...I think right there. It kind of showed me that doing something somewhere in the education field could be emotionally rewarding and honestly that's good for me.*

This common narrative shows that tutoring serves as an entry level position that can expose individuals to many of the positive aspects of becoming a teacher. In some cases, this exposure was so impactful that it altered their career trajectory as seen in Ernesto, a bilingual teacher candidate: "Then I was a substitute teacher and that's what really made me gravitate

towards teaching...that's where I fell in love with teaching. That's where I did long term subbing so I stopped doing my hours, I stopped going to classes for occupational therapy and I decided, I was going to go for teaching."

It seems tutoring functions as a soft exposure for Latinos to education and the possibility of teaching as a career. The prospect of following a career path towards teaching might be marred by negative experiences in schools or perceptions about it as a profession, gender politics, etc., but tutoring and volunteering in schools do not carry the same preconceived ideas as teaching. By leveraging these opportunities, perhaps discussing careers in education may seem more plausible for many students. Participants' narratives indicate that offering tutoring experiences to targeted groups, such as Latinos, can be a way to introduce the profession to them. It is, however, interesting that no participant articulated this as a recruitment tool, yet it served as a pivot point for so many of them.

Summary

This research question leans heavily on participants' insider knowledge to learn about the challenge of recruiting TOC. Participants represent the intersection of a gender and racial group that is underrepresented in the teaching profession and thus offer a unique perspective of the issue. Conversely, because of that same unique perspective they can offer insight into strategies that can be enacted for recruitment.

Ironically, the institution, according to participants, acting as the biggest barriers to recruiting Latino teachers are schools themselves. The assumptions made by schools, and teachers, about Latinos because of their gender and racial identity lead to negative interactions between them, leading to either being pushed out of the schooling system or negative

associations made about the education field. Participants' description of the Negative Educational Feedback Loop demonstrates the complexity of the issue. Solving the problem is not about simply increasing numbers or fixing the "leaky pipeline." The experiences of students from marginalized groups must be validated and used to reframe how we look at this issue. According to participants, the current system will only continue to yield the same results and if recruitment of TOC is to be made a priority, drastic changes must be considered.

What makes addressing this issue a particularly difficult one is how it is a direct challenge to and repudiation of our current education system. If participants' responses are to be acknowledged as valid, then there must be an acknowledgement of the schools in their role of creating and maintaining current teacher demographics. By being a racially toxic environment for students of Color, which has been shown to impact them in a number of ways including academically, schools themselves are deterring students from pursuing careers as teachers. By validating this, schools must also contend with the fact that the current academic landscape is not due to student merit but due to systemic barriers and racial discrimination and bias that afflicts certain students and priviledges others. The school system from the perspective of participants demonstrates how these barriers impact teacher pathways for many students of Color, but particularly how the ways Latino students are racialized within schools impacts this trajectory.

The other large barrier for Latinos becoming teachers is the dominant discourse surrounding traditional gender norms. Particularly, the way the teaching profession has become feminized. Participants agreed there is a reluctance from Latinos to become teachers because of the pervasiveness of ideals such as machismo that would frame becoming a teacher as less masculine. The various other barriers that exist, the low pay and prestige, are a direct result of

female dominated professions being paid less and given less prestige in our society overall (England, 2010). Although Latina teachers are also underrepresented, we don't see the same discrepancy with Latinas as we do with Latinos and these gender norms may be indicating that this is a unique barrier Latinos face in pursuing a career as teachers. Participant agreed that Latinos must be exposed to messaging that challenges these ideas and offer alternative archetypes for who becomes a teacher. Challenging these ideas are critical, according to participants, to recruit more Latino teachers.

As a result of the teaching profession being considered a major deterrent for Latinos, it is also the center of great recruitment potential. Participants agreed that mending the relationship the Latino/a community, and in particular Latinos, have with schooling is integral to recruiting more Latinos to teach. It is possible that, at least in California, with the advent of the new Ethnic Studies requirement Latino students may be able to better connect with their schooling (Dee & Penner, 2017). Based on participants' responses, schools must frame their standard practices through a lens that allows them to see how they actively marginalize students and then they must take action in mitigating those consequences, but as noted earlier, the ramifications of such a paradigm shift are profound for the established order.

This also has profound implications for teacher preparations programs. Teachers are both instigators of negative experiences for students of Color but they can also be vectors of resilience. Having teacher preparation programs focus on teaching students from diverse backgrounds, acknowledging implicit bias and addressing systemic racism, perhaps educators could be better equipped to provide a more positive environment for their students of Color. As

has been stated previously, the implications of participants' suggestions have a wide-range of ramifications and it necessitates a system wide lens to address the problem of teacher diversity.

The other institutional solution participants offered was the expansion and development of pipeline programs. Though efforts for diversifying the teaching profession have been ongoing for decades, participants suggested a much more focused effort directed towards Latinos. Specifically, that efforts be made to introduce teaching as a potential career option. This indicates that, at least with this sample, many did not feel like they pursued their career as a result of a formalized recruitment strategy; however, they recognize how that may have helped them.

Participants also noted how Latino teachers themselves can serve as potential recruiters for the profession. They noted that having Latino teachers can challenge the dominant discourse that teachers must be white and female. Not only that, but Latino teachers can provide their co-ethnic students positive experiences and associations with schools which would be essential components in students considering becoming teachers.

Participants place a tremendous amount of responsibility of recruiting Latino teachers on themselves. The unique ways Latino teachers can connect with their co-ethnic students certainly is a strength of theirs and seeing Latinos as teachers helps to show others the possibility of their being Latino teachers in the first place. Latino teachers are certainly a tremendous asset to recruiting more diverse teachers but this strategy must also be recognized as putting an additional workload on those teachers. TOC are often asked to take on additional burdens (Kohli, 2018) and this is no exception. TOC have a place in increasing teacher diversity but I would caution against

idealizing their role and instead recognize that much more needs to be done in addition to the contributions of TOC in these efforts.

I believe recruiting Latino students to mentoring and tutoring roles, based on participants' own experiences, could serve as a viable recruitment strategy. Despite participants not citing these opportunities as a recruitment strategy, the ubiquity of these experiences leading directly to a passion for teaching demonstrates their potential for recruitment. Strategies that leverage these opportunities into pathways to teaching may find success and Latino students may be more willing to participate in mentoring and tutoring programs as opposed to teacher recruitment programs, due to the way many Latinos feel about the profession.

Table 4

Teacher Recruitment Barriers and Proposed Solutions

Level	Challenges to Recruitment	Proposed Recruitment Strategy
Societal	Gender norms: Teaching is socially considered a feminized profession, which results in it being a low pay and low prestige career.	Challenge Gender Norms: Latinos should be shown that men can become teachers and challenge the dominant discourse around masculinity.
Institutional	Negative Educational Feedback Loop: Latinos face negative schooling experiences. Those that are not pushed out, form negative associations with teaching and choose not to become teachers. The low number of Latino teachers means few students can culturally connect with their teachers and experience schools negatively.	Mending Student-School Relationship: Schools must acknowledge their role in deterring Latinos from the teaching profession and ensure schooling becomes a positive and safer environment for them. Pipeline Programs: The development of programs that focus on introducing the teaching

		profession to Latinos and supports them throughout the teacher pipeline.
Interpersonal	Negative Schooling Experiences: Latinos often face a disproportionate number of negative experiences while in school, particularly by school staff such as teachers and administrators.	Latino Teachers as Recruiters: Latino teachers can help promote teaching for their Latino students by showing that they can become teachers and by being a vector of positive experiences. Tutoring Experiences: Providing opportunities for Latinos to become tutors can expose them to education and may spark interest in a teaching career.

Diverging/Converging Experiences

Although a thorough comparison between the two groups of this study is beyond the intention of it, nonetheless it is worthwhile looking at how each groups' position along the teacher pipeline gave them unique perspectives in answering the posed questions. One thing that was quite interesting is how the same themes emerged from both group's responses. This may be due to the questions not necessarily being designed to elicit differences between the two groups, but instead it served as a way to triangulate and validate their responses as they emerged in two similar yet different groups.

Differences in Experience

One difference between the groups with regards to experiences in schools was how Veteran Teachers had intimate knowledge of the negative schooling structures as insiders within the schooling system. Interviews were conducted at a time when all facets of education were being conducted virtually, thus credential students had no in-class experience to that point or exposure to many insider spaces within schools. The Veteran Teachers group on the other hand had years of experience within schools as educators and thus could comment on the negative schooling structures noted by all participants from a different vantage point. They also shared experiences of navigating the racism that occurs "behind the scenes" at schools.

In a way, the Veteran Teachers group had experiences that validated the racism and discrimination all participants shared as students. Diego, a 48-year-old elementary school teacher, shared how he witnesses that discrimination first-hand:

I see a lot of Latino boys treated [poorly] and assumptions made about them. [About] their intelligence or their behavior because of them being who they are...Not that everyone is that way, but I've witnessed that or seen that from faculty or from administration.

Meanwhile, Cristian, a high school teacher of 13 years, shared an experience where he was asked to become complicit in the discrimination of co-ethnic students by administration:

You know, I remember administration always telling me [to] kind of keep an eye on one of the Latino groups…You know, I never understood why because they didn't cause any problems at all…that was kind of a stigma. That was a stereotype. If you were Brown, you know, basically, "hey, you're a troublemaker."

It is examples like these that make participation in the teaching profession especially taxing for TOC and contribute to what Pizarro and Kohli (2020) refer to as Racial Battle Fatigue (RBF). From previous findings it is clear these educators are intentional about combating the racial discrimniation experienced by co-ethnic students, yet they are placed in positions where they are expected to uphold the same racism they are attempting to deconstruct.

The Veteran Teacher group also face racism and discrimination as educators, which is something the Credential Students have little experience of. Erick, a high school teacher with 19 years of experience, shared a story from when he was teaching at a predominnantly white and affluent high school which illustrates the sorts of challenges these educators faced due to their race and gender.

A student wasn't getting the grade the parents thought they needed to get. The parent then wrote to the school principal saying that her child wasn't learning because I

wasn't an ineffective teacher and the reason why I was a very ineffective teacher was because I spoke in gang slang and I was teaching my kids how to break the law. [She was] basically defaming me as a person [and] my character. This person had no idea who I was and I tell you right then and there that I really did feel like quitting… I felt at that point that administration maybe didn't have my back.

This concern of being scrutinized by parents was of concern for several of the teachers. Cristian, a social studies high school teacher, shared, "We always have to be careful…If you push a one-sided agenda, you're hearing from those caucasian parents 'why are you pushing a liberal agenda to my kid?'" These example illustrate the unique context teaching creates for Latinos where they are surveiled and stigmatized by parents. This context is then upheld by a schooling system which does privilege white voices and perspectives, meaning that Latino educators and students are thus pushed to the margins.

Veteran Teachers also shared the ways they attempted to challege the dominant discourse in their schools. Leornado, a high school English teacher of 10 years, shared about a time during a staff meeting: "I decided to speak up about certain things and not too many people liked it because enormally I was the quiet one…There's a lot of politics involved in education and if you make a lot of noise when you're not suppose to, not a lot of people like that." Erick also expressed his frustration with his school's futile attempts in combating issues of race. He shared:

Anytime we have diversity training, it's like a [freaking] band aid. Like, 'oh, here we go. This year we'll talk about diversity and then by next year it's gone.' The bleeding continues. They choose people that they think can help, but you get to the point where you

get so tired because you're the only person that feels like they're fighting this battle and no one else is backing you up…I can't be the only person that does diversity. I can't be the only person that talks about it because eventually I'm just going to be up there and 'there goes [Erick] again.'

These experiences and unique racialized challenges Latino teachers face contribute to RBF, which can ultimately lead to the tremendous push-out we see of TOC in schools (Kohli, 2020). Mateo, a high school teacher, said, "I'll be honest, by my seventh year of teaching, I was starting to feel a little burned out." The Veteran Teacher's experience validate what they and the Credential Students experienced in their time as students. That there are active mechanisms, either inter-personal or structural, that serve to marginalize the voices of Latinos and privilege white dominance within these spaces. Latino teachers are often expect to contribute to the same systems of subordination and struggle to challenge those systems, which comes at a great personal cost.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

I was in the third year of my PhD program when I received an email from a graduate student group on campus. It was a volunteer-based group that invited graduate students from all fields to give a short presentation of their research at a local brewery. The idea was to showcase the work of students in a casual setting with members of the local community and academia alike. They had seen my student profile and were interested in having me give a presentation on my research. I was very flattered by the invitation and agreed to attend their event as a speaker.

Their events were in the evening at a local bar with a small outdoor area. When I spoke there were approximately a dozen people in attendance. I had a chance to speak with one individual who came early. He was an older white gentleman who said he was very intrigued by the title of my talk. He then shared with me that he worked as a substitute teacher at a local school district with a majority Latino/a student population. I was happy he had attended and I hoped he would be able to learn a lot about what I had to say.

My talk revolved around the work I do in recruiting Latino students to become teachers. I shared about the Teacher Academy program and how it formed as well as some of the early results from the first cohort of students. It was a brief talk with no visuals-just a graduate student with a mic and a beer to calm the nerves. At the conclusion of the talk, I opened the floor for audience questions. The older gentleman who I was speaking to earlier raised his hand with a question: “So you say that these students get pushed out of school, but I don’t see it that way. What I think it is, is that these students don’t have role models. Their parents work service jobs and they don’t value education. So, if you ask me, I think it’s the students’ culture why they don’t do well in school and choose to leave it.”

This was a question (more of a comment) I was not expecting. I didn't even know how to respond because I felt my whole presentation should have sufficed in addressing his opinion. I noticed the hosts of the event were shocked as well. I looked over to my partner in the audience and she was visibly fuming. I responded cordially, masking my own disappointment with his comment.

I don't even remember how I responded, but I do remember what I thought: what irony. Here was an educator, openly expressing his deficit perspectives about his students, at a presentation about how educators with deficit perspectives on students of Color are pushing students of Color away from the teaching profession and the education system. There are so many other layers to this interaction that I could go on about but the takeaway as it relates to this dissertation is the persistence of racists ideologies regarding students of Color in education. This gentleman sat through an entire talk on the topic but stood firm in his resistance to the idea. The truly heartbreaking part is that I know for a fact he will be sitting in a room with Latino/a students and I now know exactly what he thinks of them. I know he doesn't think they're worth his effort. I know he might one day ask a student if he's in the right class because it's an honors class.

Discussion

Participants offered insight into the relationship between the teaching profession and Latinos and how they face a unique set of challenges due to the way their racial and gender identities intersect. The way participants were racialized in school resulted in certain experiences that in many ways made completing their education difficult, but also at times contributed to their pursuing teaching. In becoming teachers, their male identities also presented challenges

both to conform to masculine ideals and also due to the feminization of the teaching profession. The following sections discuss these and other findings in more depth.

Latino Identity and the Teaching Profession

When taking a comprehensive look at the research regarding Latinos, schooling and the teaching profession, a conclusion can be drawn as to why few Latinos choose to become teachers. In many ways, the stories shared by participants echoed much of what we know about Latinos and their schooling experience, but as Latino teachers, they were also able to offer insight into what distinguishes them from many co-ethnics. That being their choice to pursue a career as teachers.

Participants shared many examples of how they had been discriminated against, faced micro-aggressions and other challenges due to how they were being racialized within schools by teachers and administrators. For those currently working in schools, they noted that these barriers persist for current students. Furthermore, it is these experiences that many participants indicated were prime drivers of deterring Latino students from pursuing careers as teachers. Schools become racially toxic environments where Latino students do not feel like they are welcomed and is for them. By extension, aspirations to become teachers are also hindered as few would choose to engage with this environment further.

Since schools and Latinos' experiences in schools act, according to participants, as the main deterrent of Latinos to become teachers, they also cite it as critical in recruiting Latinos to teach. Ensuring schools become positive environments for Latinos was noted as a necessary step in bringing in more diverse teachers to the workforce. In order for this to happen, schools must contend with the fact that schools continue to be oppressive for Latino students as it continues to

marginalize them and other students of Color. Latinos' Controlling Image pervades every facet of society, which includes education and informs the implicit bias many individuals in education hold. Participants stress that this must be recognized and addressed if the experiences of Latino students are to change for the better.

Participants point to how students' identity as Latinos also serve to signal to co-ethnic teachers that special consideration should be allocated to them. Some participants shared examples of being able to connect with some co-ethnic teachers they had and how many of them now are specifically aiming to provide other Latino students special care, given their understanding of Latino students' experiences in school. There is a sense of responsibility to shield their co-ethnic students from the discrimination they face in schools and instead provide them the support and motivation to continue in their education. Some participants received this from their Latino/a teachers and they aspire to continue this when they are in the school, or are currently engaging in this if they are current teachers.

We see how participants' identities as Latinos, though may have resulted in many barriers in their education, also served as a source of their motivation for becoming teachers. Some experienced first-hand the impact connecting with a co-ethnic teacher could have and are actively pursuing an opportunity to replicate that themselves. Their call to the teaching profession is made more meaningful by their recognition of the impact their Latino identity could have to their students.

Navigating Racially Hostile Structures

What became apparent from participants' narratives is that racism played a role in the ways they were treated within schools. What is most unfortunate, is that this racialized treatment

extended to those with significant influence over students' academic trajectories, school administrators. For several participants, these individuals served as gatekeepers that prevented them from being placed into the more academically rigorous tracks. This could have resulted in long-term consequences for their academic trajectories. Their racialized identities became an additional hurdle they needed to overcome simply to be enrolled in certain classes. As one participant pointed out, we must wonder how many other students have faced this barrier but have not been able to clear it?

In addition to their racial identities being used as proxies for assumed academic competency, we also see from participant narratives that their Latino/a culture was also surveilled and policed. The use of Spanish within school settings was a source of reprimand for participants. This illustrates how, for their teachers, Latino/a culture was associated with criminality. An additional layer to this is the idea that the use of Spanish was somehow "un-American." This further alienates students by furthering their identity and culture from what the "standard" or "right" school culture is. The message expressed by their teachers was that school was no place for the use of Spanish. This sentiment is then further validated on a state level with legislation such as California Proposition 277, which some scholars argued used language as a proxy for race and was thus discriminatory to students from Latino/a origins (Johnson & Martinez, 1999)

This assault on Spanish was also entrenched in school structures such as the ELD track. There was an obvious hierarchical structure to school tracks, and it was understood that the ELD track represented a space for students deemed less academically capable. Again, this hierarchical structure mirrors a global cultural hierarchy (Wang & Winstead, 2016). What is more insidious is

how students would be tracked into ELD for seemingly just being Latino, with no consideration of previous academic histories. This indicates that the ELD track was more a space for racializing students rather than to provide students the appropriate support they needed.

The ELD track was only one part of a larger project of segregation. Participants also noted how Latinos, and other students of Color, were absent from the more rigorous school tracks such as honor and AP. Given the way participants experience a gravitational pull towards the ELD track at the hands of school administrators, it should be no surprise that so few received the support needed to be placed in the honors and AP tracks. This can have far-reaching consequences as AP classes and their subsequent GPA boost, are strong determinants of college admission (Solorzano & Ornelas, 2002; Solorzano & Ornelas, 2004).

Participants highlighted the existence of some of these structures and how they maintain segregation within schools, but some participants also recognized segregation between schools. The aftermath of decades of housing discrimination continue to impact communities to this day and with housing segregation comes an inequitable distribution of wealth in public institutions such as schools. In addition to communities still suffering from the legacy of housing discrimination, segregation is in fact accelerating as more affluent families are better able to leverage school data to choose which schools to send their children (Hasan & Kumar, 2019). Participants that moved between low-resourced and affluent neighborhoods noticed that these changes also came with a stark demographic shift.

These demographic observations made by participants are nothing new. Rather, they serve to further challenge the myth that schools have, since *Brown v. Board***,** become desegregated and are now equitable. The experiences of these Latino participants instead

highlights the ways currently sanctioned mechanisms within schools continue to operate to create defacto racial segregation. This then inevitably brings to mind the rallying cry from *Brown v. Board* of separate is not equal.

Masculinity and the Teaching Profession

Participants illustrated the ways gender politics are inextricably linked to Latinos and the teaching profession. The social pressures placed on Latinos to uphold traditional gender roles in many ways deters them from pursuing a career in something such as teaching. Many participants were quick to note that young Latinos grow up in an environment where machismo is ever present and thus are forced to tie their career choices to match their hyper-masculine ideals.

Participants suggested this is a unique barrier to Latinos because they perceived machismo to be much more liminal in Latino households. This conclusion was made using their personal experiences growing up as men in environments where they were expected to uphold machismo values. Tasks that involved caring for children were thus seen as jobs for the women of the family, meaning teaching by extension is a job for women. Latinos are thus expected to pursue careers that better align with masculine roles such as more physically demanding jobs or high paying jobs. Since teaching fulfills neither of these, it is then not readily considered by Latinos as something they wish to pursue.

While there is internal pressure to conform to certain masculine ideals, external messaging also contributes to Latino's aversion to teaching. The value society places on the teaching profession is reflected in how much teachers get paid. Teacher strikes and stories of teachers struggling to make ends meet have made headlines and are in our social consciousness. Because of Latino students' pressure to conform to masculine ideals, teaching becomes non-

viable for them to fulfill their ascribed gender role of the breadwinner for their family. In addition to this, money in our society is synonymous with power, which is a desired trait for men. Becoming a teacher not only precludes Latino's ability to fulfill their financial duty as a male, but it also threatens their perceived power, thus detrimental to their masculinity.

This barrier becomes a feedback loop where not many men, let alone Latinos, become teachers so students continue to identify teaching as a job for women. Participants shared that they attempt to deconstruct this discourse with their students, but with so few Latinos in the workforce, many students are not exposed to these discussions. Participants suggested challenging traditional gender norms is necessary in recruiting more Latinos but details about how to accomplish this were not shared. What would be required is a social level paradigm shift to rethink what traditional female and male gender norms are and for individuals to be able to challenge those norms. Participants are attempting to do their part both by educating students but also by embodying a rejection of these norms.

Entering the Teacher Pipeline

A direct path to a teaching career, meaning a long-term premeditated plan to become a teacher, was rarely the case with participants. Instead, teaching was something that, as many described, they "fell into." Participants came across paraeducator positions out of necessity rather than interest for education or aspirations to become teachers. Perhaps these positions as tutors did not elicit the same negative connotations that they had developed regarding the teaching profession, which is why these jobs were more readily taken up by this group. The commitment to a paraeducator position is also much lower than it would be to become a teacher.

This widening of opportunity for more Latinos to participate allows a larger pool of Latinos to participate, thus increasing the chance a participant finds their passion for teaching.

There is a growing body of literature that considers these "non-traditional" pathways as imperative to recruiting TOC specifically (Gist, Bianco & Lynn, 2019). This may be suggesting that "traditional" pathways to teaching are simply not inclusive for communities of Color and/or Latinos. Perhaps this suggests our current system should be expanded to include a variety of pathways to becoming educators. With Latinos being exposed to more opportunities to tutor and mentor, more may be willing to continue the pathway to teach, which was the case with many participants. Only after this exposure to a job in education were participants able to recognize the benefits of becoming a teacher, which for many of them was the connections built with students, seeing their growth and creating positive impacts in their communities (Griffin, 2018).

There is a lot of public discourse regarding the teaching profession. This discourse is informed by news of teachers fighting for livable wages, getting overworked, which would naturally act as a deterrent for many. This despite the teaching profession globally being considered a high prestige career (Smak & Walczak, 2017). However, when focusing on the relationship between this profession and communities of Color in the United States, we find that prestige has been declining for some time due in large part to the experiences of students of Color (Neal, Sleeter & Kumashiro, 2015). This should signal that there is a degree of repairing that needs to occur between communities of Colors and their educational institutions. Negative associations will continue to act as deterrents for students of Color to pursue teaching, at least through the more "traditional" pathways. However, tutoring may be conceptually far enough removed from teaching that it serves more as a blank slate for these participants. From there,

they are open to the many interpersonal benefits of educating others and realize this can become a career.

What it means to be a teacher

As is consistent with the literature, to this group of educators being a teacher had more to do with things outside of the class content or schooling process (Su, 1997; Griffin, 2018). Educating was first and foremost about fostering relationships with their students. The idea that teaching was about imparting class content into the students or about passing tests was not even part of the discussion of what a teacher's role is. In this way, we see participants rejecting what Paulo Freire (1996) referred to as the "banking model" of education, by which knowledge is deposited into students' minds. Participants' conceptualization of the teaching profession was much more nuanced than this.

These participants recognized the importance of developing interpersonal connections with their students. Positive student-teacher relationships not only mitigate stress in the profession (Friedman, 1995; Hastings & Bham, 2003) but also promote positive outcomes for students (Johnson, 2008; Kumpulainen et al., 2014). Participants viewed their role as teachers was to foster these relationships with students. In this way, it may be argued that these teachers are promoting a much more egalitarian class structure as opposed to a more authoritarian one. Teachers are a part of the class ecosystem instead of above it. These interpersonal connections could also be helpful in understanding students' personal struggles and other factors that may be hindering their academic success.

Although participants did not adhere to an idea of the teacher as an authority figure, many did agree that a teacher's role was to help students adjust to the "outside world." By this, they

meant helping students navigate spheres of society outside of school. Teaching students about morals and ethics, they believed, were skills that would ultimately benefit their students more than the memorization of any school content. In this way, participants are promoting the idea of Educación which is where "Mexican American families incorporate the values of personal development and respect for others as part of what it means to be educated as well as layer lessons taught in the home with lessons taught in the classroom" (Valenzuela, 1999; Espino, 2016).

The other major theme that emerged related more with adherence to current social structures, or in the words of participants, developing citizens. This meant helping students become members of society by learning to follow civic rules and become "productive" members of society. Although the connection was not explicitly made, perhaps this idea is rooted in the stereotype of the criminal Latinos and Latino/a culture. Latinos in particular have been constructed as individuals that engage in criminal activity so placing citizenship at the forefront of a teacher's role, it is possible these participants are inadvertently subscribing to the deficit lens they are actively trying to challenge.

Motivations for Teaching

Participants' motivations for becoming teachers revealed an intimate connection and sense of care for their communities. What seems to be driving these men to pursue a career as teachers has more to do with the sort of broad impacts they could make in their communities and for their co-ethnic students than it did with any sort of personal accomplishment or gain. In part, this was fueled by the recognition of the support they themselves received along their journeys from their close family and their communities at large.

These reported motivations for teaching align with the data that shows TOC are more likely to teach at schools with students of Color (Irizarry, 2007). Participants showed they in fact actively seek out those opportunities. This also indicates yet another benefit of recruiting more diverse teachers. That is that they are the ones willing to work at "hard-to-staff" schools, which tend to have a high number of students of Color (Opfer, 2011).

Their motivation for teaching seems to also be, at least in some part, informed by their recognition of the hostile environment many students face, thus their drive to act as mitigating forces within schools for co-ethnic students. Through their personal experiences participants understand the various obstacles Latinos in particular face due to their recialization in schools and by school staff. Participants then view it as their responsibility to act as a counter force for the sake of their co-ethnic students.

This also suggests that it is imperative that people of Color not only be recruited to the teaching profession but that they be put in positions that can enact changes. By leveraging their insider knowledge as having been marginalized students, they would be best equipped to address the challenges many marginalized students currently face in schools. From participants' responses, they are motivated to enact these changes and they simply need opportunities to be presented to them.

Why there are so few

In deconstructing what participants shared on the reasons why there are so few Latinos in teaching, it becomes clear the various ways our education system and culture actively precludes individuals with these intersecting identities from pursuing a career in teaching. Participants' perspectives of the schooling system seem to mirror those evoked through a CRT and LatCrit

lens. Namely how racism and white supremacy permeate throughout the schooling system (Ladson-Billings, 1998). In addition to the challenges schooling creates by remaining a racially traumatic space for students of Color, dominant gender norms persist in society at large that add an additional hurdle to recruiting Latinos into teaching. What is also disturbing, is the way participants illustrate the existence of an insidious cycle and consequently why it has persisted for decades.

The social hurdle of deconstructing the gender norms around the teaching profession is one that was described as both necessary and difficult to address. Necessary because it will otherwise continue to deter men from pursuing the career, and difficult because the paradigm shift that would be required would be difficult to achieve. What participants seem to be suggesting is that this paradigm shift can begin in the classroom in interactions between teachers and students, but this also needs to be acknowledged as a barrier to recruitment and directly addressed.

The challenge with addressing a problematic feedback loop is that there is no logical starting point. The whole system must be addressed with equal effort and importance. It's hard to recruit students to continue to participate in education so long as their educational experiences remain racially traumatic. However, they will remain racially traumatic if they cannot find educators that they can culturally connect and the vicious cycle continues.

What participants are describing is a need for a deep commitment to addressing the challenge of diverse teacher recruitment by acknowledging some troubling realities. Namely, that despite schools' best efforts, schooling remains traumatic for many students of Color.

Validating this fact is a critical first step to improving educational experiences for many students and in turn, according to participants, could build a pathway for more diverse teachers.

The Challenges of Recruiting Latinos

Participants offered a wide range of suggestions for ways to recruit more Latinos into the teaching profession. Paradoxically, these recruitment strategies often necessitate Latino teachers to help in recruitment efforts. Participants suggested that Latinos can serve as mentors, guides and play a role in creating a much more inviting schooling environment for marginalized students. But again, this begs the question of where will these educators come from? Where and how do we break the cycle and move towards a radical reconception of our education system?

By centering the importance of mending the relationship between Latino students and their schools, participants recognize schools' failure in providing an adequate learning environment for students of Color. There is a recognition that these spaces are hostile, traumatic and lead to students not wanting to return in any capacity, including as teachers. The schooling structure has become synonymous with racial suffering for Latino students and in order to bring them back, like any fractured relationship, there must be recognition of the pain, responsibility for causing the pain, and an honest effort to move in a different direction by the perpetrators. The participants of this study recognized this dynamic and collectively understood that recruiting Latino teachers is about creating safety and comfort before anything else.

Ironically, according to participants, a key component in recruiting more Latinos into teaching is by having Latino teachers recruit students. The relationships Latino teachers can foster with their students was recognized as a powerful tool in not only introducing the concept of a Latino teacher as possible but in creating viability of it as a career for students who may not

have had a race-matched teacher before. Though this method of recruitment has substantial merit, it does little to answer the question of how we can recruit more diverse teachers given the current state of the teacher workforce.

Another lofty hurdle in recruitment of diverse teachers, according to participants, is addressing the feminization of the teaching profession. They point to the need for educators, especially educators that identify as men, to deconstruct the idea that teaching is for women. What this seems to indicate is that so much of what pushes men away from the profession is society's perception of the profession and the embedded misogyny it reveals.

Participants also advocated for intentional pipeline strategies that could place a career in education on the radar of students. Drawing from their own experiences, they recognize that teaching is not often a career students, least of all Latinos, consider as a viable profession for them. Implementing programs that explicitly market and advocate for students to become teachers could serve as a way to gather an audience of students to hear about the benefits of the career. A stark contrast to the discourse heard in the media of low wages, pink slips and over-working of educators. Not to discount those very real challenges to teachers, but rarely is there a platform for counter-narratives to these. Developing pipeline programs could serve as that platform.

What was interesting was that none of the participants suggested that tutoring and mentoring opportunities could serve as recruitment strategies when many of them began their journey to teaching by being tutors themselves. It seems tutor carries with it a different connotation than does teacher, which may have served to distance tutoring from the formal structure of schooling, thus making it a much more palatable role to take. Tutoring opportunities

may be able to serve as exposure for students to the many positive interpersonal experiences of teaching or mentoring, without the stigma the teaching profession carries. What this is indicative of is that what is deterring Latinos from the teaching profession has little to do with the profession itself and has much more to do with the discourse surrounding the profession. Perhaps if students are given opportunities to try the interpersonal act of teaching, without the institutional baggage it carries, perhaps students would be open to becoming teachers.

Limitations

One of the limitations of this study is related to sampling. As a result, a truly representative sample of Latino teachers and credential students could not be obtained. The sample consisted entirely of California residents, who all attended California teacher credential programs and obtained most of their k-12 education in California schools. California schools are unique in that, currently, over half of all students identify as Latino/a (CalEd, 2021). Though still grossly underrepresented, the percentage of Latino/a teachers in California is still greater than the national average.

In addition, the results of this study indicate that participants, prior to engaging in the interview, held knowledge of inequities within the current education system. This played a major role in many of the emerging themes from the interviews. Many in fact had a vested interest in addressing the issue of Latino teacher representation. It is thus possible that only those educators that participated necessarily had a predisposition towards equity and social justice and thus agreed to participate in a project that addresses teacher diversity. However, given the underrepresentation of Latinos in teaching, convenience and snowball sampling were the only viable options for recruitment for this project.

Future Directions

This research project illuminated many interesting findings as they relate to Latino educators and their journeys to the teaching profession. However, it also produced many more threads that can be further pursued and in fact do warrant future research to help solidify them. Many of which, if further pursued, may serve as a platform to develop an effective recruitment and retention strategy for Latinos.

Much of what emerged from this study could potentially be leveraged towards a recruitment strategy. Participants' many motivations to become teachers showed a way the teaching profession could be framed and made more appealing to a Latino audience. The various barriers and deterrents they encountered should be noteworthy for anybody attempting to recruit more diverse educators. Participants' insider knowledge on this topic should not be discounted and should be further explored. It is through these counternarratives that we can see how the system marginalizes students and indicates ways it could be remade and be equitable for all.

Another major point for future research is the role current schooling practices play in pushing students of Color away from the teaching profession. Participants pointed to schools as a major contributor to the lack of diverse teachers. The initiative to recruit more TOC thus cannot begin and end with bringing in students of Color, the schools themselves must acknowledge their role and future research should explore that relationship.

One other topic that may warrant further exploration is the relationship between pursuing the teaching profession and previous interest in a profession in policing. This did not materialize into a major theme but there were a pair of participants that shared how their interest in

becoming police officers inadvertently pushed them to pursue teaching. Salvador, a credential student and Sociology major shared a riveting story:

> *I started off [in] criminal justice…I saw criminal justice as a chance for me to be the good guy and go out and fight crime…I was probably 2 or 3 years into my degree when we started doing visits to the correctional center. When I visited adult jail, it was something that you kind of expected…What stood out to me the most when I went to visit was the kids in juvenile hall. When I went to juvenile hall and saw the conditions and environment that they were putting 5, 6-year-olds in and hearing what their backgrounds are…I just didn't have that in me. I wanted to create change within society but I just couldn't bear to do that. That's when I fell out of love with criminal justice. I just knew I was too compassionate, too empathetic to put kids in cells, make them sleep in a 2, 3-inch sponge. That's when I changed to sociology. Through sociology I learned all about our society and the groups within society, the institutions and so I knew that I wanted to be in an institution that created a lot of change. I personally believe that education is probably the one that impacts society the most because they gave all the children and if I could create change within the children they wouldn't go towards the criminal way and I'd give them a fighting chance.*

Once I had finished collecting my data and was analyzing it, I shared this story with a friend who works in the administration of a Teacher Education program at a university. He mentioned that he had heard similar stories to this one. Latino credential students who started in the criminal justice program but turned to education was not something too uncommon for him. During this time, I was also working as a TA for a separate teacher credential program. I was

discussing this with the professor for the class. She said, “Well, Pedro [pseudonym] over there used to be a cop and now he wants to be a teacher.” This fascinating trend was not captured by my sample. I serendipitously came across it from discussions with individuals connected to Teacher Education programs. Further research into this may yield yet another avenue for recruitment. Perhaps individuals, as was the case in the quote, want to create positive impacts and perhaps in highlighting education they may have a natural proclivity to become teachers.

Conclusion

The underrepresentation of TOC in education has been a puzzle that, despite decades of efforts and extensive research committed this topic, has yet to be solved. This research project is intended to contribute yet another piece to this puzzle by focusing on a group that is underrepresented both by race and gender: Latinos. What they offer is a look at the issue from the margins. As a group that research has definitively concluded is structurally pushed to the margins through numerous mechanisms (teacher racial bias, racist policies, Eurocentric curriculum, etc.), these 31 gentlemen persisted to become a part of that very system. That alone should warrant validity to their voices.

Another point that research has made abundantly clear is the benefits TOC bring to schools, and especially to students of Color. Considering how mindful and intentional participants were of taking special care of their co-ethnic students, it is clear why. Participants hold knowledge of experiencing schooling from the margins and so they, more than many other educators, would know the sorts of challenges their most marginalized students are facing and can act on them. In fact, participants made it a point that taking such actions were a main driver for their pursuing a career in education.

Participants validated much of the literature that describes how and why schooling is experienced so negatively by marginalized communities. Additionally, they illustrated how schooling has developed structures uniquely designed to act as barriers for Latino/a students. The ELD track, that many participants were a part of, was shown to inherently promote English (white) superiority and was detrimental to academic advancement. Latinos being placed into this track was aided by administrators who enacted racial profiling and stereotyping of their students. By design, these are the narratives of students that achieved academic success despite these barriers but the question remains of how many others were instead pushed out by these structures. The silver lining is that there are 31 educators that recognize these barriers and will actively work to mitigate them.

In this way, discussing participants' motivations for become teachers is inextricably linked to discussing their experiences while in school. The sense of duty to serve as cultural guardians and validate their immigrant family's sacrifice comes from deep care for their hurting community. Hurting because they recognize the damaging nature of schooling and care because they can see themselves in many of their students. This connection between TOC's recognition of structural inequalities and schools and their motivations for teaching has also been well documented in the literature.

In this way, teaching for participants is about much more than transmitting content knowledge to their students or about any particular subject. Teaching transcends that and is about navigating life and the world outside of the classroom. It's about instilling morals and ethics to students. Making connections and building relationships with students is foundational to

teaching, according to participants. However, this conceptualization of the profession seems to have been formed, at least for many of them, unintentionally.

The majority of participants did not have intentions to become educators. Their passion for teaching was found through circumstances that brought them close to education, but many had much different career aspirations. In a way, this is encouraging to know that perhaps simple exposure may be sufficient to nudge some Latinos into a career as teachers. However, it also points to a need for more intentional interventions be developed for targeted recruitment.

Suggestions for Recruitment

The ultimate purpose of this study is to contribute to the mission of findings ways to recruit and retain more diverse teachers. A large part of this task is also understanding what factors are deterring many from pursuing a career in teaching. Participants contributed to both of these bodies of knowledge and offered suggestions for what can be done.

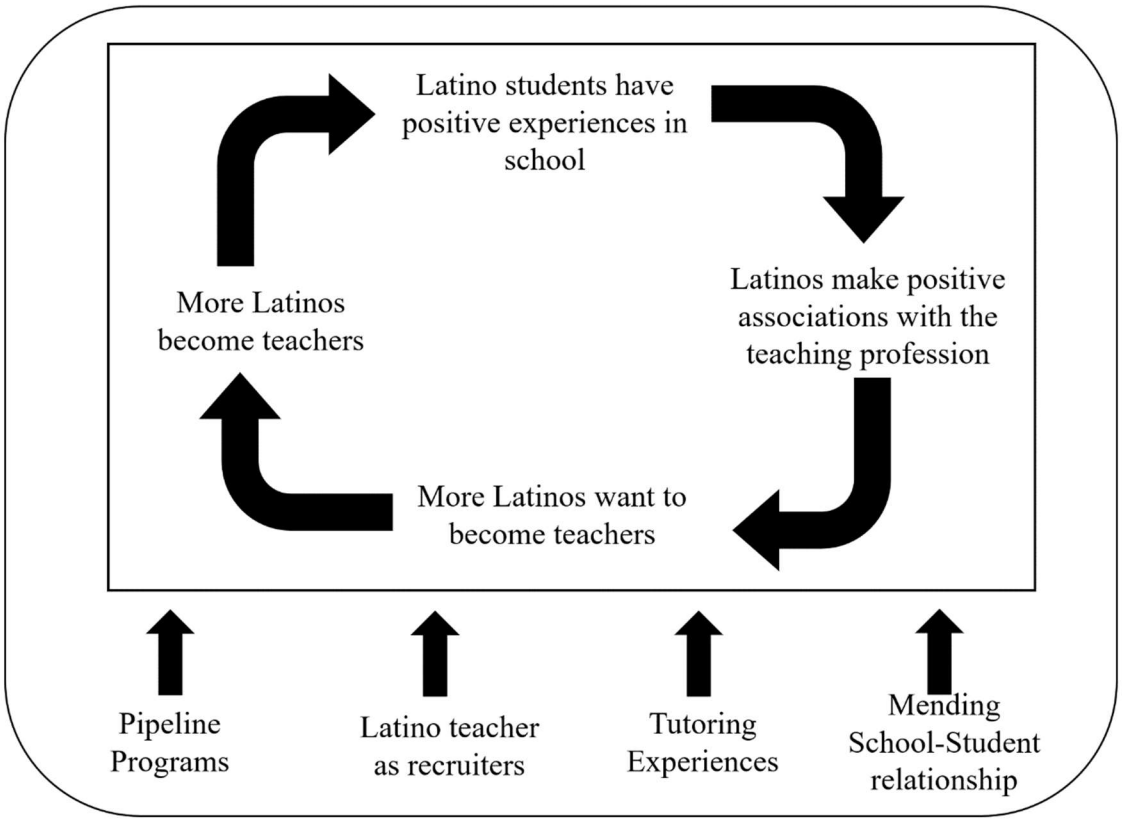
Most significant of all, participants place a large proportion of the responsibility of recruitment on the schooling system itself. Students' aversion to the teaching profession cannot be isolated from the negative experiences in school of students of Color. Thus, if recruiting of TOC is a priority for the education community, then acknowledgement of the schooling structure as a site of racial suffering for many students must be recognized. This would also entail the deconstruction of many of school's long-standing myths such as the myth of meritocracy, Color-blindness and the curriculum's objectivity. In their stead would be a framework that acknowledges the growing diversity of the student body, recognizes the racist underpinnings of many of this country's institutions and decenters the focus of education to be much more inclusive.

This racial reckoning of the schooling system must also reconcile the way the teaching profession is a victim of the patriarchy. As a profession deemed as feminized because of the qualities of care and work with children it entails, it is a profession that is low prestige and low pay. This seemingly only applies to K-12 teaching because teaching at the college level, which happens to be more male dominated, brings with it more prestige. It is difficult to suggest a recruitment strategy that must counter societal discourses, but at the very least it must be acknowledged that it is contributing to the problem of teacher diversity.

Engaging in the effort to recruit more TOC is itself an act of social justice. The reason there continues to be a lack of diversity in the teaching profession is a direct result of the persistence and resilience of systems of oppression. Racism creates a racially toxic environment for many students in schools and misogyny relegates the teaching profession to a job for women. These systems of oppression work in conjunction to create the current crisis and they must both be directly addressed if this ongoing problem is to be solved.

Table 5

Recruitment Strategies to Support Positive Recruitment Feedback Loop



Epilogue

As I was nearing the completion of my dissertation, I was invited to present my research findings at a community college in San Diego. At the conclusion of my talk, I opened up the floor for questions. I answered a few before a young woman asked me a question that stuck with me, “have you ever been a teacher?” It’s a fair question. The main thesis of most of my talks is the incredible benefit TOC have on students of Color. I boast about the profession as one which is uniquely positioned to enact change and to engage in social justice work. I am the director for

a program, with a curriculum I designed, that aims to encourage Latinos to become teachers. “Have you ever been a teacher?” I told her no, but it had always been in the back of my mind.

Looking at my academic history, I obviously have an interest in working with people. A bachelor’s in psychology, a master’s in counseling, and now a doctorate in Education. All of these disciplines necessitate a connection and understating of others. The truth is, I just couldn’t find a subject that I was passionate enough to bring me to teaching. I know all too well the challenge TOC face when in the profession. I know retention is an issue and I know why. I just didn’t see myself waking up every morning, enduring that environment all to teach the students about math, or history, or science.

As part of a class I was taking in the Fall of 2021, I was invited to a webinar put on by ethnic studies teachers from Sacramento. This was timely because in that same year, California passed a bill that would make ethnic studies a requirement for high school graduation in the state. Suddenly there was interest in ethnic studies curriculum because schools would very soon need to be able to offer the course. I listened intently to the teachers talk about their classes, their curriculum and their framing. What they were describing almost perfectly mirrored the curriculum I designed for the Teacher Academy. It was a course integrated with developing critical thinking, culturally affirming material and educators passionate about challenging the system. I felt like I suddenly found a subject I could be passionate about.

As of the writing of this, I am eagerly awaiting to hear back from a certain teacher credential program that has a specialized ethnic studies pathway. I joke that I cracked the code for Latino teacher recruitment: just make them complete a PhD focused on how to recruit Latinos to teaching and 6 years later they’ll be on their way to become teachers. Obviously, I

don't propose that as an actual solution. If there is a solution to recruiting more TOC, I am certain it starts in the classroom.

So now I find that my dissertation is as much a product of me as I am of it. I will enter the teaching profession embodying all the knowledge I have accumulated and created in order to make a difference with my students. Some have implied that this is taking a "step back" from my graduate studies, which I believe says a lot about the value we place on our teachers. I find it is the perfect sunset to this journey of mine. It is almost poetic. Like many of the teacher candidates I have been around, I feel hopeful and optimistic about what this profession has in store for me.

Hope is a good thing to have these days as there seems to be no shortage of things to feel pessimistic about. Political unrest, a global pandemic, an assault of public institutions, climate change(d), etc. I sometimes wonder if it's my proclivity for depression that makes me focus on these things, but I tend to not be the only one to notice. As hopeless as the situation can seem, I have always found hope in working with youth. They truly are our future.

Children are like seeds who have an innate ability to grow. They simply need the correct environment to achieve their full potential. Sadly, schools are not that optimal environment for many students. My role in the school will be to foster that positive environment where all students can reach their potential. Teaching to me is an act of social justice and resistance to the injustices of the world. The power of education is too grand to possibly capture with words here, but I can play my role within my classroom. I can play the role my students need me to be. Because at the end of the day, teaching is about connecting and making sure our students continue to grow.

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Appendix

Appendix A: *Face Sheet*

Semi-Structured Interview Guide	
Introduction:	
Thank you for agreeing to participate in this interview with me. I'll be explaining a little bit about the purposes of this interview before we start and also tell you a little more about the process of this interview. If you are ever uncomfortable with any questions or do not want to respond to anything for whatever reason, it is perfectly fine to mention it to me. You would still be able to participate. If at any point you would like to stop altogether, that is also perfectly fine. If at any point you want any clarification or something repeated, just let me know. The reason I am interviewing you is because I am interested in [learning more about what you think about teachers and teaching as a career/why you've decided to pursue a career as a teacher/ why you decided to become a teacher]. There is not a lot we know about Latinx male teachers so I am hoping that by learning more about you, it will help me better understand why there are so few Latinx men teachers and what we can do about that. Before we begin with the interview, I am going to ask you some basic questions about you, your experiences at school and your family. I will be filling out this sheet here, which will only ever be seen by me. With your permission, I will audio record this interview to make sure I capture our interview in its entirety and be able to really analyze our conversation. The audio recordings will also be in a secure server where only I, and possibly a small research team, will access it to transcribe. I will not use your name on anything that I collect today and instead will give you a code so your interview won't be able to be traced back to you. Do you have any questions? Great! Again, thank you for your willingness to participate and I hope this is as insightful for you as it will be for me.	
Face Sheet:	
Interview Date:	
Name	
Interview Code	

Demographic Info:		
Age:		
Race/Ethnicity (self-identity)		
Place of birth:		
Immigration background:		
Bilingual?		
1st Language:		
City of residence		
Estimated family income growing up:		
Any suspensions/expulsions at school?		
School track (AP, CP or other)		
Family Info:		
Mother's current occupation - How long?		
Mother's past occupations: - How long?		
Mother's schooling - Where?		
Mother's place of birth: - If immigrant, age of immigration		
Father's current occupation - How long?		

Father's past occupations: - How long?	
Father's schooling - Where?	
Father's place of birth: - If immigrant, age of immigration	
Credential Student Questions:	
School/program currently attending	
Graduated college major - Did it ever change?	
Anticipated teaching subject	
Veteran Teacher Questions:	
School currently teaching at	
Current grade and subject taught	
Number of years teaching	
Number of schools worked at - School 1, how long? - School 2, how long? - School 3, how long?	
Grades/subjects taught in the past	

Appendix B: *Interview Protocol*

Credential Students	
Tell me about the schools you have attended. • Where were they? • What were they like? • What was your experience like? • What would people say were the "problems" at your school?	This question is intended to elicit an illustration of what the schooling environment was for the participant.
What was the faculty like at your school? • Tell me about the teachers that were generally liked • Who liked them? • What made them liked? • Tell me about the teachers that were generally not liked • Who didn't like them? • What made them not liked?	This question is intended to illustrate faculty's role in creating the school environment. It also elicits stories, or experiences with faculty, either by the participant or others.
I would like to ask you about teachers and the teaching profession. • What does it mean to you to be a teacher? • What is the teaching profession's role in society? • What is a teacher's role in the lives of students?	These questions are intended to capture how participants conceptualize the teaching profession and understand what the scope of a teacher's role is on various levels (individual, school, societal).
Tell me your story of how you decided to pursue a career as a teacher • What influenced you to choose this career? • Tell me some of your motivations for becoming a teacher • What would others say about you pursuing this career?	These questions are meant to capture their "teacher's journey" narrative and what about their lived experiences, aspirations, dreams, has led them to pursue a career as educators.
Why do you think there are so few Latino teachers? **What do you think can be done to recruit more Latino teachers?**	These questions are intended to leverage participants' insider knowledge and experience to gain insight into the problem to teacher recruitment.
Veteran Teachers	
Tell me about the schools you have attended. • Where were they? • What were they like? • What was your experience like? • What would people say were the "problems" at your school?	This question is intended to elicit an illustration of what the schooling environment was for the participant.

What was the faculty like at your school? • Tell me about the teachers that were generally liked • Who liked them? • What made them liked? • Tell me about the teachers that were generally not liked • Who didn't like them? • What made them not liked?	This question is intended to illustrate faculty's role in creating the school environment. It also elicits stories, or experiences with faculty, either by the participant or others.
I would like to ask you about teachers and the teaching profession. • What does it mean to you to be a teacher? • What is the teaching profession's role in society? • What is a teacher's role in the lives of students?	These questions are intended to capture how participants conceptualize the teaching profession and understand what the scope of a teacher's role is on various levels (individual, school, societal).
Tell me your story of how you decided to pursue a career as a teacher and finally become one • What influenced you to choose this career? • Tell me some of your motivations for becoming a teacher • What would others say about you pursuing this career?	These questions are meant to capture their "teacher's journey" narrative and what about their lived experiences, aspirations, dreams, has led them to pursue a career as educators.
Tell me about what it has been like being a teacher. • What have been some of the biggest challenges and rewards of your job? • What has kept you in the profession for as long as it has?	This narrative is to illustrate what their current profession is like and to better understand some of the reasons behind their persistence in their job.
Why do you think there are so few Latino teachers? **What do you think can be done to recruit more Latino teachers?**	These questions are intended to leverage participants' insider knowledge and experience to gain insight into the problem to teacher recruitment.