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The Doors of Perception: Unlocking Hispanic Access to Higher Education Faculty Positions in New Mexico

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The Doors of Perception:
Unlocking Hispanic Access to Higher Education Faculty Positions in New Mexico

By

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B.A., Criminal Justice, University of New Mexico, 1991
M.A., Organizational Learning and Instructional Technology,
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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of:

Doctor of Education
Educational Leadership

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

May 2012

Dedication

To my wife Karen and our sons Jacob and Joshua who have been my inspiration and support.

Acknowledgements

I would like to extend my sincerest thanks to Dr. Allison M. Borden for serving as my dissertation chair and for her continual support and encouragement, without her I would never have completed this research. I would also like to thank Dr. Jerónimo Domínguez for his extensive support, not only in prompting me to complete this research, but more importantly in his personal belief in me. Additionally, Dr. Peter Winograd and Dr. Viola Florez provided insight, support, and direction for which I am very thankful. It is important to acknowledge and thank the entire Educational Leadership faculty as well as my fellow students; it is their passion and dedication that are truly inspirational.

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Abstract

This study investigates the perceptions of Hispanic tenure track faculty in New Mexico regarding their educational experiences, family background, and life experiences that empowered them to become professors. It is a qualitative study in which Hispanic tenure and/or tenure track faculty were interviewed. This study identifies institutional, group, and individual barriers to minority faculty positions in academia as well as assets that can be attributed to success. The literature review identifies barriers and assets in detail and provides extensive documentation regarding the continual difficulties that institutions of higher education have in diversifying the faculty. A conceptual model, entitled the Doors of Perception, was developed, and the lenses of cultural density, cultural capital, and cultural fluidity are used to conceptualize the experiences of Hispanic faculty who are from high-density cultural environments and who attended high-density minority schools.

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Chapter One

A Complex Problem with No Easy Answers

Minority access to faculty positions in the Ivory Tower[1] continues to stall as the persistent calls to attend to the disproportionately low number of minorities in faculty positions seemingly fall on deaf ears (Bok, 1982). The low numbers of minority faculty constitute a problem that continues to defy solution even with an increasing amount of research being conducted on minority issues. Quantitative analysis by demographers clearly and repeatedly shows that compared to Whites, minorities in the United States are significantly undereducated at all levels (Baez, 2003; Castle & Arends, 2003; De Los Santos, 2003; Fry, 2008; Guanipa, Santa Cruz, & Chao, 2003; Johnsrud, 1998; Oliva, 2002). Those minorities that do make it through elementary, secondary, and university educational systems enter the professoriate and struggle with the academic culture, with finding their place, and with being accepted. Improving access to tenure track faculty positions for Hispanics is an essential part not only of democratic education, social justice, and equity but also of improving higher education for all students.

Diversity is good for society and is an important element in providing a high quality education (Davis, 2002; Jehn, Neale, & Northcraft, 1999; Wilkins, 2004). The business community has already recognized this and has taken steps to maintain a

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[1] The term Ivory Tower is used to describe the academic elitism and willful disconnect with the general realities of everyday life often found in higher educational institutions. "The term was first used in the figurative sense in 1837 by literary critic Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve (1804-1869)" (Retrieved January 18, 2012 from: http://wordsmith.org/words/ivory_tower.html.).

competitive advantage by diversifying personnel and work teams (Richard, Kochan, & McMillan-Capehart, 2002). Diversity provides different insights, perspectives, and opinions that make for higher quality decision-making (Cox, 1994; McLoad, Lobel, & Cox, 1996; Richard et al., 2002). Additionally, research shows that ideas produced by ethnically diverse groups were judged to be of higher quality than ideas produced by homogeneous groups, and organizational cultures that supported racial diversity improved performance (Richard et al., 2002). Society continues to recognize that diversity is important, but often it is the means by which diversity is achieved that creates controversy (Rothman, Lipset, & Nevitte, 2003).

In academia, there has been little progress in diversifying the faculty and many minorities have been left on the outside looking in. When they do get in, it still is difficult. When asked about his experiences as a tenured faculty member, Dr. José Rodríguez (pseudonym), a retired tenured Hispanic faculty member in New Mexico, placed his coffee cup down on his handmade wooden kitchen table, leaned back in his chair and paused. Then straightening his back, his words came quickly. "To me the most important part (of having Hispanic faculty) is to keep the dominant culture straight, keeping them honest." He paused, his eyes focused and piercing. Shaking his head he continued on:

I know in our faculty as long as I was there, everybody loved Hispanics, everybody. Can you imagine what it would be like if I hadn't been there? And if they had questions they would come to me, could you imagine if I was not there with the faculty? That part of it, just keeping them honest and having someone there as an example, because I know a lot of them were so bigoted. Those guys

2

(faculty) that came from Kansas. Jesus! They would make fun of (Hispanic) last names. To them it was a joke 'Gar-a-me-lo' (Jaramillo). That would just piss me off; I'd straighten their ass out quick. And to them that was funny. To us it was just come on, give some respect at least pronounce our names correctly. (Interview 4, 2008)

The plight of Hispanics in higher education and in the tenure ranks has been researched primarily from the perspective of failure; how the systems, structures, and people have failed minorities. What are often overlooked are the experiences of those who succeeded, those Hispanics who overcame and made it into the faculty ranks. Despite over 40 years of serious attention to increasing access and opportunities for minorities, limited progress has been made. Tenured faculty is one such area that continues to ward off diversity and inclusion. Hispanics make up 16% of the U.S. population (U.S Census 2010) and 2% to 3% (at best) of the tenure/tenure track faculty in the U.S. (Davis, 2002; Moreno, Smith, Clayton-Pederson, & Parker, 2006; NCES, 2010; Valverde, & Rodriguez, 2002) with no significant changes in nearly 30 years (Davis, 2002; Valverde, & Rodriguez, 2002).

The United States is already a diverse nation and that diversity will continue to increase dramatically over the next century. While the U.S. has historically perceived itself as a melting pot of cultures, the public education system has historically discriminated against minorities and continues to under-educate a significant portion of minorities (Hochschild & Scovronick, 2003; NCES, 2010; Nieto, 1999; Salomone, 2000; Tyack, 2003). Higher education, and particularly universities, is a stalwart of White culture based on Western and Eurocentric organizational principles of hierarchy and

knowledge creation (Christensen & Eyring, 2011). While institutions of higher education perceive themselves to be open and seekers of knowledge and understanding, the generation of that knowledge and understanding is largely reserved for Whites as they make up from 80-85 % of all tenure/tenure-track faculty nationally (NCES, 2002; Moreno, Smith, Clayton-Pedersen, Parker, & Teraguchi, 2006). The growing globalization of the world and the growing competition of institutions of higher education for students (who are becoming more diverse) leave higher education at a decision point, which it cannot continue to ignore.

Deficit theories have been the primary perspectives in much of the literature on minority issues (Baez, 2003; Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998; Rothman et al., 2003). It is all too common to blame the victim when looking into issues of race and conclude that those who do not succeed in education are somehow deficit in some manner; deficient economically, socially, or intellectually. This study looked at successful Hispanic faculty and examined their cultural, educational, and faculty experiences. Additionally, how the interrelationships among those experiences and how perceptions of those experiences lead to success were explored. The data provide insight into the experiences of Hispanic faculty and suggest that new perspectives are needed that explain more clearly the attributes that lead to success and the abilities and capabilities of Hispanic faculty to adapt to and excel within the university culture.

Background

Our world is a diverse one and our societies are becoming more global in the sense that countries are increasingly collaborating with one another in business, education, research, communication, environmental issues, and migration issues

(Appadurai, 1996; Mohrman, Ma, & Baker, 2008; Waters, 2001). Industries that are able to bridge cultural differences and provide "space" for differing cultures will be leaders in the advancing globalization (Pucik, 1997). The United States is projected by demographers to significantly grow in diversity, with minorities making up nearly half of the U.S. population in the next several decades (Chapa & De La Rosa, 2004; U.S. Census, 2010). The U.S continues to struggle within itself regarding diversity, particularly in the area of public education, with the most glaring lack of diversity in the tenure/tenure track faculty ranks.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits racial discrimination by any institution receiving federal assistance in an effort to build cultural pluralism and ensure equity for all citizens. While the percentage of minorities has increased in academia, that increase is lower than the percentage growth of minorities in the United States over the last decade. From 1990-2000 the percentage of minority college instructors grew 5.4%; however, the percentage of minorities grew nationally by nearly 10%, meaning that minorities essentially lost ground (percentage wise) in the faculty ranks (Parks & Godinez, 2003; U.S Census, 2002). In 1970, the percentage of minorities in the United States was 13%, which grew to 21.5 % in 1990, and then to today's percentage of nearly 30%, showing a rapid increase in the minority population since the 1964 Civil Rights Act was passed (U.S. Census, 2002). While minority populations have grown, they are expected to grow more rapidly over the next decade, with the number of minority school age children potentially increasing to 46% of the entire student body in the U.S. by 2020 (Nieto, 1999; U.S. Census, 2002). Hodgkinson (2008) stated:

The U.S. Census Bureau seldom makes predictions, but on August 14, 2008, its

web site carried a story that many demographers had already known—minorities,

now about a third of the U.S. population, will become the majority in 2042, and

54% by 2050. Children under five are already 48% minority, and by 2025, about

17 years from now, a majority of school-age children will be non-White; the rates

will vary enormously by state, as does everything else. In 2025, 39% of school-

age students will be Hispanic; non-Hispanic Whites will constitute 38% of

students, African-American 11%, Asians 6%, and mixed race 6% and growing

rapidly. (p. 1)

Hispanics in particular are growing phenomenally in numbers. Since 1990, the

Hispanic population has grown by more than 57% compared to the 13% increase in total

population and, as of July 1, 2002, there were approximately 38.8 million Hispanics in

the U. S. (Chapa & De La Rosa, 2004). This increase is due in part to immigration (50%)

and to natural growth based on birth rates (Chapa & De La Rosa, 2004). Educational

attainment is one of the strongest indicators of social mobility (Breen & Jonsson, 2005;

Piketty, 1995) and Hispanics have the lowest educational attainment of all groups (Chapa

& De La Rosa, 2004; Gándara & Contreras, 2009). Inroads to success in school, and

particularly higher education, need to be identified to help minorities succeed at all

levels, including obtaining tenure track faculty positions in higher education institutions.

This is important to universities as student populations are increasing in diversity and

greater numbers of minorities are enrolling in universities (American Council on

Education, 2003).

Nationally, the total number of Hispanic faculty is increasing, although percentage wise no significant increases are occurring as Hispanic faculty numbers continue to lag far behind their White colleagues. According to the American Council on Education's 2005 Minorities in Higher Education 20th Annual Status Report, Whites hold more than 87% of the highest academic faculty positions as compared to African-Americans (8.9%) and Hispanics (3.2%). It has also been noted that Hispanic students in doctoral programs are also significantly underrepresented (ACE, 2003), which limits the potential future pool of Hispanic faculty.

New Mexico is unique in that it is a minority-majority state. The total number of minorities is actually higher than the total number of Whites. In New Mexico, Hispanics make up 46% of the population, Native-Americans 10%, African-Americans 2%, Asians represent 1%, and Whites make up 40%, (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Focusing on Hispanics, it is important to note that even with the extremely high percentage of Hispanics in New Mexico, the percentage of degrees awarded to them is low. Hispanics at the University of New Mexico (UNM) are for example, awarded 32% of all bachelor's degrees, 20% of all master's degrees and 7% of all doctoral degrees (UNM IPEDS, 2010, see Appendix A). Thus, New Mexico is struggling to educate its Hispanic population and is having difficulties expanding the pipeline of educated Hispanics beyond the bachelor's level, leaving insufficient numbers of Hispanics with the minimum credentials for careers in academia (see Appendix B). When Hispanics do obtain doctoral degrees, many are relegated to teaching in the non-tenure track ranks (IPEDS, 2010). At UNM Hispanic faculty make up 14% of the Temporary Faculty, 10% of the Non-Tenure Track Faculty and 11% of the Tenure Track Faculty. These numbers have been flat for the previous five years with minor gains and losses (UNM IPEDS, 2010). While these numbers are

considerably higher than the national average of about 2%, they are abysmal when

compared to the population of Hispanics (46%) in New Mexico (see Appendix C). This

disparity is likely to increase as the minority population is growing, with Hispanic

students now making up 54% of the K-12 state population (IPUMS, 2009; NM PED,

2008; WICHE, 2003). A state with a minority/majority population similar to New

Mexico is Hawaii (University of Hawaii MAPs, 2007; U.S. Census 2002). At the

University of Hawaii, 31% of the tenure track faculty are minorities (Johnsrud, 1998). In

Hawaii, minorities make up 76% of the population and 74% of the student body. The

total number of tenure track minority faculty at UNM is 22% (IPEDS, 2010). Minorities

make up 51% of the undergraduate main campus student body at UNM, which

exemplifies a major incongruence between the students' ethnicity and that of those in the

faculty (IPEDS, 2010).

New Mexico has a long rich tradition in which cultures have existed together for

hundreds of years; and in spite of great assimilation pressures, they have been able to

maintain unique cultural identities (Mondragón & Stapleton, 2005). The lack of success

of minorities in public education is well documented (Chapa & De La Rosa, 2004; Davis,

2002; Education Trust Inc., 2004; Robnett, 1997; Valverde, 2004). There are disconnects

between public education and minority academic success that impact the continuation of

minorities in completing high school. In higher education, a similar problem exists as

retention and graduation rates for Hispanics fall well below their White counterparts

(Seidman, 2005).

Barriers continue to hinder minority access to higher education and to faculty

positions. Greater in-depth understanding of the problems, policies, and politics that

affect minority access is needed. Research has identified two primary contributors for Hispanic success in doctoral work and in obtaining faculty positions. These are 1) foreign born, internationally educated, and 2) attended a predominantly White public high school where the majority of the student body is White (Gándara, 1995; Ibarra, 2001). Hispanic faculty who obtained doctoral degrees without either of these two contributing factors are likely to have a different perspective and a much different story than those who did. Socioeconomic status also plays a role in hindering access and opportunity as is evidenced by individual academic achievement rates of low-income populations compared with those with higher income (Bankston, 1997). With the fluctuating availability of Pell Grants and student loans, socioeconomic status, while important, is only a partial contributor to the lack of Hispanic tenure/tenure track faculty.

This study contributes to the growing research and literature on Hispanic faculty. Additionally, it provided an opportunity for Hispanic faculty to have their voices heard regarding their educational experiences and in their experiences in the academy. With the increasing diversification of society and particularly the student body diversification of our educational institutions, it is essential that universities be forward thinking and responsive to the changes that are occurring. This study provides insight into the experiences of successful Hispanic faculty and allows their stories to be told.

Problem Statement

Many research studies have focused on the failure of Hispanics in higher education (Parks & Godinez, 2003; Phillips, 2002; Smith, 1997) and have identified barriers that contribute to Hispanic failure (Gándara, 1995; Hamilton, 2002; Ibarra, 2001;

Luna, 2000; Moody, 1997; Padilla, 1994; Parks & Godinez, 2003; Phillips, 2002; Smith, 1997; Springer, 2003; Weiger, 2000). This qualitative study focused on those who succeeded, those who overcame the barriers successfully and are flourishing (or have flourished) as higher education tenure/tenure track faculty members. The purpose of this study was to give voice to Hispanic tenured/tenure track faculty at universities in New Mexico and to describe and analyze their experiences and perceptions in relation to the unique cultural, family, and educational experiences that impacted their path to becoming faculty and their experiences as faculty members.

More specifically, the research looked at a sub-population of Hispanic tenure/tenure track faculty who 1) attended U.S. schools, 2) who did not attend predominately White high schools, and 3) were raised in high-density minority environments. The reason this sub-population was selected is due to the fact that previous research suggests that the few commonalities that exist among minority faculty are that they are generally internationally educated (Hamilton, 2002), or that they had access to and took advanced placement type courses (Ibarra, 2001; Phillips 2002), and/or that they attended schools that had a predominately White student population (Ibarra, 2001; Weiger, 2000). Predominately White high schools were classified in this study as high schools with a 50% or greater White student body.

Importance of this Study

The higher education system in the United States has a long rich history of teaching, research, service, and stability. The amount of research, knowledge creation, and service outpaces other countries dramatically as evidenced in a ranking of world universities where the United States has 53% of the top 100 universities and 33% of the

world's top 500 universities (Liu & Chang, 2006). In order to embrace the globalism of

the 21st century, universities must be leaders that ensure that democratic ideals of social

justice and equity are not only taught but, more importantly, modeled. Universities will

lose their relevance if they fail to embrace the diversification of society in which

minorities are becoming an emerging majority. The idea of an emerging majority has real

implications for the country, as the rapid growth of minorities will challenge the status

quo and embedded historical power structures. This is particularly true in higher

education as the Hispanic population in the United States is undergoing rapid growth but

faculty representation is not keeping pace.   The research has focused on identifying

deficits and problems that face minorities as they strive to become faculty members

(Baez, 2003; Browman et al., 2000; Davis 2002; Gándara, 1995; Hamilton, 2002;

Valverde, 2004). It has been shown that the most common trait among minority faculty is

that they grew up in areas with low minority population density; essentially they were

raised in predominately White areas and culture (Cavalcanti & Schleef, 2001). These

minorities were on the fringe of their own culture and were exposed not only to White

culture but educated in White schools. This qualitative research looked at those Hispanic

faculty who were raised and educated in their own culture and attended minority schools.

How did they succeed and overcome the odds? What role did personal culture have in

helping or hindering success? What impact, if any, did the university culture have on

them personally? What are the insights of these successful faculty? What perspectives

can they provide in understanding why diversifying the faculty is so difficult; in other

words, what are their stories? Universities will continue to fail to recruit and retain

Hispanic faculty unless they understand and listen to the insight and perceptions of successful Hispanic faculty.

Limitations and Delimitations

Limitations. The study has certain limitations that will impact the generalizability of the results to other settings. The results of this study are limited to the experiences of Hispanic tenure/tenure track faculty in New Mexico; however, those interviewed likely have significant characteristics that may be consistent with Hispanic tenured faculty in other locations. Transferability of results is cautioned based on the following study limitations:

1. The sample is an extreme, exceptional sub-population of Hispanic tenure track faculty in New Mexico.

2. The study is based on in-depth interviews with a sample of eight participants.

Delimitations. The study purposefully set up parameters to delimit the data collection and sample. The particular demographics, politics, history, and economics of the State of New Mexico create a unique perspective. This uniqueness makes New Mexico an optimal location to study issues of race, culture, classism, access, and success. The sample was obtained in two phases. First, a snowball method was used with Hispanic faculty making recommendations of other Hispanic faculty who they believed met the study requirements. In this manner, five of the participants were identified. Second, after resubmitting the research project to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for re-approval, changes in the IRB process discouraged direct calling or contacting prospective participants as it was considered too coercive and targeted a method of gaining participation. In response to the IRB directive, a recruitment flier was developed and

distributed as a method of recruiting the remaining three participants. Other minority

groups were not included in this study although the experiences of other minority groups

may be similar in many respects. The study also limited the participants to those who are:

1) in a tenure track faculty line, 2) tenured and active faculty members, or 3) retired,

tenured faculty members. The reason for this delimitation is because tenure, in and of

itself, is very desirable; these positions are highly coveted, protected, and access is

limited. Also, it is in these positions that the culture of the university is perpetuated in

terms of recruitment, retention, and the promotion processes (Turner, González, & Wood,

2008). The other delimitations that are explained in more detail in the Problem Statement

and Literature Review include limiting the participants based on being educated in

minority high schools.

Definition of Terms

Minority: the term refers to national or ethnic minorities in the United States. In the

1960s and 1970s, the characteristics used to identify minority groups expanded to

include gender, disability, and sexual orientation. Additionally, the practice of defining

minority groups on the basis of power and status disadvantages became common. The

focus on disadvantages is evident in Schermerhorn (1970), who suggested that

minority groups should be defined on the basis of size and power. Yetman (1991) also

suggested that the term minority could be considered as a synonym for "subordinate"

and majority as a synonym for "dominant."

Hispanic and Latina/o: Hispanic or Latino is defined as persons of Cuban,

Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, South or Central American, or other Spanish

culture or origin, regardless of race. The term, "Spanish origin," can be used in

addition to "Hispanic or Latino" (Office of Management and Budget, Federal

Register, 1997). This study uses the term "Hispanic" throughout unless

specifically asked by a faculty member to use different terminology.

Chicano/a: Generally the term is simply defined as United States citizens of Mexican

descent (U.S. Census, 2010). However, the term appears to have originated as an insult

and then was appropriated by Mexican-American activists who took part in the Brown

Power movement of the 1960s and 1970s in the southwestern United States (Roy,

1997). The term has come into more widespread usage and is preferred by some,

particularly political activists and by those who seek to keep their identity within their

culture rather than to be subsumed into the mainstream culture (Roy, 1997).

Hispanic Faculty Underrepresentation Nationally: This is determined based on the

percentage of Hispanic faculty compared to the general U.S. population of Hispanics.

Hispanic Faculty Underrepresentation in New Mexico: This is determined based on

the percentage of Hispanic faculty in New Mexico and the general New Mexico

population of Hispanics.

Assumptions

In every major study of this type there are assumptions that are important to

understand about the research. Assumptions included:

1. Hispanic faculty provided honest, open, and candid responses to
   questions.

2. Hispanic faculty, through their recollections, were able to provide
   insight into their own success.

The second chapter explores the current literature to give perspective on what has been done to examine minority faculty issues. Following this discussion, in Chapter Three, the research methods that were used to collect data are explained along with the important discussions on data collection, date analysis, reliability, validity, trustworthiness, and information regarding the participants. Chapter Four provides the research findings and analysis. A conceptual framework is provided and extensive discussion regarding Cultural Density, Cultural Capital and Cultural Fluidity is conducted. In Chapter Five research conclusions are discussed as well as future research.

Chapter Two

Review of Literature

This research investigated the experiences of Hispanic faculty in New Mexico. The small percentage of Hispanics in the ranks of tenure track faculty compels the question to be asked: why does this situation of Hispanic under-representation continue to exist and what can be done to improve it? This study will concentrate on successful Hispanic tenure/tenure track faculty in order to gain insight into their experiences and perspectives, including how they advanced into the faculty ranks.

A comprehensive review of the current literature (Baez, 2003; Breen, 2005; Carozza, 2002; Castle, 2003; Davis, 2002; De Los Santos, 2003; Guanipa, 2003; Gurin, 2002; Hamilton, 2002; Johnsrud, 1998; Luna, 2000; Oliva, 2002; Phillips, 2002; Stern, 2005; Suarez-McCrink, 2002; Turner, 1999; Valverde, 2004) suggests that numerous barriers restrict the number of minorities who are employed as faculty members. These barriers tend to fall into three broad categories, institutional barriers, group barriers, and individual barriers (see Figure 1). Institutional barriers include issues regarding structural challenges, university leadership, and university culture. Group barriers include issues of cultural capital, cultural density, discrimination/racism, and minority perceptions. Individual barriers include minority burden, biculturalism, and marginalization.

This literature review examines the previous research conducted on minority faculty and builds a framework for organizing these findings. Within this research project, the term "Hispanic" is used consistently for clarity as opposed to using it interchangeably with the terms "Latino" or "Chicano" and even though the Hispanic faculty interviewed used differing terminology at times, they primarily used "Hispanic."

The term Hispanic refers to a group of individuals who may share a common language and origin but who come from an array of differing nations and backgrounds. The largest Hispanic subgroups in the United States are Mexican-Americans, Puerto-Ricans, and Cuban-Americans. In this study, there was a mix of perspectives on how several Hispanic faculty identified themselves and affiliated themselves with any of these subgroups in terms of their perceptions of themselves as Hispanics or Latinos. A couple of the interviewees used the term Spaniard and yet others used Chicano. Some interviewees more readily identified themselves as Spaniards (descendants from Spain) rather than as descendants from Mexico. All Hispanic faculty interviewed noted that they had extensive ancestries, with several detailing their family genealogies reaching back hundreds of years in the southwest.

Structural Barriers

University Leadership

University Culture

Institutional
Barriers

Minority Burden

Biculturalism

Marginalization

Cultural Density

Discrimination/Racism

Minority Perceptions

Individual
Barriers

Group
Barriers
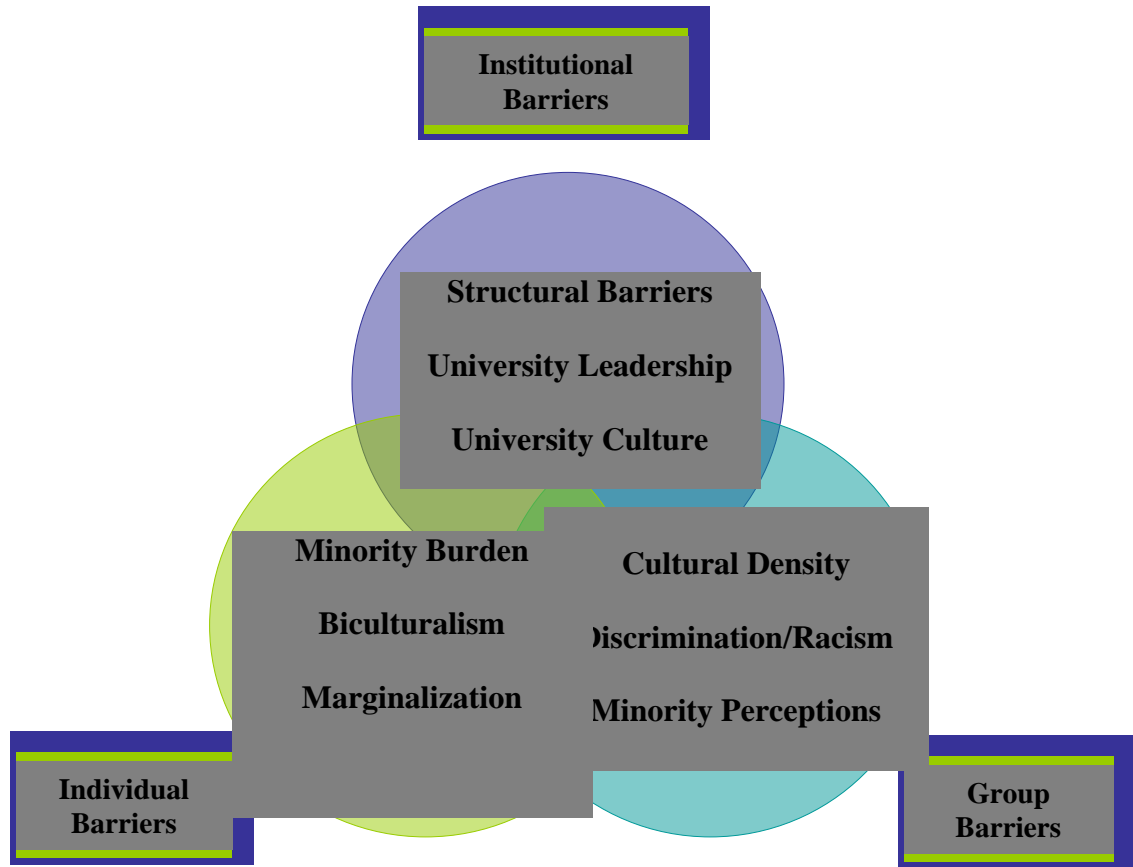
Figure 1. Visual representation of overlapping barriers to minority access.

Institutional Barriers

Universities have long histories that are rooted in a Eurocentric model of both knowledge and knowledge creation (Christensen & Eyring, 2011). The roots, traditions, and structures of universities can prove formidable to those unfamiliar with these institutions. Those same traits that can provide the university with stability and legitimacy can also serve as barriers to keep others out. Three institutional barriers are described in the following sub-sections.

Structural barriers. Given that there are so few minorities in faculty positions, research has been conducted to gain some insight into identifying institutional structural barriers that keep minorities out of the faculty ranks. Recruitment problems including identifying qualified minorities, the low number of minorities who apply for faculty positions, and the low acceptance rates of minorities who are actually offered positions are the reasons given by faculty recruiters as to why minority representation remains low (Phillips, 2002; Smith, 1997). Concern also has been expressed that there are too few minorities with doctoral degrees or in the "pipeline" and that those minorities with doctorates are in such high demand that they take positions outside of academia (Phillips, 2002; Turner & Myers, 1999). However, there is a lack of empirical data to support this claim in terms of the number of minorities who have passed up a faculty position for the private sector. Additionally, research has suggested that a university's commitment, assertiveness, aggressiveness, and strategy are more important to increasing minority faculty and can overcome any "pipeline" excuses (Smith, 1997). Chapa and De La Rosa (2004) argued that while minorities are underrepresented, there is a 6.7% minority availability for tenured faculty position and 9.5% availability for assistant (non-tenured) faculty positions. These individuals are minorities who have obtained the academic credentials but for other reasons do not work in the professoriate. No data based evidence is provided, but it suggests that the primary issue is that of money/salary (Chapa & De La Rosa, 2004). This claim has been made anecdotally in other research: that minorities receive salary offers that are greater than those in academia or that the demand for minority faculty is so competitive that the best schools who can pay higher salaries hire minorities away from other schools. Salary data suggest otherwise in that minorities who

obtain doctoral degrees are paid considerably less than Whites who obtain doctorates
(U.S. Census, 2002). Ivy League schools are some of the wealthiest schools in the
country, but they are not increasing their minority faculty numbers. U.S. Department of
Education statistics show that Ivy League Schools[2] from 1993 to 2003 have only
increased the number of African-American and Hispanic faculty by one percentage point,
from 5% to 6%. Additionally, since 2003, only 2% of new tenure-track faculty hired at
these schools have been Hispanic (Stern, 2005). Because there are so few minorities in
the faculty ranks, they have little voice to influence policy, process, hiring, and
departmental procedures; thus, all the authority and decision-making power remains in
the hands of the majority group. In this manner, it is easier to place and hold minorities
at the edge of the institution (Valverde, 2004) and keep old and established university
organizational structures in place.

  National data confirm that structural barriers exist. For example, minorities and
women who have attained the same educational level as White men are compensated at a
significantly reduced level (U.S. Census, 2010). Lower salaries act as a disincentive for
minorities to pursue advanced degrees as they are required to put in the same amount of
time, effort and cost, only to have an inequitable salary offer. Even in areas of the
country where there are few minorities per capita, Hispanics will earn only 74% of what
less educated non-Hispanics will earn (Cavalcanti & Schleef, 2001). This is remarkable
in that those Hispanics who do all the "right" things to succeed in this country will still
not be paid equitably.

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[2] Ivy League Schools are Harvard University, Princeton University, Brown University, Columbia
University, Cornell University, University of Pennsylvania, Dartmouth University, and Yale University.

Statistics show that Asians have had success in moving into the faculty ranks and, therefore, are held up as an example of how university structures are open to qualified minorities (Ibarra, 2001). While all minorities are affected by similar factors that create barriers to faculty positions, Hispanics, African-American and Native-Americans face different barriers compared to other minorities. Luna (2000) examined "voluntary" and "involuntary" minority backgrounds, pointing out that Ogbu (1978) created a framework for understanding minorities in education. Minorities incorporated into the "U.S. society through enslavement, conquest, and colonization" (Luna, 2000, p. 50) have historically been subordinate in status and oppressed by the majority, becoming an involuntary minority. Involuntary minorities also view educational institutions as "White institutions" and even though they are taught that success in school leads to higher income and a better life, this is not the reality for minorities. Recall the earlier discussion on disparity of salaries between minorities and Whites. Voluntary minorities are those who immigrate and do not have the long history of discrimination and racism that creates mistrust of White institutions (Ogbu, 1987). Voluntary minorities view educational institutions as places of opportunity and tend to excel in them. Involuntary minorities generally do not hold the public educational systems in the same high regard because they have an early awareness of the inequalities and socioeconomic disparities to which they are subjected. Asians, who according to Ogbu are voluntary minorities, have been successful in obtaining faculty positions. However, debate is beginning to question the success of Asians in academia as their high numbers are primarily due to "creaming," bringing in to higher education the best and brightest from other countries and doing little for the majority of the Asian peoples (Ibarra, 2001).

Moving from a national to a state perspective, the real impact of structural barriers and the disparities they create becomes more evident. In New Mexico, one of the most highly diverse states with a Hispanic population of 46% (U.S. Census, 2010), only about 11% of the tenured faculty at the University of New Mexico, the State's flagship institution, are Hispanic. Whites make up only 40% of the New Mexico population, yet they make up over 73% of the tenured faculty at UNM (IPEDS Completion Survey, 2010). Minorities, even in states that have a high minority population, have limited access to faculty positions. Mississippi, California, Texas and New York all have large minority populations (U.S. Census, 2010) with small numbers of minority faculty.

University leadership. Leadership is needed by top management in order to increase diversity at universities (Davis, 2002). Top management must be committed to diversity or the lack of diversity will negatively impact organizational effectiveness (Richard et al., 2002; Jones, Castellanos, & Cole, 2002).

> If there is little or no top management committed to increasing diversity or active communication of top management's support for the effort, perceptions of procedural unfairness, and stereotyping of visibly distinct individuals are likely to lead to further internal tensions, insecurities on the part of visibly distinct individuals, and resentment on the part of members of the majority group. These organizational reactions, in turn, will likely produce higher turnover of visibly distinct individuals, lower group/team performance and higher costs without offsetting productivity, quality, and customer satisfaction or other bottom line benefits. (Richard et al., 2002, p. 281)

Leadership in higher education is not embracing the need to solve problems of recruitment, retention, promotion, and tenure of minority faculty. Proactive leadership is needed (Carozza, 2002) as minority hires are still at a standstill (Castle & Arends, 2003). Equity and diversity issues are college level/university level strategic directions, which drive departmental policies and practices, and a lack of support from top management significantly hinders increases in diversity (Rusch, 2004). Minorities in administrative positions at universities can and do make a difference within their sphere of influence (Turner, 2003), but many fail to do so.

Political leadership also has failed minority faculty. Political barriers to increasing minority faculty hinder minority access to the faculty. Davis (2002) found that there is a perception that since conservatives are generally opposed to affirmative action that conservative universities will be less successful at improving faculty diversity than at liberal colleges. Contradicting this, however, is that public university faculty tend to be heavily democratic and liberal.   College/University faculty are approximately four times more liberal than the general public (Rothman, Lipset, & Nevitte, 2003). It would seem that since university faculty are considerably more politically liberal, there would be much more progress in advancing faculty diversity. Thus, faculty personal political ideologies do not seem to have an impact on increasing the number of minority faculty. Additionally, since its initial inception in 1964, Affirmative Action has helped to increase the percentage of minority students in higher education but has not done much to increase minority faculty (Davis, 2002). Baez (2003) suggested that in terms of ethnicity and gender, White women have been the primary beneficiaries of Affirmative Action, as White women are replacing White men in faculty and administrative positions. In

essence, minority education and advancement is a dilemma that is not easily solved (Cherwitz, 2005), as the "recruitment and retention of faulty of color remains one of the most difficult challenges facing American higher education" (Turner, 2003 p.113). Suarez-McCrink (2002) suggested that minorities and in particular Hispanic women who seek to build room in the university for improved self-efficacy find it difficult to do so because of the hierarchical structure of the university. This structure promotes leadership and management styles that are not conducive to openness and change. She stated:

> The university remains stoic in the presence of constant change and continues to project a neo-Weberian vision where the much-acclaimed hierarchical or pyramid structure incessantly tries to coexist with nouveau management trends that range from total quality management, to strategic planning, to reengineering. In this framework, leadership styles that reflect and emphasize mutual trust, collaborative teams, and, in short, create a climate that fosters openness on the part of employees are not extremely popular. (Suarez-McCrink, 2002, p. 245)

In interviews with minority undergraduate students, Jones et al. (2002) stated that students questioned the university's commitment to diversity, a lack of effort by the university to recruit minority faculty, and an environment at the university that reinforces "white pride." In addition to Jones et al. (2002), Guanipa, Santa Cruz, and Chao (2003) have found that universities and university leaders fail to provide appropriate support systems for minority faculty.

University culture. Universities have unique cultures that can be extremely powerful and controlling. While all faculty must work within this culture, some are better equipped than others to successfully navigate this culture, with White faculty having an

advantage in this regard. Research suggests that White faculty do not perceive themselves to be racist, but keepers of scholarly integrity (Fryer, 2003) and do not have to compartmentalize themselves as others do because there is a significant cultural match between White culture and the university culture (Johnsrud, 1998). Additionally, Whites are often blind to the discomfort that minority faculty experience because the "universities are built to serve the interests of the White men" (Johnsrud, 1998 p. 13). Whites tend to devalue the academic achievements of minorities (Turner, 2003) and view minority experiences as deficiencies (Valverde & Rodriguez, 2002). Also, new scholarly journals developed by minorities to research minority issues are often devalued (Turner & Myers, 1999).

Whites view other Whites as more objective when studying minority issues and are often the ones viewed as minority "experts" by other faculty (Johnsrud, 1998). Often is the case that since Whites dominate higher education, they can easily dismiss minority issues without having to invest personally in finding solutions. Some even openly question the need for diversity; for example one White male faculty member remarked "there are those who take it (diversity) too seriously" (Rusch, 2004). These attitudes make White faculty appear at times to be "academic Pontius Pilates, washing our collective hands of responsibility, rather than dirtying them with the hard work of engagement…" (Tierney, 2003, p. 4). Additionally, some White faculty acknowledge that it is difficult for them to speak freely within the university culture about minority issues and race relations because of a fear of not being "politically correct" or of making a racial issue into a personal issue (Rusch, 2004).

Pressure from political or community groups outside the university can impact the university culture and often disenfranchises White faculty. White faculty feel put upon because the hiring of minority faculty is often not internally but externally driven (Valverde & Rodriguez, 2002). In other words, the university is bowing to outside pressure instead of internally dealing with the problems. Valverde and Rodriguez (2002) suggested that university leadership, which embraces diversity prior to external pressure being applied, is likely to have greater success in minority faculty hiring.

Although institutions claim that minority recruitment and retention are high priorities, very few offer any structured programs or institutional policies and procedures that actually support this goal (Phillips, 2002; Myers, 1996). A study of 487 Midwestern colleges and universities revealed that 77% of those colleges reported that support for minority faculty retention and development is high yet only a small percentage of these institutions offered any type of organized support for minorities (Myers, 1996). Efforts have been made with small success to remove institutional barriers to improve access to bachelor's degrees but only small pockets of success have been made beyond this, and no systematic changes have been made. For all the efforts to diversify, faculty are still predominately White. While institutional barriers exist and can potentially be influenced by appropriate restructuring of recruitment, retention and priority hiring, group barriers can be more complex and more difficult to influence.

Group Barriers

It will become clear that within this literature review there are many points of overlap between research theory, concepts, and ideas. Group Barriers are distinguished in the literature from Institutional Barriers, yet they do have points of overlap and

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interconnectedness. This section is sub-headed Group Barriers as the research in this area is primarily focused on sociological constructs and understanding minority experience in a social and societal context.

Cultural density. Though defined in different ways, culture is primarily constructed as: 1) a set of activities and 2) a set of attitudes. As a set of activities, culture includes things that are outwardly seen and acknowledged by others. Additionally, culture includes a "set of attitudes, practices and beliefs that are fundamental to the functioning of different societies" (Throsby, 1999, p. 6). These internal cultural processes guide outward activities. In effect, an individual's particular culture shapes not only the way one perceives the world internally but also how one acts and behaves in the world. Similarly, the manner in which an individual interprets the actions and behaviors of others is shaped by cultural upbringing. Social identity theory suggests that belonging to a particular group, like a minority, creates psychological states in which an individual's social identity is built in relation to distinct group behavior. In this manner, "in-groups" and "out-groups" are created (Richard et al., 2002, p. 269). Social identity can impact the perceived "fit" of a minority within the university culture and in developing a social identity in academia that is distinct from the dominant culture; minority faculty may unwittingly join with other minority faculty to find a comfortable space in the university. Unfortunately, in finding this space, they may align themselves with an "out-group." However, the extremely small number of minorities in universities may inhibit even the potentiality of creating an "out-group" and even with the establishment of groups opposed to the majority group, those out-groups would be extremely small and have limited power.

The growth of the Hispanic population has established areas of large Hispanic cultural density in the states of Texas, California, Florida, Arizona, Illinois, New Jersey, and New York (Fry, 2005). At the same time, but on a smaller scale, the Hispanic population is also growing toward geographic dispersion (Chapa & De La Rosa, 2004). Essentially, the majority of Hispanics are living in specific geographic locales, but areas all around the country are seeing increases in the number of Hispanics. Silva and Edwards (2004) suggested that there is a link between high ethnic diversity and low levels of cultural capital in communities. Cultural density within organizations has been suggested to improve the organization and minority experiences (Blau, 1977; Jehn, Neale, & Northcraft, 1999), yet others suggest cultural density can negatively impact minority experiences (Wharton & Baron, 1987). Richard et al. (2002) suggested that minority density within organizations has an inverted "u" shaped effect on minority experiences; they argue that increasing diversity will impact an organization positively up to a certain point but not beyond. After this point, increasing diversity creates diminishing returns, as different groups with equal numbers will each struggle for control creating social disintegration and decreased communications. Intra-group conflict may also be created with increases in minorities in the organization. Tolbert, Simons, Andrews, and Rhee (1995) showed that turnover increased for women as the number of women in the department increased. A similar effect could happen to minorities. Additionally, rational defection may occur when minorities consciously move away from the dominant culture (Fryer, 2003).

African-American naming of children, for example, suggests that as minority cultural density increases, African-Americans (in this case) may consciously attempt to

maintain their unique identity. Fryer (2003) examined names that parents selected for

their children based on minority population density prior to and after the Fair Housing

Act, which was intended to reduce housing barriers and improve integration. In his

research, African-Americans in high-density areas named their children more

traditionally "black" names at a rate twenty times higher than before the Fair Housing

Act (Fryer, 2003). African-Americans who moved into lower minority areas and into

predominately White neighborhoods gave traditionally White names to their children.

Essentially, African-Americans who stayed in the high-density areas consciously

attempted to move further away from the dominant culture, and African-Americans who

moved to lower minority density areas consciously attempted to assimilate into the

dominant culture. This research suggests that as minority cultural density increases so

does increased ethnic isolationism. It is likely that minority faculty that grew up in high

minority density areas will have different cultural experiences than minority faculty

raised in low minority density areas that have greater exposure to White culture.

Often minorities must fight and take higher education systems to court to provide

educational programs to areas with high minority cultural density. This was the case for

residents along the Texas/Mexico border who had to legally battle to obtain more

graduate and professional programs even though other regions of the state had many,

even duplicate programs that were very close in proximity (Oliva, 2002). The high

percentage of Hispanics who live in the border locations were experiencing

discrimination based on their ethnicity (Olivia, 2002).

Cultural density also significantly impacts the entire educational system. Chapa

and De La Rosa (2004) noted the link between high minority schools and higher dropout

rates, lack of college prep courses, and lower scores on college admission exams. In

addition, Hispanics who do go on to higher education primarily do so through community

colleges, with the overwhelming majority failing to matriculate in four-year bachelor's

degree programs (Fry, 2004). Students that prolong the time between high school and

postsecondary education tend to have lower educational attainment (Fry, 2004). A large

percentage of Hispanics that do get admitted and go on to postsecondary institutions

attend Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs). HSIs are higher education institutions in

which 25% or more of undergraduate full time enrollments are Hispanic. These

institutions are located in high-density Hispanic population areas and account for 45% of

all Hispanic enrollments in higher education (NCES, 2003).

Discrimination/Racism. Ethnic and racial bias continues to pose barriers for

minorities (Turner, 2003) as alternative perspectives are regularly denigrated instead of

honored (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998). Surveys indicate that almost everyone agrees that

diversity is good (Rothman et al., 2003) but that there is a lack of support for diversity on

campus (Jones et al., 2002) where "most members of the university community did not

believe excessive attention was given to diversity issues" (Rothman et al., 2002, p. 32).

Yet there is a fear on campuses of putting racial issues on the table for discussion because

these are often painful issues; consequently, race issues are often the elephant in the room

that everyone tries to ignore (Rusch, 2004). When issues of race are discussed, Whites

often push the blame onto minorities themselves with accusations of "victimology"

claims by minorities (Rusch, 2004, p. 31), arguments about reverse discrimination

(Rothman et al., 2002) and the notion that "special emphasis on 'cultural awareness' is

silly and counterproductive" (Rusch, 2004, p.32). When minorities are selected for

faculty positions, White employees who "perceive the process of increasing diversity to be unfair may become angry, have hostile interaction with other employees, and experience an increase in negative feelings toward the selected (minority) candidate" (Richard et al., 2002 p. 275). Claims of reverse discrimination, that better qualified individuals are denied jobs that are given to less qualified minorities, can hinder minority opportunities to faculty positions. Reverse discrimination and quota filling appeals are based on the assumption that hiring is a purely objective process, when in reality it is highly subjective on the part of the hiring official and search committee (Luna, 2000). Additionally, reverse discrimination lawsuits often are highly publicized yet they represent only a small number when compared to the vast number of minority discrimination claims (Springer, 2003).

In a study of 393 White men, women, and minority Ph.D.s that received Mellon, Spencer and Ford Fellowships, Smith, Wolf-Wendel and Busenberg (1996) interviewed 298 of them and found that only 11% of those minority scholars were actively recruited by universities. Thus, 89% were not in high demand. Of the sample population, 98 of the participants were Hispanic. Additionally, it has been suggested that minority Ph.D.s do not have advantages in the job market as others have suggested (Phillips, 2002). The lack of assistance from Whites to improve the plight of minorities is a problem that has hindered minority advancement since the founding of this country. For example, in reflecting on this same issue over one hundred years ago, W.E.B. Dubois, in his book, *The Souls of Black Folk*, critiqued Booker T. Washington for not demanding Whites to own up to their own responsibilities in eliminating racism:

In his failure to realize and impress this last point, Mr. Washington is especially to

be criticized. His doctrine has tended to make the whites, North and South, shift

the burden of the Negro problem to the Negro's shoulders and stand aside as

critical and rather pessimistic spectators; when in fact the burden belongs to the

nation, and the hands of none of us are clean if we bend not our energies to

righting these great wrongs. (1903, p. 37)

The same problem of "elite racism" still lingers in higher education where the

culture demands that minorities must change (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998) and

compounding this, minorities are often unaware of the "invisible agendas that (are)

inherent in all established hierarchies" (Carozza, 2002, p. 352). Additionally, when it

comes to scholarly work and expansion of new knowledge about race and culture, new

scholarly journals developed by minorities were historically not given "A"

classifications, and publication in these journals is often devalued (Turner, 2003). This

situation can create "a silent submission to civic inferiority such as is bound to sap the

manhood of any race" (Dubois, 1903, p. 247). Yet, minorities continue to challenge the

traditional assumptions of what constitutes "knowledge."

Social integration and cohesion are influenced by the paradigm of similarity and

attraction. Interpersonal interactions increase when individuals share demographic

similarities such as race and gender (Richard et al., 2002). Oppositely, interpersonal

interactions decrease when individuals are dissimilar. This, in turn, decreases the

inclusion of minorities in academia and can increase minority faculty isolation.

Minorities who obtain faculty positions run into several other discriminatory barriers that

affect retention, success, and promotion within academia. Because of adamant claims by

the White majority that affirmative action is creating reverse discrimination, minority

faculty have to battle the perceptions and beliefs from non-minority faculty that the

credentials and qualifications of minorities are less than adequate (Hamilton, 2002; Luna,

2000). Minorities who are primarily high context and field sensitive often have a difficult

time fitting in (Ibarra, 2001). As one female Hispanic put it, "these universities can take

your soul away from you, they can take who you are, who you think you are. What was I

thinking when I started out, what was I going to do in life, what was my mission, what

was my vision. They'll take it all. Universities are tough places" (Ibarra, 2001, p. 113).

Not only do minorities have to battle these perceptions from the White majority but

minorities also must be able to understand and identify with other minority groups.

Minority perceptions. Minorities perceive the academy differently than the

majority White faculty (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998). "Minority faculty perceive themselves

as being hired to represent diversity not to practice it" (Turner, 2003 p. 122), and the

scarcity of minorities in the faculty can in part be due to the perceived inequity in the

retention, tenure, and promotion process (Guanipa et al., 2003). These perceptions create

"fear of consequences…feelings of frustration at not being heard or being ignored, and a

perceived impotence in the face of complex politics that prevail in universities" (Guanipa

et al., 2003 p.188). The reality is that higher education institutions are political, they

have unique cultures which are hierarchical, they can be unfair, and often they have

unjust practices that are many times simply tolerated (Guanipa et al., 2003). Minorities

have different perspectives that Whites within the university culture fail to understand,

not because they cannot but because the White culture does not acculturate them to look

for it. "Those in privileged positions – no matter how well intended – are not likely to

willingly make changes that result in loss of privilege. Equally important – perhaps – is

that most White men have no 'felt understanding' of what it is like to be different…(t)hey

don't understand that the world is normed by and for them" (Rusch, 2004, p. 32).

Increasing diversity on campus brings about different perceptions, some of which

are negative. Rothman, Lipset, and Nevitte (2003) investigated the impact of diversity on

faculty perceptions. They noted that as the number of African-American students

increased within the student body, faculty members rated students as less hard working.

As diversity increased, negative faculty perception increased. Increasing diversity in the

student body negatively influenced faculty perceptions, which in turn had a negative

impact on the minority students.

Hispanic faculty perceive that they have less influence than their White peers, that

they are required more often to meet the "letter" of the law rather than the "spirit" of the

law within universities due to a lack of trust, and that if they leave academic roles they

are less likely to be able to make lateral moves to another university as they have a lack

of second opportunities that Whites regularly have (Valverde, 2004; Valverde &

Rodriguez, 2002). The forces within higher education institutions are less forgiving of

Hispanics, and funding is perceived to go to Whites who tend to exaggerate the value of

their research (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998). This is opposed to Hispanics and other

minorities who are often not enculturated to speak out and who perceive self-promotion

as socially unappealing and prideful (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998). Additionally, Hispanics

may perceive the process of obtaining a doctorate and becoming a faculty member as

psychologically harmful, more so than that of White faculty. Reyes and Halcon (1991)

noted that Hispanics are surprised to discover that their doctoral degrees do not translate

into equal access or benefits even at the faculty level. It is the misperception that once the doctorate is obtained that the playing field will be equitable and fair. Hispanics often discover the same discriminatory practices encountered throughout their educational experiences to be present in academia although with various alterations. These differences in perceptions are real and create barriers that block understanding, access and human flourishing for all.

Minority faculty also have to deal with feelings of isolation and culture shock. The small percentage of minority faculty on campuses hinders establishment of a sense a community, which hinders changing the faculty culture that has historically focused on commonalities rather than on diversity (Ibarra, 2001; Luna, 2000). Additionally, minority faculty must be extra sensitive to not upset White students especially when discussing issues of race and color. This was the case for one minority faculty who was asked in a job interview how he would ensure that White students were comfortable with the content of an ethnic studies course (Hamilton, 2002). Also, minority faculty must be conscious that when issues of race are raised in class and majority ideologies are challenged, there is the potential that students' individual prejudices will negatively impact minority faculty performance evaluations more so than those of the majority faculty (Springer, 2003). In sum, minority faculty must overcome institutional and group barriers.

Individual Barriers

Individual Barriers are constructed from a personal, individualistic perspective and primarily encompass individual psychological constructs. Again, there is overlap with other barriers in that the research often combines differing viewpoints. The

distinction being made here from Group Barriers is built on the notion that on a personal level, minorities face barriers that may be self-imposed or imposed by other minorities.

Minority burden. Regardless of position in the university, minority faculty experience cultural taxation (Ibarra, 2001; Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998; Jones et al., 2002; Padilla 1994; Turner, 2003; Valverde 2004). Cultural taxation occurs when minorities are expected to be the expert in relating to ethnic constituencies and expected to serve as ethnic "liaisons" between the organization and the community. Minority faculty are expected to be the experts on matters of diversity, and to educate those in the majority group about diversity (Luna, 2000). This burden can be self-imposed as minorities often are more than willing to participate in community events, sit on various committees serving as the minority voice and lead seminars, discussions or symposiums on diversity even though their own particular area of study may not be directly associated with diversity issues. Minorities in academia may feel inwardly compelled to be involved because if they are not, no one will represent the minority perspective (Valverde, 2002).

Having this additional minority burden suggests that minorities may leave faculty positions at one university to move on to other universities. According to Baez, (2003) these "revolving door" perceptions of minority faculty are unsubstantiated as minority turnover rates are similar to and often lower than those for non-minorities. Personal tensions can arise around the notion of "service" for minority faculty as activities in which they feel are important to do for the community are generally not valued by other faculty and administrators (Turner, 2003). Hispanics feel pulled to give back to their communities but in some universities the tenure process may not adequately reward them for these extra activities. On the opposite end, the more minorities adapt to the university

organizational culture and the more assimilated they become, they become labeled as

"sell outs" by others, particularly those with whom they share the same ethnicity

(Valverde, 2004) and have the added burden of being labeled as "acting White" (Fryer,

2003).

> If Latino colleagues support another Latino or Latina for student admissions, or
>
> for faculty hiring or promotion, or endorse a Latino or Latina peer for an
>
> administrative position, then they are being biased (according to White faculty).
>
> The prevailing perception is that if Latino individuals are in a position to hire
>
> another Latino or Latina person and they do so, they are acting like the so-called
>
> 'good ol' boys.' They are perceived as playing favorites. It could be said that
>
> White persons are projecting, incorrectly, their motives onto others (Valverde,
>
> 2004 p. 303).

White faculty who hire other Whites whom they know, label it as "networking;" if

Hispanics do the same thing, it is called reverse discrimination.

White privilege is the notion that Whites have advantages that others do not by

virtue of their skin color, culture, language, hair texture, the shape of their nose and even

the promotion of a particular race above another in text books (Leonardo, 2004).

McIntosh (1989) in her seminal work described White privilege as "an invisible package

of unearned assets which I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was

'meant' to remain oblivious" (p. 1). She notes that as a White person what she thought

about racism is that it puts others at a distinctive disadvantage yet she had not been taught

not to see the "corollary aspects, white privilege, which puts me at an advantage" (p. 1).

McIntosh lists several items and scenarios in which she sees herself to be privileged as a

White person. This "privilege" is granted even without the recognition by the White individual that it is happening and that because of this the road of life is easier to navigate. Additionally, White individuals often deny that such privilege exists and are bewildered that such claims are made, as they do not necessarily perceive themselves to be privileged. This is primarily due to the fact that most White individuals grow up in predominately White neighborhoods, attend predominately White schools, and are taught by White teachers and faculty. When learning about discrimination and racism, it is "easier for White students to know about the characterizations of other racial and ethnic groups, yet to know only what Whites are not" (Pence & Fields, 1999, p. 150). So in essence, their awareness of inequality is "grounded in others' experiences of discrimination and not their own experiences of privilege" (p. 151). It does follow, however, that if one group is disadvantaged that another group must be advantaged yet this perception or realization does not necessarily make its way into the consciousness of many Whites. Minority faculty assuredly experience similar difficulties as minority students do and likely to a much higher degree. Blum (2008) suggested that a more in-depth analysis of White privilege is needed because "we do not understand the structures and processes of White privilege so we cannot know the best way to try to change them" (p. 11). He noted that what is termed White privilege needs to be separated from notions of "rights." Essentially, he asserted privileges are not rights, that privileges are, "not things persons should expect to have, but rather count themselves fortunate if they do have them" (p. 107). Blum makes a distinction between "spared injustice," which is when White individuals do not experience something minorities do, such as being stopped by a policeman without due cause (i.e. minorities get stopped by police simply

by being a minority) and "unjust enrichment," which are privileges that Whites benefit

from due to injustice to minorities. Extending the police example, if police officers focus

on catching minorities breaking the law and in doing so White law-breakers get away,

Whites then benefit from the discrimination. Blum also suggested that there are different

types of privilege including "black privilege" in which black immigrants have inherent

privileges over native African-American individuals and even "nonblack privilege" in

which non-black individuals (Hispanics, Asians, Native-Americans) have inherent

privilege over African-Americans.

Jones (2002) found that minority students often experience ethnic psychological

distress as they cope with the academy. As stated previously, Hispanics are highly

committed to their home communities or regions (Valverde & Rodriguez, 2002), and

universities largely view this as a weakness and discourage minority faculty by imposing

restrictions on hiring their own graduates. This creates stress and distress as minority

faculty who are educated at universities in or near their home communities would prefer

to stay close and not be forced to move to another community in a different geographic

location. Minorities have an ethical obligation to use degrees and education to give back

to communities (Cherwitz, 2005). Higher education institutions do not reward minorities

for work and efforts in their communities. This minority stress and distress is the

antithesis of what is known as White privilege (Jones et al., 2002). Additionally, faculty

tenure and promotion criteria focus on three areas, teaching, research, and service.

Historically, the service component, which often involves interaction in the university

and the community, was often the least regarded criteria in determining tenure and

promotion (Kasten, 1984). While research is the most important element of tenure and

teaching a distant second, faculty across campus "overwhelmingly agreed that service has almost no impact in tenure decisions" (p. 507). This perspective, however, has changed somewhat over time with universities increasingly looking to count and reward service. O'Meara (2005) noted that over the previous decade that 68% of Chief Academic Officers at four year institutions initiated formal polices that encouraged and even rewarded broader definitions of scholarship. Yet in a three-year study of 40 newly tenured faculty, Neuman and Terosky (2007) noted that while teaching and research are well defined, "faculty service is nebulous" (p. 282). They also noted that service actually increases as faculty progress in their careers. Porter (2007) did a quantitative study on service looking at faculty service on university-sanctioned committees (there was no data available on community-based service participation). Using national data from the 1999 National Study of Postsecondary Faculty Survey and regression models, he found that female faculty in doctoral universities served on one-half more committees than male faculty. He also found evidence that Hispanic faculty do not participate as often as White faculty on more influential committees such as curriculum and governance committees.

In conceptualizing minority burden, Gretzels and Guba (1957) developed a socio-psychological theory that framed social behavior in organizations. They suggested that social systems have two major classes of phenomena, nomothetic and idiographic. The nomothetic dimensions include the institution itself and the roles and expectations inherent within that organization. Essentially, there are roles and expectations that are established to fulfill the goals of the organization. The ideographic dimension includes the individual or personal activity within the social system. Inherent in this are personal characteristics such as personality and need-disposition. This theory examines the

"fitness' of the individual with the organization. While Gretezels and Guba (1957) do not

primarily focus on minority issues, they suggest that as "fitness" within the organization

decreases, conflict within the organization will increase. Minority faculty in turn who are

less likely to fit into the well-established roles and responsibilities of universities may

experience a higher degree of conflict in their positions. The original model was

expanded on to include another dimension, cultural factors. The cultural factors included

the ethos, mores, and values that are imbedded in the particular institution. The greater

the mismatch between the individual and institutional cultural factors the greater the

potentiality of conflict (role conflict, personality conflicts and/or role-responsibility

conflict) (Lunenberg & Ornstein, 2000). Additionally, Gretzels added the "communities"

dimension that includes "groups of people conscious of a collective identity through

common cognitive and affective norms, values and patterns of social relationships" (p.

55). Communities identified include local, administrative, social, instrumental, ethnic,

and ideological. Each of these communities is a potential conflict area. Roles,

expectations, values, cultures, and communities are potential areas of conflict for all who

enter the professoriate. This leads us to question whether or not those minorities who

have more divergent roles, expectations, values, cultures, and communities experience

less "fit" and greater conflict within academia.

Individuals have different perceptions and interpretations of events and those

interpretations and perceptions will impact future behavior and actions (Abramson,

Garber, & Seligman, 1980; Wood, 1991). Learned helplessness is a "condition that

develops when people are exposed to situations in which they fail to influence outcomes,

and subsequently they come to expect that their actions will not be effective in

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controlling future results" (Wood, 1991, p. 19). In essence, individuals bring this

"helpless" mental state into other situations in which their actions can in fact influence

outcomes, they perceive themselves as helpless even when they are not. The effect of

learned helplessness can create "cognitive, motivational, emotional and self-esteem

deficits" (Abramson et al., 1980, p. 6). The impacts of learned helplessness are real and

can be powerful. A clear and tragic example of this mental state created by learned

helplessness is that of battered women who refuse to leave their situation. These women

perceive themselves to have no control over the situation and that any actions they take to

remedy their situation are futile even though they theoretically could leave at any time.

On a less dramatic note, but just as real and powerful, minorities can develop similar

perceptions about their environments. Minorities, because of their relative lower power

within academia compared to Whites, may view themselves as helpless to do anything to

change the environment in which they find themselves. In many cases, as evidenced by

higher dropout rates, minorities remove themselves from education environments at all

levels by leaving. Research on African-Americans and learned helplessness (Browman,

Marabal, & Hsu, 2000) showed that African-Americans who perceive that they have been

discriminated against have lower levels of mastery and higher levels of distress than

those who do not experience discrimination. The extent that learned helplessness impacts

Hispanic faculty is not clearly delineated in the research, but its impact may be

significant. In looking at Hispanic tenure/tenure track faculty it would be beneficial to

better understand the impacts of learned helplessness and gain insight on coping

mechanisms, if any, that Hispanic faculty have developed to compensate for these

internal perceptions.

Biculturalism. Biculturalism is the notion that two distinct cultures exist in one location or geographic area. Individuals who are bicultural have the ability to navigate within both cultures. Biculturalism has emerged in locations that have a history of ethnic conflict and pockets exist of different cultures (Feliciano, 2001). In the United States, biculturalism has existed between White and Hispanic populations and White and African-American populations as well as White and Native American populations. As different ethnic groups have immigrated to the U.S., the ideology has moved beyond the notion of biculturalism to that of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism ideology has grown to represent and advocate that all distinct cultural groups should have equal opportunity and status. Multiculturalism speaks to diversity on a more global level; on an individual level, biculturalism speaks to what many minorities are (Morrison, Plaut, & Ybarra, 2010). In the academy, multiculturalism is promoted as the goal yet bicultural faculty still struggle in many ways (Johsrud & Sadao, 1998). Often minority faculty perceive that they are not valued for being bicultural, that they must defer to the White culture when they encounter cultural conflict and that there is a need for reciprocal biculturalism (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998). White culture includes aspects such as rugged individualism, nuclear family ideals, rationalism, time perceived as a quantity, action orientation, competition and aesthetics based on Eurocentric ideals (Helm, 1992). In turn, Whites, because they are the dominant culture, often fail to recognize cultural differences and are hindered by their culture in perceiving the experiences of others as being different from their own. Whites need to also be fluent in other cultures besides their own (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998). This is exemplified in higher education where White culture dominates to the extent that minorities are expected to adapt to the university culture. This is difficult

at times for minorities because the process of how minority faculty can incorporate and still maintain their unique identity is continually a tension for them (Hamilton, 2002; Turner, 2003).

Biculturalism in the faculty ranks can enhance and expand the educational experiences for all students. Faculty teach what they know; and what they teach and how they teach it impacts the dynamics of the classroom (Rusch, 2004; Turner, 2003). It is important in education to present different perspectives, minority perspectives taught by minority faculty. It is clear that minorities enrich and expand scholarship, bring in new areas of scholarship (such as Asian American Literature), develop new scholarly journals; and, it has been shown, that "the range of subjects considered worthy of study expands in proportion to the diversity of the faculty" (Turner, 2003, p.118). It is also suggested that minorities often do not understand the value of an advanced degree and how it can be used to give back to the community (Cherwitz, 2005). In essence, obtaining a doctoral degree is perceived as only useful in academia not as an avenue to aid minority communities.

Two spheres exist, university culture and minority culture (Suarez-McCrink, 2002). Historically, the university culture has been firm in not adapting to cultural differences of minorities. It is the minorities who had to change; their culture had to be fluid. Because there are so few minority faculty and they generally have had to become acculturated by the university, they are often perceived as "acting White" and/or they themselves often view themselves as White or "feel" White (Baez, 2003).

Hispanics in particular take a distinctive view of race and some make a cultural connection with Whites. Tafoya (2004) found that Hispanics "who call themselves

'White' and those who view themselves as 'some other race' have distinctly different

characteristics…they have different attitudes and opinions… Hispanics who identify

themselves as White have higher levels of education and income and greater degrees of

civic enfranchisement" (p. 2). Hispanics see race as a measure of belonging and

Whiteness as a measure of inclusion or perceived inclusion (Tafoya, 2004) and how they

must "fit in" with colleagues (McBrier, 2003). Also, racial identity for Hispanics suggests

that they see it as a measure of belonging, "feeling White seems to reflect a measure of

success and of inclusion" (Tafoya, 2004, p. 3). Yet a growing minority population has a

different value system and do not desire to change as they have "an intensified awareness

of their minority status, (and) a need for climate inclusiveness" (Jones et al., 2002, p. 22).

How minority faculty can incorporate and exist within universities and still maintain their

unique identity constitutes a continual tension yet they do have the ability to "change the

academy and not necessarily change oneself to fit the current structure" (Turner, 2003, p.

121). Cultural knowledge can lead to increased opportunity for Hispanics who perceive

themselves as White and by self-identifying as White they can have advantages

particularly in certain parts of the country like in the Midwest (Tafoya, 2004). This issue

relates back to the discussion on ethnic density and shows that Hispanics who live in and

among Whites have distinct advantages when compared to Hispanics who live in areas

primarily populated with other Hispanics. In other words, Hispanics must move away

from traditionally Hispanic communities to see these benefits and they must personally

identify with Whites. Interestingly, however, is that 50% of Hispanics who consider

themselves White as well as those who consider themselves "some other race" see

discrimination as a major problem in schools and in the workplace, viewing

discrimination as a barrier to success in the U.S. (Tafoya, 2004).

White college students still attend predominately White elementary, secondary

and post-secondary schools (Jones et al., 2002) even though society is becoming more

diverse. Saddlemire (1996) argued that in regards to African-Americans, Whites do not

understand their values and cultures, moreover he reported that White college students

prefer to room with others who have similar backgrounds and that Whites strongly desire

for minorities to assimilate to White culture. Minorities are still expected to assimilate

even though it has been shown that bicultural individuals are more able to think

divergently and flexibly (Richard et al., 2002). Yet universities, because they are older

and larger institutions, are much slower to diversify than smaller new firms and are

unable to realize the advantages of having an ethnically diverse faculty (Richard et al.,

2002).

Marginalization. Minorities who do actually obtain tenure-track faculty

positions run into other functional problems once employed. Most of the minority faculty

in academia are clustered primarily in ethnic studies programs and not represented evenly

across campus (Hamilton, 2002; Luna, 2000). This clustering of minority faculty may

further exacerbate the prevalence of tokenism across campus, as departments with

minimal minority faculty can be perceived as hiring a few minorities to avoid having no

minority faculty at all. In other words, minority faculty are hired as lecturers and adjuncts

so the department looks better on paper; however, the effect is that others do not perceive

those minority hires as qualified and, thus, they tend to be departmental "tokens" (Luna,

2000). Tokenism puts an unfair burden on minority faculty to do more than their majority

counterparts to overcome the negative perceptions and prove their qualifications to other

faculty (Carozza, 2002; Ibarra, 2001; Luna, 2000; Moody, 1997; Valverde, 2004). To

change perceptions that they only got the faculty position because they are a minority and

that had they not been a minority their education and experience alone would not have

been good enough to obtain the position in and of itself, minorities must do more to show

their worth and that their credentials are valid. Largely, sole minority "token" faculty do

not question the dominant institutional practices and perceptions (Valverde, 2004), and

minority token faculty are often marginalized and not taken seriously by the majority

faculty (Hamilton, 2002; Luna, 2000).

It has also been noted that minority faculty who attend elite universities are the

only ones qualified for faculty positions. Mickelson and Oliver (1991) noted that

potential minority faculty from non-elite universities do not even make the short list of

potential interviewees for vacant faculty positions. As Hispanics are clustered in HSIs,

qualified Hispanics for faculty positions may be overlooked simply due to the university

from which they graduated. Conversely, Reyes and Halcon (1991) suggested that faculty

hiring committees often look to hire faculty based on best "fit" over "most qualified."

This can be a significant obstacle for Hispanics who are trying to get into the faculty

ranks. One obvious certainty is that those who do the actual hiring of faculty have

considerable influence in the outcome.

Minority faculty that work in ethnic studies fields are often viewed as self-serving

and marginalized by other faculty. The perception is that they are not objective in their

research due to their personal biases (Fryer, 2003). "Brown-on-Brown" research is "often

considered nonacademic, narrow in scope and nonobjective" (Luna, 2000, p.48). In

contrast, Whites who teach and conduct research in ethnic studies are viewed in a higher, non self-serving regard and thought to have greater objectivity. Minority scholarship is often regarded as "tangential and peripheral, less rigorous and academic and not published in the 'right' journals" (Luna, 2000, p. 48). Guanipa et al. (2003) suggested that minorities who study diversity encounter more difficulties in obtaining tenure than Whites who study similar issues. "When the inherent privilege" of a dominant culture is challenged, "a journey to the peripheral of the university begins, toward the margins, outside what is viewed as normal" (Rusch, 2004, p. 19). Lastly, the culture of higher education is primarily one based on a low context and field independent worldview, which is the opposite of how minorities generally view the world (Ibarra, 2001). The marginalization of minorities in regards to knowledge, skills and abilities hinders the success of minority faculty in acclimating to the academy.

It should also be noted that research relating to minority faculty has been increasing over the past twenty years. Turner, González, and Wood (2008) described the number of research publication related to "faculty of color" as increasing dramatically. In looking at five years increments, it was noted that from 1998-2002 at total of 64 journal articles, dissertations, books, reports and book chapters on minority faculty were published. From 2003-2007 that total increased to 124, nearly doubling the previous 5 years. The largest increase was in journal articles published on this topic. What is clear is that the increasing diversity of the student populations at universities is fueling efforts toward racial and ethnic diversity in the faculty.

Review of Literature Summary

  This literature review explored the barriers that minorities may encounter in gaining access to the professoriate and life in the professoriate. Three perspectives were used in exploring the literature: Institutional Barriers, Group Barriers, and Individual Barriers. These perspectives often overlap yet they provide different lenses with which to view the experiences of minorities. In examining the institutional barriers, topics that had anthropological and economic roots such as structural barriers, university leadership, and majority faculty were examined. In exploring group barriers that had sociological perspectives, issues such as cultural capital, cultural density, discrimination and racism, and minority perceptions were examined. In looking at individual barriers, psychological issues were examined such as minority burden; biculturalism and marginalization also were discussed.

  The literature review provided a broad context of interconnecting issues that hinder or block Hispanic access to faculty positions. Although extensive and difficult barriers exist, the fact remains that some Hispanics do reach tenure track faculty positions. The research suggests that those who do attain faculty positions have similar characteristics and experiences as explained in this review of literature. The research suggests that minority faculty who reach tenure track positions were largely educated internationally; those who were educated in the United States attended either private schools or public schools that had predominately White student populations. The research does not shed much light on the minorities who were raised in the United States in high-density minority areas and what circumstances, chances and opportunities lead them into the tenure/tenure track faculty ranks. What it does suggest is that minorities raised in high

minority density areas will move further away from the dominant culture. How this "isolationism" impacts opportunities in the professoriate needs additional study.

This literature was examined in order to gain insight into the types of research that has already been conducted regarding minority faculty and to show that even with the growing emphasis on investigating minority issues, many research gaps exist. The primary gap that was addressed in this research project is to give voice to those who succeeded even though they grew up in the United States, were educated in high Hispanic density areas, did not attend predominately White high schools and are now in tenure/tenure track faculty positions.

Research Question

This research project provides insight into and gives voice to the experiences and perceptions of successful Hispanic faculty. The primary question that guided this research was: What are the relationships among cultural and family upbringing in high minority density environments, school and university settings, and faculty experiences of successful, tenured/tenure track Hispanic faculty at universities in New Mexico?

Chapter Three

Research Methods

Introduction

The continuing problem of low numbers of tenure/tenure track Hispanic faculty is one that is pressing the issues of access, equality and fairness in the United States. In New Mexico, which is a minority-majority populated state, the problem is particularly magnified. The research design used to explore this problem permitted investigation of the personal perceptions and lived realities of those Hispanics who have advanced into the faculty ranks. This chapter presents the data collection methods, the role of the researcher, data analysis processes, and provides background information on the participants of this study.

Data Collection Methods

Several research studies have focused on the failure of Hispanics in higher education (Parks & Godinez, 2003; Phillips, 2002; Smith, 1997) and have identified barriers that contribute to Hispanic failure (Gándara, 1995; Hamilton, 2002; Ibarra, 2001; Luna, 2000; Moody, 1997; Padilla, 1994; Parks & Godinez, 2003; Phillips, 2002; Smith, 1997; Springer, 2003; Weiger, 2000). This qualitative study focused on the positive, those Hispanic faculty that succeeded, those that overcame obstacles and barriers successfully and are flourishing as higher education tenure/tenure track faculty members. The purpose of this study was to describe and analyze experiences and perceptions of Hispanic tenured/tenure track faculty at universities in New Mexico in relation to their high-density cultural upbringing as well as their educational and professional experiences in terms of becoming faculty and progressing through the faculty ranks. Hispanic faculty

in these positions are rare and provided rich and unique data. Data for this study were collected primarily through interviews. Qualitative research was the optimal method for this study as it allowed the researcher to gain insight and perspective as to what the participant experienced, felt, perceived, and how this was internalized (Patton, 2002). Additionally, qualitative research provided rich, thick, and personalized data that allowed the researcher to peer through the lens of the participant.

Interviews. Interviews were the most viable and optimal method of data collection for this particular research because the study was aimed at understanding the experiences, perceptions, and meaning making of the participants. Interviews enabled the researcher to press issues thoroughly and deeply explore the rich personal insights of Hispanic faculty. Interviewing techniques ensured that the data collected accurately reflect the perceptions of the participants. In order for the researcher to conduct the interviews, active listening skills were essential to creating an atmosphere of trust and understanding during the interviews. This included being able to repeat back what the interviewee stated and creating an environment conducive for information sharing by focusing attention on the participant and eliminating all non-relevant activities and distractions prior to the interview. Additionally, the researcher adopted an engaging and positive attitude during each interview in order to develop an environment in which participants felt comfortable to openly share their experiences. Also, in maintaining active listening, the researcher attempted to observe with all other senses to self-monitor non-verbal cues to ensure that no mixed messages were sent through body position, gesture or voice tones and inflections that might reflect anything other than interest and "other focus" (Landsberger, 2007).

Interviews were conducted with Hispanic faculty at universities in New Mexico. Interviewees were identified by the following criteria:

1. They attended U.S schools.

2. They were raised in high-density minority environments.

3. They did not attend predominately White high schools (schools with a 50% or greater White student body).

4. They are tenure/tenure track faculty, or retired with tenure.

The sample is a purposeful sample that includes only a small sub-sample of all Hispanic faculty. The total number of interviews was determined by data collected in that as information provided by the interviewees began to become consistent and repetitive and general themes and topics were routinely discussed by the interviewees then the interview data collection was considered to be completed.

Eight individual interviews were conducted. Identification of the sample was done initially using a snowball or chain method that allowed faculty to identify other faculty who fit the criteria. Faculty were contacted by the researcher who then ensured that the faculty met the research criteria. After resubmitting the research project to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) for re-approval, changes in the IRB process discouraged direct calling or contacting prospective participants as it was considered too coercive and targeted a method of gaining acquiring participants.

In response to the IRB directive, a recruitment flier was developed and distributed as a method of recruiting the remaining participants. This flier was developed and sent to potential interviewees to solicit participation (see Appendix D). During the second phase, faculty contacted the researcher and the researcher ensured that the faculty

member did, indeed, meet the above-mentioned criteria. These interviewees provided information-rich cases that were studied in depth. Using a snowball method and a recruitment flier allowed for better participant identification and improved the sampling pool.

The University of New Mexico Main Campus Institutional Review Board Human Research Protections Offices reapproved this study on April 20, 2011(see Appendix E). Research participants were free to refuse to answer any question and free to withdraw at any time during the interview although neither of these circumstances occurred. The research itself posed only minimal risk with participants discussing personal experiences within their families, cultures, educational settings, and faculty experiences. Participants benefited from their participation by allowing their personal stories and experiences to be shared and potentially benefit other Hispanics. All participants appeared to be enthusiastic and interested in the research topic and were very open and thoughtful in their responses.

Interviews were planned for a minimum of two hours each or for as long as the participant was willing to spend. Interviews were audio taped for purposes of transcription and for context description; this was done to ensure data reliability. Interviewees were asked the same types of questions (see Appendix F), but the interviews were only semi-structured with some question variation due to probes in response to the participants' answers. The researcher attempted to provide ample opportunity for participants to reflect on a particular response to a question by asking follow up questions that probed into the interviewee's values, opinions, feeling, and even sensory experiences (Patton, 2002). Additionally, interview questions were clearly written and addressed only

one particular topic at a time, in other words, questions were not overly complex to insure that responses are interpretable (Patton, 2002). Probing questions were used for clarification, for understanding relevance if a response seemed off topic, for eliciting a more complete response, and for obtaining examples to help clarify a response. The researcher made every effort to ensure that data collected from participant interviews was authentic and accurate. Interviews were audio-recorded to ensure that the researcher was able to fully concentrate during the interview and ask appropriate probing questions and avoid the necessity of having to take notes during the interviews. The audio recordings were then transcribed to ensure accuracy.

Hispanic Faculty Interviewee Demographics

The Hispanic faculty participants in this study all were tenured, tenure track or retired with tenure. All participants taught at universities in New Mexico, were raised in high culturally dense communities, and attended high culturally dense schools in the United States. All interviewees were given Hispanic Pseudonyms. Throughout this study, information such as department names, mentor or colleague names, or other related information that could potentially identify a participant was altered. See Table 1 for additional information.

Table 1. *Participants' Profiles.*

Interviewee	Pseudonym Used	Attended US Minority School	Self-Identified Ethnicity	Raised in High-density Minority Environment	Tenure	Years as Faculty Member
1	Professor Mike Salazar	Yes	Hispanic	Yes	Yes	10
2	Professor Juanita López	Yes	American/Spaniard	Yes	Yes	20+
3	Professor Joe Gómez	Yes	Chicano	Yes	Yes	30
4	Professor José Rodríguez	Yes	Hispanic/Spaniard	Yes	Yes	25+
5	Professor Fred Córdova	Yes	Hispanic/Spanish	Yes	Yes	18
6	Professor Mary Anaya	Yes	Hispanic	Yes	Yes	12
7	Professor Teresa García	Yes	Chicana/Latino	Yes	Yes	15+
8	Professor Aaron Martínez	Yes	Hispanic/Latino	Yes	Yes	2+

Participants. Eight Hispanic tenure/tenure track or retired tenured faculty were

contacted by the researcher with an effort toward balancing gender and faculty rank. The

eight participants provided a rich balance of unique experiences and a wealth of data. The

researcher, in attempting to obtain an array of perspectives on the topic, also attempted to

secure participants from all tenure track teaching ranks, including faculty with tenure

who had retired. Interviews were conducted at locations convenient for the participants

and audio recorded for later transcription. Pseudonyms were used to protect the identity

and confidentiality of all interviewees. All interviewees signed a consent form, which

outlines the procedures and allows for participant withdrawal at any time (see Appendix

G for copy of the consent form).

Role of the Researcher

The researcher is a minority Hispanic doctoral student in an Educational

Leadership program who has worked in an array of university administrative positions.

The role of the researcher was primarily that of a learner, going into the interviews with a

genuine interest in the topic and an inquisitive search for meaning. This interest in

learning was bridled with an empathic neutrality, an "empathic stance in interviewing

[that] seeks vicarious understanding without judgment by showing openness, sensitivity,

respect, awareness and responsiveness" (Patton, 2002 p. 40), that was utilized during

interviews and interpretation of the data.

The researcher's interest in this topic continued to grow as he progressed through

his studies and became keenly aware of the disparities in minority representation in

several occupational areas, particularly in the vast disparities evident in minority

representation in faculty positions. The researcher has worked with several committees

and task forces to study minority issues and undertook this particular research with a

genuine interest to search out meaning. The data collection methods and the role of

researcher provided a solid foundation and an open environment for allowing successful

Hispanic faculty to tell their stories.

Data Analysis Process

Data were analyzed using an inductive-deductive or abductive approach with extensive consideration given to understanding the "meaning" within the interview responses from the interviewee's perspective. Creative synthesis was obtained by an immersion into the details and the specifics that grow out of the data through analysis of themes, patterns, and relationships (Patton, 2002). In this manner, analytic principles of inductive logic were used to identify specific observations and build toward general patterns, but also deductive logic was important in the analysis to note relationships within theoretical frameworks. Essentially, an abductive logical approach helped to ensure that the data analysis process was reliable, to ensure that the analysis of data was dependable, and that the analysis itself was conducted in such a manner that the results are worthy of attention. Abduction is a method that "combines the deductive and inductive models of proposition development and theory construction" (Patton, 2002, p. 470). Additionally, abduction is a process of working from "consequence back to cause or antecedent" where "the observer records the occurrence of a particular event, and then works back in time in an effort to reconstruct the events (causes) that produced the event (consequence) in question" (p. 470). As data were collected and analyzed, the researcher used the above mentioned data analysis techniques to aid in viewing the data from an array of perspectives and angles. Care was taken to avoid the desire to categorize responses into neatly clear-cut, oversimplified or pigeonholed categories and to ensure that the voices of interviewees are represented accurately. Statements, phrases, concepts, and words used by the interviewees were used to categorize concepts into general themes, themes that emerge from the data. Similar statements were linked and organized into

appropriate themes yet exceptional case responses were valued and organized

individually to capture their significance. Some of the themes were examined in relation

to previous research, facilitating the use of different lenses through which to analyze the

data.

Data were transcribed and coded using identified themes and organized using

Atlas/Ti software. Through coding, complex phenomena in the interview transcript were

labeled and systematically analyzed. In this way, data were segmented or chunked into

meaningful analytical units. Codes were descriptive words, categories or symbols

(Johnson & Christensen, 2004). The researcher used codes to link concepts and the raw

data of the interview transcripts. In this way the codes are "links between locations in the

data and sets of concepts or ideas, they are in that sense, heuristic devices" (Coffey &

Atkinson, 1996, p. 27). The researcher conducted interim analysis of data through an

ongoing iterative process of examining the data and ensuring that through coding data

were expanded and not simply reduced to common denominators (Coffey & Atkinson,

1996). The researcher made every effort to think creatively about the data and then

sought to transform the coded data into a meaningful analysis.

The researcher used memoing techniques to record reflective thoughts, ideas, and

insights about what the data were reveling. While coding, a master list of all codes was

maintained. Once initial coding was completed, summarization and organization of data

was accomplished, paying particular attention to refinement and revision of codes and

themes. As data were analyzed, enumeration was used to examine patterns of words or

word frequencies and/or frequency of codes (Johnson & Christensen, 2004). Additionally,

as data were analyzed, categories and codes were examined hierarchically to note overarching themes and vertical relationships between and among the codes.

In analyzing relationships among data categories, Spradley's (1979) Universal Semantic Relationships classification was used. Spradley (1979) identified nine forms of relationships. These are: strict inclusion, special, cause-effect, rationale, location for action, function, means-end, sequence and attribution (p. 122). These classifications while not all encompassing, served as initial guidelines in thinking through and examining the data from varying perspectives. Additionally, typologies were examined to assist in analyzing categories and potentially relating unique or separate dimensions that emerge from the data (Patton, 2002). The researcher also used diagramming techniques to develop sketches, outlines, and flow charts to examine interconnections and links between and among categories, variables and events (Johnson & Christensen, 2004). In analyzing the data, the researcher made every effort to "think with the data" and attempt to "go beyond the data," with an aim at transcending "the local and particular" (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p.162). Additionally, the researcher used established theory to provide structure in analyzing the Hispanic faculty interviews and as a method for presenting the data.

Coding

In analyzing the data, several code families were developed with connecting individual codes. Conceptual maps were developed for each code family and code descriptions, definitions, and specifications were developed to ensure proper identification and uniqueness of each code. Some codes were connected with more than

one code family, as it was important to maintain the interconnectedness even among the

individual code families. See Table 2 for code families and codes.

Table 2. *Code Families and Related Codes*

Code Family	Codes	
Academics	Codes (14): Academic (Ease and success) Academic Attitude (Negative) Academic Attitude (Positive) Academic Climate Academic Segregation Academic Separation based on abilities Challenging (Difficult) Academic Curriculum Quotation(s): 127	Diverse Student Population Educational Opportunity (Lack of) Educational Opportunity Educational Segregation Extracurricular Involvement Scholarship, Fellowships, Grants Work Ethic
Ethnic Consciousness	Codes (14): Awareness of Cultural Identity Cross-Cultural Experience - Anglo Culture Cultural Acceptance Cultural Awareness Cultural Conflict Cultural Density Cultural Dominance (by Hispanics) Quotation(s): 143	Devaluation of Speaking Spanish Diversity Should Not be the main focus Ethnic consciousness Perceptions of Discrimination Racial Bias Internalization Racism Religious Perceptions and influences
Faculty Experiences	Codes (30): Academic Climate Conflict within University Critical Mass of Hispanic Faculty Cross-Cultural Experience - Anglo Culture Cultural Taxation Diversity - Resistance to Ethnic consciousness Feelings of Isolation Feelings of Lack of Control (control of others) Hiring "own" graduates into faculty (Grow your own Hiring Practices Hispanic Faculty (Lack or) Hispanics clustered in certain	Institutional Commitment to Diversity Institutional Isomorphism Job Satisfaction (as Faculty) Native New Mexicans Devalued Power Structures Qualifications of Hispanics Questioned Questions on Quality of Hispanic Research Role Conflict Tenure Attitudes Tenure High value of "Publishing" Tenure Process University Culture Unofficial University Support

	academic fields	Structures
	Hispanics from New Mexico	Voice
	undervalued (those from other	White faculty sympathetic to
	locations valued higher)	minorities are hired (if no
	Institutional Leadership	minorities can be hired)
	Quotation(s): 195	
Family	Codes (10):	Parental Involvement
	Family Homogeneity	Religious Perceptions and
	Mother at Home	influences
	Parental Academic Expectations	Siblings Influence on Education
	Parents Educational Attainment	Stability of Family
	(Father)	Stability of Father
	Parents Educational Attainment	
	(Mother)	
	Quotation(s): 94	
Mentors -	Codes (5):	Mentors (Lack of)]
Wise Advisor	Mentor Relationships	Parental Involvement
	Mentors - Role Models (Non-	Role models – Hispanic
	Hispanic)	
	Quotation(s): 55	
Tenure	Codes (7):	Tenure Attitudes
	Legacy	Tenure High value of
	Qualifications of Hispanics	"Publishing"
	Questioned	Tenure Process
	Questions on Quality of Hispanic	University Culture
	Research	
	Quotation(s): 57	

Trustworthiness

In this research project, several strategies were used to ensure the validity of the

results. In qualitative research it is imperative that the results be trustworthy and

corroborated. Corroborating and validating were done throughout the data collection,

analysis, and write up of results. A metaphor that describes the qualitative researcher as a

"detective" looking for evidence about causes and effects helps visualize the role the researcher undertook to establish validity. In this way, the researcher built an understanding of the data through thoughtful consideration of possible causes and effects by systematically removing rival explanations or hypotheses until a final, powerful case was made for the interpretations. In doing so, the researcher maintained an empathic neutrality and reflexivity. This involved self-awareness and critical self-reflection by the researcher, particularly regarding potential biases and predispositions that may impact the research process (Johnson & Christensen, 2004). Patton (2002) explained that the "researcher is the instrument" (p.14). As such, in qualitative research, the credibility of the research is dependent largely on the credibility and conscientiousness of the researcher. Concepts of data reliability and validity are generally connected in qualitative research and captured in such concepts as trustworthiness, research credibility and defensibility (Johnson, 1997; Patton, 2002). The main goal is to ensure that the results of the study can be confidently supported. "If the issues of reliability, validity, trustworthiness, quality and rigor are meant in differentiating 'good' from 'bad' research then testing and increasing the reliability, validity, trustworthiness, quality and rigor will be important to the research in any paradigm" (Golafshani, 2003).

Johnson (1997) suggested that there are three different types of validity in qualitative research. The first is descriptive validity, which refers to the factual accuracy of the data as presented by the researcher. The second is interpretive validity, which refers to the accuracy with which the researcher understands and conveys the perceptions, thoughts and experiences of the participants. Thirdly, the idea of theoretical validity is presented, which speaks to the credibility and defensibility of the research in terms of

how the actual theory developed from the study fits with the data collected in the study. Taking these considerations into account, the researcher in this study incorporated these concepts into the study making every effort to ensure trustworthiness, credibility and defensibility. In order to ensure data trustworthiness and validity several strategies were used. These include:

Low-inference Descriptors. Direct quotes and verbatim responses provided by the participants were extensively used to ensure accuracy.

Data Triangulation. The researcher cross-checked information and conclusions by using multiple data sources and ensuring that there was support among those sources, in this manner conclusions can be corroborated.

Theory Triangulation. In order to help explain and interpret the data, the researcher used multiple theories and perspectives in analyzing the data and examined the conclusions through multiple theoretical lenses.

Participant Feedback. The researcher offered participants the opportunity to read and review transcripts as well as checking analysis and conclusions for verification and accuracy. The researcher also discussed the analysis and conclusions with two of the participants.

Peer Review. The researcher reviewed interpretations and conclusions with another researcher who was not involved in the research project. The peer reviewer was asked to skeptically review the documentation and asked to challenge the researcher to provide justifiable and concrete evidence for all interpretations.

Negative-Case Sampling. The researcher took great care to find, examine, and explain cases that did not conform to the results and interpretations (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Johnson & Christensen, 2004; Patton 2002).

Conceptual Framework - The Doors of Perception

The conceptual framework arose from the data collection and analysis. Throughout the data analysis phase of this research certain themes emerged that showed significant interconnectedness with important areas of theory. Specifically, theoretical research on cultural density, cultural capital, and cultural fluidity (social value framing) were investigated as integral constructs in understanding the data. Emerging out of these three building blocks of theory is the conceptual framework, which is referred to as the Doors of Perception (see Figure 2). This conceptual framework is developed throughout Chapter Four.
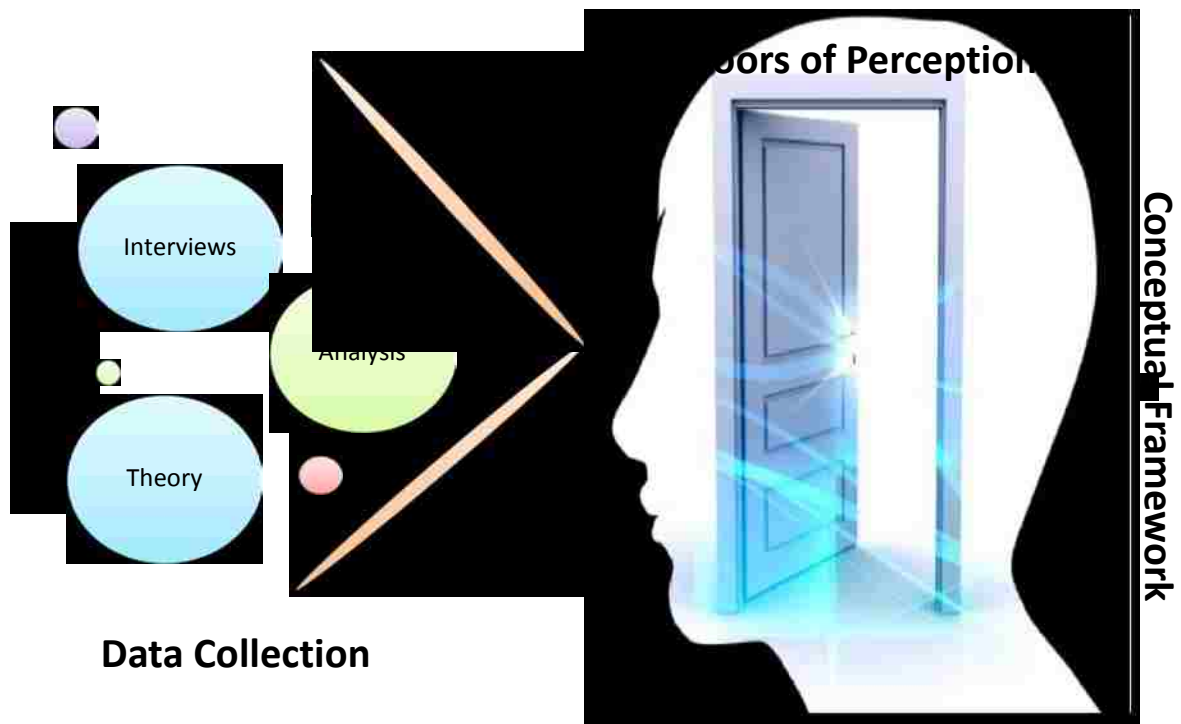
Figure 2. Conceptual Framework.

Summary

   This chapter presented the methods that were used in this research study. A research plan and justification for pursuing this qualitative study were identified; and methods for collecting, analyzing, coding and interpretation of the data collected were presented. The sampling of the participants was explained and issues of participant confidentiality, ethical considerations and validity, reliability and trustworthiness strategies pertinent to qualitative research were presented. The findings from this research are presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 4

Analysis and Findings

Introduction

The data obtained in this study formed a labyrinth of crisscrossing information that was coded and categorized into major themes, some of which were consistent with existing research on minority faculty. This supports previous research but also new themes and perspectives were explored. The objectives of this research were to give voice to a small sub-population of Hispanic faculty who had not been heard; to look for insight into how those faculty made it; the barriers they encountered and how they overcame those barriers; in essence, to give voice to those who succeeded. Additionally, it was hoped that new knowledge and new perspectives could be obtained by understanding the experiences of these faculty from their perspective. At first, this research was an attempt to provide an avenue to see others as they see themselves but the research grew beyond that. It grew to include thinking about high culturally dense environments, what relationships and resources were available to Hispanic faculty and how were those resources and relationships helpful in navigating the low Hispanic cultural density of universities. It grew into thinking about how Hispanic faculty move within and between those varying cultural environments, how was this movement empowered, facilitated and/or at what cost to the Hispanic culture of the individual, if any. It grew into thinking about how perceptions are built and how are perceptions changed. It grew into not only seeing from another's perspective but also to see ourselves as others see us.

Initially, over 150 individual codes were developed to organize the interview data into meaningful pieces. After multiple readings these codes were paired down into categories, which aided in identifying substantive topics within the data. Several major

themes emerged from the data including stability of family, impact of religion, parental

emphasis on education, early academic success, socioeconomic status, mentor

relationships, role models, cultural taxation, university culture conflict, and alternative

perceptions. These themes overlapped to provide a rich collage of meaning that allows

for essential understanding to be gained. The broader themes that constituted an initial

organizational framework for discussion in this analysis were Family, Academics, Ethnic

Consciousness, Mentors, and Faculty Experiences. As opposed to a detailed linear

discussion of these five themes, the researcher desired to go beyond the data and build a

theoretical/conceptual framework based on extensive theory. Connecting significant

theoretical constructs to the data allows for not simply a method for organizing the data

for interpretation but more importantly to build upon and go beyond existing theory. In

particular, this analysis will show the impact of these themes on what the researcher

terms, the doors of perception. This study will show the interconnectedness of how

different forms of culture may exert mediated effects on behavioral and cognitive

development through interpersonal social interaction and the effects of how alternative

perception and experiences of Hispanic faculty connect or are at cross purposes with the

dominate society at large and within universities.

The Doors of Perception

William Blake (1790), the famed poet, wrote, "If the doors of perception were

cleansed every thing would appear to man as it is, infinite. For man has closed himself up

till he sees all things thru' narrow chinks of his cavern" (plate 14). The logic behind the

idea of the "doors of perception" as used in this paper regarding Hispanic faculty access

lies not in the fact that barriers do exist (as research clearly shows), it lies in the idea that

those barriers may be perceived quite differently by different people. The doors of perception are the internal and real perceptions that can hinder or promote access and success. The data collected repeatedly suggested that those Hispanic faculty interviewed perceived themselves at times as having less access or at times as having less of a right to higher education faculty positions than their White counterparts. Those alternative perceptions are impacted and grow out of three main theoretical components as discussed and presented in this analysis; they are Cultural Density, Cultural Capital, and Cultural Fluidity. These are the three cultural "doors of perception" and all three are essential for a full understanding of the complexity of the Hispanic faculty experience.

Prior to moving into the three analyses that make up the conceptual framework it needs to be noted that this research is in no way an attempt to simply develop a set of commonalities or a "checklist" for success. It is important to avoid overly simple generalizations about these participants and holding them up as examples, which can unintentionally negate or downplay the real difficulties that Hispanics from high-density communities experience, thus blaming the victim for not succeeding. It would be disingenuous to relay the message back to the Hispanic community that because these Hispanic faculty have "made it" so can you, so if you don't "make it" it is your own fault or lack of effort. The experiences of the Hispanic faculty interviewed have many clear commonalities but each story is unique and personal. On the opposite side, it needs to be appreciated that these Hispanic faculty navigated the educational and social environments successfully and it was not simply due to "luck" as several of them initially suggested.

Cultural Density

The theoretical perspective on cultural density is not only descriptive of large-scale geographical populated areas but it also includes more micro level analysis of the density of persons within specific communities, neighborhoods, and schools. Cultural density has in some research settings been used as a parallel to the idea of segregation (Echenique & Fryer, 2005). The term segregation, though, holds negative connotations of purposeful separation of minorities by dominant cultures or even of minorities segregating themselves from dominant cultures. There are many perspectives on the causes of segregation and numerous political policies and historic efforts to integrate and desegregate communities and schools. The fact remains, however, that individuals live in locales that have varying degrees of cultural density; generally, people tend to group themselves in settings with people similar to themselves.

The issue of density was important as much of the literature on Hispanic faculty noted that even though Hispanic faculty are an extremely small percentage of faculty, those who made it into the faculty were primarily international or they attended schools with low Hispanic cultural density (predominately White schools). In the interviews with Hispanic faculty, it became evident that the density of the Hispanic population in which these faculty lived significantly impacted their experiences and perceptions. In each one of the interviews in this project, the Hispanic faculty member was raised and educated in a high-density Hispanic environment, in some cases the population was nearly entirely Hispanic. These culturally dense environments had specific impacts on the individual Hispanic faculty members, on their upbringing, schooling, and their experiences as tenure/tenure track faculty members. In this section, communities, structure of families,

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and faculty experiences relating to cultural density are discussed. Particular attention is paid to the impact of the high cultural density of their communities and schools and how the Hispanic faculty had to transition into the extremely low Hispanic cultural density of the academy.

High Hispanic Cultural Density Communities

It has been extensively researched that there are striking differences in the educational achievement of minorities and Whites. An array of explanations for these differences has been researched including racial bias of teachers (Delpit, 1995; Ferguson, 1998), genetic differences (Jensen, 1998), family structure and poverty (Brooks-Gunn & Duncan, 1997), school quality (Cook & Evans, 2000), socialization of peer culture (Fryer & Torelli, 2010) and even cultural impacts on neural substrates of cognition (Han & Northoff, 2008). All these factors are embedded and/or are impacted within the particular community in which one is raised. Hispanic faculty who participated in this research lived in high-density Hispanic locations about which they all communicated extensive family histories of living in such locations. All participants communicated the impact of these communities on their perceptions of the world and in shaping them into who they are as individuals. Of particular note, the issues of family structure and religion were large factors in the socialization of the participants.

All Hispanic faculty interviewed had extended family histories in New Mexico. Professor López noted, "we have a 400 year history as part of a land grant and so yeah, we are native New Mexican" (Interview 2, 2008). All participants made similar comments and it was with pride and a deep respect for their home communities that these comments were made. Being from high-density Hispanic communities, several of the

Hispanic faculty had protection, in some regards, at an early age from cultural conflict. Professor Rodríguez, in reflecting back on his community, explained:

> Through the whole elementary and junior high it was not middle school but junior high, we were probably 99.9 percent Hispanic all through that. If there was an Anglo kid - there may have been one or two but they were probably Hispanicized along the way in some ways because they probably spoke with an accent and things like that. So we were almost 100 percent Hispanic kids. (Interview 4, 2008)

In a similar vein, Professor Salazar could not recall any student-to-student discriminatory behavior, "I think that there was no discrimination based on gender or ethnicity just people picking on each other and bullying each other as there is in any school" (Interview 1, 2008). Even in school environments with more exposure to White students, Professor López noted no racial or ethnic tensions, "Um, no - in terms of ethnic, racial tensions, name calling, groupings - fairly well mixed" (Interview 2, 2008). In these schools Hispanics were the majority population.

In terms of friendships within the community, Hispanic faculty also did not express any major issues that came up regarding one's ethnicity. Professor Córdova recalled, "I hung out with all our neighborhood kids, none were Anglo, they (friends) lived 3-4 blocks around me growing up in (my community). They were all Hispanic; we spoke Spanish around the neighborhood. That was all we spoke" (Interview 5, 2008).

Professor Rodríguez similarly recalled that within his community and school Hispanics were the majority, "just strictly Hispanic friends in school. (My community) at that time was about I would say 60% - 65% Hispanic. St. Michael's High School, the

Christian Brothers School was probably about 75% Hispanic. There weren't very many

Anglos" (Interview 4, 2008).

Of note, however, was a comment made by Professor Salazar that related not only

to the fact that Hispanics and Whites intermingled without any major race or cultural

based problems but that African-American students whose population was extremely

small had difficulties. He recalled, "I fit in; I don't think that they (White students)

interacted differently with Hispanics like I say it was just those Blacks that... there was

just that rivalry between Blacks and everybody else" (Interview 1, 2008). It should be

noted, however, and will be discussed in more detail as part of the discussion on cultural

capital and cultural fluidity that even though the student population and community

populations were extensively Hispanic, the teachers in those schools were White. As

Professor Córdova noted, "It was mostly Hispanics students although the teachers were

mostly Anglo" (Interview 5, 2008). All participants in this research project had similar

comments.

While participants had positive recollections of their home communities including

primary schooling, friendships, and lack of conflict due to race or ethnicity, it would be

easy to project an image of an idyllic childhood, which of course would be an

oversimplification. Many of these home communities are some of the poorest in the

nation and have extensive dropout rates and a litany of societal ills like drugs, alcoholism,

divorce and violence. Yet these Hispanic faculty did not allow those negative attributes

to significantly impact their academic progression and hinder their overall success. With

so many others not succeeding in these communities and not achieving academically,

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what was unique and different about these successful faculty? One piece of this puzzle

has to do with family structure.

Structure of Families

Interviews with Hispanic faculty explored the role and impact of their family

structure as it influenced their perceptions and outlook on life. As the faculty interviewed

were raised in high cultural density Hispanic populations, it was important to gain some

insight into the extent that family played a role in the success of the Hispanic faculty

member, or not. Family issues that are influenced by high cultural density are explored.

It should be noted that in section three of this analysis other family characteristics are

discussed in terms of cultural capital. This discussion however, looks into the impact of

cultural density on the structures of families.

In all of the interviews, it was evident that stability in the family and/or the

extended family was a foundation for success. Two parent families were common in the

interviews with the father working to support the family as the primary income earner

and the mother's role was primarily a homemaker or part-time employee. Professor

Gómez recalled his upbringing in this manner:

> Very stable working class family but my father, my father worked in the United
>
> States, in the post office for 36 years. He retired actually after 36 years as the
>
> assistant postmaster in (my hometown). He would have been, everybody in the
>
> world said he would have been postmaster but in those days it was a political
>
> appointment so whatever party happened to be (in power determined who got the
>
> postmaster job). The Democrats would chose some political person and the
>
> Republicans would, too, so he always was, probably the stable factor in that

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whole post office. I mean he was very well respected in that area. But anyway, my

mother worked a little bit before they were married but primarily stayed home and

raised six children with my dad. Very stable family, very Catholic family. Very

family oriented. (Interview 3, 2008)

It is important to note that in the family environment, positive aspects of the high-

density environment had a considerable influence on the socialization of the interviewees.

Professor Salazar was nostalgic about his family upbringing and noted that his family had

very strong bonds:

What was out of the ordinary (was) that they (parents) stayed together for 50

years and now a days that is not ordinary and I think that was a big factor in us

and the stability of the family and the fact that we could focus on education rather

than focusing on where our parents are or what they are doing. Our parents stayed

together until they passed away and so that played a major role in us staying in

school is them staying together…strong family bond. (Interview 1, 2008)

Not having added burdens or concerns about instability in the family allowed for

a solid foundation on which to build and the ability to focus on education. Professor

López explained that she "grew up in a Catholic family. Strong Catholic family and so I

went to a Catholic college. And again the expectations (academically) were that I would

do well" (Interview 2, 2008). Professor Córdova also noted this foundation, "Stable

family. We had a full stable, there were six children. All did well in school. My two

brothers who followed me were in the same boat; they went on to college like me - they

did well" (Interview 4, 2008). Professor Anaya recalled, "(I had a) two parent family.

Eight kids in the family, five brothers and two sisters. So there were five boys and three

girls. I was number seven out of eight. My family, my parents were married for 60 some years before my mother passed…so we are a large Hispanic, I think quite a traditional family" (Interview 6, 2011). Additionally, Professor García noted, "My parents were married the entire time (their entire lives)" (Interview 7, 2011). There was no mention of divorce, alcoholism, family divisions, criminal behavior in the family or excessive burdens beyond normal childhood concerns from nearly all the interviewees. What is interesting is that there is seemingly a high correlation with those aforementioned societal ills and high cultural density minority population areas (Breen & Jonsson, 2005; Chapa & De La Rosa, 2004).

The only situation that was a bit different was that of Professor Martínez who shared that his "father was murdered (when I was) at the age of 7 and I took care of my brothers. My mother tried to go back to school two years after that" (Interview 8, 2011). Although he did not have the support of a two-parent family he also noted that he had a large local extended family that provided extensive support for him. He did, however, have the additional burden of taking care of his younger siblings.

Religion

Religion was an important factor for all of the interviewees. Religion plays a large role in Hispanic culture and community. In high-density Hispanic settings, it would be understandable that these Hispanic faculty would be influenced by their religion yet the value and impact of the spiritual dimension and the importance and high esteem that was placed on the religious aspect of life was very apparent. Statements like we were a "very Catholic family" (Interview 3, 2008) and our parents "sending us to Catholic schools"

(Interview 3, 2008) were made with pride and vigor and with an attitude of conviction. Professor Salazar was emphatic about the importance of religion to him:

> I went to St. Mary's. My parents believed in sending us to Christian-type schools so I went to St. Mary's for the first five years, learned about the spiritual dimension... they (schools) say to celebrate diversity but yet something that is so big in children's lives - their religion and they don't celebrate that diversity. (Interview 1, 2008)

For these Hispanic faculty, the interplay of religion and schooling was important not only to them personally but also was emphasized by their families. "I grew up in a Catholic family. Strong Catholic family and so I went to a Catholic college," stated Professor Córdova (Interview 2, 2008). The separation of school and religion was not viewed as a positive and some Hispanic faculty remained in high-density Hispanic religious schools for much of their education, even into college. Professor Rodríguez noted that he "(went to) Catholic schools all my life. Started out with the nuns up to grade seven and then I attended St. Michael's High School in Santa Fe, which is an all-male Christian Brothers School" (Interview 4, 2008).

Professor Anaya brought up the fact that in her community the only religious or private school was Methodist but even though her family was Catholic they sent her there anyway; she noted:

> They (the community) are all good Catholics, why would they (my parents) send their kids to a Methodist school and my mother was a little concerned as well. She was worried about the religious education component of the curriculum and it was okay with her if we didn't pay too much attention to the Methodist religious

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education classes because it was really important for her for us to maintain our

Catholic upbringing. It was a matter of convenience because that was what was

available. (Interview 6, 2011)

Even though her parents were concerned about the spiritual element of the Methodist

school they were more concerned about the local public school. They would rather

expose their children to the religious differences than expose them to the non-religion in

the local public school. The importance of religious schooling was evident in Professor

García's family and community, even at the expense of other benefits in the home,

> During all of this time we were in Catholic school, how my parents were paying
>
> for Catholic school, I have no idea, because there was very little money in the
>
> home. We lived in a house that had an outdoor toilet. There was actually indoor
>
> plumbing but it was very fragile so used (very little). For most of the time we
>
> used the outdoor bathroom then my dad finally built on and we had indoor
>
> plumbing, but we still basically used the outdoor toilet. I say that just because I
>
> think that we were a part of a working class where some people were able to
>
> become part of the lower middle class. (Interview 7, 2011)

> It was essential that religion be a part of schooling as it was in the community at

large. Professor García continued:

> My parents wanted me in Catholic school. Religion played a huge role, we were
>
> at Mass every Sunday and then when we did move to Albuquerque, my parents
>
> purchased a house. They purchased a house a block away from the church and
>
> they were in church all the time and it was not infrequent that they would go to
>
> mass every single day. They were very devout, you know with my mother praying

to all the saints, bargaining with the saints. Religion was very much a part of the whole family, the whole extended family. My grandfather had been in Los Penitentes. So very much a part of the family. (Interview 7, 2011)

While all participants related that Catholicism was still an important factor in who they are to this day, Professor Martínez noted that his perspectives have changed some. He noted, "I was raised Roman Catholic. I would think (we were really devout). I personally don't have a preference for the Church of Rome these days, but that has no bearing on how I was raised" (Interview 8, 2011).

It is evident that being raised in high culturally dense Hispanic communities directly impacted the interviewees. It was noted that the major factors relating to high cultural density in these communities was family structure and religion. These two findings corroborate an extensive amount of research on the role of two parent families (Jaynes, 2002) and the role of religion in promoting academic success (Sikkink & Hernandez, 2003), particularly the research on the Catholic school effect (Sandler, 2001; Ludwig, 1997). Jaynes, (2002) did an extensive analysis of numerous studies conducted over the past several decades that looked into the effects of two parent, divorced, remarried, never married and various family structures on the children's academic achievement. He explained, "research on the impact of divorce on educational achievement indicates that the academic advantage for children from intact families (two parent) holds for various ages and using various means of measurement" (Jaynes, 2002, p. 13). Data collected from this study corroborates this research for Hispanics in high-density cultural communities. The only interviewee who did not have a two parent family

structure noted that he had a large extended family in the very small community in which he grew up, suggesting that this served as a proxy for the two-parent structure.

Studies have also shown the role of religion in promoting academic success. Religious beliefs and practices are likely to promote stable families and increase the levels of parent and child interaction, which are family dynamics that improve academic achievement for children (Sikkink & Hernandez, 2003). The role of religion in promoting academic success has been somewhat ignored by researchers, which is intriguing considering the high levels of participation of Hispanics in religious activities. But what is it about participation in religious activities that helps promote academic achievement? Religious congregations provide educational experiences beyond the classroom (Carbonaro, 1998; Lareau, 2000); cultural capital is enhanced through the improvement of social relationships, trust and reciprocity (Ream, 2001); community values and norms are transmitted from generation to generation (Coleman, 1998), and civic participation is increased (Sikkink & Hernandez, 2003). Additionally, Hispanic school age individuals who regularly attend church services (weekly or more often) skip school much less frequently, are expelled or suspended from school less frequently, get along better with teachers, have less trouble paying attention, have less trouble completing homework and get along better with other students (Sikking & Hernandez, 2003).

Research on the Catholic school effect has been conducted for several decades with some studies indicating that Catholic schools improve academic achievement (Evans & Schwab, 1995; Neal, 1997) and other studies showing no impact on academic achievement (Ludwig, 1997). With the recent political discussion on school vouchers, there is renewed interest in Catholic as well as other private schools. What the research

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suggests, however, is that religious and non-religious private schools do have a positive effect on academic achievement for Blacks and Hispanics but negligible to none for Whites (Figlio & Stone, 1999; Sander 2001). In fact Sander (2001) asserted, "Catholic schools seem to have significant and substantial positive effects on education outcomes for black and Hispanic students" (p. 1). All Hispanic faculty interviewed except one attended private schools. The one faculty member who did not attend private schools had no option to do so as his home community was very small and he did not have access to a Catholic or any other private school. One Hispanic faculty member attended a private Methodist school even though her family was highly involved in its Roman Catholic faith as it was the only available option in her community and her parents did not want her in the local public school.

Due to the fact that these Hispanic faculty members attended k-12 schools in several different decades, from the 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s and attended different schools it is not possible via this study to measure the precise impact these schools had on them individually. The impact, however, appears to have been extensive. Additionally, with the declining enrollment nationally in Catholic schools, future positive impacts on Hispanic academic achievement may be realized by fewer and fewer Hispanics. What is clear from the data is that the level of "religiosity" expressed by the parents and other extended family members impacted these eight Hispanic faculty members immensely. Studies on Catholic (religious) schools show that students who attend are a product of relatively more religious families. In one study, religiosity was measured by church attendance. It found that 72 percent of Catholics who send their children to Catholic school attended church nearly each week or more often, while only 28 percent of

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Catholics who send their children to public school attend church nearly each week or more often (Jeynes, 1999). The importance of this is that the participants in this study all mentioned the strong connection with religion during their upbringing and their parents' strong connections with the church. This reflects findings from previous research that indicate, "religiosity as measured by church attendance has a positive effect on academic achievement" (Sander, 2001).

What is evident in this study is that in high-density Hispanic areas these traits proved important, even though these communities themselves are prone to high dropout rates, high crime rates, and poverty. These traits made up for and outweighed those negative traits for these Hispanic faculty members, but what is the combination and/or balance that triggers success in high cultural density areas? These questions are difficult to fully assess. It is interesting to recall that the approach of this research was to look into high-density Hispanic communities and in particular interview participants who attended high-density Hispanic schools; the logic being that these students would have different experiences than Hispanics in low-density Hispanic schools. Some research on cultural density takes another perspective on the experiences of minorities in low-density minority (White) schools.

Research on cultural density and segregation in education has attempted to look not only at the specific numbers of minorities in a particular school but also comparing those numbers with economic, social and health deficiencies between low-density schools and high-density minority schools. For example, research by Case and Katz (1991) provided evidence of the negative effects of relationships developed by disadvantaged youths in high-density minority neighborhoods. Additionally, research by

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Katz, Kling and Liebman (2001) showed that parents and children who moved into high-density poverty neighborhoods were negatively impacted both in physical and mental health. Other researchers have identified disparities between low cultural density environments and high cultural density environments; however much of the research was not at the level of the individual or the level at which individuals interact with one other (Echenique & Fryer, 2005). Essentially, regardless of the level of cultural density in an educational setting, it is important to examine the level of connectedness of individuals of the same culture or race in that setting.

Echenique and Fryer (2005) sought to better understand personal networks based on the individual and his/her connections within an academic setting. They coined a measure called the Spectral Segregation Index (SSI) to measure within school density, segregation patterns, and friendship networks. What they proposed is that the common practice of using the percentage of a particular race of students in a school as, "a substitute for within-school segregation measures, is a poor proxy for actual social interactions" (p. 7). This research provided evidence that when minority students are few and scarce (low cultural density) those students tend to be highly integrated into the overall school population. However, as the density increases, as the percentage of minorities increases in the school, "segregation increases dramatically, hitting a ceiling...at roughly twenty percent of the student population," at which point students "exhibit severe within-school segregation" (p. 7). Essentially, they discover that simply increasing the percentage of minorities in a school does not measure the personal interactions within schools. They noted that it is one thing to have minority "kids present in the majority of white schools; it is something quite different to have black students be

a part of the social networks of the typical white kid" (p. 36). This research is interesting as it explores the notion that as cultural density increases in a population, interpersonal social segregation can actually increase. In other words, minorities move away from interracial interaction and move toward increased racial separation. As noted earlier in the African-American naming research, minorities tend to move away from the dominant culture if the numbers support doing so. In this study, these Hispanic faculty members were not affected by this phenomenon because in their schooling environments their Hispanic culture was the majority culture.

Acting White

The phenomenon known as "acting White," or "selling out" as it is sometimes known, has been attributed to Hispanic faculty members that move on from their local communities, forget their roots, and from the perspective of outsiders fully assimilate into the White culture (Fryer & Torelli, 2010). The Hispanic faculty in this study all discussed their ethnic consciousness and desire to impact their home communities and peoples; yet the perception by their home communities can shift and Hispanic faculty can be misunderstood and accused of acting White. Conceptualizing what is meant by acting White can be ambiguous, but it can refer to different speech patterns, loss of accent, different dress, or other difficult to quantify factors. Fordham and Ogbu (1986) argued that there is an oppositional culture among minority youth in which they reject behaviors that are seen as belonging to the White culture. Considerable debate has occurred as to whether or not there exists such a phenomenon as "acting White," with some dismissing it as simply an urban legend (Spencer, Noll, Stoltzfus, & Harpalani, 2001).

Fryer and Torelli (2010) attempted to operationalize what is meant by "acting White." They took a look at the differences between low and high culturally dense public and private schools in terms of the relationship between achievement and social status. They discovered:

There are racial differences in the relationship between social status and academic achievement. Among whites, higher grades are associated with higher social status. For Blacks, higher achievement is associated with modestly higher social status until a grade point average of 3.48, when the slope turns negative. A black student with a 4.0 grade point average has on average 1.5 fewer same race friends, than a white student with a 4.0. Among Hispanic students there is little change in social status from a grade point average of 1 through 2.5. After 2.5 the gradient turns sharply negative. A Hispanic student with a 4.0 grade point average is the least popular of all Hispanic students and has 3 fewer friends than a typical White student with a 4.0 GPA. (p. 381)

This suggests that Hispanic students who excel academically (GPA above a 2.5) lose same race friends and, it is suggested, that in doing so, are labeled as "acting White." What is interesting about this research is that these racial differences in the relationship between social status and academic achievement are larger in predominately White schools compared to predominately minority schools. The effect is similar for boys and girls. Additionally, Fryer and Torelli (2010) noted that these racial differences are quite different when comparing public and private schools. In private schools, the popularity of White students does not increase in parallel to the increase in GPA. However, for Hispanics in private schools, popularity and social status are not negatively associated

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with higher GPAs. In other words, Hispanics in private schools are not impacted with the stigma of "acting white." Fryer and Torelli (2010) also noted that among Hispanic public school students there is a strong correlation between grades and fights, as Hispanic students were much more likely to be involved in fights as their grades increased.

All the participants in this study, except one, attended private schools with high Hispanic density. None mentioned any stigma or associated academic achievement with "acting white." The one participant who attended public high-density minority schools also did not express any loss of social status by doing well in school. In essence, "acting white" is mainly a public school phenomenon and is almost non-existent in private schools. The data collected in this study reaffirm this particular research regarding private schools and Hispanics.

Low Hispanic Cultural Density in Universities

Universities have extremely low cultural density in terms of Hispanic faculty members. This presented a potential dilemma for Hispanic faculty as they entered the academy. Would they simply become integrated and adopt the majority White academic culture? Would they then, because of the low Hispanic cultural density, be viewed as acting White? Or would they seek to maintain their unique cultural identity? How would Hispanic faculty navigate a university culture with a long established history of White power and control?

Professor Gómez noted that when he became a professor, "it wasn't all rosy because there were huge philosophical battles" (Interview 3, 2008). Additionally, acceptance and/or integration in low cultural density environments are not necessarily easy or smooth. Professor Córdova noted:

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I was new to the faculty. I had a tough time there. (My university) at that time in the department they were all Anglos and old faculty. It was an old faculty and they had been there for years. They did not accept me for anything because I was just a kid wet behind the ears (Interview 4, 2008).

He continues, noting that getting support in this environment was not easy.

So they were all friends when I got there. I could not get cooperation from anyone there. All the faculty refused to even add classes in (my area) and I kept having to go back to the President and he didn't want to get involved. He didn't want to talk to them and persuade them because it was his first year there and he didn't want to rock the boat (Interview 4, 2008).

It is worth noting that even if integration and entrance into academia are obtained, it is by no means a smooth transition particularly when control and power is in the hands of the majority. As one interviewee reflected with frustration and agitation on his early years as a faculty member:

So as a young Assistant (Professor) in the department, it was controlled totally by White male professors who had been there for a long time. There were maybe two or three faculty members who were - one Native American… and then one or two Hispanic or Chicano faculty. But I mean we were very much tightly controlled as to what we could do and what we could not do. They put up all kinds of obstruction in terms of us pushing the idea of bilingual education so there was a lot of that for a lot of years. That was the environment, I mean we were at the mercy of these strong tenured professors who really ruled the roost and they ruled

it in terms of racist ways, they ruled it in terms of control, they controlled so they

always controlled everything. (Interview 3, 2008)

As the number of Hispanic faculty members is so low, particularly in certain

fields, it is difficult to determine the impact of being alone, of being the only Hispanic in

a certain field, being, as stated above, at the "mercy" of the department. Professor Anaya

had a similar experience, she noted with a skeptical tone:

I felt that at times I was treated differently because of who I was. Early on in my

career I had a chairperson who would review my manuscripts before they were

sent out. Nobody else's manuscripts were reviewed before they were sent out, but

mine were. Mine were and it wasn't a pleasant experience. What was so

interesting is that I felt like I was in a position to follow the recommendations, so

I thought, of my department chair at the time. So the reviews came back saying,

"Why are you doing this?" (regarding changes suggested by the chair) and it gave

me some confidence in my own self. If I would have done this the way I wanted

to do it in the first place I would have gotten different reviews but it wouldn't be

"why did you do it this way." No one else in the department had to do that ever.

(Interview 6, 2011)

While Hispanic faculty felt subjected to "different" levels of scrutiny and

dominated by other faculty members, all new faculty members regardless of race or

ethnicity could have similar perceptions and feelings. What is unique to the minority

experience, however, is the added scrutiny they felt because of their race and/or ethnicity.

As the research on minority faculty presented earlier shows, despite the minimal growth

of minorities in the tenure track ranks, there is a growing undercurrent of understanding about the value of having an ethnically diverse faculty. Professor García noted:

> Until I think that as an educated collective that we who have gone through this system are able to say, "Enough." It has to be our people, not because of some spoils system; it is because we bring value to these decisions, because we can have stronger schools and a better society if the leadership is diverse. (Interview 7, 2011)

Some of the experiences that Hispanic faculty discussed in relation to the low cultural density at universities related specifically to the academic climate. To varying degrees, these Hispanic faculty members struggled with being accepted into the university culture yet all expressed fondness and thankfulness to the university overall. The academic climate, once understood and integrated, provided richness, self-realization, and human flourishing for the Hispanic faculty interviewed. Professor Salazar noted that he now enjoys the freedom and independence that faculty positions provide, "I enjoy setting my own schedule and being responsible and not have someone telling me what to do. I know what students need to learn and that's what I teach them" (Interview 1, 2008). Along these same lines, the impacts that faculty positions have on the society at large and on individual lives are very rewarding. As Professor López expressed:

> I began working with teachers in (my area) when I realized that it's the principal, it's really the administrator at the school level that makes the difference. It's that person that can make or be part of making decisions that impact what happens in classrooms. (Interview 2, 2008)

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Even with the rewards that Hispanic faculty receive from teaching and research they are aware of their place and the consequences if they directly oppose the established academic culture. In reflecting back on relationships with other Hispanic faculty, Professor Córdova noted that his struggles did not compare to another Hispanic faculty member who was outspoken and consequently denied tenure at first:

I probably had a little bit easier time then she (Hispanic faculty) did because I probably wasn't as outspoken as she was. I wasn't as outspoken as she was and so she got into trouble a lot more than I ever did. I stood for things but I did it in a way that I think didn't rankle the establishment in the same way. (Interview 3, 2008)

As the cultural density is extremely low for Hispanic faculty, it was noted by all participants that they were often asked, cajoled, and requested to be involved in university activities simply because they are Hispanic. Professor García examined the academic climate and questioned the power structures in universities, stating:

I also think that we have to change universities; I think that there is no penalty that is paid by universities for not hiring people of color. So that you can have an administration that is all White, you can have an administration in (this organization) that is all White, you can have a Board of Directors in (this organization) that doesn't have any Hispanics and it goes unreported, unnoticed and there are no penalties. (Interview 7, 2011)

The academic environment and the established power structures within universities can go unnoticed by those outside and those in these positions of power have no real consequences for not diversifying. Accordingly there are no real penalties for not

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diversifying the faculty, but society is changing. Professor García advocates fundamental change to the culture of universities:

> (It) is that diversifying the faculty is right at the edge of many of these questions. It is about complex adaptive systems, it is about cultures in collision and it is about fundamentally changing a lot of the work of the university. It is about what is happening with teaching, it is about pedagogy, it is about all of that vocabulary that is the domain, after all, of people who think of themselves as experts. And suddenly we are saying the expertise is really quite diverse, it is not your kind of research it is my kind of research…a lot of the change is at the peripheral and then it just sort of cascades to the core because it is the idea of the butterfly in the forest, right? And that is I think what we are, we are right now the butterflies and there is all of this movement at the peripheral and it is my hope that in fact it will, at one state it will cascade. We have not seen it. We have not seen it. (Interview 7, 2011)

The lack of cultural density in universities is directly impacted by the value that the university places on diversity. The few Hispanic faculty are making changes at the periphery as noted above, but making lasting systemic changes is much more challenging and difficult. Professor García recalls such difficulties:

> I did not realize how difficult it would be to try and bring that diversity agenda to classroom education (in my field). I think that I was fairly successful and I left when I realized that any voice about critical change had been silenced because I don't think my colleagues could hear me anymore. I would speak and it would be basically the roll of the eyes. (Interview 7, 2011)

Yet she understands the value and need for other perspectives to be heard in the academy:

> If you have this different life experience, it matters a lot from my perspective that
> I grew up in a house with an outdoor toilet. All kinds of things are attached to
> that, not because...you know at the time I didn't know we were particularly poor
> because everyone in my neighborhood had an outdoor toilet. But as I look back
> on it, most of the people that I work with did not have an outdoor toilet. It is that
> life experience, that I can give expression to. That I do have a gift of perspective,
> I do have a different set of narratives; the stories that I tell are different from other
> people. There is something that if you are bi-lingual, called code switching. Code
> switching is a metaphor for this ability to move back and forth (between cultures);
> I think as a woman I move back and forth. (Interview 7, 2011)

This notion of code switching and moving back and forth between cultures is expanded in section three of this analysis (cultural fluidity). What is important to note at this juncture is that the lack of cultural density within universities creates an environment that is monolingual, in a sense – a culture that is full of faculty who are believed or perceived to have had similar experiences, similar stories, and similar worldviews. Professor Martínez, as with all the other Hispanic faculty members in this study, had at some point to make a personal decision on how to operate in the university environment:

> Was I going to fight them by going to another team, you know like that kid game
> Red Rover? I'm not going to play that game. Two ideologies butting heads
> against each other, you know blunt instruments that seldom do anybody any good
> and create more animosity than anything else. Not my bag, so I avoided that like
> the plague. (Interview 8, 2011)

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Hispanic Cultural Taxation

The low Hispanic cultural density in the faculty ranks creates a different burden on Hispanic faculty, one that White faculty members do not necessarily experience. Hispanic faculty often experienced cultural taxation, which occurs when they are expected to be experts in relating to other Hispanics and expected to serve as Hispanic representatives both within the university and externally between the university and the Hispanic community at large. In addition, Hispanic faculty members are often the designated experts on diversity issues and expected to educate others on issues of diversity (Luna, 2000). As previously discussed, minorities often are more than willing to participate in Hispanic community events, sit on various committees to serve as the Hispanic "voice" and conduct seminars, discussions or symposiums on diversity even though their own particular area of study and expertise may not be directly associated with diversity issues. Professor Gómez exemplifies this issue:

Because there are so few of us, we are asked to be on this committee and that committee so we fill a lot of Affirmative Action kind of things. So you know you can get killed to death with assignments with committees and things because they need somebody to fill the role there. So it's hard and then a lot of our scholarship a lot of times tends to be connected to the community and so like Native American faculty do a lot of work in the community, but that's not given the same status that kind of scholarship as writing these esoteric articles that get published and nobody's going to read. So what is scholarship and what is research and who defines what that is? (Interview 3, 2008)

The level of cultural taxation and involvement that Hispanic faculty experience is often a personal choice yet they make that choice to get involved and participate even though it impacts their efforts to accomplish the research necessary to obtain tenure. Professor Córdova stated that accessibility to students comes with a price:

So there are those definitions of what constitutes scholarship research. But the binds that minority faculty get (into). And then also because there are so few of us, the minority students, I mean I get really more (Hispanic) students probably than any faculty member in this whole college (in class and on thesis committees). I really do, I'm not bragging I'm just saying, that's my reputation, because I am accessible to them and not just minorities…But, so you tend to get, or you don't have the time to go research and publish and stay home to do writing and all that because you are so busy trying to meet the demands that everybody puts on you. The president has a task force, somebody has a task force. I mean, you know, and it is hard to say "no" all the time because it is an important kind of role you can play whether it is a search committee or whether it is a task force on diversity and that kind of stuff. Anyway, that is a tough one and I don't know how you ever solve that. (Interview 5, 2008)

This sentiment of representing diversity simply based on the fact of being Hispanic is not without personal cost. While being willing to take up this role, Professor Rodríguez noted:

Oh yeah, that is a must because there were so few of us (Hispanics). I was on every God damn committee there was and that's exactly what they said. 'You're a minority.' You have to represent every time they brought in a President, a Dean, a

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basketball coach I was on the committee. This didn't count toward tenure.

(Interview 4, 2008)

It is clear that as the Hispanic cultural density is so small in the tenure/tenure

track ranks that those in it feel compelled to participate. Professor Anaya explained:

To put that in perspective, in this department I am on every search committee,

every single hiring committee. I have prepared more courses than anyone ever in

this department; I am constantly doing course development, which is a lot of time.

Every single course. (Interview 6, 2011)

Yet there is a positive aspect to cultural taxation that is beneficial to new and

younger faculty who are just getting familiar with the faculty and university experience.

Professor Martínez, who is a relatively new faculty member, looks at it this way:

I don't know if just being Hispanic is one of the reasons for it (asked to do more).

I think that there is something to be said about the institutional challenges that

particular people have had going into the academy. As a result of that, their

motivations to return, particularly my motivation to return to (this university) is

not a mistake. The challenges - was I asked to do so or are my bearings such that

it is already part of my mission, my personal mission, my professional mission,

whatever. Some people will see me coming; they will say, well can you be on this

committee. Last year, I was a member of seven committees and well most people

are discouraged from serving on committees during the tenure period, I was

encouraged to do so. Is it a good thing or a bad thing? I think that it was a great

thing for me…I think that I learned more and I gained more of an institutional

intelligence by understanding the inner workings of the academy. What the

internal politics are, how to navigate through those. Generally speaking, yes it is a

challenge you always have to sacrifice time. We are expected to produce research,

we are expected to teach and according to the faculty guidebook, that is the

fundamental rubric. (Interview 8, 2011)

As scholarship and publishing are essential to obtaining tenure, time spent on

other university business is time that is taken away from publishing. Professor Gómez

reflected on this:

I mean you can serve on ten thousand search committees and that's not going to

count as opposed to writing one article in a refereed journal that may or may not

make an impact and probably won't. But so anyway, it is all of that. The burdens

of trying to do everything and sometimes in trying to do everything you don't do

the kind of quality work that you could do. (Interview 3, 2008)

Professor Anaya had similar experiences, "to put that (extra work) in perspective

in this department I am on every search committee, every single hiring committee"

(Interview 7, 2011). Notwithstanding the desire to give back to the community and

university by representing diversity issues on various campus committees, projects,

community events and mentoring other Hispanics, some do make a conscious decision to

not go down this path. Professor Gómez reflected somberly on another Hispanic faculty

member who didn't fulfill such requests. He noted:

There was also one Hispanic faculty member who could have been an important

mentor to a lot of people, but she chose not to and that was always interesting. I

wonder why in a position where you can do something then you don't do it, that's

a personal thing. (Interview 3, 2008)

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Other Hispanics look questioningly at Hispanic faculty who choose not to be mentors or liaisons to Hispanic students or Hispanic communities, seemingly because it is so out of the ordinary and unusual. It is not only outreach and support to the Hispanic communities; many Hispanic faculty members also desire to make a difference and impact change when opportunities arise. One interviewee expressed this sentiment:

> I think the experience of the last 10, 20 years you, if you talk to students, minority faculty offer things others can't offer and you can see it in who goes to what classes. It is real interesting how - even White middle class Anglo kids who have been sheltered a lot they are looking for something, for different ideas and different ways of thinking and behaving and so forth. We see a lot of that and some resist and if they resist then you know you're not really going to convince them right away. (Interview 3, 2008)

It is clear from these interviews that Hispanic faculty do perceive themselves as having to be the voice for Hispanics within the university setting, be role models and examples to Hispanic students, and to be the liaison between the University and external Hispanic communities. What was also clear was that these Hispanic faculty members understood that these efforts would not count in any significant way toward any tenure measure but were undertaken nevertheless as a way to educate and give back.

Feelings of Isolation

The low cultural density of Hispanic faculty within the university often promoted feelings of isolation and a desire to create "space" over which Hispanic faculty could have more control and increased voice within the university. Comments such as, "if you see a brown face over there (in a department), it's 'who's that?', it's probably the

custodian that's who it is" (Interview 3, 2008) and "I worked my butt off and I didn't

know anyone. I was there alone and had little support of any kind and I really tried

everything I could," (Interview 4, 2008) confirmed the depth of the isolation that is

perceived by Hispanic faculty within the university. With surprise, Professor Rodríguez

explained that after a time of being away from the university, "I came back on faculty

and I was the only Hispanic on (the) faculty in (the department) at the time" (Interview 4,

2008). Professor Gómez expressed his frustration with his department and moved to build

a different department, "We (Hispanics) said we want our own space we want our own

autonomy and we want to secede from the union over there and build our own

department" (Interview 3, 2008). Although with autonomy gained, feelings of isolation

do not necessary diminish, as Professor López noted, "what I think is most noticeable

immediately is that there is an autonomy and with that also an opportunity to almost be

isolated" (Interview 2, 2008). Feelings of isolation can also lead to feelings of resentment

as Professor Anaya assessed, "I think I had my own personal resentment because I

thought no one has it as hard as I do" (Interview 6, 2011).

Attempts by Hispanic faculty to increase the numbers of Hispanic faculty and

incrementally increase the cultural density of Hispanics were made. While participating

on faculty hiring search committees, many times those efforts were fruitless. Professor

Córdova had several such frustrations:

> I hated to be on some of those (search committees), especially those - the search
>
> committees I remember being tied up for three or four weeks reading files and
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> going through files and files and reading and then we finally put in our
>
> recommendation the top five or the top six and they chose someone else. It never

failed. They already knew who they were going to pick anyway and they went through the process. They never even picked the person we recommended… that happened so many times. The hiring official could pick who they wanted - they were Anglo. Anglos are doing the hiring. (Interview 4, 2008)

The hiring practices were often questioned and at times external organizations investigated the hiring practices of the university. Professor García shared that in order to fight these investigations Hispanic faculty can be used to personally interact with investigators. She recalled:

The university was under investigation by the Department of Education, the Department of Labor and the State Legislature for its hiring practices. It was the university using me as a "brown" face. (Interview 7, 2011)

She goes on to note that in efforts to increase the cultural density of Hispanics in the academy "having the credentials is not enough" (Interview 7, 2011). Hispanics who have the necessary credentials are often not hired if comparable White faculty are available and if a Hispanic faculty is already in the department. Research on "tokenism" (Hamilton, 2002; Luna, 2000) supports these comments. Professor López pointed out that minorities are clustered in certain fields:

It is rare or was rare that there was anyone who was a Hispanic. And the only Hispanic people, when I was an undergraduate were the people who taught Spanish. And so, very few, if any at the university. Those individuals who were Hispanic were in the multi-cultural, bi-lingual strand in the college but the other faculty clearly were not, it is very interesting but that was the norm that's the way. As a matter of fact I think that it tends to be the way it still is. (Interview 2, 2008)

Minorities are often clustered in certain fields (Hamilton, 2002; Luna, 2000).

Related to the clustering of Hispanics in certain fields was the notion that the Hispanic

faculty members who are hired into the university are foreign or non-native New

Mexicans. Participants tried hard to implement changes to raise the low cultural density

of minorities as Professor Gómez did:

> We pushed the college hard on hiring a lot of minorities, and right now in this
>
> college if you look at minority faculty, we have more minority faculty now then
>
> we have ever had in our history. Now that doesn't make things perfect because it
>
> is not. Now we look terrific compared to other departments…in our department
>
> we have lots of minorities compared to (another department) or some of those
>
> programs over there or (another department)…But I think we were able to
>
> influence the administration to hire more minorities. But you know, there is
>
> always a difference between hiring a Nuevo Mexicano/Chicano minority and
>
> hiring somebody from Texas or something like that. It is easier for the Spanish
>
> department to hire somebody from España or from Latin America rather than a
>
> local Hispanic. That issue has been around for a long time, and we have dealt with
>
> it here too; and we have done some good on that. So I think it's just a critical
>
> mass of people coming together …But why did the Spanish department for 30
>
> years hire people to teach Spanish who came from Cuba or Spain or Ecuador and
>
> not hire (Native New Mexicans) – Mary Romero (pseudonym) probably was the
>
> one person ever that was New Mexican, now they have a few more. So, I think it
>
> is arrogance, it's a snobbery, local people aren't good enough. I mean there's that
>
> pervasive attitude that has been around for a long time (Interview 3, 2008).

Several participants mentioned the sentiment regarding the devaluation of native New Mexican Hispanic faculty by universities within the state and by other faculty. Professor Anaya noted that her skills were questioned even though she got her Ph.D. at one of the top schools in her field:

> (The department chair felt) I wasn't good enough. I think it was presented as a way of, packaged as a way of "mentorship." That was a guise. It wasn't real, it wasn't mentorship, it really wasn't. Maybe, it was control, I didn't see it as control at the time, I saw it more as "she doesn't have the skills." Yet I went to a program at the University of Washington in (my field) that was rated number two in the country and I did quite well. I come back home and my work is less valued. (Interview 6, 2011)

She added,

> I have done some work with my colleagues at Penn State and talk about a different institution, central Pennsylvania. For a time there I felt I had more credibility there (at Penn State) than I did here. It is an interesting experience. (Interview 6, 2011)

Hispanic faculty noted that as there may be a double bind for native New Mexican faculty to not only obtain faculty positions but also to obtain faculty positions at universities that are close to their home communities. This phenomenon may not be unique to New Mexico, as it is common for "experts" to be brought in from other, more distant locations to provide knowledge, yet it is the Hispanic faculty from the culturally dense communities who can provide the lived experience and knowledge to work in and

support those communities. Professor Martínez looks at this phenomenon as an issue of familiarity and contempt. He explained:

> I get them (my students) familiar with the concept of familiarity and contempt. I do believe that familiarity does breed contempt. To what extent does a New Mexican in New Mexico have the authority to speak as a credible member of the academy? It depends on the level to which you are able to associate or generate some sense of awe and wonder about the structure that you participate in… generally speaking we take for granted those people around us most and we generate a sense of contempt because they no longer generate that sense of awe and wonder about the structures that afford authority. Here in New Mexico they assume that we are just components or cogs of that larger system that we cannot be more than the sum of our parts. Or we don't speak in the name of something that is more than the sum or our parts because of our familiarity with New Mexico (Interview 8, 2011).

Furthermore:

> When I perceive from that identity (International Task Force member) people listen. But I'm still the same guy from New Mexico and when I perceive from my New Mexican identity I am very well aware that there is not that sense of awe and wonder generated as there is when I'm a member of the Task Force. I think it is one of those things we just have to become more critical of and start to realize as one of those things that human discourse and the discourse of the academy pay careful attention to. On the one hand it wants local and native intelligence to permeate the university on the other hand it has such a dramatic contempt for it

because of its familiarity with that structure that it doesn't know how to contend

with that. So that is a huge challenge and not one that can be resolved very easily

but I do understand that the way through espousing or at least giving your faculty

members the benefit of the doubt that they represent some higher purpose. That

they represent some higher ideal people still administer to with awe and wonder.

(Interview 8, 2011).

Institutional Leadership Commitment

The problem of increasing the number of Hispanic faculty is difficult to solve

despite an array of efforts. Hispanic faculty were particularly concerned with how the

differing levels of leadership in the institution perceived the issue. "It is a lack of

leadership (by the Administration)" (Interview 3, 2008) and one interviewee commented

more introspectively, "I have had some very good experiences and I've had some very

negative experiences. Um, and it is very dependent, it is not simply one (person), but it is

very dependent on - I'm going to say the Chair" (Interview 2, 2008). Individuals can

influence the process of increasing the cultural density of Hispanic faculty, but it needs to

be a more comprehensive effort by the entire institution. Professor Gómez believes that

the Administration needs to set the tone:

> I think that unless you have an Administration that is willing to bite the bullet and
>
> go tell search committees, 'you need to surface minorities candidates and I want
>
> to talk to them all.' I think the lead really comes from, from the administration, I
>
> really think that's where it comes from and that then comes down to, you have to
>
> set the tone, you've got to not just talk. (Interview 3, 2008)

Efforts to increase Hispanic faculty were not viewed as simply gaining power and status but to improve society. Professor López was insightful as to the longevity of the effort, "So hopefully, over a period of time we can begin as a social institution not simply as a movement but as a social institution realize that the democratic call for attention to every aspect of our (Hispanic) people" (Interview 2, 2008).

More directly Professor Gómez exclaimed:

We ought to be sued for not preparing teachers to do that. So unless you build diversity into faculty and into our student population but I think diversity just gives us that many more multiple kinds of perspectives to analyze and to look at issues and to problem solve. I mean if you stick 50 White guys in from the same economic bracket and you ask them to problem solve things and then you stick 50 people of diverse backgrounds to solve those same problems, you tell me which one is going to come up with the most creative solutions. (Interview 3, 2008)

An issue that was also brought up was that even though Hispanic cultural density in the academy was extremely low, there are other faculty that are sympathetic to minority issues. Professor Gómez commented about one of his colleagues, saying, "she is Anglo but speaks Spanish, totally committed to - has worked with Latino kids for years and so we have a lot of those kind of faculty" (Interview 3, 2008). Following this same logic, he noted that even though they recruited Hispanics, often they had to do the next best thing when filling a faculty position, "we went and we recruited a lot of faculty, minority and people who identified in terms of minority issues" (Interview 3, 2008). If the university is unable to hire Hispanic faculty, departments try to take an alternative step, which is to hire White faculty who are sympathetic to minority issues: "I think what

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we have done better is recruit faculty who are non-minority but who are interested and have committed themselves to minority issues" (Interview 3, 2008). The data from this study provided insight into how minority faculty perceived the opportunities of Hispanics to obtain faculty positions. The perception is that unless departments are forced by the administration to hire minorities, little progress will be made.

Summary of Cultural Density

In this section it was important to get some perspective on two main areas of focus that related to Hispanic cultural density. As a comparison, it was valuable to shed light on the high Hispanic cultural density of the communities that participants were raised and in and the low cultural density of the university environments with which these Hispanic faculty interact or interacted with daily. In the first section, Hispanic high-density communities were discussed, including the main topics of family structure, schools and religion. In the second section, faculty experiences were discussed including academic climate, isolation, cultural taxation, clustering, the devaluation of being native New Mexicans, institutional leadership, and the concept of acting White. Additionally, research on personal networks was discussed relating to cultural density and the development of personal networks. It was noted that when a minority population in a school setting reaches upwards of twenty percent, severe in-school segregation occurs – movement away from the dominant culture. Below this number, students tend to become integrated into the dominant culture. In the higher education environment to which the participants of this study were brought, they had very minimal, if no, contact with other Hispanic faculty and accordingly, the bulk of their professional personal networks within the academy were with the majority White faculty and administration.

What is notable is that, while several of the faculty members in this study experienced less than smooth transitions into the professorate, it was clear that eventually all were able to navigate the hurdles and even emboldened enough to challenge the existing power structures. It should be noted that the participants in this study became integrated into the university culture in terms of understanding the behaviors, politics, and power structures, but this integration is not necessarily equivalent to full assimilation or loss of Hispanic culture.

The cultural density of the academy is changing and "our classrooms are populated by the 'them' we once studied. Those we theorized about and universalized into subject populations and disaggregated from our objective data not only are in front of the classroom but are now its students" (Holloway, 1993, p. 611). The demographics of Hispanics are rapidly increasing the in United States, in k-12 schools and on into higher education, yet there is little to no increase in the number of Hispanic tenure/tenure track faculty. The next section of this analysis will attempt to open cultural capital, the second door of the doors of perception conceptual framework. The discussion shifts from the perceptions and experiences of low and high Hispanic cultural density environments to discussion of the ways in which Hispanic faculty may have been influenced by their life situation and cultural worldviews in such a way as to help their individual successes.

Cultural Capital

This section begins with an overview of what is meant by the concept of "cultural capital." There is much discussion, disagreement, and even confusion in the literature regarding the notion of cultural capital. Portes (1998) explained the idea of social capital in this way: "whereas economic capital is in peoples' bank accounts and human capital is

inside their heads, social capital inheres in the structure of their relationships. To possess social capital, a person must be related to others, and it is those others, not himself, who are the actual source of his or her advantage" (pp. 5-6). Portes does not appear to make a distinction between social capital and cultural capital; they are essentially one and the same. Bourdieu (1977) first popularized the notion of culture capital, one of three types of capital, the other two being economic and social. Coleman (1990) saw cultural/social capital as a potential for minimizing the impact of economic disadvantage. Putnam (2000) suggested a link between high ethnic diversity and low levels of social capital in communities. Essentially, cultural capital can be used to "reproduce[d] exclusions and inequality; it also could be used to create the conditions of trust" (Tierney, 2003 p. 5). On another note, McBrier (2003) suggested that cultural capital is primarily one's ability to "fit in" with colleagues. So in effect the potentiality exists that groups and institutions with high cultural capital have means to subordinate and exclude others. It is important to note, "the body of knowledge about social capital can be viewed as confused and ambiguous, rather than cohesive" (Tierney, 2003, p. 13). Social capital, cultural capital, and human capital often are used interchangeably and may overlap in the literature, but some scholars do make distinctions (Silva & Edwards, 2003). One thing that still appears ambiguous in the literature is whether or not social or cultural capital is something inherent to the individual or to a particular group. In this research, cultural capital is used as the overarching term that includes social and/or human capital.

"Culture" itself can be defined broadly "with reverence to the roles that distinctive kinds of cultural tastes, knowledge and abilities play in relation to the process of class formation in contemporary societies" (Silva & Edwards, 2003, p. 5). Bourdieu (1977)

suggested that cultural capital is something that can be possessed and can be increased by gaining competence in the high-status culture of a society. To Bourdieu (1986, p. 244), cultural capital contains three essential forms: 1) The embodied state, which is the established disposition of an individual's "mind and body;" 2) Objectified state, which occurs when cultural capital is turned into goods like buildings, art, equipment, technology; and, 3) Institutionalized state, which is recognized cultural capital like academic degrees. Throsby (1999) saw Bourdieu's sociological perspective of cultural capital as the same as the economic perspective of human capital. Berkes and Folke (1992) perceived cultural capital as the adaptive capacity of human populations to deal with and modify the natural environment and related to the innate and "required characteristics of human beings" (p. 6). An individual's moral, ethical, and religious perspectives influence the cultural capital of the individual. Berkes and Folke (1992) considered alternative explanations of cultural capital and offered the concept, though not fully developed, of "adaptive capital." Throsby (1999) took an opposing stance and advanced the notion that from an economic perspective, intangible cultural capital such as cultural beliefs, language, and mores have no economic value since they cannot be traded as assets. Thus, he suggested that the cultural capital of one culture is of no value to those of another culture.

The use of the term "capital" has even drawn criticism from scholars. "The use of the term 'capital' gives primacy to the economic or political effects or outcomes of family and social relationships, rather than social justice, and in a way that imposes a functionalist economic rationality on social life" (Silva & Edwards, 2003 p.11). Even with its detractors and inherent ambiguities, cultural capital is nevertheless growing in

relevance on both national and international agendas and gaining significant influence in policy making circles (Silva & Edwards, 2003; Throsby, 1999), but questions still arise about cultural capital that have yet to be resolved. First, is cultural capital a household (group) or an individual resource? Second, how can cultural capital be identified and measured? Third, how do people see their responsibility to others culturally? (Silva & Edwards, 2003). The research on cultural capital does however provide a lens and insight into how individuals from different cultures can perceive and react to similar experiences differently.

Regardless of the array of perspectives regarding cultural capital, it is clear that there is considerable value in looking through this lens to obtain a better picture of the experiences of Hispanic faculty who participated in this research. Bourdieu (1977) promoted the notion that cultural capital can be used to legitimize the dominant cultural group and by doing so disadvantage others who do not belong to that dominant culture. What is needed, then, is to understand what types of cultural capital the Hispanic faculty had access to and to then attempt to understand the interrelationship of this cultural capital with the dominant culture and in particular with the dominant university culture. Carozza (2002) noted that in academia "the removed, detached appraisal of one's value as a scholar is particularly foreign to the sensibilities of Latinos, whose compassion and regard for other social values may disserve them in the academically competitive environment" (p. 353). Higher education can often be detached and removed from community involvement, a concept that goes counter to many minority cultures. Also, there is often a lesser value placed on Hispanics and their culture and thus their cultural capital, such as being bilingual, has not been appreciated or taken advantage of (Chapa &

De La Rosa, 2004; Valverde, 2004). In addition to this, groups and/or individuals are often not fully accepted into the university culture until conformity and loyalty are demonstrated (Valverde, 2004). Putnam (2000) noted that even though Americans are more tolerant of one another than they once were, they are less trusting of one another. This lack of trust is higher and more difficult to bridge between cultural groups (Lee, 1994).

One prime example that came out of the data regarding the power that the dominant culture had over Hispanic faculty was the devaluation they experienced within the schools in regards to the Spanish language.

Devaluation of Speaking Spanish

Professor Gómez explained that in school, even in Catholic schools, the Hispanic students were punished for speaking Spanish. He recalled:

So we were punished if we spoke Spanish, we wrote 'I shall not speak Spanish 100 times if they caught us speaking Spanish.' One of the nuns I remember, if you spoke Spanish, if she caught you, you had to put in like a penny for every word you spoke, and I'm not sure how she understood how many words we spoke, but she guessed, I guess. (Interview 3, 2008)

He then noted, "Somehow, English represented a power language or the language of Washington or something. It had negative connotations to them (Hispanic students)" (Interview 3, 2008).

Professor Rodríguez had similar experiences:

In school you had to speak English, especially with the nuns. I mean the nuns would go around with a ruler and…the brothers didn't care (if you spoke Spanish)

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as long as you did your work, as long as you participated they didn't care but growing up early with the nuns - they put the pressure - absolutely no Spanish on campus. (Interview 4, 2008)

Similarly Professor Anaya did not recall any overt explicit instructions from the school that students should not speak Spanish at school but yet there was some unspoken perhaps historical or generational understanding that it is not appropriate to speak Spanish at school. She noted:

In thinking back now we didn't speak Spanish in high school at school. At home we certainly did and at other places in the community. Only on campus we didn't. I don't remember anything real explicit as to why we didn't speak Spanish (at school). Nobody said not to. Not like in my mom's generation when she went to the Laredo Academy and the nuns said don't you dare speak Spanish. (Interview 6, 2011)

As noted by all of the interviewees, the teachers in the schools were mostly, if not all, White. Professor Salazar observed, "the teachers were mostly Anglo and so of course they didn't like students to be speaking Spanish" (Interview 1, 2008). In this example of the Spanish language being devalued in the school system, it is clear to see the ability of the White culture to significantly impact the Hispanic culture. What is more is that something as important and significant as bilingualism was clearly seen as a deficiency. Next, this analysis looks at the various forms of cultural capital that came up in this study. The discussion focuses on family influences and experiences, academics and schooling, and faculty perspectives associated with cultural capital.

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Family Influences and Experiences

In terms of the educational attainment of the parents of these Hispanic faculty members there was some variability. Several of the interviewees were not first generation college students. Professor Salazar noted that his "parents went to college and they thought education was very important so they emphasized it…my father went to the University of Albuquerque, it was called back then. My mother went to a business-type training school" (Interview 1, 2008). It is important to note that different generations had different access to higher education and that for some graduation from high school was considered an accomplishment. Professor Gómez remarked about his dad:

> He graduated with a high school degree and in his time that was unusual in Santa
> Fe and my mother went up to 11th grade and even for women in those days, that
> was remarkable, that somebody would finish 11th grade, if you were female and
> Hispanic. (Interview 3, 2008)

Professor Córdova noted that even though his father did not graduate from high school he was able to eventually start his own company.

> My mother graduated from high school, my father did not. And, and so in terms
> of their educational background, they just knew school was important. But I did
> not grow up in a family of professionals. By trade he (my dad) was a carpenter
> and he had a construction company and did well. (Interview 5, 2008)

It is also notable that several of the parents took a lifelong learning approach to their own education and if circumstances did not allow them to attend college, they pursued formal education when they could.

Professor Anaya explained the differences in social class that her parents came from and how that affected their education. She noted:

My dad worked, they were a very interesting couple because my dad was from a ranching family and his father passed away early on and he didn't finish junior high school. I think he completed the seventh grade. And then he had to help his mother with the farm. My mother was from Southern Colorado as well and she came from a more sound economically - higher level of economics in terms of her family. When she was growing up, they sent her to the Laredo Academy for girls in Santa Fe. So her father got her on the train and sent her down to Santa Fe. She completed high school at Laredo. Then my mom raised us kids. When my brother and I were about 7 or 8, she went back to school. She went to Adams State College and got her teaching degree, which is very amazing after raising that many kids and for being out of school for that long. So she successfully did that and taught first grade until she retired. (Interview 6, 2011)

Professor García's father's situation was similar yet her mother's desire to go to college was never realized:

My dad had been a high school dropout. He got his GED…My dad then went to Highlands University. I'm sure that this was my mother's ambition (to go to college). My mother graduated first in her class from her high school …When I was in elementary school my dad was given some sort of a scholarship to go and get his Master's degree in Social Work and so he went to USC, which was unheard of. I mean certainly in our family he was the only one to get an education… When I was in 9th grade we moved to San Antonio Texas for my dad

to finish his Master's degree and again, completely unheard of for a family (from

our town) to go away for graduate school. (Interview 7, 2011)

Regarding her mother, she added:

My mother hadn't gone to college and hadn't been allowed to go to college

because she had gotten a scholarship to Western New Mexico, but she was a

married woman. My dad was in the military, so she wasn't allowed to go.

(Interview 7, 2011)

Given that the parents of the Hispanic faculty that participated in this study had

varying levels of educational attainment, it is interesting to note that all were successful

in college regardless. There have been several research studies on first generation college

students that have concluded that these students have lower retention and graduation rates

(Ishitani, 2006; Riehl, 1994). Minority first generation college students were more likely

than non-minorities to drop out of college (Ishitani, 2006). Additionally, studies have

looked into varying levels of educational attainment of parents including both parents

with college degrees, one parent with a college degree, parents with some sort of college

along with first generation students (no parents attended college) and the impacts on

student attrition (Ishitani, 2006). For each of these situations, the level of attrition

increased as parents' educational attainment decreased. For example, Ishitani (2006)

noted, "first generation students were about 1.3 times more likely to leave their institution

than were students whose parents were college-educated" (p. 872). First generation

college students had other factors that impacted the chances of success including having

lower educational expectations, needing more financial support, type of institution

attended, lower levels of high school engagement, fewer strong relationships with other

college students and less likely to get involved in campus clubs and organizations (Pike

& Kuh, 2005; Richardson & Skinner, 1992; Trenzini, 1996,). Clearly, the educational

attainment of parents is important to impacting the academic success of students. In this

study however, the parents of the Hispanic faculty participants had attained differing

educational levels, yet all completed and were successful.

One explanation of the role of parents' educational attainment in their children's

success can be found in research that has investigated the role of parental support,

motivation, and peer support on the academic success of minority first generation college

students. Dennis, Phinney, and Chuateco (2005) noted that first generation college

students were less equipped for college due to poor academic preparation, that they

lacked first-hand knowledge of the college experience, that they work more hours, have

unrealistic expectations about college, lack knowledge of the university system and their

parents are unable to assist them with college tasks. In particular, what Dennis et al.

(2005) looked to measure in minority first generation college students was both

individualist and collectivistic motives for attending college as well as supportive

relationships with parents and peers. They noted, "Latino college students reported that

college peers provided the most support in their first year, although parents were also

frequently cited as providing support" (Dennis, Phinney, & Chuateco, 2005, p.226).

Additionally, Hurtado (1996) found that peer support was more closely connected to

social adjustment and that parental support was connected with emotional adjustment.

What is important to consider in relation to these Hispanic faculty members and parental

attainment is the personal motivation of each participant to succeed regardless of the

educational attainment of their parents. Again, Dennis et al. (2005) found that personal

motivation to attend college based on "personal interests, intellectual curiosity, and the desire to attain a rewarding career was found to be predictive of college adjustment" (p. 233) among minority first-generation college students. Yet, they found that, surprisingly, family expectations were not significantly related to any of the college outcomes. While the cultural capital gained from parental educational achievement is important, it is likely that the individual's intrinsic motivation to succeed academically can offset or counterbalance the lack of parental educational attainment of the Hispanic faculty that were first-generation college students.

What is evident in terms of cultural capital is that the parents of these Hispanic faculty members placed a high value on education for themselves and, as will be discussed in more detail later, they placed a high value on education for all of their children. Another factor of note was that all the Hispanic faculty participants in this study had two or more siblings. As any parent with more than one child can attest, each child is considerably different from the other(s). Being raised in the same home environment, being exposed to the same parental, community, religious and other forms of cultural capital, it seemed important to understand and get some perspective on the relative academic success of siblings of these participants.

Siblings.

Professor Salazar noted that he was "eighth out of the 10 children… So I was tempted to stay working (at a summer job) but again, since the 7 brothers and sisters that preceded me (to college) I knew I had to go" (Interview 1, 2008). Professor López commented that she "grew up in a family of four sisters… my sisters and I all went to Catholic elementary and high school, then went on to college" (Interview 2, 2008).

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Professor Gómez's siblings had similar success "(we) all did well in school…my other brother - John - he also got a scholarship" (Interview 3, 2008).

Professor Anaya's siblings all had the opportunity to go to college, although some did not complete their undergraduate degrees, but others continued on and got Master's degrees.

Half of us completed college and the other half did not. Five did (complete) and three did not, three (went to college) and they didn't finish. One of my older brothers was recruited for football and that was a long time ago and he never finished. My older brother he didn't (finish). One of my sisters got a certificate for Nursing and that was what she did and decided not to go to college. Everyone else did (complete college). My youngest brother got an MBA and my other siblings who completed college got their undergraduate degree. So the two younger ones, myself and my brother, went to graduate school. (Interview 6, 2011)

Professor García's two siblings had some trying experiences after high school, but they still managed to attend college:

In high school my sister and I went to public high school, my brother was nominated to the service academies but didn't get in because of his eye vision, at the time it couldn't be corrected. So he went to Vietnam, became a paratrooper. He came back really changed by the war. He never finished his degree. I think that he is literally a small number of credits away from his degree. My sister got pregnant in high school and so my sister and I were, we had planned to go to school together (college). My sister later completed college (after her child was born) she is an engineer. (Interview 7, 2011)

The cultural capital of Professor García's family helped support her sister and brother, even when difficult experiences arose they were able to overcome them. Individuals from these high culturally dense communities with less cultural capital or rather different cultural capital (family, religion, schooling, attitudes, perspectives, worldviews, interpersonal relationships) likely would have not been able to overcome these difficulties and continue on in their academic pursuits.

Similarly, Professor Martínez had to overcome an extremely difficult situation with the death of his father when he was a young boy. Additionally, he had two younger brothers whom he had to help raise. Interestingly, both younger brothers went on to college:

> I have two younger brothers and a large extended family. My father was murdered (when I was) at the age of 7 and I took care of my brothers. My mother tried to go back to school two years after that. I was their caretaker; that was a motivation for me to have some substantial academic success to be able to get the kind of work that would allow me to be supportive of them in the future. I have both a brotherly, and every once in a while a fatherly, relationship with them. They both attended, have some college background. One has a Bachelor's degree from here at (this university). The middle brother did not finish college, but he finished his electrician's degree up at (the local community college) and he is working up there in northern New Mexico now. (Interview 8, 2011)

There was only one instance where siblings did not go on to college. In the case of Professor Rodríguez, two of his sisters did not attend college: "I had one other sister that went on into college and she went to the public schools. The other two sisters

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married real early, right out of high school" (Interview 4, 2008). What is clear from the data is that the siblings of Hispanic faculty interviewed had an overwhelming participation in higher education at the university level. The extent to which their cultural capital gave them the necessary skills and resources should not be overlooked. It is clear that the Hispanic faculty and their siblings are products of environments that allowed them to succeed on into higher education; it was not only based on individual effort, individual work ethic, or individual intelligence. It should also be noted that only a few siblings went beyond the Bachelor's level and on to graduate school with the only ones in the family to obtain doctoral degrees were the Hispanic faculty themselves. It is understandable that cultural capital can provide a base for academic success, but it may not be enough to provide success up to and beyond the doctoral level. As university cultures are significantly different from Hispanic culture and historically have not valued or appreciated other cultures, it is important to consider what is within or without the Hispanic faculty that prompted them to go beyond what their siblings had done academically. Perhaps they had additional cultural capital or were superior at using this cultural capital in the upper echelons of higher education. These issues are difficult to address specifically. Research on cultural capital would say "yes", but the actual use or exchange of cultural capital is in many ways difficult to assess or measure.

Giving Back to the Community

The participants mentioned that they believed they had a personal mission to "give back" to their local communities and the state as a whole. They expressed in different ways the pull that New Mexico has on them and the passion they have to

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contribute to improving the access and opportunities of Hispanics to higher education and

even for Hispanics to make global impacts. Professor Martínez elaborated:

> I have sent students to different parts of the world. Most recently we have sent
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> students to Kenya to do microfinance consulting. Our students are loved in other
>
> parts of the world and it is not because we are really smart like the Wharton
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> School guys, we are, we can, we can train in the best fashion as any of the best
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> schools in the country but that is not why. Because somehow tacitly they get that
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> New Mexico gets it. That there is something - we have a common bond emerging
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> in the world than any other place in the United States and that for them is
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> disrupting because they have a certain view of the United States already but also I
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> think it engenders a sense of hope and it engenders a sense of unique
>
> possibility…Most of whom (people around the world) have had to deal with water
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> scarcity, portable water issues, so has New Mexico. That have had minority
>
> oriented, minority-majority government, so has New Mexico. In some way, shape
>
> or form it has to do with multiple sovereignty issues. We (New Mexico) are an
>
> international state; we have sovereigns all over the place. Go through northern
>
> New Mexico you go through nine sovereigns. Not to mention the land grant
>
> issues. As a result of that there is something intellectually curious about this
>
> place. For me it is not just coming back because my heart is here but because my
>
> mind is here too. Because my mind is oriented toward particular problems related
>
> to global political economies and I know through my memories that there is
>
> something here that is valid. (Interview 8, 2011)

Professor García noted that the Hispanic community is unaware of the impacts that faculty can make by influencing the creation of new knowledge and by having their stories told, to show the Hispanic community the role and value that faculty can have. She explained:

> I think that the community does not know what it means to be a professor or a faculty member and that is one of the things that I have been raising the Executive Council here at (this department) is that we have to tell that story better. The role that professors play in the lives of their students that we matter, that in the classroom and in our mentoring and in our scholarship that we have a role to play in creating any intelligence and when I speak about a Chicano intelligence or a Latino intelligence, it can sound elitist, but to me it is the responsibility that we have to the community to be creators of knowledge, of local knowledge, of really to rescue the knowledge that is being lost, to retell those stories, to repackage that information, and to discover the new frontiers, that is what we do as professors. (Interview 7, 2011)

Professor Anaya was heartfelt when she discussed her desire to impact the Hispanic children in the state who have historically been misunderstood and had limited access to education and services:

> I was excited to be back to working with the students who were like me because when I was at (another university) working with students who were not like me at all. The situations I really couldn't relate to, I couldn't understand privilege in that way - not at all. So I was really excited to come back and have an impact on students who were like me. I think the other thing that drives it is the work that I

am doing has an impact on kids, on my community, on kids who are speaking two

languages, as kids they are misidentified as being "impaired" in some cases. I'm

paying back, I think. It is a tie back to my community and I want my

undergraduate students to see that they could make it also…It is that tie back to

them, the undergraduate students and to the kids who were like me at one point,

huge factors. (Interview 6, 2011)

Six of the eight Hispanic faculty mentioned that they had employment

opportunities at out-of-state universities or private sector positions, but they consciously

made the decision to come back to New Mexico, putting aside financial, social, and other

potential losses because they perceived something unique and special about the culture

and people of New Mexico. Professor Martínez clarified:

I think that their motives for returning or serving within the academy are

sometimes driven by those particular agendas and just as mine have been. I want

to come back to (this university) because I want to make sure that more kids from

northern New Mexico have opportunities, the same opportunities that I had and

even better ones. Hopefully better ones …Oh yeah, I have a passion for New

Mexico. It is all I think about sometimes. I always believed that there is

something special about New Mexico... If it is the only thing that I ever say while

I'm here, then that is fine. New Mexico in the 21st century is going to become

something special. It has a history that is very similar to most of the emerging

economies throughout the world and is going to become a dominant force in the

21st century. Whether it is as a result of the post-colonial history or because it is

oriented in a particular way. I like to think that whatever it is that I am

contributing to the academy is going to encourage somebody to have a sense of

awe and wonder about whatever it is I do. They say, 'I want to do that.' If I can do

that, not only do that in terms of role modeling but to actually encourage the

circumstances that produce those types of students… making sure that groups -

because I do believe in small intelligently organized groups that can support one

another and that are supported externally, that can actually do what it is that they

need to do to rise up in any way or shape they can. I can raise a whole generation

of Jedi Knights, so be it, that is fantastic. To make arbiters of the new challenges

of the 21st century in a way that people respect. (Interview 8, 2011)

He continued, noting that it is important for the academy to reach out and show

communities what the academy can do for them:

Just some sort of symbolic gesture some sort of way of saying, 'look what that

person did.' As a result of that having some sort of approach of creating a

representation of the academy that is far more meaningful than it has had. I am

not saying that it has a bad reputation just sometimes it doesn't know what it

wants to do with itself and that is okay, too. But it should be open to the

possibility of people taking on and allowing you to have substance in a way that I

think I can administer to and other people could also. (Interview 8, 2011)

The participants in this study emphasized the importance of giving back to their

communities, to invest and reinvest back into their own culture. To not only protect the

cultural capital in their home communities, but also to expand that cultural capital to

others and impact universities with their unique perspectives and personal stories.

Another theme that came up in these personal stories was finances, cultural capital in the true economic sense.

Finances

Several of the participants came from humble financial beginnings. All interviewees came out of generations of impoverishment with parents making efforts to improve the circumstances of themselves and their children. Education was a key factor in improving the financial health of the individual. Professor Rodríguez, reflecting back, explained:

> My mother grew up in the Los Lentes part of (my hometown) and my father grew up in Santa Fe. And actually, ah, probably out of his first 8 years he was in the Saint Anthony's Orphanage here in Albuquerque for 5 or 6 of those years. It was in those days if somebody could not support the kids, sometimes they would go to orphanages; it was not that they were unloved, they were loved but that helped the financial situation. He would go home some weekends to his mother. (Interview 4, 2008)

Even though all the Hispanic faculty participated in an array of extracurricular activities, which will be discussed in more detail, finances did limit the desire for additional participation as Professor Salazar recalled, "so all through high school, I didn't go out for sports. I just got a job and learned to work for my money because there was no…allowance back then. If we made the honor roll, we got a dollar" (Interview 1, 2008). Professor Anaya remarked, "my dad was from a lower socioeconomic status… my parents struggled. I paid for all of my (higher) education" (Interview 6, 2011). Even with financial struggles, parents did make sacrifices for Catholic school. Professor García

recalled, "during all of this time we were in Catholic school... there was very little money in the home" (Interview 7, 2011). She explained that when she desired to go on to higher education, there was no financial assistance from the family:

> I came home and there was also - there wasn't any money to help with my education. My parents did not like the idea of loans, so I came home. To make a long story short, I went to five undergraduate schools before I finished at San Diego State University. (Interview 7, 2011)

As Professor García shared, some had to rely on governmental support and aid from extended families just to get by:

> My mom was a homemaker when my father was killed. He was a truck driver. There was little to no income. From that interim period between her getting work, we were on government support and we also had support from my extended family. (Interview 8, 2011)

While finances were difficult for all interviewees to one degree or another, none came from abject poverty. They all had at least minimal financial resources within the family or extended family to provide basic educational resources. None were wealthy by any stretch of the imagination, but parents and extended family members made sacrifices to ensure that their children were supported to the greatest extent possible. The monetary resources were not only a form of cultural capital that helped to support the necessary costs of living and educational resources for these Hispanic faculty participants, but the lack of monetary resources also shaped the perspectives and worldviews of participants.

These Hispanic faculty members grew up with a lack of financial wealth, but the primary incentive for moving into faculty positions was not to move up the economic

ladder. Several even took lower salaries as faculty members because they perceived that they could have more impact on their own culture and communities in doing so.

Several of the participants expressed that finances did not play a large role in decisions to pursue a doctorate and to undertake a career as a faculty member. The perception that faculty salaries kept Hispanics out of the faculty ranks was mixed. Professor Gómez suggested that due to low faculty salaries, students don't desire to go into the professoriate, much less pursue a doctorate:

> So what I tell my students is that education is the key especially now during the recession and they don't have a job. That's one of the reasons to stay in school but I encourage them to get as much education as possible. Now I've never really talked to them about becoming faculty because all they have to do is see how much the teachers make and that puts an end to that for them because money is important no matter who you are and these people are looking for money and if there is not money in teaching, a lot of people stay away from it. (Interview 1, 2008)

It has been suggested (Moreno, Smith, Clayton-Pederson, & Parker, 2006) that Hispanic faculty have other opportunities and are able to secure higher salaries at other universities and thus competition for minority faculty is high and if the salary is not appropriate, other considerations need to be implemented. Professor Córdova described the situation:

> There are few (Hispanic) individuals (with degrees), when we think nationally when we think numbers, just percentage wise, and opportunities in other universities who I'm sure have a much higher salary schedule... (this university)

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probably cannot recruit out of almost a financial basis and that's why we have to

recruit based on the commitment to this State, this community. (Interview 5,

2008)

The perception that not being able to offer competitive salaries to Hispanics

hinders recruitment and the claim that there are not enough Hispanics in the pipeline is

corroborated by earlier research (Phillips, 2002; Smith, 1997), as well as research

regarding minorities that take positions outside of academia (Phillips, 2002; Turner &

Myers, 1999). Contradicting this however, is other research (Stern, 2005) that notes a

lack of recruitment of Hispanic Ph.D.s by the top and wealthiest universities. Ivy League

schools are not significantly increasing the number of minority faculty hired at these

institutions, which seemingly would have to the top pick at hiring minorities (Stern,

2005). The U.S. Department of Education statistics show that, from 1993 to 2003, Ivy

League Schools have only increased the number of African-American and Hispanic

faculty by one percentage point, from 5% to 6%. Additionally, since 2003, only 2% of

new tenure-track faculty hired in these schools have been Hispanic. Other research

suggests while minorities are underrepresented, there is a 6.7% minority availability for

tenured faculty positions (Chapa & De La Rosa, 2004). Perspectives on the pipeline

issue vary, but it is clear that Hispanics are not obtaining high school or college degrees

at an acceptable rate. One option that tends to stir much debate at the university level is

the issue of hiring faculty from the institution in which they graduated. The relative lack

of financial resources and, in effect lack of "capital" in the real economic sense, didn't

discourage the parents from placing high academic expectations on their children.

Parental Expectations

Cultural capital research (Bourdieu, 1977) promotes the notion that the cultural capital of one group can be used to devalue another group. When it comes to parental expectations, it is rare that parents do not normally have high expectations for their children. It is difficult to conceptualize societies or cultures that do not have high expectations and aspirations for their children. It could be argued that even ancient societies that conducted child sacrifices did so with the hope and desire that in the "afterlife" the child would be rewarded.

It appears at face value that parental expectations for their children might be a piece of cultural capital that is universal across all cultures. If so, it would seem that in this discussion of White and Hispanic cultures (or any other culture for that matter) that the cultural capital would be more or less equivalent. That it is not is clear, particularly when looking at the differences in academic success or lack thereof when comparing White and Hispanic peoples. The difference could likely be that it is "how" these parental expectations are communicated to their children. In other words, if it is normal (if not universal) for parents to have high expectations for their children, why is it that in some cultures children seek to fulfill those expectations at a higher rate than in other cultures? One answer could be that even though parents have those expectations, they do not clearly communicate those expectations to their children. The parents of the participants had high academic expectations for their children and communicated those expectations in several different ways, yet all these Hispanic faculty members understood and internalized those expectations.

Some of these expectations were communicated by how limited funds were spent. As discussed previously, many parents made sacrifices to pay for private schools, but also looked to do more to support academic success. Professor Gómez said:

So both highly, highly valued education for their kids, my father especially… he would do things like spend money to buy a set of World Book Encyclopedias, that was a heavy investment in those days… Also he contacted the schools to see how his kids were doing. So education was always important to him… I think (we would) just talk around the dinner table and he was always wanting to know what kind of grades we were getting. And so it was constant communication with his kids. They knew he meant business when it came to doing well in school… I think pretty much my career was set by my dad's aspirations. (Interview 3, 2008)

Parents communicated not only through regular communication and discussion about doing well academically, they also compared education with working, essentially doing well in school was the "job" of the child. Professor López recalled:

I grew up in a family of four sisters, mom and dad, and four of us. I cannot remember a time when my mom especially, but mom or dad, did not expect that we would do well in school. As a matter of fact, I remember my mother and father saying that my job and my sister's job was to go to school and do well and I really remember that around the time, I probably was in high school and my friends were getting jobs and my mom and dad would say 'no!' You need to do well in school. You have got to study and so that was always an expectation. My sisters and I all went to Catholic elementary and high school then went on to college and again I never once wondered what I would do when I graduated from high school

because I knew I was going to college. The only question I had was which

college. So I went to this school (college) and I can remember at one point and I

think I was a Sophomore and I had gotten all "A's", four point grade point

average (GPA). And I remember and now I'm in college and I remember talking

with my mom and dad and I had just gotten my grades and my dad said "that's

pretty good." And my mom said, "What do you mean that's pretty good? She got

all 'A's.'" That then is my family, we talked about that - my sisters, my mom and

my dad - because what dad said was "that's pretty good, you ought to be doing

that, that's not abnormal." Ah, and so that was the expectation within our family.

(Interview 2, 2008)

Some parents focused more on getting good grades rather than college. What is

important here is that parents who did not go to college themselves, as was the case with

Professor Rodríguez' parents, did not communicate the absolute necessity of college.

First generation college students understood the value of good grades and the importance

of college, but their parents would have a limited perspective and insight into the college

experience. Professor Rodríguez provided insight on this topic:

My folks never really pushed college. They always just talked about having good

grades and by the time I was a senior in high school then they began talk about

going to college… It wasn't like 'you're going to college and we'll do everything

we can to get you there.' They never really talked about it that way. (Interview 4,

2008)

Professor Anaya also noted that her parents didn't get involved or overly involved

in her schooling, which is consistent with cultural capital research (Silva & Edwards,

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2003; Throsby, 1999) in that less educated parents are less likely to be confident enough in themselves to interact directly with schools. She believes that "education was exceptionally important (to my parents) but despite the importance they communicated they never were ones to get overly involved" (Interview 6, 2011). She also stated that her parents realized that the local public school was inadequate:

> (I went) to a private high school that was by the name of (school name). It was a private Methodist school. It was the only private high school in the town. My parents decided that my little brother and I needed to go to a private high school because at the time we were going to school the schools in the area took a turn for the worse. So they decided that they didn't want us in the public schools so they sent us to the private school. I went to the public schools through middle school and then my parents said "no" that was enough. (Interview 6, 2011)

First generation college students' parents had expectations but these Hispanic faculty members felt less pressure to attend college, although they inherently knew and internalized their parents' expectations. This was the case, for example, for Professor Anaya:

> It was always the expectation (that I would go to college). It wasn't a choice. As a matter of fact, right after high school I wanted to do something different. I wasn't going to go to college. My mother said what would that be? I want to be a hairstylist and she said no, don't do that. That is too hard of work. Those women are on their feet all the time. I said it is okay, Mom, I'll go to college. She didn't put a lot of pressure but it was an unspoken understanding that we would go to college. We were expected to (go) especially my brother and me - the two

youngest ones… I think that it starts from early on, children's experiences. Not

necessary parents explicitly saying, 'I expect you to go on and get your Ph.D.' but

(for parents) to prepare students. (Interview 6, 2011)

Professor García whose father went to college and graduate school communicated

that in her family education is what the family would be known for. Education was part

of the normal everyday family dialogue:

Education was something that was communicated to us; you know that I identify

with hard work. That was very much a part of who we were, part of the family

dialogue at home. Education was something that was what the family would be

known for… The emphasis in the home was that we would be good students. My

brother was at the top of his class, my sister and I were. We went to summer

school. Just a lot of emphasis on doing well in school. There was a reward system

(for doing well). They would reward "A's" but it was also - my grandfather, my

mom's dad was in a wheelchair and every day he would be doing crossword

puzzles. He did crossword puzzles in English - I had no idea how because he

didn't speak English. How he taught himself this pastime. He knew large parts of

the Bible by memory. He could quote Shakespeare. Here was a man without an

education. So there was this emphasis on words, this emphasis on stories. This

emphasis on knowledge, not so much on - not so much on credentials - credentials

later become important, right. At the time, it was really this idea that it can't be

taken from you (knowledge); it is what you know. What you experience can't be

taken from you, everything else, everything else can be taken. It was just the

circumstances (whatever they are) can never take that away from you that it was a

"good" in and of itself. (Interview 7, 2011)

Additional statements like "My mother has always been supportive of education"

(Interview 8, 2011) and "I believe my parents' constant encouragement to go to school, to

do well, that education was the key" (Interview 2, 2008) were indicative of the value that

parents placed on education. These faculty members communicated that their parents had

high educational expectations and that those expectations were woven into the regular,

familial cultural environment. Education and schooling were perceived as important,

essential and key to not simply financial well-being, but also as key to human flourishing.

The support that parents provided was essential to setting up these Hispanic faculty

members for success in academics.

Academics

All the interviewees had a positive attitude toward education and schooling. This

was evident in several of the interviews as well as in the interviewees' comments that for

the most part academics in primary and secondary education were not a struggle. While a

couple had some academic difficulties in transitioning to higher education, most found

higher education coursework something they could handle. This positive educational

attitude helped them to offset any other potential negative experiences. Professor Gómez

made several statements about his schooling, "I remember school fondly" and "I was a

good student" and "I was a wonderful math student and science student" (Interview 3,

2008). Professor López had similar fond remembrances, "I loved it (school). I'm a person

who has liked school. I enjoyed the coursework, I enjoyed the extra-curricular part"

(Interview 2, 2008). The enjoyment and relative ease of coursework also pushed

Hispanic faculty to push themselves and look to pursue additional degrees. Professor

Salazar mentioned, "I got my MBA at 23 and then I went to work for INTEL for three

years and then I went into teaching but when I started teaching I decided to go ahead and

finish my engineering degree just to show myself that it was a goal I could achieve"

(Interview 1, 2008).

While not everyone interviewed viewed themselves as the educational star of the

family, it is evident that all had the knowledge, skills, and abilities to do well. For some,

it was a matter of applying themselves, as all had the potential, but some did not put in

the effort at first. Professor Anaya recalled:

I wasn't at the top of my class. I remember my younger brother was the star

student. I remember the high school teachers telling my parents, 'We know Mary

is just as smart if not smarter, but she is not putting out the same effort that he is.'

I remember that to this day, obviously. In hindsight, I don't know why I didn't do

what I could do. It wasn't that it was bad, it was certainly fine, more than fine, but

I think I was more caught up in everything else going on at that time…I thought I

was pretty well prepared (for college). I really did. It was interesting because my

younger brother and I came, he was a year behind, I got here first. He was the

shining star. When he came to (this university) my older sister came also. She was

working at LANL and decided that she wanted to go to college so she took a leave

of absence from there and came with him and all three of us were there at college

together. She went to the public school in (our home town) for her high school

education and that was a much different preparation so that she…I could see the

struggle that she had academically and my brother and I didn't have to work half

as hard as she did. We were much better prepared. I lived in the dorms for one

year and then when my brother came, my parents said this is too much money to

be spending on dormitories and not getting anything back so they bought a house

in town for the three of us to live in and we lived in that house and we paid the

rent and stayed there. (Interview 6, 2011)

Professor García noted that academics did come easy to her and even though she

did not make straight A's in school, she took on very challenging curriculum of

coursework. She recalled:

(In) high school I was probably a B/B+ student. I was in one AP class. It was

called "enriched" English. Academics did come easy; I was taking a very unusual

program for a Chicana. I was taking advanced math because my sister liked math.

My sister eventually became a Mechanical Engineer. She would hassle me to take

math. We took math. I took two years of Latin, two years of French, advanced

English. I didn't see sort of why I was doing this except that I was good at it. I

mean it was, I liked words so why not take English literature. I had always done

really well on standardized tests, really well. I knew that when I was taking the

standardized tests the scores, the results would come out and I would be at the top

you know top percentile - you know 12th grade 9 months. (Interview 7, 2011)

When she went to college she excelled even without much effort:

At the (college I attended), I was getting "A's" and I wasn't doing much work.

But still I was taking sociology, so when I go to San Diego I then take what they

call a special major - a triple major, economics, history and political science. I had

signed up for one course in social work and it was like - this is not for me. I was

getting "A's" and I was - this isn't for me. So I switched to the special major…

And then I took a Constitutional Law class and there were 72 people in the class.

On the day of the final exam, the professor said to me "would you bring me the

exams when everyone is finished." It was like - out of everyone in the class he

had chosen me, I just felt like I was the singled out special person. I got an 'A' in

the class. It was just like I couldn't believe it, I mean because it was the hardest

class I had ever had. I loved it. I loved every moment in that class. Then there was

a Constitutional Law 2 course. So I took that. (Interview 7, 2011)

Professor Martínez shared that he was the valedictorian of his high school, which

allowed him to obtain a scholarship to further his education. He said:

I would like to think that I was always very good at school; yes I was always very

good at school…I was the valedictorian at (my high school) in a class of forty-

five. I received a Regents Scholarship to attend (the university). (Interview 8,

2011)

While it is evident that these Hispanic faculty were good students throughout their

educational experiences, it needs to be clear that they all had educational opportunities

available to them, of which they were able to take advantage. The fact that these Hispanic

faculty were strong academically is important, as is the fact that they did well in school in

terms of grades, which allowed them to be noticed and tracked into the more difficult

curriculum and/or the college preparatory type courses. Because they did well in school,

they were able to, in effect, grow their cultural capital with the relationships and

resources that became available to them. In addition, the positive attitudes toward school

and learning were apparent in the interview responses. This positive attitude may be a

personality trait or a reflection of the family structure, religiosity, and/or interpersonal relationships or some combination. Most importantly, however, was that academic success was key to the overall success of these participants, especially those that had access to advanced placement (AP) type courses and in some cases more rigorous courses than others at their respective schools.

Scholarships and Fellowships

Fellowships and scholarships also proved to be important in assisting with the perceived financial inaccessibility of pursuing a college degree. Professor Córdova explained how a fellowship helped him to continue his education: "the first director of Chicano Studies … he called me and said when you want to come back to study give me a ring, and so he actually gave me a fellowship to come back to study… he was important just in paving the way for me to come back to school on a fellowship so that was real important" (Interview 3, 2008). Additionally, Professor Rodríguez insisted that without financial help he would not have made it: "I don't know if I would have continued on to college if I didn't have the athletic scholarship, my parents were not well off, they were not well-to-do" (Interview 4, 2008). Additional comments such as, "I graduated from high school with scholarships" (Interview 2, 2008) and "he actually gave me a fellowship to come back to study in Special Education" (Interview 3, 2008) were indicative of the rewards that Hispanic faculty received for doing well in school. It is also indicative of the cultural capital that was available to these Hispanic faculty members in terms of relationships (family and friends) and resources (scholarships). Professor Anaya stated:

I was involved in a program that was called the Minority Doctoral College

Program. It was part of this Higher Education Commission system and so you had

the western states higher education commission and then you have one in the

southern region of the country and so on an so forth…I was able to secure some

NIH (National Institute of Health) funding during my doctoral studies. (Interview

6, 2011)

Professor García discussed some experiences and unmet expectations she had

when offered a scholarship to a small college.

(There) was a four-year college opening in (a small town) for four years. I went

and met with this recruiter and he accepted me on the spot and he gave me a

scholarship. So I went home and I thought, "well, it was exciting, I would get to

go away." I didn't know anything about it. I also thought that they would take

care of me - I mean this was the Counseling Office, why wouldn't they have my

best interests in mind. Well of course when I went to the college, it was basically

unbuilt. None of the facilities were completed. I had to work in the kitchen, so it

wasn't really a scholarship it was really some sort of financial aid that meant that

I worked in the kitchen. I stayed there for - it was on a trimester system rather

than a semester system - I was there for three trimesters and then I left…I applied

(to Harvard), and I applied at Berkley and UCLA and I was going to apply to

Stanford and UNM. At the time most of those schools required an interview. At

UCLA and Berkley you were interviewed by the Chicano students and so I was

thinking I have to pay to go to Los Angeles and San Francisco for these

interviews and I get the acceptance letter from Harvard. So I'm admitted to

Harvard Law School right then and they (the other schools) wanted interviews

and it's like okay I don't need to do that (do the interviews). Harvard at this time

gave a half loan, half financial aid. The loans were, it was very reasonable at this

time. Now it is $50,000. At the time I came out with $17,000 in student debt,

which was very reasonable. (Interview 7, 2011)

Professor García was the recipient of several highly esteemed scholarships. She said:

When I graduated I won something called the Fredrick Sheldon Traveling

Fellowship. The proposal that I submitted was to study Affirmative Action in

India, in Malaysia and in Nigeria. Eventually I spent 11 months abroad on this

research fellowship and studied the Affirmative Action programs in India and in

Malaysia. (Interview 7. 2011)

Professor Martínez also noted he also was the recipient of highly esteemed scholarships:

After (I graduated from college) I received a Rhodes scholarship, the Truman. I

matriculated at Oxford, received a Masters of Philosophy, two years later I

received a Master's in Political Theory from New York University. After that I

got a double Ph.D. at Emory University - one in Comparative Literature, one in

Foreign Relations. (Interview 8, 2011)

It was evident that all the participants greatly benefited from the relationships and

resources they were able to establish and utilize to support the expense of higher

education at all levels – undergraduate through doctoral level studies. The scholarships,

fellowships and grants obtained by the Hispanic faculty were instrumental in providing

the funding necessary to support higher education. This financial support was critical as

the family financial resources of these Hispanic faculty were very limited.

Educational Opportunity

The schools that Hispanic faculty attended actually identified academic potential in several of the interviewees and provided additional or special educational opportunities. Aspects of cultural capital that are essential are relationships and resources. In the school setting where participants excelled, teachers, administrators and other school officials rewarded this behavior by creating more opportunities and opening additional doors to opportunity. In effect, the cultural capital of the student was increased by school officials creating a snowball effect of expanding the academic opportunities of the participants. The better the Hispanic faculty did in school, the more opportunities the school made available to them. The school that Professor Gómez attended even set up a special math class for advanced students:

> Most of them (my friends) were (Hispanic), there were about 5 or 6 of us that the Christian brothers decided were very talented in mathematics so they actually developed three or four advanced math classes for those 6 kids and I was one of them. Maybe there were two Hispanics and four Anglos. (Interview 3, 2008)

It is interesting to note that even in a school that had a small White population, four of the six children selected were White. This is also an example of cultural capital in terms of valuing cultural attributes of particular students over others. The teachers were all White and the teachers were selecting the children for the program. The teachers also did not allow Spanish to be spoken at the school. Professor Córdova discussed how the school labeled students and put them into two distinct categories:

> I was one of the kids labeled 'college bound' and by all the teachers, all, we had two classes - class 'A' and class 'B.' The class A kids were the ones who were

going to go to college and the class B kids probably weren't going to go, although

some of them may have gone later. I mean I can still to this day, I run into Frank

Perez (pseudonym), uh, he is a car salesman and I'll run into him at restaurants

and he will say, 'Joe, class A. I'm class B.' I mean that perception of where you

were was, was I mean, to this day he remembers exactly, he could name and I

probably can, too, the kids who were in class A and class B. We were all

sophomores, junior, seniors but that's the way it was divided so just that fact of

the segregation of kids like that, tracking of kids, you were on your way.

(Interview 5, 2008)

Professor Salazar in reflecting back on his educational opportunity recalled,

"They (teachers) had taught us well in St. Mary's. So I wasn't behind, in fact I was ahead

of most students (when I went to college)" (Interview 1, 2008). He continued:

I took as much (academically difficult classes) as I could. Back then they didn't

even have Calculus in our high school they had something called Math Analysis

which had a tad of Calculus but not enough and looking back I wish we did have

Calculus because it would have given me a head start in college when I took

Calculus in college and that's what I did right out of high school my first semester

I took Calculus …I think what makes it difficult is understanding what's wanted

or required the work isn't difficult. (Interview 1, 2008)

Resources and the utilization of those resources are essential for providing

educational opportunities outside of school. Professor López noted that she utilized

library resources and magazines to help fulfill her love for reading. She recalled, "I

enjoyed school. I loved to read. I read constantly, many, many girls do. I read. We were

always checking out library books. We had children's magazines that come into our home. I remember reading a lot" (Interview 2, 2008). Educational opportunity in the form of private schooling was discussed previously but what should be understood is that what we might consider private school today was different for previous generations. Connecting the contradicting facts that all Hispanic faculty were poor to lower middle class during their primary and secondary education and yet they attended private school is not that difficult when cost and scholarships were involved. Professor Rodríguez explained:

> I was on a full scholarship. Back then, elementary school was $8 dollars a month, it was almost nothing. Private school back then was not as it is today. I remember my high school tuition was $15 per month and now we're talking thousands and thousands of dollars. And that was in Santa Fe. It may be different here (back then). (Interview 4, 2008)

Regarding educational opportunities in higher education, several Hispanic faculty commented that they were able through relationships (cultural capital) to hear about and pursue opportunities that they might otherwise have never heard about or know that they existed. Professor Anaya explained:

> They (departmental faculty and administrators) thought enough of my potential, I guess, to promise they would have a faculty position for me when I came back (from getting my Ph.D.). Then of course it was up to me to get the Ph.D. and it was up to me to achieve tenure. (Interview 6, 2011)

Opportunity is available but one must have the cultural capital in terms of relationships, to gain advantage to information and opportunities. Professor García recalled:

> I was walking across the campus with one of the guys who was in Student Senate (with me) he said 'there is a recruiter here from Harvard Law School, let's go see him.' We were laughing about it, what would a Chicano at Harvard Law School look like? So we go and he (the recruiter) says I am authorized to wave the admission application fee, it was $50 or something. I thought, "why not apply." I applied. (Interview 7, 2011)

The role of cultural capital in educational opportunity is intermingled with the individual's own personal efforts, desires, and abilities to excel academically. It is also dependent on the relationships with peers and educational administrators (teachers) that are able to provide knowledge and information about available resources and/or open additional doors to educational opportunities that may have been closed or unknown to the participants.

In a study of presidents of Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSI), presidents were asked to identify the top five challenges they currently face. Thirty-nine percent identified "faculty" and 34% identified "growth and diversity," which were top challenges 3 and 4 respectively behind the top challenge of "funding" and the second of "technology" (De La Santos & De La Santos, 2003). In the qualitative piece of their research, one president who was interviewed saw a grave danger of the "growing elitism of who gets educated and who doesn't" (p. 383). The veil that is hung between Hispanics and educational opportunity needs to be removed. Another theme that repeatedly came

out of the data was that of extracurricular involvement. Every Hispanic faculty member interviewed described that in addition to doing well in school they all participated in an array of school-supported activities and community supported activities throughout their schooling, even into undergraduate and graduate programs.

Extracurricular Involvement

All interviewees stated that they were highly involved in extracurricular activities during school. The work ethic of these faculty was impressive as they all excelled academically and participated in an array of extracurricular activities, including several that participated in student government. Professor García commented, "I was also on the Student Senate, I was very active politically…in high school I was volunteer. I volunteered at the hospital as a Candy Striper." (Interview 7, 2011)

Professor Gómez similarly noted:

I was probably a student officer a couple of times, treasurer or something like that. I don't think I was ever class president ever in high school. In elementary school, I think - it's not to brag, but I think in elementary school from 2nd grade through 9th grade I think I was class president every year because I think girls liked me or something and they voted for me. But I really was, it was just automatic that I was president. I think it was because I was a good student and that the other kids liked me - for whatever that means. (Interview 3, 2008)

Professor López recalled that she participated in several different types of extracurricular activities including student government, athletics and social events:

I was in student government, we had a student education association; through the physical education department there was a dance group. I was involved in a

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number of academic, - I always knew I was going to be a teacher, so of course I

was in the student education association; I was in the student government. I was

some kind of queen one time - what was that - it was homecoming or something

(laughs). (Interview 2, 2008)

Several Hispanic faculty mentioned the role of athletics in aiding them both in the

social hierarchy of the school and in providing scholarships. Professor Rodríguez said,

"In my case, I was into athletics. I got an athletic scholarship" (Interview 4, 2008). While

Professor Salazar noted, "I was lucky in a way that I was tall for my age and I was fast

for my age. So I was pretty good in sports early on so nobody gave me any trouble"

(Interview 1, 2008). Similarly, Professor Anaya recalled, "I was in athletics; I was

involved in service organizations like Girl Scouts, that kind of stuff. I volunteered at the

local hospital, that kind of work" (Interview 6, 2011). In addition to participating in

extracurricular school activities, several discussed actually having jobs after school

and/or during the summer. Professor Salazar recalled that he worked after school, "so

that's what I did through high school, I worked at grocery stores. Made some money,

learned how to work hard for what you get" (Interview 1, 2008). He also noted that after

high school he had to make a decision as to whether or not to continue working or

continue his education. He noted, "I took that summer off (after high school). I worked

for the railroad and I was tempted to stay working for the railroad because they were

paying me grown-up wages, which is pretty good for an 18 year old kid" (Interview 1,

2008). Similarly, Professor Martínez worked and still managed to participate in

extracurricular activities:

I worked with my uncles. We had a large extended family so that was always a good source of support. If there was ever any need for somebody, to get a ride to whatever, to the Mesa Program or BPA or whatever activities any of us were in there was always someone around; that is just how we lived. (Interview 8, 2011)

Extracurricular activity involvement was not just at the primary and secondary educational levels, Hispanic faculty used their athletic scholarships in college and student government experiences at the university level. Professor García explained one of her experiences while working on her doctorate:

In my second year (of Law School), I was invited to apply to something called the Board of Student Advisors. The Board of Student Advisors is a very high prestige organization at Harvard. Sort of a decade before, there was the Law Review and then there was the Board of Student Advisors, The Board of Student Advisors runs the academic program so it would report, the different co-curriculum programs were run by them and the students serve as the tutors to the writing program. So they are like teaching assistance in a graduate program. It is very prestigious. (Interview 7, 2011)

All the participants were heavily involved in extracurricular activities. This involvement allowed these participants to build important relationships, learn different skill sets, including leadership, organization, and teamwork skills. Additionally, participation in these activities was enjoyable, kept them active, and allowed them to develop different sorts of cultural capital beyond the academic setting. It should also be noted that participation actually helped secure financial resources in the forms of scholarship to defray the cost of higher education. Lastly, participation in these activities

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allowed the Hispanic faculty to broaden their experiences beyond their culturally dense

schooling environments and interact with students from different parts of the state and

from different communities.

Mentors

There has been a wealth of research regarding mentoring and role models but

what was significant in this study was the depth of the mentoring relationship for several

participants. In these cases, mentors proved instrumental in assisting the Hispanic faculty

member in terms of cultural capital in that mentors served as influential relationships and

support in both navigating within the organizational culture of the university and with

personal encouragement. The word "mentor" in modern vernacular does not adequately

represent the role that Hispanic faculty communicated of the person(s) that served as

personal mentors. In the Odyssey by Homer, Odysseus put Mentor in charge of his palace

and his son Telemachus when he left for Troy. To several of the Hispanic faculty

interviewed this is how mentors were viewed, as wise advisors that were trusted to the

extent that even households and children were protected by them. Mentors were not

simply providers of information but as passionate personal advocates, advocates that

helped to bridge the cultural divide.

Mentor relationships were essential to success and of completion of higher

education, particularly at the Ph.D. level for several of the Hispanic faculty. As Professor

Gómez stated, "(my mentor) was the first director of (a department) at the University of

New Mexico. (He) was a man by the name of David Jones, he was Hispanic but Jones

happened to be his name…I came back with his encouragement…we were real close,

although I didn't have him in many classes. I think I only had him for one or two classes.

But I could always fall back to him" (Interview 3, p. 2008). Continuing on about this topic, he stated,

> The turning point is that you have someone to fall back on, I think that is true for most of the Chicanos coming up. They come from a sheltered background like myself out there at that time rural Santa Fe, small classes, small schools and then you come into something like this here (the university) and I had no base to work from. But then I had that support from Dr. Jones and I could relax and do what I was capable of. (Interview 3, 2008)

Professor López also commented that "(Professor) Smith and (Professor) Johnson were part of the teaching faculty and Smith was the Dean after that. I was really encouraged by those two people to continue when I began working on a Ph.D." She continued:

> He was the most gracious man, but he would arrive every Tuesday and I needed to have work done and we discussed my work and he always came prepared to nudge me to the next level… And he said, 'No, you're going to defend' and he said, 'I'm retiring, you're my last student and when you walk across the stage I'm going to be at the other side and that's it.' A wonderful man but were it not for him pushing me, and he knew he had to -I'd probably still be writing. (Interview 2, 2008)

This is more than a mentorship that explains the ins and outs of how things work and how to get things done; this is deep personal commitment to the success of the other. The level of support of mentors was such that they would do whatever it took to help with the success of the Hispanic faculty member. This is exemplified by Professor

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Gómez: "They wanted me to stay (in my current job) they needed bilingual people bad but I guess it was just Louie (the mentor) that just insisted (I get my Ph.D.) and would not take 'no' for an answer…to me having a mentor is one of the most critical needs to me" (Interview 3, 2008).

To several of the interviewees, the race of the mentor was not a factor, it was the interpersonal connectedness of the mentor that mattered. As Professor López remarked:

When I think back, I have moved from one sphere to another sphere maybe not out of, in terms of continuing beyond a Master's and working on a Ph.D., leaving K-12 public education and coming to (the university). Not necessarily because I saw that as something that I would have done had it not been for individuals, key individual who encouraged me. And you know each one of those people who encouraged me were not what we would describe as members of any kinds of…they were not Hispanic, they were not. And so it's encouragement, people encouraged me. They sought me out and that's interesting because I probably would not have moved in that - either moved to a Ph.D., when I finished the Master's. (Interview 2, 2008)

She then confides humorously that "if not for George (mentor), I would probably still be working on a dissertation and I probably would have requested another extension" (Interview 2, 2008).

Mentorship was about personal advocacy: "she (mentor) is a strong advocate. Not just of our program but I feel a strong advocate of me personally" (Interview 2, 2008). Another interviewee stated how his mentor stepped in when others in the university would not help: "when he (mentor) came back to town and he asked who the advisers

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were and said forget those guys - they don't give a damn. He said come over and talk to me and he really wasn't my assigned advisor but we sat down and went through coursework and all and he signed up as my advisor" (Interview 4, 2008). With fondness Dr. Rodríguez recalled, "I had through my dissertation, I had (Professor) Gonzales (mentor) and she gave me a lot of self-confidence and a lot of support through my whole doctorate program…but that was a real impact, the impact of, the ability of one person to make the difference" (Interview 4, 2008).

It was clear that these faculty members did not have many Hispanic teachers as role models during their educational experiences. Even growing up in high-density Hispanic communities only a few interviewees recalled having Hispanic teacher role models. In reflecting back, Professor Rodríguez stated, "I remember when I was a sophomore (in high school) there was the first Hispanic teacher I ever had and he was a student teacher who taught Spanish" (Interview 4, 2008). Also, even in Catholic schools, there were few role models as one Hispanic faculty recalled when asked:

> Zero of the nuns were Hispanic. This was a northern thing (the teachers) were from Wisconsin - there were no Hispanics, none at all. The same thing with the Brothers. There was one (Hispanic) Brother that was in charge of bookkeeping; in fact he was from Pojoaque. He was one of my best friends when we were going to school and he was in charge of the books, but he was a Christian Brother, but he didn't teach. (Interview 4, 2008)

For another Hispanic faculty member it was not until college "in graduate school I did. There was Professor Vigil, I remember who was a Hispanic. He taught systems theory" (Interview 1, 2008). In discussing the topic of mentors and role models it is clear

that the majority of Hispanic faculty cited their mentor(s) as being pivotal to their

success. Also, all noted that even in highly dense Hispanic schools, very few Hispanic

role models were available. Conversely though, a few of the Hispanic faculty interviewed

had no real academic mentors but family and students provided this mentorship type of

support. Professor Anaya explained:

> I had a mentor that was assigned to me at the University of Washington (not a real
>
> mentor). I didn't have a mentor at all. If there was anyone who was my mentor or
>
> supporter it was my husband. There was no one academic faculty member who
>
> served as that mentor to me. (Interview 6, 2011)

Professor García, the first Hispanic woman to attend her graduate program, noted

that she did not have a mentor primarily because she was the first. She had no examples

or role models within her culture to find her path, so she looked to her students. She

noted:

> No, (I didn't have a mentor) but what I say to my students - I have daughters and
>
> a stepson, what I said to them was that they have been my mentors. My
>
> relationship with my students has allowed me to imagine who I can be because I
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> didn't have anyone, teachers, any professors, when I was in Law School. I only
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> had one female professor. She was not someone that I particularly identified with.
>
> I think that part of being one of the first, is that there is no one (to mentor me).
>
> (Interview 7, 2011)

Professor Martínez stated that he had several different individuals who served as

mentors; he commented, "It is hard to say (the impact of a mentor). I will credit a lot of

people I mean there are a lot of great faculty that I worked with, fantastic faculty"

(Interview 8, 2011). The role of mentors in the academic success of the Hispanic faculty interviewed was essential. Mentors provided not only information and support in a technical sense (what class to take, in what order) but more importantly as a personal advocate and provided encouragement and belief in the Hispanic faculty. Mentorship came in several different ways, but primarily through personal relationships as opposed to formal mentoring programs. Family, faculty, peers and even students served as mentors. These mentors had interpersonal relationships with the Hispanic faculty and as cultural capital theory would suggest, these relationships were developed in part through the availability of the individual to use the cultural capital available to develop those necessary relationships.

Faculty Perspectives

Hispanic faculty perceived that once they were in faculty positions that the value that the university puts on the cultural capital of New Mexican Hispanics was less than the value placed on Hispanics from other locations. It was also noted that the value placed on graduates of it own programs was less than the value placed on individuals who graduated from universities in other locations. The discussion of not hiring native New Mexicans was a particularly sensitive issue. Several participants brought up the idea that state universities neglect its own citizens both in providing degree opportunities and in hiring faculty:

> You know it is always like the myth that 'out there' somewhere far away, that is
> where knowledge lies you know. The fact that universities don't hire their own
> graduates, I mean that's real detrimental to us (Hispanics). I mean I was lucky
> because I was hired but most of the time (the university), which was producing

the most Ph.D.s, I think I was probably the only one they hired. They sent them all somewhere else to go somewhere and maybe come back later but; but I don't know, it is a real myopia; it is a real kind of short-sightedness about the talent that's here. So I think it has to do with, it's that bureaucratic rule that you don't hire your own graduates; we produce our own graduates here, very talented ones and yet we won't hire them because they have to go out. So, you know, I don't know, it is a complicated one. (Interview 4, 2008)

The policy to not hire your own graduates is a widely known rule at most universities. Thoughts on increasing the number of Hispanic faculty at the university tended to vary from pipeline issues to better leadership. Professor Córdova commented, "it was almost unheard of for a university to hire its own graduates" (Interview 3, 2008). Professor Rodríguez discussed this matter in more detail:

At that point (this university) contacted me and they wanted to get into the field of (my specialty) so they brought me back from Highlands over here and the story was, the reason of course was that at that time they used - they use it – that (this university) will not hire its own graduates so they sent me out there to Highlands two years back. Then they brought me back to start this program …Very, very, very, few Hispanic applicants to faculty positions. The ones we were seeing - we were getting Puerto Ricans, Africans, a couple of Anglos who spoke Spanish and they did "Taco Bell" they would sound like that. They were very sensitive and could speak Spanish and they lived in Honduras or someplace where they lived for a year. They were some of the least qualified people but they wanted to come in. Now I was there a couple of years and we couldn't find any (Hispanic faculty

to bring in) and yet we were putting out the best, our people (Hispanic Ph.D.

students) were hired before they graduated, before they finished their Doctorates

they were already hired in California and Texas. We were the number one place

to come and recruit. I mean they were here just gobbling them (Hispanic Ph.D.'s)

up. (Interview 4, 2008)

Professor Anaya noted that even though the rule of not hiring your own graduates

into faculty positions is known, the administration can override the rule if it chooses to do

so:

We have one of those exceptions (hiring own graduates) in this department. Not a

Hispanic individual. The Ph.D. was received here and somehow magically it was

possible for that person to be hired here. I don't know if I would have been given

that opportunity. Who knows? (Interview 6, 2011)

Issues regarding minority faculty hiring brought out perceptions on who gets the

faculty positions and who determines what "qualified" means. Professor López discussed

hiring from her perspective:

I see opportunity and I can tell you that at times when we have had opportunities

to search for faculty and we raised the question about color. You know how

colorful are we as a faculty because we're really not that colorful in terms of any

ethnic or racial kinds of balance that we might have. It's been a question that the

faculty has talked about, and we continue to grapple with something that many of

us have tired of. And that is needing to follow any statement about a need for

some diversity with almost the qualifier but that we really have to have someone

who's competent… the sort of continuing question about competence or the level

of competence if you will. (Interview 2, 2008)

Professor Gómez was pushing for years to hire more Hispanic faculty. He noted that it

takes:

A critical mass of faculty who - both minority faculty and non-minority faculty

but we shared some of the same values. I think through that critical mass of

people we built a department and then we pushed the college hard on hiring a lot

of minorities and right now in this college if you look at minority faculty we have

more minority faculty now then we have every had in our history …the double

bind because it's like getting on search committees to make sure that minorities

are given a second look and a third look. I have been fortunate in a sense, in the

last 10 years because we really have made a big difference because we got this

college to not just talk diversity but to act diversity. (Interview 3, 2008)

Professor López added her personal perspective on the pipeline and minority hiring

issues. She noted:

I can tell you that when we have had opportunities to search and we really as a

faculty have, with the best of intentions, attempted to recruit new faculty, there

are so few who are out there and are sought after that it is very difficult to hire.

There aren't too many of us. (Interview 2, 2008)

Yet Hispanic faculty are drawn to returning to New Mexico to teach and do

research. Professor Martínez explained it this way:

I came back to (this university) because I thought this was the right place to be, I

had offers from Harvard, Stanford, UT Austin and I chose New Mexico. The

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reason I chose New Mexico is because I believe that there is something special in

New Mexico that we can leverage. And there is something challenging and also

there is something I am emotionally bound to and I think that maybe faculty

members for whatever reason, whether it be a gender things, a class issue or a

race issue - anything that has to do with politics of identity. (Interview 8, 2011)

In New Mexico universities there are not as many native New Mexican Hispanic

faculty as one would think, comments like "I may be the only New Mexico Hispanic

faculty," (Interview 3, 2008) and "all the (Hispanic) Doctoral students left (for other

universities) because we wouldn't hire them" (Interview 3, 2008) confirm that New

Mexico universities are missing out on a significant number of potential Hispanic faculty

by disregarding their own graduates as future faculty. Hispanic faculty have made efforts

to increase the numbers of Hispanics in the faculty yet they perceive that there are too

few Hispanics with the necessary credentials to even apply for vacant positions. There is

a lack of Hispanics in the "pipeline" but university leadership and recruitment efforts

have been shown to offset those pipeline issues. The efforts to increase Hispanic faculty

could also be hindered by the lack of value that universities place on the cultural capital

of Hispanics and/or the lack of Hispanics to operationalize their own cultural capital

within university cultures that can be extremely foreign to them.

Minorities who have the credentials necessary to obtain faculty positions run into

other issues that impact their hiring. These include jobs for spouse, geographical location

of universities, family leave polices, and minorities competing with other minorities for

the few faculty positions open to minorities (Phillips 2002; Weiger, 2000).

Tenure Process

While diversity is said to be valued in universities, the question of bringing in "competent" people overrides the issue of diversity. Many mission statements reviewed paid some attention to diversity or of valuing diversity. Competence trumps diversity, but who is it that is determining competency? Participants expressed in different ways the problem with who determines faculty competency. The experiences regarding hiring and promotion were exemplified by a situation in which Professor Rodríguez found himself:

An interesting thing happened in, after my sixth year I went up for promotion. . . for promotion and tenure. I had my two years at (the other university) and four years here so I had six years, so I was going up for Associate (professor). And the faculty votes first and they voted no promotion, my own faculty, my own department. And at that time I was doing my job and wasn't too concerned about it but as the politics started happening I discovered that two of those (White) individuals that came (from Kansas), he (the department chair) brought them in as Associates and they had never taught before in college at the university level which was really interesting to me. . . two of them. One of them he was brought in as an Associate hadn't finished his degree. He didn't finish it until the second year he was there. He came in as an Associate. . . both those two. Once I found that out I raised a lot of hell about it to the point of going to Santa Fe and talking to friends and my senators and everyone I knew, to point out what the hell was going on. They did bring it up, questioned it, 'what are you doing'? They said "look at this;" what the hell is this." Here are (the two Associate professors) and I wasn't even aware of it. To me they were just guys doing their work, and they are

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Associates who never taught before. They come in as Associates and then they even voted against me becoming an Associate, these two guys! It was incredible. (Interview 4, 2008)

Professor Rodríguez continued:

I got tenure, which was no big deal. These were two guys who taught classes and did nothing else. I was writing the entire program, wrote grants, brought in money. I mean I was doing twice the work these guys did; I worked 8 days a week with what I was doing. But that's the way it was. So then they would say 'why are you rocking the boat' and all this shit and I said hey and I brought it up and they said don't worry we'll take care of it next year. The next year I still had votes against me but by then, when that time came I even got calls from Santa Fe that said, let us know if you need anything if something happens with that. I got promoted to Associate. (Interview 4, 2008)

Professor Anaya had some similar issues with her tenure process, even deciding to keep track of documents if her tenure process was derailed, but she also stressed the impact that family and extended family issues had on her personally while she was trying to complete the tenure process:

I was so excited when I got back. I thought nothing could be as hard as a doctoral program until I got back. A junior faculty position is two to three times harder…I don't know if anyone really understood what it took for me to get tenure. There is the academic part of it but there is also the personal part of it. Sometimes in a large family those personal issues are so intense, there are so many when you have a large family and you have this real strong tie to your family and your

family comes before anything else. My family was going through some really tough times at the time I was going up for tenure. I was trying to manage all of these things because my family tends to come to me for those kinds of issues to get help and then brainstorm and problem solve. So all of this was going on at the same time that I was going up for tenure. I don't know and my husband says, 'everyone has their personal issues.' I don't know if they play that much of a role in other people's lives, extended family (problems). It is not compartmentalized at all for me. It is one big thing. In that way I think I felt resentment, I think that's the right word, how is it that other people have it so easy and I don't. Does my family really understand what I am going through and how significant this is (tenure) because it is possible that I won't have job for too long if I don't get tenure. But yes, I had to address all of these family issues…I did have some issues; the tenure process is harder than the doctoral program by far. I felt that at times I was treated differently because of who I was. Early on in my career I had a chairperson who would review my manuscripts before they were sent out. Nobody else's manuscripts were reviewed before they were sent out but mine were. Mine were and it wasn't a pleasant experience… I was prepared for, to challenge the tenure process if it had gone bad. So I would document all kinds of occurrences. I thought that I needed to be prepared if this doesn't go my way. I know I was the only one. I think it was done because (the chair felt) I wasn't good enough. (Interview 6, 2011)

The tenure process itself is often confusing and more difficult than several interviewees had expected. Professor García noted, "I had taught already so I was already

aware what a faculty job would be. I was not aware of how difficulty it would be, tenure

scrutiny would be" (Interview 7, 2011). Professor Martínez had some unique perspectives

on the tenure process and noted the necessity of providing documentation and evidence

for productivity. He shared his perspective:

> Now I am a tenure track professor. I have mixed feelings about tenure. I
>
> understand that institutionally departments must attend to their identity in order to
>
> be able to have some sort of mobility within the national academy and the
>
> international academy. I am not unacquainted with what those necessities are. So
>
> it is a challenge for every department in every institution to produce evidence of
>
> its productivity as a research institution. So on the one hand, I understand how
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> tenure requirements are not only necessary but a way to provide evidence for how
>
> departments forge their identity and how they develop research, how they attempt
>
> to research trajectories, that is all important. However, I also understand that at
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> times, not to speak of this department, I actually think our department is quite
>
> good at doing this, tenure generally in the academy has become a very divisive
>
> instrument I think it is responsible for the dismantling of the academy in the 20th
>
> century, I think that for the most part interdisciplinary studies are rhetorical, they
>
> are not really attended to in the academy and the reason they are not attended to is
>
> because of territorial politics and the territorial politics that emerge are the result
>
> of the disciplines is exactly the sort of things that even if it defends departments I
>
> think that at some level it (tenure) injures the academy as a whole. I remain
>
> agnostic about what the future of tenure is but I don't think that we have yet had a
>
> very sophisticated discourse on what it is and what it is doing to the academy… I

went to the Congo and I worked with a task force to close down a mine that was

breeding child soldiers. And I can say (to others who don't know what faculty do)

'what did you do this summer?' Well I made sure that 400 kids don't turn into

rapist or killers and that makes me feel good. This lets me know that there is

something in the world that can be done through the academy that's much more

than what we claim we can do. And so, yeah, I know deep down inside that there

is something to that, that there is a value to that. To speak to the tenure thing if we

could actually rearrange the points of tenure to accommodate that - wow. Then I

am all in, to coin the Texas Hold 'em phrase - I'm all in. (Interview 8, 2011)

The tenure process also can have a negative impact on minority faculty as the

threat of not getting tenure can condition minorities to be silent when they might

otherwise speak out against the White male dominated university power structure

(Hamilton, 2002). Several Hispanic faculty members had difficulties with the tenure

process, particularly when the process itself was politicized by other faculty members.

While Hispanic faculty understood the need for tenure as a measure of productiveness, it

was how that productiveness is measured that at times was at odds with the personal

worldview and personal missions of the Hispanic faculty. Given the cultural taxation that

Hispanics experience, having to be advocates for communities, representing diversity on

campus, on search committees, these additional responsibilities and tasks are not

weighted heavily in the tenure process.

Summary of Cultural Capital

Researchers on cultural capital have made distinctions between social capital and

cultural capital with social capital consisting primarily of resources and relationships and

the benefits or individual "capital" that is developed by and through these interactions. Cultural capital then includes the set of traditions, beliefs, values, practices, social class and ideas of a group. These are assets that contribute to cultural value. The reason that both terms were combined under the cultural capital terminology is that the aspects of culture capital (traditions, practices, values, etc.) are dependent upon relationships and interpersonal interactions. These things do not exist in a vacuum, so essentially cultural capital is the "value" of something that a culture gives to it. But if one's "cultural capital is de-legitimated it cannot be traded as an asset" (Silva & Edwards, 2003 p.12). This was exemplified in the discussion on the de-legitimization and devaluation of the Spanish language within schools. This is what can happen to minority cultures in academia, often they may be de-legitimized and viewed as deficits.

It must be noted that the value of an individual's cultural capital is not inherent in and of itself to have value from another individual or by another culture. In order for the cultural capital to have any exchange rate among other cultures, the other culture must value that item being exchanged. In order for the notion of cultural capital to explain some of the success of Hispanic faculty, one must look at the items discussed and make connections between cultures. For example, it was noted that the parents of all Hispanic faculty did not have high financial wealth but the wealth they did have was invested into educational opportunities for their children – such as private schools. Education, it could be said, is highly valued in Hispanic culture and Hispanic parents utilizing limited financial resources for education for their children would be valued and in exchange students would theoretically benefit by better teachers, schools and opportunities along with higher levels of individual acceptance from teachers (who were all White).

Following this same rationale, parents' educational attainment and parental expectations of their children academically would be valued in the educational setting and these children would further benefit. So the outcome could have been cumulative and have had a snowball effect on the relationships and resources available to these Hispanic faculty during their schooling. These cumulative effects of cultural capital exchanges would then not only provide increased educational opportunities but also greater acceptance and recognition from others in the White culture. Even though the cultural density was high, those in legitimized educational positions were White. These interactions and positive experiences along with the cultural preparation of parents that helped to lay the foundation for academic success for those who participated in this study are discussed in more detail in the section on cultural fluidity.

The discussion so far has looked at how cultural capital provided advantages to Hispanic faculty; what is difficult to assess, however, is how cultural capital is measured and appropriated in specific settings. For example, how much cultural capital is necessary to support an exchange between one culture and another? It also does not necessarily answer the opposite question either, meaning that if one does not have an adequate amount of cultural capital to what extent does that hinder an exchange? As these exchanges are not monetary, meaning that one can know the amounts being paid, exchanged, given, how does one know if an exchange has even taken place? These questions provide an alternate perspective on cultural capital in terms of identifying the strategies and activities one engages in, in order to successfully complete a transaction. It is certain, however, that all participants in this study were academically successful and were very achievement oriented in their education.

Cultural Fluidity

The term "Cultural Fluidity" is not a label or term that is found in the research. It is a term developed by the researcher to aid in the understanding of the processes involved in moving between two or more very distinct cultural environments. Terms such as social value framing, biculturalism, adaptive culture, code switching, dual world paradigms and cultural adaptation are used as lenses to describe the nature of this movement between cultures and among cultures by individuals (Bender & Beller, 2011; Montoya, 1994; Stolte & Fender, 2007). Cultural fluidity hopes to capture the perspective that movement in and out of and between various cultural environments is less of an individual conscious effort and more of a fluid interchange of behaviors, perceptions, attitudes, and language that enables an individual to function and transition into different cultural environments.

It is suggested by the researcher that "cultural fluidity" and the concepts of "in the culture" but not necessarily "of the culture" are useful in understanding problems associated with increasing Hispanic tenure track faculty. Cultural fluidity is then the ability of an individual to adapt to and make sense out of another culture and also how individuals co-exist in that other culture. This is the third piece to the doors of perception conceptual framework, and is used to explain and provide meaning to Hispanic faculty perceptions and in the formation of mechanisms for diminishing cultural barriers to tenure track faculty positions.

Cultural fluidity can go beyond the individual and also suggests that there is an ability within a culture to adapt to another culture. This does not necessarily imply cultural assimilation or incorporation. It has more to do with the ability of one's beliefs,

attitudes, and practices to exist within another culture and adapt to the new culture but not

necessary be assimilated or consumed by the other culture. In other words, to be "in" the

other culture but not be "of" the other culture. Religious sects or fundamental religious

extremists exemplify this idea to the extreme. Suicide bombers can exist within a culture

but not be assimilated into it. They still maintain their own beliefs, attitudes and values

yet they are not internally assimilated or incorporated into the culture in which they live.

Perhaps part of the reason minorities have such difficulties in educational settings is that

their culture is incongruent with that of the dominant White culture and that White

Eurocentric culture is not itself a very fluid culture. In other words, White culture is

possibly unable or unwilling to change its attitudes, values, and beliefs to readily adapt

itself and its institutions to other cultures. While it is interesting to consider the

potentialities, it is not within the scope of this research to address these questions of

cultures adapting to one another. These questions and many others came out of the

analysis and contemplation in trying to understand the data collected. This study only

looks at cultural fluidity in terms of the Hispanic faculty understanding his or her own

ethnicity and, with that understanding, navigating the incongruities of the university

culture at the faculty level.

In an attempt to gain further insight into the idea of cultural fluidity, some

additional clarification is needed. Hannerz (2005) used the terminology of cultural

blending to describe cultures changing to one another. While it is understood that all

cultures change over time and are impacted by other cultures, difference still exist. In a

world that is becoming more global, globalization does not necessarily imply cultural

homogenization. The term "melting pot" has been used to describe the mix of different

cultures in a particular setting or environment but does this globalization and melting pot negate the important differences that make us unique individuals? Holloway (1993) suggested:

> Only if we acknowledge and claim our diverse, subjective, biased, cultural, and decidedly political identities within academe will we avoid the terror and the protectionist politics of the mask – those that allow us to hide our differences beneath its surface rather than to step boldly and without disguise into the political environs of our profession. (p. 14)

In looking at cultural fluidity, Ogbu's (1985) theory of voluntary and involuntary minorities was the lens used to attempt to connect and describe the fluidity or lack of between the dominant culture and minority (subordinate) Hispanic culture. Ogbu (1985) noted that voluntary minorities are those that immigrated to the United States and therefore have positive perceptions of the institutions and agencies like schools and therefore tend to do well. In contrast, however, are involuntary minorities of whom Ogbu described as those who did not choose to be a part of the United States but were conquered and essentially forced unwillingly under the power and authority of the United States. These involuntary minorities then would have negative perceptions and distrust for the dominant White culture. Ogbu's theory appears to make sense in explaining how generations upon generations of minorities in this country fail to succeed and speaks broadly to how international individuals can excel, particularly in academic settings. This research looked at Hispanic faculty that Ogbu (1985) would term involuntary minorities yet their perceptions of institutions could not be termed negative or distrusting on the whole. In fact, this research has borne out that these Hispanic faculty members had

positive experiences in school and excelled in academic settings. Also, as the

communities were high-density Hispanic environments, the Hispanic culture was

dominant in most circumstances with Hispanic faculty noting that Whites in the

communities became more "Hispanicized" than the other way around. Additionally,

Hispanic faculty who participated noted extensive family histories in New Mexico with

none communicating or suggesting that they have been conquered. In fact, Hispanic

faculty were protected in many ways due to the cultural density of their communities and

several participants communicated not even knowing they were different culturally until

later stages in their lives. This personal realization, similar to Plato's Cave Allegory

(Plato, 1968 translation by Bloom), was an eye opener and a learning experience for

Hispanic faculty. As in Plato's allegory, those in the cave could not comprehend the

significantly different realities of those outside the cave yet once they were able to

venture out and after initial fear and feelings of incongruence, they come to better

understand themselves as authentic individuals, authentic individuals coming to

understand their ethnic consciousness.

Returning to the doors of perception conceptual framework, ethnic consciousness

was a door that once opened and understood helped to consciously awaken the individual

Hispanic faculty into understanding the authentic self. The authentic self then would be

able to utilize the resources supplied by the culturally dense home communities and the

cultural capital developed through the lived experiences to support the necessary cultural

interactions and movement in and out of different cultures without loss of the authentic

self – cultural fluidity. In looking at cultural fluidity, two main areas are considered,

perceptions of self and ethnic consciousness.

Perceptions of Self

The Hispanic faculty in this study perceived that there is an "unknown" quality to higher education, particularly at Doctoral level study, that creates a degree of fear within the individual that in some cases slightly hindered or delayed their educational progression. One part of the interview with Professor Salazar examined this issue of perceived fear. During the interview, he initially found his perceptions difficult to verbalize. As he spoke, the words came with some struggle, "there might be a fear factor," he stated, but he continued on:

> When I started I was a little afraid to get my MBA, but when I got in it was no problem. Then I was a little afraid of going into engineering graduate school, but once you are in it, it is no problem. And then the doctorate degree. I was a little afraid, none of my brothers and sisters got doctorate degrees. Half of them have MA degrees and that has been enough, they have really good jobs but no one got the doctorate degree so I didn't go after it for a very long time. I could have gone after it 15 years earlier but…there was that fear factor that no one else in my family did it and is it even possible? (Interview 1, 2008)

Professor Salazar's sentiment was not unique; one of the most common perceptions was that of an internal perception of a fear of the unknown. This internal fear created a perception that somehow something within the interviewee was lacking, that he or she may not have what it takes to succeed in higher education. Managing and dealing with those fears is not uncommon as Professor López, when thinking about her struggle in deciding to continue her education, suggested:

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I knew it was the next degree, sort of like the top degree. In my family I was one – me and a number of my cousins were the first ones to go to college and so the Ph.D. was sort of an unknown. And I remember taking the (university) catalog and reading it very carefully for days. And I would read – and this is I'm at (working at the university), I'm a clinical supervisor, I have been a successful teacher for 4 years. I sort of had a sense about what a graduate program should be and could be but I wasn't sure if I wanted to do a Ph.D. (Interview 2, 2008)

It wasn't that the fear paralyzed these faculty members and kept them from continuing but it did cause them to reflect, assess, and even delay their progression toward obtaining a doctorate. Many had not considered college beyond the bachelor's degree, as Professor Rodríguez stated, "I never thought I was going to go to get a doctorate" (Interview 4, Fall 2008). For some, their "doors of perception" were initially closed, they questioned their own self-perception and questioned if they had what it takes academically to succeed at each higher level of education, including moving into a faculty position.

All of the participants were the first in their families to obtain a doctoral degree. Moving on to an advanced degree was uncharted territory in which they broke new ground educationally. One interviewee even suggested that fear was a bigger hindrance than an unfair educational system. Professor Gómez reflected on his own experiences and then generalized to other Hispanics:

I think Hispanics - I believe (they) have the same chance as Anglos. It's just, why don't they do it? I ask myself that, why didn't I get my doctorate years ago? So I think the opportunity is there for Hispanics to move up. So I think the system is

fair. It's just Hispanics, I guess, they are just not fair to themselves. They don't

give themselves a fair chance. And I guess it's because of the money thing, the

fear factor, and um, maybe they just don't have the role models in their family.

Their parents haven't gone to college, many of them. So they don't go. But I think

the system is fair, it is just that Hispanics aren't fair to themselves. (Interview 5,

2008)

The perception of fear can be a self-imposed closed door, "They are afraid to try

it, they have that fear factor that it is way beyond their limits" (Interview 4, 2008).

Participants often described this fear, but did not verbalize the nature or origins of this

fear although this fear was expressed more often in moving on to a doctoral program

more so than a bachelor's or master's program. Even those who were successful

academically at the bachelor's and master's level still perceived themselves as not being

Ph.D. material. Professor Anaya remarked that her decision to go for her Ph.D. was not

initially supported by her family, in fact they didn't understand the value and importance

of the degree, they didn't see the need. She reflected:

My family was, my mother and father and siblings were shocked. They didn't

understand it. (They would say) 'Why do this? Your husband is set here. Your

daughter is only three, why do you need to do this?' My older brothers were

actually quite upset with me. It wasn't the traditional way of being a Hispanic

woman, not at all. It was counter to everything that they believed. (Interview

6, 2011)

This comment was reflective of a perception of the roles that Hispanic women are

expected to maintain in their communities and families. Navigating and dealing with

conflicts in cultural expectations is not as easy as it seems, there is real power in the ideas and expectations of others, both in the negative and in the positive. This is related to the discussion on "acting White" as well as the discussion of communities and cultural capital. In essence, in order for Hispanic faculty to move fluidly from one culture to another, it is imperative to manage the various expectations of family and community and manage one's own personal desires and expectations, which may often be incongruent. This incongruence however is the domain of cultural fluidity, the process of internalizing, adapting and moving forward even though there are incongruences. Cultural fluidity is the ability to set aside the incongruences temporarily and not allow them to paralyze the individual and/or push them to retreat from full participation in the "other" culture. One item that was discussed previously was the notion of a strong work ethic. Living with incongruences between Hispanic culture and university culture can also create personal perceptions of needing to do more in order to be accepted into the university culture. Professor Anaya commented:

> I maintain that point of view (working very hard) to this day because I'm in a
> place where I'm the only Hispanic. I try and be really productive because of
> that, not only because of that but it plays a huge role in how hard I work. I have
> brought in the most research money ever. I am highly productive in terms of my
> publications. I do that, I think, maybe consciously or subconsciously, as a way
> to not be some token person. I overcompensate. (Interview 6, 2011)

The way in which Hispanic faculty members perceive themselves is fundamental to how they will fit in the role of faculty member. Personal fears of "do I have what it takes" often change into a personal belief that "I can contribute something that others

cannot." An essential part of cultural fluidity is the notion of ethnic consciousness and this relates to factors such as cross-cultural experiences, cultural awareness, cultural conflict, cultural acceptance and university culture.

Ethnic Consciousness

Ethnic consciousness refers to the awareness of individuals to their status in an ethnic or racial group; a group that is different from the larger society of which they are a part. Being part of a particular ethnic group has a basis in the biological origins of a group, as in where one's ancestors come from, but this only a small part. Ethnic consciousness is essentially a social process of constructing identity with a particular race and/or culture. This identification has real consequences for the individual in terms of group identification, which can directly impact an individual's opportunities in the larger society. How people see themselves impacts how they perceive the world and to an extent how the world sees them. Consider the earlier discussion about Hispanics who consider themselves as White and in doing so had real impacts such as better grades, more education, higher incomes, greater civic enfranchisement, "fit in" better with colleagues, and feel more included (Tafoya, 2004; McBrier, 2003). In this study, Hispanic faculty discussed many aspects of their experiences relating to ethnic consciousness.

Hispanic faculty expressed differing sentiments regarding cross-cultural experiences. The initial understanding and awakening that they were different came at different places in their lives. Professor Córdova, for example, described her understanding of self:

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I got there (to graduate school) and that was the time when I began to understand

myself and my cultural background and it wasn't until then that I thought, hmm,

now I know why I behave the way I behave because everything I learned from my

family, which was all deeply seated in Hispanic culture and Catholicism. When I

got there, I was like, why am I acting different than other students? (Interview 5,

2011)

Professor Córdova also noted that the Civil Rights movement provided exposure

and confidence to assert that her experiences and culture were valid and that she added

value because she was different:

I was developing a political consciousness. I knew about the Civil Rights

Movement, I was developing an ethnic identity. So it was already 'this didn't feel

quite right.' At that point, I then started thinking of social work. I knew that

SDSU had a degree where you could go five years and come out with a Master's.

(Interview 7, 2011)

She added that without her voice, her perspective, and perceptions of the White dominant

culture, she was unable to fully understand the entire context of other's lived realities.

She continued:

The first case that we had (in law school), in my first class it is assigned seating

and there are about 150 students in each of four sections. I was assigned to seat

number one. All of which is very well, I guess. I'm superstitious enough to say

that there was a design, a design that is, of course, only a design because I

recognized the pattern, but it was the first case in the book, which is empirical. I

could show you the book. It was the People of the State of California v. Chávez. It

was a Chicana who gives birth in her mother's home into the toilet. The baby is
born dead and she is then prosecuted for manslaughter and the discussion in the
class was about the common law definitions of life because the baby had to be
alive in order for manslaughter to take place. The baby had to have breathed and
its heart had to beat in order for her to kill the baby. All of the discussion was
about these biometric measures. On the third day, I raised my hand and I talked
about the sociological dimensions. This is 1946. She is called a Pachuca and this
is the only case in which there were all of these added materials in the casebook.
There were newspaper accounts of the trial. There were interviews with the
attorneys that had represented her. So there was all of this additional information.
She was from East LA; my dad's family is from East LA. After WWII, they
moved to East LA. She was very recognizable, she was like - I had hundreds of
cousins that were, could be Josephine Chávez. I had an uncle who was in the
Chino prison and I have had distant cousins who have done hard time in the
California prison system. I'm sitting in the Harvard classroom astounded at the
fact that all of this cultural, social information doesn't seem to be relevant to the
circumstances in which the crime was committed…You can't understand it
without understanding notions of female sexuality within the Latino family. You
cannot understand how to represent this woman without being culturally
competent - what we now call cultural competence. (Interview 7, 2011)

Professor Martínez noted that previous generations should not perceive that
younger generations do not have a consciousness about who they are and their place in
society. He explained:

I think that a lot of people assume that Generation X or whatever it is that

revolves around Generation X or the post '80s, post-cold war generations have no

social consciousness whatsoever, but it is not true. Only now are we beginning to

understand and appreciate that we have value and we are contributing to the social

discourse. (Interview 8, 2011)

In exploring issues of cultural fluidity, it is important to note as individuals

interact with different cultures in order to successfully manage these interactions prior

experiences aid in this navigation. Cultural fluidity then operates "as a person crosses the

boundaries in the complex subcultural mosaic" (Stolte & Fender, 2007 p. 59). According

to Dimaggio (1997), interacting in different cultural settings requires an "interdependent

set of representations or constraints that influence action in a given domain" and an

individual must utilize a "schematically organized internal cultural toolkit" (p. 277). In

terms of better understanding cultural fluidity, the circumstances that an individual must

successfully navigate, the cultural contradictions and difficulties that arise when

interacting with different cultures must then be understood. Part of the answer is in the

notion of activation of internal cultural frame switching. Essentially, the individual

"shifts between interpretive frames rooted in different culture in response to cues in the

social environment" (Stolte & Fender, 2007, p. 61).

In order to successfully navigate these cross-cultural experiences, individuals

must activate cultural primers or cues. This "priming" then is based on previous

experiences, familial priming, and individual ability to process cultural cues (Stolte &

Fender, 2007). In terms of the Hispanic faculty that participated in this study, this cultural

priming was impacted directly by the culturally dense communities and the cultural

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capital of each individual. The cultural priming is a foundation for cultural fluidity. As Hispanic faculty successfully navigated the university culture, what was it about "priming" that specifically helped them to do so? Perhaps part of the answer has to do with the ability to become aware of the self and one's perception of who one is as an authentic person. The notion that regardless of differing cultural experiences and even perceived fear, that as an individual I am a valuable piece of the cultural mosaic, that I cannot only contribute to society but the perspectives I bring are not only unique but also are important; that cultural differences can be overcome by cultural awareness.

Cultural Awareness

Hispanic faculty discussed the notion of understanding that they were culturally different and this cultural awareness lead them to make conscious assessments about who they are, what they value, and what relationships they would pursue. Professor Anaya noted that she never felt different until she was working on her Ph.D.:

> The only time that I really experienced the feeling of being different was when I went to the university, not (this university). I went to (this university) for my undergraduate and Master's degrees. Here I didn't feel different at all. It wasn't until I went to the University of Washington to work on my Ph.D. that I was looked at very different. (Interview 6, 2011)

She continues, noting that this awareness moved her to a higher level of understanding of her ethnic self:

> I think it is a real sense of my family and culture. Knowing that it is okay to know who you are …That is when I learned more explicitly about the culture values and beliefs that I held. And I thought, this is why I am responding to faculty members

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in this way. That is why I expected to have more group situation that weren't really in place there. There was a real discontinuity between my expectations and what was happening there. (Interview 6, 2011)

Professor Gómez internalized that he was culturally different as a youth but didn't allow that to dissuade him from academic success. He recalled:

I can remember one nun always saying, 'but you guys, you children are not like the children in Wisconsin,' in a derogatory way. I mean comparing us with kids who spoke English and kids from back east. That comment stayed with me for a long time. They had no understanding of the culture at all, I mean they were all, I don't think I ever had a Spanish speaking nun in my whole 9 grades, I know I didn't. (Interview 3, 2008)

Hispanic faculty shared other experiences in connecting to the White culture. Professor García noted that she had spent considerable time trying to understand and communicate her cross-cultural experiences. She noted that from an early age her mother was preparing her for interactions with White culture and strategies for interacting with White culture:

The mask image is about having to, what the mask image is tied to is the braid image. I use the braid image to talk about how my mother would braid our hair, me and my sister. She would braid our hair and she would say, 'I don't want you to look *grenuda* (uncombed).' This whole idea of being, of having messy hair was something that she didn't want for us. She wanted us to look a certain way, to be able to get along in the world. I analyze this in terms of the strategies that my mother was passing on to get through the racial cultural barriers. It was this

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chameleon quality but it is very much about 'whiteness' and 'brownness'; it was

very much about the assimilation that was necessary for higher education, which

my mother knew nothing about except through her own - you know my mother

was active in the Church so she knew the gringas were a certain way, the

Chicanas were a certain way. My mother would read all of the women's

magazines like McCall's, all of those women's magazines, so she knew sort of

what the world was like. (Interview 7, 2011)

Professor Martínez in reflecting back on his academic successes stated that part of

success is based on luck, but, more introspectively, he communicated that the luck

involved is based on conscious choices particularly in terms of creating relationships with

others who had similar experiences and values. He explained further:

Luck, it doesn't happen all the time. Not just luck. You see certain values being

represented and you hold on to them quickly. For example, the very first week I

was here at school (as an undergraduate), one of the most formative things that

happened to me was when I unloaded my stuff to move into Smith Hall. I

unloaded my stuff. I helped my friend unload his stuff. We were done for the rest

of the day. We saw this guy unloading his stuff and we asked him, "do you want

some help?" He stopped and said, "Really?" So we helped him unload and then

we helped another friend unload. Some people around saw and said, "shit, that's

the way I do it at home, too" and they started to help, too, and before you knew it,

the whole dorm was unloading everybody else's stuff. It was really cool. It was

one of those really cool wonderful moments. There were also some people who

were being jerks about it and said, "don't touch my stuff." Well, you're a prick, I

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am not going to hang around with you and I didn't. I mean the value systems and

lines were being drawn really quickly…I mean I knew one way or another that

this is something you value, this is something that there is a sense of reciprocity

that exists, that those exchanges are being understood as being of value to you. So

we grew up maybe with similar backgrounds, in turns out we did. Most of us were

from rural areas, most of us knew the value of getting up and helping out

somebody when they need it, not being afraid of really hard work, not hiding in

the back of room because you don't want to pick up a shovel or anything like that,

just doing it. (Interview 8, 2011)

Professor Córdova, in reflecting back on some negative experiences in school

with nuns, does not look back with a "why me" attitude or an attitude of victimization. In

fact, there were very few feelings of victimization among any of the Hispanic faculty

interviewed, the predominant attitude was that, yes, things are not always perfect, but

these imperfections are what it is that motivates and drives them on. He added to his

thoughts:

But you know I don't look back in a bitter way because that's the way it was,

that's the way things were. Hopefully, those things aren't true anymore and I

think we made some progress on that. But anyway, so I remember school fondly,

I mean you know. But we did have those kinds of things where English speaking

nuns created difficult cross-cultural situations. (Interview 5, 2008)

Professor Gómez knew he was different, but didn't think deeply about those

differences until he was exposed to Civil Rights and Anti War protests. He recalled:

I would go up for my work, I'd go up to Denver and I'd run into all kinds of

Vietnam protests and Chicano protests and so I think that really started me

thinking about those issues like many people my age in those days. We always

knew we were Hispanic but it wasn't that big a deal. (Interview 3, 2008)

Professor López recalled that she was ethnically aware from a young age but

didn't have negative experiences:

So I didn't grow up with a whole lot of attention being paid to ethnic, cultural or

racial differences, but I can tell you that my mom was very aware in her growing

up and she talked about it often. My father may have been aware, but he didn't

talk about it, but my mom sure did. (Interview 2, 2008)

Professor Rodríguez noted that when he got to the university he struggled to fit in

with other students and became more consciously aware of his differences:

I worked my butt off and I didn't know anyone. I was there alone and had little

support of any kind and I really tried everything I could. I mean I studied and

asked for help. A lot of the students were a close-knit bunch. I was the only

Hispanic in that class. So it was really difficulty for me that first year. (Interview

4, 2008)

Professor García explained that her experiences in higher education made her

more ethnically conscious about herself, but her participation also pushed her White

classmates to gain a better understanding of her and her culture. She noted:

They (my family) had no idea what the ruling class was like when I went to

Harvard. I had no idea that the constant question that I would be asked was, what

does your dad do? Which to me was like, it was almost funny. I never heard

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someone ask another person, what does your dad do? Which was of course about

class but it was also about race because I think that they assumed my dad was

working class, I mean not even sort of like white-collar government. I think what

they knew about Chicanos or Mexicanos was about farm workers. This was the

mid-1970s. They had no idea that there were - a group of us that were sort of

lower-middle class, middle-middle class maybe. (Interview 7, 2011)

Hispanic faculty also commented on areas of cultural conflict. These Hispanic

faculty who were raised and educated in high Hispanic density environments had some

issues with teachers, but all noted a general lack of cultural conflicts in those

environments. This can be partly explained by the relative isolation and that Hispanics

were the majority populations in these areas. For example, Professor Rodríguez recalled:

No, I really don't remember any conflicts at all. I think that was one advantage

growing up in Santa Fe at that time. We were the dominant culture there in all the

school, in government, everybody in administrative offices - Governor -

everywhere, were Hispanic. I didn't experience any of that until I came to

Albuquerque. (Interview 4, 2008)

Conversely however, Hispanic faculty did note that in the university environments there

were cultural conflicts and misunderstandings. Professor García noted an incident when

her success was misunderstood:

The Dean wrote (an email) - I believe that is where it started, I don't believe that

I started it, I believe he started it and he said that the LSAT had opened a lot of

doors for students of color. I wrote back and I said, there is another narrative and

the narrative is that the LSAT has been the highest barrier for students of color

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and he wrote back and he said without the LSAT a native boy from (his state)

would not have gone to Yale and a Latina from (her high school) would not have

gone to Harvard. I wrote back and I said - and all of this is to all of the faculty -

and I said that is not my story, my story is that my academic achievements

including high LSAT scores were necessary but it was not sufficient. What I

needed was the Civil Rights movement, a Civil Rights movement that was able to

put a dream in my heart…That I could be something that no one could imagine or

dreamt, my mother couldn't have imagined it, my dad couldn't have imagined it.

It had to be the collective, a community that could really dream of this for us. It

was not born of individual effort, it was not born of, you know that I was smart,

and I said that there were generations of women in my family who were smart, I

did not come to "smart" by myself, that it is very big mistake to think that it starts

with us. The Civil Rights movement was huge, enormous in my personal story.

(Interview 7, 2011)

Along similar lines, Professor Martínez was unwilling to allow others to

pigeonhole or stereotype him because of his origins. While the Civil Rights movement

did not impact his personal narrative, as was the case with the others due to the fact that

he is a product of a later generation, he nevertheless understood the impact of the Civil

Rights movement in creating access and opportunities for Hispanics. He explained:

I actually joke that I was discouraged from applying for the Rhodes scholarship

the first time I wanted to apply. That is something that I don't say very often, (the

university) has a little plaque over there with my name on it and everyone is very

proud. There is a lot of push and pull that was normally one of those things that

the Albuquerque students particularly the Eldorados, the Academys, the La

Cuevas had access to, not necessarily a kid from (my small town)…The Civil

Rights movement is easy to identify because we had markers, there are events that

can delineate in terms of the core of experience, how we precede in relation to

certain ideological battles, certain things. I thoroughly respect those individuals

who came up out of that (Civil Rights) and are motivated by that. It is a not

something I take lightly and think that we all should all continue to attend to those

matters…I am motivated by the Civil Rights movement in some ways, many

people have it deeply ingrained in their sense of kinship, to their academic

mission, but it is not mine, not necessary, not exclusively about that. (Interview 8,

2011)

Cultural Acceptance

Even though these Hispanic faculty had conflicts with the university culture, they

made efforts to remain authentic to who they were. Additionally, they also sought to

come to mutual understandings when possible. In other words, Hispanic faculty were

open to discussion and willing to stand up for what they believed in, yet didn't always

remain dogmatic on every issue. Professor Martínez noted:

I made concerted efforts not to be an ideologue about my relationships with

people based on race, class or gender. It wasn't one of those things. I had to make

a concerted effort because there was a lot of pressure in undergraduate work.

(Interview 8, 2011)

In thinking through her own ethnic consciousness and awareness, Professor

García actually spent considerable time and analysis of her own experiences relating to

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how she functioned within different cultures, her own cultural fluidity experiences. She discussed her thoughts on wearing cognitive masks within educational settings and aiding others in understanding their own ethnic consciousness. She explained:

> The cognitive masks that one needs in order to get through higher education and through the terminal degrees and that is what it is about. This has been a central theme in my work both in the classroom, in my scholarship, and now as an administrator. How do we have students go through higher education maintaining their cultural selves, leaving them intact or even recovering their ethnic identities in a way that allows them to be more integrated personally and ethnically and racially integrated, it is a dimension of integration. There can be people who don't look like you at all and yet share much of the cognitive processes. (Interview 7, 2011)

The idea of putting on and taking off a cognitive mask provides a good metaphor for the interaction and functioning within other cultures. What cultural fluidity would add is that for a person to move in and out and among other cultures, one must maintain his or her authentic self. The movement would not necessarily be a conscious effort in putting on or removing a mask, but rather a subconscious cognitive process of weaving in, out, and among different cultures, a fluid movement. Cultural fluidity, then, is a cognitive process of evaluation of the surroundings and environments of differing cultural settings and instinctively maneuvering within them. The "instinctive" part and the ability to fully function within the other culture is part of the doors of perception. Perceiving the necessary behaviors that are required to fully function in a different culture and based on

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your life experiences and utilizing your personal cultural capital helps enable the necessary metamorphoses back and forth with minimal conscious thought.

The notion of cultural fluidity then is similar to how individuals transition from one role to another and undertake attitudes, behaviors and even mental models without much thought. For example, cognitively morphing from administrator to student, from employee to coach, or from faculty member to mother or father. These transitions, or better "metamorphoses," happen regularly throughout each day, yet individuals do not necessarily throw off one identity to assume another – like Clark Kent into Superman – all identities exist within the individual, it is the instinctive nature based on and developed through the doors of perception that supports the successful fluid metamorphosis. Yet there is a contradictory perception that remains in the literature regarding cross-cultural experiences in which minorities look at this not as a metamorphosis but more as a disguise. A disguise in the sense that one has to pretend to be something that he or she is not in order to fit within the other culture, that some part of the authentic personhood of the individual is set aside. Montoya (1994) suggested that it is the educational process itself that acculturates the individual into the dominant culture. She noted that Hispanics who "pursue higher education often end up feeling doubly estranged because of the socialization process: estranged not only from their ancestral roots but from the dominant culture as well" (p. 438). The estrangement seems inconsistent with what is being suggested as a fluid movement, is there an explanation or a reconciliation of these two seemingly different perspectives? One explanation could be that education in and of itself is a catalyst for personal change. The two perspectives can both be valid. In Plato, the individual goes out of the cave and experiences a different

world and desires to bring others (educate others) to this new reality. Education could be a Pandora's Box, which when opened, produces some negative consequences for the individual (estrangement, loss of culture, need for disguise). Both have merit in that for good or for ill, education changes the individual. It is interesting that even in the Pandora's Box myth, once Pandora opens the box and releases evil into the world, the one thing that remained in the box for Pandora was hope. Education, though, is also a bridge that once crossed provides access between and among different cultures. The bridge is then able to serve as a two-way path for mutual understanding. The *process* of cultural fluidity may be transparent (or not) and fluid, but the *effects* of it are not.

Diversity in University Culture

White faculty control was perceived by some of the participants as degrading and many felt that a big part of the problem was created simply because they were Hispanic. When reflecting back on his experiences as a Hispanic faculty member, Professor Rodríguez considered the plight of another Hispanic professor with whom he was good friends and compared himself, "I had a little bit easier time than he did because I probably wasn't as outspoken as he was. I wasn't as outspoken as he was and so he got into more issues with the administration" (Interview 3, 2008). This statement reflects what previous research has suggested regarding the conditioning of minorities to not challenge the White power structure of the university or experience the negative consequences (Hamilton, 2002). It is not only the perceptions of the White faculty but of the university administration as well, "it's a token thing. They (the university) look at figures and say 'well, we are not doing too well.' It's not like they strive to do it automatically, I don't think they have ever done it (seek to increase minority faculty)"

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(Interview 5, 2008). This statement fits extensive research regarding tokenism (see, for example, Ibarra, 2001; Luna 2000; Mood, 1997).

Perceptions of "fit" also surfaced with comments such as, "I never started out to be here, I had no intention of ever applying for a position here" (Interview 2, 2008), and "I never thought I would go on to a faculty position, didn't seem my style" (Interview 4, 2008). Additionally, because all the faculty in this study were native New Mexicans, they had a unique perspective on how they fit into the university culture. Professor López explained that her ethnic self is embedded in the diversity of New Mexico:

> In terms of diversity, it is important to me, and I'd almost want to say, well, look at me, you know, who am I. Who is my family? I'm surrounded by what my father has made, who my mother is, what my sister – you know, we are this place. (Interview 2, 2008).

Professor Córdova expressed the sentiment regarding New Mexico very simply, "I love this place" (Interview 5, 2008). When referring to the university, all interviewees expressed a deep commitment to improving the university and to helping improve the educational opportunities of Hispanics in New Mexico. Perceptions of low faculty compensation, tokenism and White faculty control did not stop these faculty. Professor Salazar was emphatic in his belief that there is another way to open doors for native New Mexican Hispanics:

> I feel the only way to get those people (native New Mexicans) to stay here (in New Mexico) is if they finish here. They love New Mexico, they don't want to leave New Mexico, and they'll suck it up as far as the pay; and they will stay here

if they had that opportunity to. But we are not putting as many (native) people out, as we were (before). (Interview 4, 2008)

These statements show passion and desire for the people of the state and for the particular university. These participants were dedicated to their university and committed to making it successful. Additionally, perceptions of lack of organizational understanding were apparent as Professor Rodríguez lamented, Hispanics "don't understand the (higher education) system. That they have to get into the system, get educated, and take the right classes and take 'em in order" (Interview 1, 2008). But yet, as Professor Gómez stated, they see that one of the best ways to improve the university is to increase the number of Hispanic faculty:

> The more you get, the more you can get, in a way. I mean they talk about recruiting students. The way to recruit Hispanic students is to have Hispanic faculty; that really is a draw just as Native Americans are finding that same thing. (Interview 3, 2008)

Professor Anaya made efforts to not be perceived as a token Hispanic and worked extra hard to show she belonged:

> I tried not to because I didn't want it (my race) to be, I didn't want to succeed (simply) because I was Hispanic so I worked harder, I put in more time. I think I tried to really be the very, very, very best as a way to compensate because I didn't want anyone to say 'well she got in because she was Hispanic'…I do that I think maybe consciously or subconsciously as a way to not be some token person. I do overcompensate (Interview 6, 2011).

Hispanic faculty also offered insight and perspective on the value of diversity and the benefits universities would incur if the faculty were more diversified. One thing that does need to change, however, is the university culture itself, but effecting this change is a slow and difficult process. Professor García believes that universities need to be held accountable, "I also think that we have to change universities; I think that there is no penalty that is paid by universities for not hiring people of color" (Interview 7, 2011). She continued:

> So part of the work that I am now sort of thinking about is this idea of complex adaptive systems. This comes out of what the Santa Fe Institute has been a leader on, complexity. It is this attempt to link complexity with culture and specifically human diversity and then link it to institutions…Is that diversifying the faculty is right at the edge of many of these questions? It is about complex adaptive systems, it is about cultures in collision and it is about fundamentally changing a lot of the work of the university. It is about what is happening with teaching. It is about pedagogy, it is about all of that vocabulary that is the domain, after all, of people who think of themselves as experts. The best work that has come out in the last few years is the work of a mathematician in Michigan whose name is Scott Page. He works in something called complex adaptive systems, in chaos theory and complex systems. He has developed mathematical models that prove that diversity trumps ability. Diversity trumps ability. That if you have a diverse group of people you get better problem solving and better risk predictions, what are the risks in the future? How do we plan? How do we solve the problems of the present and how do we plan for the future? If I have a diverse group, it is going to

be better than if you have all White people, even if they are very smart.

Businesses are figuring it out. Businesses have gotten it. Higher education has not

gotten it. It is a very hard problem to solve. (Interview 7, 2011)

Even though the problem of diversification of the faculty is difficult to impact,

demographic trends of Hispanic population growth in the United States are exploding and

this growth is being met with resistances on several fronts. If diversity is in and of itself

"good" for society, the larger society wants diversity on its own terms, not necessarily

diversity on the terms of minority groups. Professor García finished her thought:

> I think that part of this is a larger national cultural debate and change that is going
>
> on because demographically the cascade is going on, because of the demographics
>
> and it cannot be stopped. So for Midwest states to have quadrupled the Latino
>
> population, it is happening everywhere. I think that (nationally) there is a real
>
> resistance, look at Ethnic Studies in Tucson. There is a real resistance to the idea
>
> that we bring value. (Interview 7, 2011)

Professor Martínez spoke about the complexity of increasing the diversity within

the academe. He understands that diversification can generate curiosity and generosity.

He noted:

> Diversity is essential. It is one of the things that makes intellectual thought
>
> relevant and meaningful. You cannot make a logical rational statement without
>
> contending with the broader array of perspectives that are derived from any
>
> number of either epistemological or emotional points of origin. We are now
>
> challenged to become, to think more broadly about diversity not necessary in
>
> terms of race, but in terms of gender identity, in terms of the different striations of

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class that exist throughout the world. Very, very complicated; it is not just middle

class, working class, upper class; those are very over generalized myopic

perspectives. So there are so many different things that we have to account for…

I would hope that the one thing that diversity should bring to any people, whether

it be academics, social, economical, political or cultural in any way, is a sense of

generosity and a sense of curiosity. If you can have those two things, with those

you can proceed in a manner which is very sustainable for any type of living. To

be generous to a position that is alien to you in some way, shape or form but still

at the same time be generous and show intellectual curiosity - that is our purpose

in the academy. If we lose those we fall victim to becoming loud-mouthed

judgmental ideologues. (Interview 8, 2011)

Adjusting to the role of a faculty member is difficult; it is a transition that takes

getting used to. Professor Córdova had some initial difficulties adjusting to the role of the

faculty and wasn't given much training in teaching:

I wasn't very talkative as an individual. I was a person of few words so I still

remember the first time I walked in as a faculty member. It was into a finance

class and it was a once a week class that meet for 2.5 hours and I said two

sentences and that was all I had to say and I just looked around and they were still

there, the students were still there. I still had almost 2.5 hours to go, so that was

pretty rough because I wasn't one for speaking but now it is hard to stop me from

speaking sometimes. (Interview 5, 2011)

While Hispanic faculty are able to fluidly move within the university culture, it takes time for their voices to be heard and valued in the university culture. As Professor Anaya remarked, it sometimes can take several years:

It wasn't until I was here in this department for several years as a clinical practitioner and I thought, there are questions out there in this discipline that need to be answered and nobody is addressing them. They were questions about bilingualism, they were questions about how do we intervene with families from a Mexican background and at the same time honor that cultural value system. There is no one out there answering these questions so that really served as the impetus for going on… I think it is a challenge to find your voice no matter what and it is even more challenging in a department this small and is largely faculty who are not of color. I think it has taken me several years to find my voice, not that I didn't have one before but I don't think that it carried much weight. Over the years I think longevity usually has something to do with it. I have been able to find that voice. (Interview 6, 2011)

In thinking about cultural fluidity and the ability of Hispanic faculty to move and successfully function within the university culture, it is important to note that some are better at this than others. What then are the particular individual characteristics and behaviors necessary for successful navigation? Cultural priming is a mechanism that allows people to fluidly move in and out and within other cultures, but what is it that is primed? What makes some better at priming than others? Research on cultural intelligence sheds some light on behaviors and traits that can impact cultural fluidity. Ang, Dyne, Koh, Ng, Templer, Tay, & Chandraskar (2007) put it more succinctly:

Relatively little research, however, focuses on factors that could improve intercultural encounters. In particular, research on individual capabilities for intercultural effectiveness is sparse and unsystematic, leaving an important gap in our understanding of why some individuals are more effective than others in culturally diverse situations. (p. 336)

Shaffer, Harrison, Gregersen, Black, and Ferzandi (2006) developed a model of cultural intelligence that included cognitive, affective and behavior attributes that impacted intercultural effectiveness. Prior to this, Sternberg (1986) developed the notion of a package of (multiple) intelligences relating to metacognition, cognition, motivation, and behaviors that impact intercultural interactions. Theories of multiple intelligences and different ways of knowing are prevalent in literature relating to intelligence yet cultural intelligence research may provide some insight into the effectiveness of Hispanic faculty in various cultural environments.

It is clear that when individuals interact with unfamiliar cultures that they can experience stress because the behaviors, activities, and norms are different and can create confusion. Individuals who have high cultural fluidity are likely to be less impacted by the stress or better equipped to deal with the stress because they have strong relationship skills, high self-efficacy, behavioral modification skills and cognitive sense making skills. Specifically, having strong relationship skills would entail traits such as language skill, understanding communication patterns, understanding of how to build interpersonal connections, and how to build mutual trust. Regarding self-efficacy, individuals with strong cultural fluidity would have the inner belief and confidence in themselves that they will be successful. In terms of behavioral skills, it would then follow that individuals

would have the ability to modify or be flexible in their behavior in cross-cultural settings

to effectively and appropriately present themselves. Lastly, individuals would have

cognitive sense making skills that allow them to adjust mental models and schemas and

the ability to question their own assumptions about and make sense out of the cross-

cultural exchanges. Ang et al. (2007), presented research in support of cultural

intelligence and its effects on cultural judgment, decision making, cultural adaptation,

and task performance focusing primarily on international cross-cultural experiences yet

its applicability to Hispanic faculty interacting in White culture and university cultures

seems appropriate.

Diversifying Education in the Classroom

Finding their voice also empowers Hispanic faculty to actually change curriculum

and impact student learning in different ways. Professor García discussed her many

efforts to change curriculum in her courses:

> There were service learning projects where they (students) had to go into the high
>
> schools and teach high school students about constitutional law. I gave a lot of
>
> emphasis to the racial history of the 14th Amendment, so there are very different
>
> ways to teach. You can teach the racial history by making it the racial history
>
> fight or you can teach it the racial history of people of color. Those are two very
>
> different lessons in the classroom…Recently, over the last few years, I realized
>
> that many of the students who were being admitted had no ethnic or racial
>
> consciousness, had no social justice consciousness. Really they were not schooled
>
> in the idea that they stood on the shoulders of other people and that those doors
>
> were closed. So there is that, just the failure of all of us in the community, I'm

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going to speak in the "collaborative" right. To have kept that lesson alive that they are there because at one time people were excluded and that door was forced open by many people who are faceless and nameless now. (Interview 7, 2011)

Regarding White culture and White university culture, some researchers make arguments that seek to dismantle the privilege of the dominant White culture (Rusch, 2004). The difficulty arises when terms like 'power' and 'privilege' are used to describe the position of the White culture. It is also suggested that Whites do not tend to view themselves as privileged or powerful and are often perplexed by the notion that minorities perceive them in that manner (Wah, 1994).

Discrimination, racism, power, and privilege are difficult issues within universities and discussions can easily slip into personal issues or attacks, which can close off productive dialogue. The Hispanic faculty interviewed desired to seek mechanisms that will help expand those inherent privileges to all. The invisible privilege of Whites needs to be examined and made more visible and White as a culture needs to be better understood. It is conceivable that White culture is low in cultural fluidity and therefore less amenable to adaptability and change or that White culture, by being dominant in higher education, is inherently unaware or purposefully blind of its own dominance.

Perhaps a new model is to move beyond the discussion of "civil rights" and more to a "global human rights" perspective as Professor Martínez explained:

How we contend to those and how we deal with human rights and human dignities in the context of a global civil structure is going to be the challenge. I don't see how we can get away from that. If we fool ourselves into believing that

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the old structures are going to be the ways in which we can proceed, we are

doomed to failure. We are doomed to repeat the same mistakes over and over

until we are no longer relevant …Civil rights as we understood in the United

States is now a discourse that expanded transnationally, Human Rights, not Civil

Rights. Human Rights and not only is it Human Rights, it is how does the human

become civil again. How do we reintegrate civilization to attend to the broader

scope of what a human right is? These are not easy problems to solve.

Epistemologically, generally speaking, we are still in its early form; we are still

trying to understand what that means. (Interview 8, 2011)

This perspective of moving toward a global human rights movement, which is

then inclusive of all, goes beyond the typical ethnic and racial cultural differences that

continue to be a struggle within the United States. But at its base, all humans have a right

to experience human flourishing as authentic individuals. Authentic individuals who can

move fluidly among different cultures and are perceived as not only equals, but in adding

value to one another.

Summary of Cultural Fluidity

There has been research that has investigated the abilities of individuals to

negotiate between, within, and among differing cultures. Researchers have examined

these phenomena through various lenses and identified an array of terminology such as

bi-cultural (multiculturalism), dual-world paradigms, social value framing, adaptive

culture and code switching. Not to confuse the discussion further, but in an effort to

better describe and clarify these phenomena, the term cultural fluidity is offered as an

alternative to the aforementioned terms. The ability or lack of ability of an individual to

successfully navigate within, between, and among different cultures is directly impacted by the experiences within one's own culture and interactions with members of another culture. The fluidity is created in part through the development of cognitive abilities that are impacted by perceptions of self and ethnic consciousness as discussed in this section. The notion being that the more advanced an individual's cultural fluidity, the more success that person will have in relating to and existing within other cultures.

Within this section an attempt was made to focus on what may be the underlying factors that impact cultural fluidity. Items such as priming, cuing, cultural blending and perspectives of voluntary and involuntary minorities were discussed. Additionally, it is suggested that perceptions of self and ethnic consciousness are fundamental to understanding the authentic self. Mechanisms that help alleviate the fear of the unknown that can occur in different cultures (university settings) were discussed as well as managing incongruences between cultures. Also a discussion of the concept of a metamorphosis of the authentic self within cultural fluidity as opposed to disguising or masking the authentic self was presented. Lastly, it was presented that cultural fluidity at its core is reflective of and built on interpersonal relationship skills, self-efficacy, behavior modification skills and cognitive sense making skills. What is clear is that the Hispanic faculty who participated in the study were ultimately effective in navigating between the Hispanic culture and the university culture. While several experienced difficulties along the way they did not have to abandon or forsake their culture, they were able to exist as their authentic selves.

Summary of Analyses and Findings

In an attempt to further develop the doors of perception conceptual framework, this chapter first looked at how the cultural density of home communities impacted the Hispanic faculty in terms of developing not only a sense of place and heritage but also an environment where cultural differences were not a significant factor as the communities were dominated by Hispanic culture. Cultural density was discussed in relation to its impacts on Hispanic faculty in terms of structures of families, religion, the acting White phenomena and the low Hispanic cultural density of universities. In examining this last issue, discussion of the low Hispanic cultural density of universities was examined in terms of academic climate, cultural taxation, feeling of isolation, hiring practices, clustering of Hispanics in certain fields, and the potential impact of university leadership.

This chapter also included an examination of the impact of cultural capital, including the role and nature of cultural capital. This lens was used to not only understand the commonalities among Hispanic faculty's experiences but also to examine the benefits of cultural capital in supporting the overall academic success of Hispanic faculty. Cultural capital was discussed in terms of parents' educational attainment, siblings, giving back to communities, finances, faculty salaries, parental expectations, academics, scholarships, educational opportunities, extracurricular involvement, mentors, and faculty perspectives.

Finally, the concept of cultural fluidity was introduced. The chapter included examples and support for looking at individual cultural movements between and among other cultures in terms of a cognitive metamorphosis. This ability to move fluidly in and out of differing cultural environments without extensive cognitive thought is juxtaposed

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with research that suggests that individuals consciously make decisions to change

behaviors to accommodate certain cultural settings. Cultural fluidity suggests that this

metamorphosis of behavior and perceptions that Hispanic faculty exhibit does not come

with a loss of the authentic self. The discussion considered these Hispanic faculty

members' perceptions of self and of ethnic consciousness. In further examining ethnic

consciousness, items of cross-cultural experiences, cultural awareness, cultural

acceptance, and diversity in the university and in the classroom were discussed. In the

next chapter, the conceptual framework, the doors of perception, will be further

developed and used to provide an overall summary of the research project.

Chapter Five

Conclusions

Introduction

It is important to reflect back to what was originally the intent of the researcher when this topic of Hispanic faculty's perceptions and experiences was originally conceived. What was unique and interesting about this topic was that it was intended to take a snapshot of some success stories; conventional "success" in terms of education, degree attainment, and obtaining high valued tenure track positions within universities. It should be noted that different people have very different perceptions of what should be classified as "successful." Different cultures place value on different things. What is apparent, however, is that a significant amount of literature on minorities is based on the magnitude of failure of minorities in innumerable areas – educational attainment, high prison populations, drugs, alcohol, single parent families – yet research has neglected taking a look into those individuals who are doing well, the success stories. This is what this research accomplished, giving voice to those Hispanic faculty that have achieved. In an effort to go beyond simply presenting and categorizing the data, a conceptual framework was developed to allow for deeper conceptualization of the themes that emerged from these data.

Purpose of the Study

This qualitative study focused on those who succeeded, those who successfully overcame barriers and are flourishing as higher education tenure/tenure track faculty members. The purpose of this study was to give voice to Hispanic tenured/tenure track faculty at universities in New Mexico who were raised and educated in high Hispanic

density environments and to describe and analyze their experiences and perceptions in relation to their unique cultural, family and educational experiences that impacted their path to becoming faculty and their experiences as faculty members.

Themes and Theoretical Lenses

The data analysis revealed several emergent categories that clustered under five themes: Family, Academics, Ethnic Consciousness, Mentors, and Faculty Experiences. A comprehensive picture of Hispanic faculty emerges when these five themes are viewed through the theoretical lenses of Cultural Density, Cultural Fluidity and Cultural Capital. The method of analysis allowed for participants' voices to be heard and their experiences to be shared, for them to share their conscious experiences, judgments, perceptions, and emotions.

Conceptual Framework Revisited

The doors of perception conceptual framework was developed to help provide an overarching structure for conceptualizing the data presented on cultural density, cultural capital, and cultural fluidity. A door is a mechanism for providing entrance and access and conversely for providing an exit or keeping others out. It is an analogy with which many can identify. Universities have been described as ivory towers, creating a visual model of extreme protection and limited access. The notion of access can be perceived differently by those who have it and those who do not. The rationale behind the doors of perception is based on combining both social systems concepts and psychological concepts to build a social-psychological model; social in terms of themes found in the data and the literature that include upbringing, religion, socioeconomics, academic success, life experiences and culture and psychological in terms of perceptions of self and

ethnic consciousness. This project explored the perceptions and stories of successful

Hispanic faculty in New Mexico. The conceptual framework grew out of the data. It is an

effort to establish a mechanism for understanding the data collected along with current

theory and comprehensive analysis. Though opening one door in and of itself is likely to

produce little effect, it is the opening of multiple doors that is necessary to make

significant progress in the diversification of faculty. The perception of those doors as

open, closed, locked, unlocked or even slightly ajar is dependent on one's culture, and

specifically in this research, one's culturally dense environment, cultural capital, and also

one's cultural fluidity.

Cultural Density

Minority faculty have largely been and often continue to be from countries other

than the U.S. This is noticeable, for example, in the high percentage of faculty classified

as Asian and the high percentage of international faculty in relation to the extremely low

number of U.S. born minority faculty. What was even more interesting was that those

U.S. born minorities who made it to the faculty ranks were primarily educated in low

cultural density environments, in other words they were raised and educated in the White

dominate culture. While negative aspects of high minority dense environments have been

documented, the data collected for this study demonstrated the positive aspects of these

environments.

For these participants, being raised in high-density Hispanic environments

resulted in cultural separation or partial shielding from the White dominant culture. This

could be seen as a negative, but in the cases of these Hispanic faculty, although they

noted specific incidents and problems that arose at times relating to the White dominant

culture, the overarching positive was that these individuals did not see themselves to be all that different. In fact, they did not recognize significant cultural differences until later in life when they encountered situations where they were the minority population as opposed to being in the majority in the culturally dense Hispanic environments of their upbringing and schooling. It was not that these Hispanic faculty were unaware or not impacted by the White culture, it was more that the Hispanic culture dominated and influenced their day-to-day lives and the lives of others around them. Because of this, Hispanic faculty did not perceive themselves as substantially different from people from other cultures as everyone in their environments was relatively similar.

A second positive based on the experiences of these participants was the stability of the family structure. It has been noted that all Hispanic faculty except one were raised in two-parent, stable families. The one exception to this noted that in the absence of his father, his large extended family provided support and assistance. The influence and stability of the family cannot be underestimated in terms of the impact it had on these Hispanic faculty members. This is a foundational element of success, but this is not necessarily cutting edge, new knowledge; in fact, regardless of race or ethnicity, connections can be shown between the stability of two-parent families and academic success. Yet, stable, two-parent families within high-density minority areas are not necessarily the norm, particularly in urban settings.

Another finding from the data that must be noted is the role of religion in high-density Hispanic communities. All participants in this study emphasized the influence of religion within their families and on them personally. Religion provided additional avenues for social interaction, education, and community involvement. It was even a

significant factor in the determination of parents of Hispanic faculty to send their children

to religious schools. The fact that all but one Hispanic faculty member attended private,

religious schools through most, if not all, of their primary and secondary education is

important because research has shown that religious schools have substantial positive

effects on educational outcomes for Hispanic students (Sandler, 2001). The one

participant who only attended public schools noted that in his community no type of

private school, religious or secular, was available; public school was the only option.

While religion was a common thread, several participants noted that in their positions

within universities there is limited or little space for religion or spiritualism. The

university culture, perceived as being based on the scientific method, is likely to not

provide space for religion or spiritualism. Participants were not stopped or prohibited

from being true to themselves in terms of religious beliefs or practices, but perhaps the

university culture could be a bit more open to this.

The notion of "acting White" by minority populations reflects a perception that if

a minority person does well in educational settings or in occupational settings he or she is

somehow turning against the minority culture. An almost opposite effect is the notion of

giving back to communities. All Hispanic faculty noted that they had strong desires to

give back and contribute in significant ways to their home communities. This notion of

giving back when juxtaposed with the notion of acting White can appear to be a reaction

to stave off claims from home communities that these faculty are acting White.

Interestingly, however, is that participants did not express any issues or claims of home

communities or families making acting White accusations toward them. Giving back to

home communities was not a reaction, but more of a compulsion, as participants in this

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study were acutely aware of the struggles and difficulties with which their home communities are dealing. The notion of acting White, when operationalized in terms of a correlation between GPA and social status, showed that in predominately White schools, as the GPA of minorities increased, their social status declined. Participants in this study did well academically and reported no loss of social status due to doing well in school. In fact, participants communicated strong social experiences and high levels of participation in extracurricular activities. This is actually consistent with research where the acting White phenomenon was not found in private schools or high minority density schools. It would be interesting to examine the experiences of Hispanic faculty from predominately White schools to further research this notion of acting White and any impacts that it may have had on their experiences as faculty and their desires to give back to home communities.

The issue of moving from high-density environments and schools to low-density universities showed that Hispanic faculty to various degrees came to terms with their uniqueness and over time understood that they have something different and unique to offer the academy. Acquiring a voice, however, was often a struggle; but with time and understanding Hispanic faculty were able to gain acceptance within the university's established culture. Although participants reported many struggles early on in their academic careers, all had the internal motivation and necessary personal resources to succeed.

Hispanic faculty also noted feelings of isolation within university settings and several took personal responsibility to increase the number of Hispanics within the faculty ranks. One particular issue that was discussed was university policies that prohibit

the hiring of their own graduates. With the high percentage of Hispanics within New

Mexico, Hispanic faculty noted that New Mexico loses those Hispanics who obtain their

doctorate degrees to other states. At the University of New Mexico, the Faculty

Handbook has a policy that was established in 1951, which notes:

> No person who has received a degree from the University of New Mexico shall
>
> hereafter be employed as a regular member of the faculty in a position which may
>
> lead to permanent tenure unless subsequent to the last degree at the University of
>
> New Mexico, he or she has taken at least one academic year of advanced work at
>
> another reputable institution or has established himself or herself professionally
>
> elsewhere. (UNM Faculty Handbook, Policy C20).

There is no information as to the whether or not this policy has been amended or

updated since 1951. The University of New Mexico also has the same wording in the

Board of Regents' Manual, within the Employment of UNM Graduates policy.

Universities who do not hire their own graduates do so in order to avoid issues such as

academic inbreeding, to encourage graduates to gain other perspectives and to push

graduates to prove themselves elsewhere. It is interesting to note that these policies are

not uniform throughout higher education institutions. There are universities that do not

restrict hiring of own graduates, for example several Ivy League schools do not place

these types of restrictions on hiring own graduates and many rural universities and

colleges encourage hiring their own graduates. Policies like the one at the University of

New Mexico, that was establish over sixty years ago, need to be assessed and reevaluated

in terms of relevance to today's global access to knowledge and information. In terms of

increasing Hispanic faculty, universities like the University of New Mexico need to

consider and weigh the extensive advantages that come with greater diversification of the faculty through hiring own Hispanic graduates against the perceived disadvantages noted above.

New Mexico universities have historically graduated Hispanics at the Masters and Doctoral levels at some of the highest rates in the country. The University of New Mexico has traditionally ranked first or second in the number of doctorate degrees granted to Hispanics (Esquibel, 1992). In recent years, however, the University of New Mexico has fallen to number seven on this ranking (Cooper, 2010). It is apparent that due to the "not hiring our own graduate policy" universities in New Mexico missed and are still missing a viable population of Hispanic doctorates, a population that could and still can potentially significantly impact the diversification of faculty within New Mexico universities. The Hispanic density of New Mexico makes it an optimal locale for continued research on improving and utilizing the educational pipeline for Hispanics.

Lastly, when considering issues of cultural density, it is important to also consider other administrative positions within the university that Hispanics obtain. Esquibel (1992) researched influential factors and career mobility of Hispanic upper administrators within universities. He noted:

> The territorial or geographic mobility of Chicano administrators in senior administrative positions was high. They had, at some time in their careers, held position in a state outside their native state. The most influential moves were outside the Southwest. Many Chicanos, however, do not want to move. They cite strong family ties and cultural traditions as reasons for not moving (p.51).

Esquibel (1992) noted that similarly to Hispanic faculty, Hispanic administrators had to move to other geographic locations in order to obtain senior administrative positions, even though they preferred to remain in home communities and close to cultural traditions. Additionally, there are other parallels between characteristics of successful Hispanic faculty and successful Hispanic administrators. These include, the Hispanic administrator's identified education level, the Hispanic administrator's mother's education level, the percentage of Hispanic students at the administrator's institution (density of university), and the percentage of Hispanic community members (density of community around university). These are factors important to the appointment of Hispanic administrators. Similarly to Hispanic faculty, Hispanic administrators acknowledged both Hispanic density factors and cultural capital factors in their success as upper level university administrators.

Cultural Capital

The notion of cultural capital as envisioned by Bourdieu (1977) made a distinction between social and cultural capital, social capital essentially being an individual's social networks and cultural capital being an individual's non-economic influences such as family, social class, and value placed on education. Other researchers had different perspectives and many did not make such distinctions between social and cultural capital. It seemed appropriate in this research to include social networks under the umbrella of cultural capital as aspects within cultural capital such as family, speaking Spanish, siblings, parental expectations, academic success, extracurricular activities along with finances, scholarships, educational opportunities, faculty perspectives, and tenure processes as all contain some social network component.

In exploring issues of cultural capital, it is apparent that participants in this study all were impacted by the totality of the cultural capital that was available to them. How this cultural capital was exchanged to further promote access and opportunities is evident by information obtained by the participants regarding the extensive scholarships, fellowships, and other types of financial aid. Awareness of these financial resources required a series of relationships and social networks; essentially, a large door to higher education was opened with the attainment of the financial resources necessary to support higher education. As all participants were unable to afford college due to family finances, this deployment of cultural capital was instrumental. Thus, cultural capital was converted into actual opportunities and resources that allowed for access. For these participants, it turned into capital in the financial sense of the term.

What is difficult to assess is the incremental measurement of cultural capital both in terms of obtaining it and of "spending" it. For example, it was noted that participants had mentor figures that significantly empowered and impacted their academic success and their faculty success. Thinking this through, it is difficult to determine if cultural capital enabled the Hispanic faculty to obtain and find a mentor or if having the mentor relationship produced the cultural capital. It would make sense that it is a cumulative, additive process where one part contributes to and builds upon the next.

The fact that these mentorships were not part of a formal mentoring process is important. While much research has been done on mentoring and assuredly formal mentoring programs do provide support for minorities, it was the informal, personal mentor relationships that played a larger and more significant role in the success of the participants. Several mentioned that they were assigned an official mentor, but that

assignment did not facilitate a mentor/mentee relationship. Some had mentors within the immediate family, extended family, close friends or established a deep relationship with a faculty member, but all were established informally. Several participants made it clear that the mentor played a significant role in the success of the participant.

In terms of cultural capital, how might these intercultural cultural capital transactions take place? Building a relationship with a mentor is a relational and social process. These relationships are not necessarily the mentor dishing out knowledge and the mentee taking it all in; they appear much more reciprocal in nature and while only looking at it from the mentee perspective in this research, it appears the mentor was the recipient of cultural capital from the mentee in terms of gaining a positive relationship, giving back, opening doors, and friendship.

Another difficulty when thinking through cultural capital is in considering how to increase or expand one's cultural capital. It is clear that participants had access to resources and relationships that enabled or facilitated the production of cultural capital, but in what manner can cultural capital be increased to benefit others beyond these participants? For example, parents' educational attainment and parental expectations were discussed as important elements in creating and sustaining cultural capital. Children have no control over their parents' educational attainment or even their parents' academic expectations of them, so in theory, these children would have a lower possibility of obtaining cultural capital than those children whose parents went to college or had high academic expectations. How then would a community compensate for students who lacked this cultural capital? School and social programs could potentially play a role and many programs have been developed, but even so these communities still

struggle. Similarly, when contrasted with divorced or single parent families, it is clear two-parent families provide significant resources for the success of their children, but you can't fault the children of single parents. The theory of cultural capital is intrinsically complex and assessing or measuring it likely should be done through a "looking back" perspective rather than "a here and now" perspective. In other words, when an event takes place and you witness it personally, are you able to measure it and count it as an exchange of cultural capital? It seems that efforts to assess cultural capital need to look back at past events and then label them as factors that produced cultural capital. It is seemingly the cumulative effects of cultural capital that empower the individual to be successful yet the challenge may lie in determining what is the minimum amount or its most highly valued aspects. Understanding this may help in establishing opportunities to increase cultural capital, but the matter of who decides, or even who should decide, that cultural capital is lacking or needed is very unclear and open to considerable controversy.

Cultural capital has been shown to have direct causal impacts on academic achievement and to promote success through different channels. As noted in this research, Hispanic faculty obtained cultural capital through different resources, including their parents' intentional actions, which promoted an emphasis and importance on education; through participation in religious activities, which helped established ethics, values, and worldviews; and, through relationships, which were developed through extracurricular activities. Each of these channels helped promoted academic success for the Hispanic faculty. Individuals who are able to obtain cultural capital in turn are able to use that cultural capital within educational settings and due to academic success are thus rewarded with preferential treatment from teachers and school officials, often from an

early age. Research has shown that cultural capital impacts academic success in several areas such as reading cognition, reading comprehension, and math test scores (Jaeger, 2011). This is important in not just looking at the success of the Hispanic faculty but in considering the lack of academic success of others within these high Hispanic density communities. As Hispanics in these communities drop out or stop out of school at very high rates, impacting the "pipeline" of Hispanic graduates (at all educational levels), what might be done to improve academic success in terms of cultural capital? In K-12 education environments, one area is that of parental involvement in a child's education, both at school and at home.

Parental involvement has been shown to impact educational achievement in children. Research suggests that parents' are able to increase their own cultural capital through participation within their child's school particularly through involvement in parent/teacher conferences, attending school functions and in volunteering at the school. In doing so, parents are then able to mediate the effects of socioeconomics and mediate the effects of their own educational attainment level (Lee & Bowen, 2006). In other words, parents are able to impact the academic success of their children through their own (the parents) accumulation of cultural capital. Additionally, parents who make efforts at home to help children with homework, discuss schoolwork, discuss the child's activities and experiences at school, and who structure home activities (like limit television and other media) has shown to have a positive effect on their child's academic achievement (Lee & Bowen, 2006). In this manner, parents increase their own cultural capital by gaining knowledge about the school, gain skills (for example, how to help with homework), have improved access to school resources, and establish relationships with

school teachers and staff. In turn, this cultural capital can be transferred to the child. A clear problem that is inherent in this approach is that all parents do not have the personal resources and/or time to be involved at school. It is reasonable, however, that schools should seek to improve parental involvement by seeking alternative methods for parents to be involved in school particularly since such involvement directly impacts children's academic achievement.

What is clear from the Hispanic faculty who participated in this study is that each accumulated the necessary cultural capital to successfully navigate the entire length of the educational pipeline, which is extraordinary. This is particularly important in New Mexico as Hispanics make up over fifty percent of school age children and Hispanics have low completion rates at all educational levels. In order to improve the success of other Hispanics within the educational pipeline, additional cultural capital research needs to focus on not simply how an individual accumulates additional cultural capital but also how an individual uses that cultural capital within school settings or university settings to improve academic success.

It is also important to better understand the relationships among cultural capital exchanges and individuals from different cultures. It was clear from this research that all the Hispanic faculty who participated made use of the cultural capital available to them; what is not clear is the role that personal motivation played in the accumulation and utilization of cultural capital. The high-density Hispanic cultural environments provided a wealth of cultural education and experiences for the participants. In fact, participants' siblings overall did extremely well in academics, with many going to and complete college and advanced degrees. While cultural capital and social networks are important,

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individual motivation also plays an essential role in and has notable impact on success. Simply by looking at their achievements and the information they shared about their high levels on involvement on campus, it is clear that these Hispanic faculty members had highly individualistic motivation to succeed. What is interesting is that from a cultural capital perspective, individual internal motivation would seem to fall into a category of something akin to "personal capital." This is not mentioned in the literature unless looking primarily at personal wealth, but yet there are individual attributes that would or could be classified as personal, things like health, mental ability and motivation. How these impacted the success of the Hispanic faculty was not the focus of this research, but nevertheless, it is important to consider. Regarding motivation, it could be said that the participants in this study had both personal motivation and a collectivist motivation. A collectivist motivation is aimed at not simply motivating oneself, but others also. The overwhelming desire to give back to and work in their local communities is an example of this collectivist motivation as well as the success of siblings. Dennis et al. (2005) found that individuals with both individualist and collectivist motivation promoted greater academic success. In looking at minorities from collectivist countries, they noted:

> Although both individually oriented and family-based motivations may be found concurrently among ethnic minority youth, our findings show that personal motivation is more closely related to adjustment and commitment. Although these students and/or their parents were born in countries with collectivist cultures, the ability to have both collectivistic and individualist motivations may be most predictive of academic success in the United States. (p. 233)

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What can be summarized from looking through the lens of cultural capital is that participants in this study had resources and relationships that were used to open doors at all levels of the academy. The challenge now is not only to keep those doors open for others, but also to establish mechanisms that support the development of resources and relationships for others who do not have the same access to the underlying sources of cultural capital. In moving the discussion forward and attempting to provide connections within the doors of perception framework, the progress can be understood in that the culturally dense environments provided some advantages to the participants, which also enabled the accumulation of cultural capital. This cultural capital then provided doors for entrance, acceptance, and access into college and later into faculty positions, yet the participants still had to navigate within White culture and university culture, described in this project as cultural fluidity.

Cultural Fluidity

The third concept within the doors of perception conceptual framework is the notion of cultural fluidity. As described previously, cultural fluidity is the movement within and among differing cultures in a cognitively fluid manner. What is noted in this research is that in order to do well in other cultural settings, one must first have a personal informative knowledge and understand of who one is. Perceptions of self were discussed with the notion of fear playing a role in making the decision to pursue higher education, particularly at the doctoral level. Participants were the first ones in their families to obtain a doctorate degree. This was new educational ground for all of them and with this new ground often comes elements of fear and anxiety. The fear communicated was directed more at the "unknown" than at any known or real

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circumstance. The fear communicated was a mix of questioning as to whether or not they had the academic wherewithal to complete the degree, to not understanding the importance of the doctorate degree, to questioning if they would be the right fit or fit in with others. These fears were overcome, however, by the notion and realization that these participants had something different to contribute that others most likely could not, their unique personal experiences and their unique cultural lens' and perceptions.

These unique cultural perceptions were solidified and established through self-awareness and ethnic consciousness. Each participant described experiences in which he or she became consciously aware of the cultural differences between their culture and the White culture. These experiences were quite different from one another, from the ethnic awareness prompted by the Civil Rights movement, to being blatantly discriminated against, to the culture shock of going to college (at differing levels, BA, MA, Doctorate), to early awareness of the economic inequalities between Hispanics and Whites. Regardless of the nature of the event, it is clear that each understood that they were different and that those differences were not necessarily valued by the dominant culture.

Understanding that you are culturally different and yet still functioning and even excelling in structures like universities that are dominated by White culture is possible, as is exemplified by the participants in this study. Yet how one functions within the other culture is at times difficult to understand and explain. Knowing that participants had the necessary cultural capital to gain entrance to these institutions does not necessarily explain how one actually exists within the other culture and within institutions like universities, which have their own unique culture. What is apparent from this research was that Ogbu's (1985) theory of voluntary and involuntary minorities was not

substantiated, at least the involuntary minority piece. This research did not look specifically into voluntary minorities. Not one Hispanic faculty who participated in this study mentioned having any negative perceptions of traditional White institutions like schools, in fact each participant noted extensive family histories within New Mexico and it is extremely difficult to comprehend any of these individuals as viewing themselves as a conquered individual by the United States as Ogbu suggests. On the contrary, these individuals did not have a defeated attitude or outlook on the world. It must be noted, though, that several participants did remark that in a larger sense Hispanics were dominated by the White culture. One likely explanation for this incongruence is that involuntary minorities over generations may not have the same level of distrust of the White culture as earlier generations. Hispanic faculty who participated in this study were from different generations. It is noticeable that younger Hispanic faculty who participated in the study had less of an "us against them" perspective and more of a perspective of "accept me for who I am and I will do the same."

It must be understood that when thinking through the concept of cultural fluidity that it could be thought that this is simply another way to describe research that has been conducted on such concepts as dual world paradigms, social value framing, code switching and even the notion of putting on cultural masks. While these theories and concepts are important to the understanding of cross-cultural experiences, from a general understanding, these fail to include or account for the notion of the authentic self. Participants discussed various fears, cross-cultural experiences, cultural awakening, cultural conflict in universities and even ways to diversify education in the classroom and in doing so maintained the perspective that they have been true to who they are as human

beings, true to their authentic self; no perceptions that they were acting White, or were somehow sell outs, or somehow less Hispanic, or anything of the sort. In fact, several of the participants noted that in their home communities they are highly esteemed, their communities express sincerity and valued their (the Hispanic faculty's) accomplishments.

Through the concept of cultural fluidity one does not give up or suffer loss of culture. One is able to maintain the authentic self and still be able to negotiate cross-cultural ambiguities through social processes such as negotiating relationships, behaviors, norms, values, and through psychological processes such as self-understanding, mental models, schemas and perceptions. The authentic self is maintained through experiences in culturally dense environments and by having the necessary cultural capital to not only open doors of access, but to also know who you are, in this case, a Hispanic individual. Knowing who you are helps to fully understand that there is no need to act or put on masks to conceal who you are, but to know that it is because of who you are that you have something extremely valuable to contribute. In this manner, individuals can move fluidly in and among different cultures, and in doing so, process the social and behavior ambiguities of the other culture without losing self or parts of self in the process.

The doors of perception framework also could include a fourth component, Cultural Cognition (or Cultural Biology), which may provide additional insights. This fourth piece, which is beyond the scope of this research, is an emergent area for additional study. Examination of cultural cognition would focus on new information that is coming out of research from areas such as neuroimaging.

Improving Hispanic Access to Faculty Positions

This research study gave voice to Hispanic tenure/tenure track faculty and, in giving them voice, sought to better understand the nature of their success. Based on the interpretation of the data collected in this research and on the theory presented and discussed, it is possible to offer suggestions for ways in which universities can improve Hispanic and minority representation in the faculty ranks:

1. Personal mentoring. Programs that create space for personal mentorships to develop.

2. Grow your own faculty programs. Create programs where minority graduates receive faculty positions at the home university upon graduation. If going away is a necessity, then create partnership programs with other universities in which graduates can go for one or two years and then return to the home university.

3. Tenure changes that include greater emphasis on community and service practices and committee involvement – this would help alleviate cultural taxation. Hispanic faculty desire to work with and give back to their communities as well as participate in diversity initiative on campus. This is an important role for faculty. Why not reward them for it?

4. Greater inclusion and/or awareness of religious or spiritual dimensions of individuals within the university.

5. Equitable pay programs including consistent spousal hiring, reimbursement of moving expenses, and equal pay. Set aside funds for departments that hire

minorities to reward them for making these hires; perhaps one-to-one

programs where an extra faculty line is given if a minority is hired.

6. University leadership can play a significant role. University leadership must

value diversity and understand the value-added nature of a diversified faculty.

7. National Programs. Create special or additional funding for universities with

higher percentages of minority faculty, focusing on Hispanic Serving

Institutions.

Future Research

As research on Hispanic faculty has been increasing over the past several years, it

would be important to look at future research from a global perspective and a limited

perspective; global referring to the overarching research categories currently being

conducted regarding Hispanic faculty and limited referring to the research in this project

that could be focused on and expanded upon in future research projects.

Global Perspective. In summarizing the research themes in this study related to

Hispanic faculty, and in an attempt to provide others with an important set of items that

need additional and more focused research, the following topics are suggested: Love for

teaching, types of service, types of research, job satisfaction, unique teaching challenges,

isolation and marginalization, hiring (interviews, applicant pools, salary offers), work

expectations, social networks, classroom diversity, faculty support programs, political

involvement, leadership support, recruitment/retention programs, salary inequities,

tenure and performance review, spiritual expression, institutionalization of diversity

programs and connecting to diverse communities. Turner et al. (2008) did an excellent

job of reviewing historical and current research on minority faculty and pointed out that,

while research on minority faculty is increasing substantially, particularly over the past decade, no significant increases in the number of minority faculty have been achieved. These topics have been researched from various perspectives in previous research as well as touched on from the unique perspective of Hispanic faculty from high-density communities, as is the case with this study.

When looking at emerging themes in the current research on minority faculty, topics that need additional research include: myths relating to minority faculty recruitment, the role of minority faculty in science, engineering and technology fields (STEM) (as well as medical fields), the "new knowledge" creation contributions of minority faculty, different ways of knowing or perceiving, the international context and globalization relating to minority faculty, more detailed ethnic breakdown in research (i.e. research experiences of Mexican faculty, Cuban faculty as opposed to the more general "Hispanic faculty"), the role and impact of university Chief Diversity Officials, and ways to nationalize successful programs aimed at increasing minority faculty. It also should be noted that research on minority faculty experiences at public universities, private universities, community colleges, and branch campuses should also be undertaken to assess the varying differences and perspectives inherent in each.

Even more cutting edge research is targeting the building of a comprehensive model to look at multi-generational cultural effects on biological evolution, including looking into cultural impacts on brain activity through neuroimaging. In analyzing the interview data, it is clear that there is much more going on and describing the totality of an individual is impossible. This being said, looking at the individual from a holistic perspective will allow for additional insight. Shu-Chen Li (2003) developed a

comprehensive theoretical model for thinking through the interplay of biology and culture in shaping the mind and individual behavior across the life span of an individual. In essence, one must understand the impacts of culture on the genetic level, where culture exerts long-range effects on modifying biological evolution, on the social level where culture exerts "mid-range mediated effects on behavioral and cognitive development through intergenerational interpersonal social interactions" (p.147) and on the immediate individual level where culture exerts "direct and mediated immediate effects on the individual's moment-to-moment activities and experiences at the genetic, neuronal, cognitive and behavioral levels" (p. 147).

Needless to say, this analysis and the data collected in this study cannot begin to address the vastness of the complexities of culture and individuality of persons across multiple generations or at the neurological level. The ways in which biological evolution impacts how people look or how neuroimaging studies of people of different cultures have shown that one's culture does affect the magnitude and type of neural activity in the brain are important future research (Han & Northoff, 2008). However, one thing is clear. An individual's community, family, finances, language, religion and cultural experiences directly impact the brain, how one perceives the world and how one navigates in the world through the doors of perception.

Limited Perspective. Regarding future research related specifically to the conceptual framework developed in this study, there are several questions and related research topics that could shed additional light on cultural density, cultural capital, and cultural fluidity, including:

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Cultural density:

1. Research on urban versus rural cultural density would provide significant insight as the Hispanic population continues to increase in both settings and the experiences of each would be quite different.

2. Research on the impacts of Whites in culturally dense environments. It was noted in this research that there were very few Whites in the high Hispanic density population, but those Whites had some significant positions within those settings. This was touched on a bit in this research but it would be interesting to investigate further. It would also be interesting to gather data from Whites who were raised in high-density minority areas to understand their unique experiences and perceptions.

3. Additional research into the notion of purposeful isolationism and intentional movement away from the dominant culture by minorities. This area of research is very intriguing and very suggestive as to the future perceptions of certain minority populations.

Cultural capital:

1. Research on the impacts of various forms of cultural capital, in essence, what types of cultural capital are more valuable than others? Also, the role of individual motivation in relation to cultural capital is important in order to add relevance to the theory of cultural capital.

2. In true multicultural environments, how is cultural capital utilized? Or the opposite, in true single cultural environments what is the role of cultural capital? The theory of cultural capital does have some validity at face value,

but in looking into and measuring the individual utilization of one's cultural

capital, things get murky.

Cultural fluidity:

1. Additional and future research on determining and assessing the nature and

   abilities of cognitive processing between, within and among differing cultures

   would be important to help support the notion of cultural fluidity. Further

   research and theory regarding the notion that movement between cultures is

   "fluid" for certain individuals is needed. Perhaps these movements are less

   fluid than suggested in this study. Additional research on faculty of other

   ethnicities and races regarding this theory would also prove insightful.

2. Research not only on successful individuals, but research to determine the

   cognitive, motivational and behavior differences of high school dropouts from

   high-density environments. For example, it would be interesting to compare

   individuals with similar cultural capital attributes (resources and relationships)

   that did not finish high school. In addition, how do these individuals differ in

   terms of perceptions and interactions other cultures?

3. Research that looks into the perceptions of White faculty regarding cultural

   fluidity, as only Hispanic faculty were interviewed. It would be interesting to

   interview White faculty who were raised and educated in high-density

   minority populations to gain insight into their experiences and perceptions.

   Additional research could be conducted to better understand the perceptions

   White faculty have of university culture. This research would help understand

   the view from the other side of the door and explore perceptions of policies

like affirmative action and why they can be perceived as reverse

discrimination. White faculty may have different perceptions, which are valid

from their perspectives.

Conclusion

This study, as originally conceptualized, was intended primarily as a way to give

voice to Hispanic faculty and open doors to faculty positions through which others may

walk. Discovering commonalities and characteristics of successful Hispanic faculty is

important to development of new models and new perspectives that universities can

employ and design to further diversify their faculties.

The only way transformation, long lasting structural change can occur is to get

individuals to see themselves as others see them. Often issues of minority representation

become polarizing with advocates on either end, digging in and allocating blame to the

other side. This will not produce change. Change can happen when individuals look

"without" themselves and see how others perceive their actions, attitudes, and language.

Perceptions need to be further explored regarding issues of qualifications, value added (of

diversity), where knowledge comes from, the importance of native peoples to their own

people and the idea of who wins and who loses.

The data in this research project were used to examine one side of the door, the

door from the Hispanic faculty perspective. That perspective is one of varying degrees of

openness of those doors of access and opportunity. Research explored in this project

showed that both structural and human barriers exist that hinder minority access to

faculty positions. Data collected brought out a number of themes that lead to Hispanic

success; these themes were analyzed through the lenses of Cultural Density, Cultural

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Capital and Cultural Fluidity. Unlocking the Doors of Perception takes efforts on both

sides of the door, efforts that require authentic leadership, which will promote human

flourishing for all regardless of differences. This research was conducted in an attempt to

give these successful Hispanic faculty a voice, a voice that needs a larger audience.

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Appendix A: Doctorate Degrees Awarded at UNM by Ethnicity 2005 – 2010.

Table 1A.

	05-06	06-07	07-08	09-10
African-American	2	6	2	5
American-Indian	2	3	1	4
Asian/Pacific Islander	9	8	2	6
Hispanic	16	20	20	16
White, Non-Hispanic	91	106	91	119
International	51	38	46	54
No Response	10	4	4	4
TOTAL:	181	185	166	208

Source: 2010 IPEDS Completions Surveys

Appendix B: Percentage of Doctorate Degrees Awarded at UNM by Ethnicity 2008 –

2009 Compared to New Mexico Population Statistics.

Table 1B.

	2008 Percentages	2009 Percentages	New Mexico Ethnicity Percentages 2010 (U.S. Census)
African-American	1.6%	1.6%	2.1%
American-Indian	2.4%	2.6%	9.4%
Asian/Pacific Islander	7.2%	7.1%	1.4%
Hispanic	**11.4%**	**11.4%**	**46.3%**
White, Non-Hispanic	**73.4%**	**73.3%**	**40.5%**
International	2.3%	2.1%	N/A
No Response	1.6%	1.9%	N/A
TOTAL:	99.9%	100%	99.7%

Appendix C: Ethnic Populations in New Mexico Compared with Tenured UNM

Faculty

Table 1C.

Ethnicity	New Mexico Ethnicity Percentages 2010 (U.S. Census)	The University of New Mexico Tenured Faculty Ethnic Percentages 2010 (UNM IPEDS, 2010)
Hispanic	46.3%	11.4%
White	40.5%	73.3%
American-Indian	9.4%	2.6%
African-American	2.1%	1.6%
Asian/Pacific Islander	1.4%	7.1%

Appendix D: Recruitment Flier

Hispanic Faculty Needed

To participate in a qualitative dissertation research study

● ● ●

University of New Mexico
Educational Leadership
Doctoral Dissertation Research

Project Date: **Summer 2011**

David Sanchez,
Doctoral
Student
Educational
Leadership

Phone: 505-277-7483
Email: dgsanche@unm.edu
Office: Woodward 120

Unlocking Hispanic Access

Minority access to faculty positions in higher education continues to stall as the persistent calls to attention regarding the disproportionate number of minorities in faculty positions seemingly falls on deaf ears. Those minority faculty who do make it through doctoral studies enter the professoriate and many struggle with the academic culture, with finding their place, and with being accepted.

This qualitative study will focus on those who succeeded, those who overcame barriers successfully and are flourishing as faculty members. The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze experiences and perceptions of Hispanic faculty at a major research university in New Mexico.

Your Voice and Experiences are Essential

If you are a Hispanic Faculty member who would like to participate please call David Sanchez at 277-7483 or email at dgsanche@unm.edu.

Individual interviews of approximately 1.5 to 2 hours will be conducted at a time convenient for you.

Appendix E: Institutional Review Board Approval Letter

THE UNIVERSITY of NEW MEXICO

Main Campus Institutional Review Board
Human Research Protections Office
MSC08 4560
1 University of New
Mexico~Albuquerque, NM 87131-0001
http://hsc.unm.edu/som/research/HRR
C/

20-Apr-2011
Responsible Faculty: Allison Borden
Investigator: David Sanchez
Dept/College: Educ Leadership Orgn Learning ELOL

SUBJECT: IRB Determination of Exempt Status
Protocol #: 11-133
Project Title: Minorities in Academy: Unlocking Minority Access to Higher Education Faculty
Positions in New Mexico Approval Date: 20-Apr-2011

The Main Campus Institutional Review Board has reviewed the above-mentioned research protocol and determined that the research is *exempt* from the requirements of Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) regulations for the protection of human subjects as defined in 45CFR46.101(b) under category 2, based on the following:

1. Exemption Determination Form, revised, received 040811
2. Interview Questions, received 030911
3. Consent Letter v040811
4. Recruitment Flyer to be posted on UNM campus, received 040811

Because it has been granted exemption, this research project is not subject to continuing review. Changes to the Research: It is the responsibility of the Principal Investigator to inform the IRB of any changes to this research. A change in the research may disqualify this project from exempt status. Reference the protocol number and title in all documents related to this protocol.

Sincerely,

J. Scott
Tonigan,
PhD Chair
Main Campus IRB

Appendix F: Interview Questions

1. Tell me about your cultural upbringing.
   a. Possible follow up questions – always look for probing questions:
      i. Where are you from?
      ii. How long did you live there?
      iii. Describe your family.
      iv. Percentage of Hispanics that you grew up with?
2. Was there anything out of the ordinary educationally about your childhood or upbringing?
   a. Possible follow up questions – always look for probing questions:
      i. How do you feel about that?
      ii. How was your schooling impacted?
3. Describe your experiences as a student in primary school.
   a. Possible follow up questions – always look for probing questions:
      i. Did you have a lot of experiences with Whites growing up?
      ii. Was the coursework challenging?
4. What was your experience like as an undergraduate student?
   a. Possible follow up questions – always look for probing questions:
      i. Where did you attend college?
      ii. Describe your interactions with faculty.
      iii. Describe your friends.
5. What was your experience like as a graduate student and a doctoral student?
   a. Possible follow up questions – always look for probing questions:
      i. Where did you attend college?
      ii. Describe your interactions with faculty.
      iii. Describe your friends.
6. What was it like initially when you joined the faculty?
   a. Possible follow up questions – always look for probing questions:
      i. What was the faculty/university culture like?
         1. Has anything changed?
         2. How have you changed?
      ii. Are there any other Hispanic faculty in your department?
         1. What are your interactions like with them?
      iii. Is there a time or an event in your life in which you became conscious of your ethnicity?
7. What were the seminal events in your life that led you to continue your education?
   a. Possible follow up questions – always look for probing questions:
      i. What are the primary motivational factors that drove you to become a faculty member?
8. Describe your primary role as a faculty member.
   a. Possible follow up questions – always look for probing questions:
      i. What are some of the secondary roles?
      ii. What roles are most highly valued by your chair, dean or other faculty in your department?

iii. What are your perspectives on the tenure process?
9. How would you recommend increasing the number of minorities, particularly Hispanics, in the faculty ranks?
   a. <u>Possible follow up questions – always look for probing questions:</u>
      i. What do you think are the primary reasons there are so few Hispanics in faculty positions as compared to the population?
10. How important is Leadership to you?
    a. <u>Possible follow up questions – always look for probing questions:</u>
       i. Do you consider yourself a leader?
       ii. Is leadership perceived differently by different cultures?
       iii. What kind of leadership would help bridge cultures?
11. How important is diversity to you?
    a. <u>Possible follow up questions – always look for probing questions:</u>
       i. How does diversity make a difference?
       ii. Are you engaged in helping other minorities to succeed in higher education?
12. Does anything come to mind that you think might be important about any aspect of your becoming a professor that we might not have addressed but that you believe is important.

Appendix G: Consent Form for Adult Participants

Consent Form for Adult Participants

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by David Sanchez, a Doctoral Student from the Educational Leadership Department at the University of New Mexico. The results of this study will contribute to a research project and toward a dissertation.

Many research studies have focused on the failure of Hispanics in higher education and have identified barriers that contribute to Hispanic failure. This qualitative study focuses on those who succeeded, those who overcame the barriers successfully and are flourishing as higher education tenure/tenure track faculty members. The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze experiences and perceptions of Hispanic tenured/tenure track faculty at universities in New Mexico in relation to their personal cultural experiences that impacted their path to becoming faculty and their experiences as faculty members. What are their stories?

If you decide to participate David Sanchez will conduct an interview of approximately 1 to 1.5 hours in length, interview question will focus on your experiences in educational settings and as a faculty member. The interviews will be conducted at Woodward Hall or at a space convenient to you (your office). I cannot and do not guarantee or promise that you will receive any benefits from this study.

The interview will be audio taped. The tapes will be used to assist me in remembering exactly what you say.

I Agree to be audiotaped (check box and initial) ☐   _____

The audiotapes will only be accessible to the researcher. Any information obtained in connection with this study, that could be linked to you will be coded in such a way that you will not be identifiable in the write up of my dissertation. The tapes will be destroyed prior to or within 7 years, which will allow time for completion of this dissertation.

If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and to stop participation at any time with no penalty to you. By agreeing verbally to participate in this interview and by virtue of your participation, it is understood that you have chosen to participate and have read the information provided.

If you have any questions, please call me (David Sanchez) at (505) 277-7483 or you may call Dr. Allison Borden, faculty advisor/department chair at (505) 277-1285. If you have other concerns or complaints, contact the Institutional Review Board at the University of New Mexico, BMSB B71, Albuquerque NM 87131, (505) 277-1129.

You will be given a copy of this form to keep.

Appendix H: Themes and Codes

Code Families

_____

HU: Dissertation Minority Faculty
File: [C:\Users\dsanchez\Documents\Scientific Software\ATLASti\TextBank\Dissertation Minority Faculty.hpr6]
Edited by: Super
Date/Time: 2011-11-18 15:40:48

_____

Code Family: Academics
Created: 2011-06-24 10:52:55 (Super)
Codes (14):   [Academic (Ease and success)] [Academic Attitude (Negative)] [Academic Attitude (Positive)]
[Academic Climate] [Academic Segregation] [Academic Separation based on abilities] [Challenging (Difficult) Academic
Curriculum] [Diverse Student Population] [Educational Opportunity (Lack of)] [Educational Opportunity] [Educational
Segregation] [Extracurricular Involvement] [Scholarship, Fellowships, Grants] [Work Ethic]
Quotation(s): 127

_____

Code Family: Ethnic Consciousness
Created: 2011-06-24 10:38:23 (Super)
Codes (14):   [Awareness of Cultural Identity] [Cross-Cultural Experience - Anglo Culture] [Cultural Acceptance]
[Cultural Awareness] [Cultural Conflict] [Cultural Density] [Cultural Dominance (by Hispanics)] [Devaluation of Speaking
Spanish] [Diversity Should Not be the main focus] [Ethnic consciousness] [Perceptions of Discrimination] [Racial Bias
Internalization] [Racism] [Religious Perceptions and influences]
Quotation(s): 143

_____

Code Family: Faculty Experiences
Created: 2011-06-24 11:14:03 (Super)
Codes (30):   [Academic Climate] [Conflict within University] [Critical Mass of Hispanic Faculty] [Cross-Cultural
Experience - Anglo Culture] [Cultural Taxation] [Diversity - Resistance to] [Ethnic consciousness] [Feelings of Isolation]
[Feelings of Lack of Control (control of others)] [Hiring "own" graduates into faculty (Grow your own)] [Hiring Practices]
[Hispanic Faculty (Lack or)] [Hispanics clustered in certain academic fields] [Hispanics from New Mexico undervalued
(those from other locations valued higher)] [Institutional Leadership] [Institutional Commitment to Diversity] [Institutional
Isomorphism] [Job Satisfaction (as Faculty member)] [Native New Mexicans Devalued] [Power Structures] [Qualifications of
Hispanics Questioned] [Questions on Quality of Hispanic Research] [Role Conflict] [Tenure Attitudes] [Tenure High value of
"Publishing"] [Tenure Process] [University Culture] [Unofficial University Support Structures] [Voice] [White faculty
sympathetic to minorities are hired (if no minorities can be hired)]
Quotation(s): 195

_____

Code Family: Family
Created: 2011-06-24 10:34:40 (Super)
Codes (10):   [Family Homogeneity] [Mother at Home] [Parental Academic Expectations] [Parents Educational
Attainment (Father)] [Parents Educational Attainment (Mother)] [Parental Involvement] [Religious Perceptions and
influences] [Siblings Influence on Education] [Stability of Family] [Stability of Father]
Quotation(s): 94

_____

Code Family: Mentors - Wise Advisor
Created: 2011-06-29 14:46:05 (Super)
Codes (5): [Mentor Relationships] [Mentors - Role Models (Non-Hispanic)] [Mentors (Lack of)] [Parental Involvement] [Role
models - Hispanic]
Quotation(s): 55

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Code Family: Tenure
Created: 2011-06-29 14:47:38 (Super)
Codes (7): [Legacy] [Qualifications of Hispanics Questioned] [Questions on Quality of Hispanic Research] [Tenure Attitudes] [Tenure High value of "Publishing"] [Tenure Process] [University Culture]
Quotation(s): 57

Appendix I: Example of Coded Interview

P 8: Interview ████████.docx

Path: C:\Users\dsanchez\Documents\School\Interview████████.docx
Media: RICHTEXT

Printed: 2012-02-24T10:39:46
By: Super

From HU: Dissertation Minority Faculty
HU-Path: [C:\Users\dsanchez\Documents\Scientific Software\ATLASti\TextBank\Dissertation Minority Faculty.hpr6]

Codes: ████

Memos: ███

Quotations: ████

Families: <none>

Comment: <none>

01 Interview #█████

02

03 Dissertation on Hispanic Faculty

04

05 Tell about your educational upbringing.

06

07 I was born i██████████ My mother is from the northe██████of NM and my father
(name) is from the southern part of NM. My mother's father worked on the railroad. My
dad's father worked in the open pit copper mines of Santa Rita. I think that labor history
is a really important part of family identity. The fact that my grandfather had worked on
the railroad and my other grandfather worked in the mines was definitely part of the
family conversation and the emphasis on work, on hard work. Both grandfathers
without any formal education became foremen, so they became supervisors in their own
small areas. That was something that was communicated to us you know that I identify
with hard work. That was very much a part of who we were, part of the family dialogue
at home. Education was something that was what the family would be known for. So
what that meant was that when my dad returned from WW2, my mom and dad bought a
house for $1,800 i██████████, right near the railroad tracks. My dad then went to
█████████████y. I'm sure that this was my mother's ambition (to go to college).
My mother graduated first in her class from Hurley High School.

08

09 My dad had been a high school dropout. He got his GED. My mother's dream I think
that the family be educated and they aspire to education even if she couldn't, that my
dad would. I have brother and a sister and my mother was a, we were a foster family,
my mother was a foster mother to 50 children. So we had 50 children come to our
family (over the years). 52 really because when we moved the ████████we also had
two Cuban brother that came to stay with us after the Cuban revolution. So is
something called the Pedro Pan Brigade and they were part of the children that were
sent out. They stayed with us for several months. Our family was definitely (big), so we
had a big family although it was a foster family.

10

Right margin annotations:
- Cultural Density~   Stability of Family~
- Parental Academic Expectations~
- Parents Educational Attainment (Father)~
- Parents Educational Attainment (Mother)~
- Parents Educational Attainment (Mother)~
- Parents Educational Attainment (Father)~
- Stability of Family~
- Stability of Family~

11   So we had children going in and out all the time and staying sometimes for short periods of time, sometimes for a long period of time including a little girl - my sister and I are a year apart and when we were about 10 or 11 there was a girl who came to stay with us who was about 10 years old and she was pregnant. She was pregnant as I recall from the stepfather, and so this was a very complicated event. I remember her crying but it was also - I think this emphasis in the family that we take care of people and that there were really circumstances that determine people's lives that are out of their control.

Community~

12

13   When I was in elementary school my dad was given some sort of a scholarship to go and get his Master's degree in Social Work and so he went to ▮▮▮ which was unheard of. I mean certainly in our family he was the only one to get an education. He came from a family of 9 brothers and sisters. Big family and I mean there was just no Chicanos that we knew of that went to college, although there was in ▮▮▮▮▮ a whole group of Latino who would basically (go to college) because of WW2 (GI Bill). My mother at the time was working in a parachute factory as a seamstress and she injured her back and my dad to stop his education and come home. Certainly our lives were marked by the fact that my mother had, was sickly, and she had very serious medical conditions pretty much over the course of her life and my mother died when she was 59 which is a relatively your age and I was 30. My parents were married the entire time. My dad returned and eventually my mother had to go the ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮which was also unheard of at the time I had no idea how my mother form ▮▮▮▮▮ended up Rochester at the ▮▮▮▮▮. They did a spinal fusion and she returned and was very successful.

Parents Educational Attainment (Father)~

Family Homogeneity~

Family Homogeneity~

Stability of Family~
Stability of Father~

14

15   When I was in 9th grade we moved to ▮▮▮▮▮▮ for my dad to finish his Master's degree and again, completely unheard of for a family (from▮▮▮▮▮) to go away for Graduate School. During all of this time we were in Catholic school, how my parents were paying for Catholic school, I have no idea because there was very little money in the home. We lived in a house that had on outdoor toilet. There was actually indoor plumbing but it was very fragile so used (very little). For most of the time we

Parents Educational Attainment (Father)~

Finances (lack of)~
Religious Perceptions and influences~

258

used the outdoor bathroom then my dad finally built on and we had indoor plumbing but we still basically used the outdoor toilet. I say that just because I think that we were a part of a working class where some people were able to become part of the lower middle class.

16

17 My dad eventually got a government job; he worked for the ▬▬▬ Department. The emphasis in the home was that we would be good students. My brother was at the top of his class, my sister and I were, we went to summer school. Just a lot of emphasis on doing well in school. There was a reward system (for doing well) they would reward "A's" but it was also - my grandfather, my mom's dad was in a wheelchair and every day he would be doing crossword puzzles. He did crossword puzzles in English - I had no idea because he didn't speak English. How he taught himself this pastime. He knew large parts of the Bible by memory, he could quote Shakespeare, here was a man without an education. So there was this emphasis on words, this emphasis on stories. We would always sit around his wheelchair and he would tell us stories. This emphasis on knowledge, not so much on - not so much on credentials - credentials later become important, right. At the time it was really this idea that it can't be taken from you (knowledge), it is what you know, what your experience can't be taken from you, everything else, everything else can be taken. It was just, the circumstances (whatever they are) can never take that away from you that it was a "good" in and of itself.

Parental Academic Expectations~

18

19 So like i said we were in Catholic school, my sister and I did well. My brother is three years older (he did well). My parents wanted me in Catholic school. Religion played a huge role, we were at Mass every Sunday and then when we did move to Albuquerque my parents purchased a house, they purchased a house a block away from the church and they were in church all the time and it was not infrequent that they would go to mass every single day. They were very devout, you know with my mother praying to all the saints, bargaining with the saints. Religion was very much a part of the whole family, the whole extended family. My grandfather had been in Los Penitentes. So very much a part of the family.

Religious Perceptions and influences~
Siblings Influence on Education~
Reli▬▬▬ and influences~

20

21 In high school my sister and I went to public high school, my brother was nominated to
    the services academies but didn't get in because of his eye vision, at the time it couldn't
    be corrected. So he went to Vietnam, became a paratrooper. He came back really
    changed by the war. He never finished his degree. I think that he is literally a small
    number of credits away from his degree. My sister got pregnant in high school and so
    my sister and I were, we had planned to go to school together (college).

Siblings Influence on Education~

22
23 In high school I was at ████████, we were at ████████ high school here in
    ████████ We worked in the Counseling Office, in our study hall we would go tot
    the Counseling Office. So one day when I was a senior there was a call for me to go to
    the Counseling Office which I thought was strange. So I went in and they told me to go
    and meet with the head counselor so I walked in and she said, we have the results of the
    ACT. She pushed it (the paper with results) across the table to me. So I'm looking at it
    and she said "we thought it was a mistake so we called the Testing Services." So I'm
    looking at the results and I thought there was a mistake because from my point of
    thinking I always scored at the very top and this was not at the very top it was high but
    it was not the very top. So I was thinking, good, I'm glad you checked. They thought it
    was a mistake because it was too high. It was one of those moments where it is like "oh
    wow." You knew nothing, well they knew something, they knew my grades, my work
    in the office and then thought it was a mistake. She said "it is not a mistake, it's
    correct." And she said "and there is someone here, there is a recruiter from the college,
    the college of ████" Which was a four-year college opening in ████ NM for four
    years. I went and met with this recruiter and he accepted me on the spot and he gave me
    a scholarship. So I went home and I thought "well, it was exciting I would get to go
    away." I didn't know anything about it. I also thought that they would take care of me -
    I mean this was the Counseling Office, why wouldn't they have my best interests in
    mind. Well of course when I went to the College of ████ it was basically un-built
    none of the facilities were completed. I had to work in the kitchen, so it wasn't really a
    scholarship it was really some sort of financial aid that meant that I worked in the
    kitchen. I stayed there for - it was on a trimester system rather than a semester system - I
    was there for three trimesters and then I left.

Academic (Ease and success)~
Alternative Perceptions~
Perceptions of Self (postive)
Racial Bias Internalization~
Racism~

Scholarship, Fellowships, Grants~

260

24

25 I came home and there was also - there wasn't any money to help with my education. My parents did not like the idea of loans so I came home. To make a long story short I went to five undergraduate schools before I finished at ▉▉▉▉▉▉ University. AT ▉▉▉▉I began in the Social Work program because I thought that's what I'll be, like my dad who was a successful social worker. I wanted to help people. And then I took a Constitutional Law class and there were 72 people in the class. On the day of the final exam the professor said to me "would you bring me the exams when everyone if finish." It was like - out of everyone in the class he had chosen me, I just felt like I was the singled out special person. I got an 'A' in the class it was just like I couldn't believe it, I mean because it was the hardest class I had ever had. I love it. I love every moment in that class. Then there was a Constructional Law 2 course. So I took that. One day I am walking across, I was also on the Student Senate, I was very active politically.

26

27 In high school I was volunteer I volunteer at the hospital as a Candy Striper. In high school I was ▉▉▉▉▉▉, I hated high school I was probably a B/B+ student. I was in one AP class it was called "enriched" English. Academics did come easy; I was taking a very unusual program for a Chicana. I was taking advanced math because my sister liked math. My sister eventually became a Mechanical Engineer. She would hassle me to take math. We took math. I took two years of Latin, two years of French, advanced English. I didn't see sort of why I was doing this except that I was good at it. I mean it was, I liked words so why not take English literature. I had always done really well on standardized tests, really well. I knew that when I was taking the standardized tests the scores, the results would come out and I would be at the top you know top percentile - you know 12th grade 9 months. I even did better in vocabulary then my sister, she did better and math and science results. It wasn't as if anyone sort of said have you thought about ▉▉▉▉

28

29 ▉▉▉▉▉

30

31 My (parents) expected me (to go to college) but they also I don't think knew, I mean, I

College Recitivism~
Finances (lack of)~

Community~   Desire to "Give Back to

Academic (Ease and success)~
Academic Attitude (Positive)~

Ethinic consciousness~
Extracurriclular Involvement~
Perception of Self~

Extracurriclular Involvement~
Academic (Ease and success)~

Educational Oppotunity~

Parental Academic Expectations~

261

think it was different for girls. My mother hadn't gone to college and hadn't been allowed to go to college because she had gotten a scholarship to ~~████████████~~ but she was a married woman. My dad was in the military so she wasn't allowed to go. I was probably rebellious, I was probably you know, I was never rebellious in terms of like, drugs or anything, I didn't party, I was not that kind of person. That just wasn't what happened in my house. It just didn't (happen). I was happy to go away, just to see the world and know the world.

Educational Segregation~
Parents Educational Attainment (Mother)~
Stability of Family~

32

33 After ~~████~~ I went to the University of ~~████████~~ it was Catholic, it was on the hill. I could work and go there but it was like - I really didn't like the roll that religion played in the classroom, I really thought. At that time I was developing a political consciousness. I knew about the Civil Rights movement. I was developing an ethnic identity. So it was already "this didn't feel quite right." At that point I then started thinking of social work. I knew that ~~████~~ had a degree where you could go 5 years and come out with a Master's. I also knew that the College of ~~████████~~ had some social work programs. I bounced from University of ~~████████~~ to the College ~~████~~ on my way to ~~████████~~. At the College of ~~████~~ was like, I was getting "A's" and I wasn't doing much work. But still I was taking sociology, so when I go to ~~████████~~ I then take what they call a special major - a triple major, economics, history and political science. I had signed up for one course in social work and it was like - this is not for me. I was getting "A's" and I was - this isn't for me. So I switched to the special major. Then I did a summer at ~~████~~ in order to excel and make sure that I graduated in two years because the special major required lots of credits. So that is how it happened. I'm still, I don't know - I know that I don't want social work but when I change I don't know that I want Law. It wasn't until I took this Constitutional Law class that I realized.

College Recitivism~

Cultural Awareness~
Ethinic consciousness~

College Recitivism~

Academic (Ease and success)~

Personal Desire for furthering education~

34

35 I was walking across the campus with one of the guys who was in Student Senate (with me) he said "there is a recruiter here from Harvard Law School let's go see him." We were laughing about it, what would a Chicano at Harvard Law School look like? So we go and he (the recruiter) says I am authorized to wave the admission application fee, it was $50 or something. I though "why not apply." I applied, and I applied at Berkley and

Educational Oppotunity~

Scholarship, Fellowships, Grants~

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UCLA and I was going to apply to Stanford and UNM. At the time most of those schools required an interview. At UCLA and Berkley you were interviewed by the Chicano students and so I was thinking I have to pay to go to LA and San Francisco for these interviews and I get the acceptance letter from Harvard. So I'm admitted to Harvard Law School right then and they (the other schools) wanted interviews and it's like okay I don't need to do that (do the interviews). Harvard at this time gave a half loan half financial aid. The loans were, it was very reasonable at this time. Now it is $50,000. At the time I came out with $17,000 in student debt which was very reasonable.

36

37 ▬▬▬▬▬▬.

38 I never had (Hispanic faculty). At ▬▬▬ I was a teaching assistant in the Chicano Studies department and I was a teaching assistant to ▬▬▬▬▬▬ is at the National Hispanic Cultural Center at that time was a Ph.D. student at Stanford. In Chicano Studies there were already some Chicanos who were teaching but it never, they were guys, they were all males, I don't remember if there were any females. In all of my courses I don't think I ever had a Hispanic, maybe a female but not anyone of color.

> Hispanic Faculty Role Models (Lack of)
> Mentors (Lack of)

39

40 When I applied, when I was applying to law schools all of the applications required a signature of the department chair. I went to Economics, at the time my work-study was in the Dean of Students office. I went to the Chair in Economics he said to me "I'll never help a Mexican to get into law school." I said 'oh don't worry I'm not a Mexican, I'm a US citizen." My thought was oh maybe he thinks that I'm an immigrant. I left (his office) and later one of the secretaries in the Dean of Students office asked me one day "how are your applications going?" I said well this happened, and I told her. So the Dean of Students talked to me because she was afraid that I was going to file some sort of a grievance, it never occurred to me. I really didn't think of it in terms of this is grieveable. This is what discrimination looks like. So she got another member of the department to sign off as a proxy without anyone saying anything. I don't even know, remember for what application it was for. It was just that kind of stark overt blatant racism which is less likely that that would happen now. It is not unheard of if it happens

> Alternative Perceptions~
> Lack of respect~
> Perceptions of Discrimination~
> Power Structures~
> Racial Externalization~
> Racism~

> Alternative Perceptions~
> Fear of Unknown~

263

now but it will be much more covert when it happens. I do remember that I needed a
letter of recommendation and I went to this Constitutional Law professor and he was
very happy to write one. The thing is I did not understand sort of how to get a letter or
who you go to. I remember it was very difficult to go and ask for a letter. He was so
enthusiastic about writing me a letter. So years later, I've only been back to ▇▇▇▇
on only two occasions so years later when I went back I called the department. I said
can I speak with ▇▇▇▇▇, I can't remember his last name right now. I'm sure if I
thought about it I could. They said "oh, he is retired." I said "well is there any way I can
get his phone number, so they come back a give me the number. So I called and his
wife said " oh my husband died." I said "I was his student many years ago I just wanted
to thank him." It was just this very poignant moment for me because I had not
particularly enjoyed my time at ▇▇▇. ▇▇▇▇ was a very conservative community.
I certainly developed an ethnic political identity while there. I was active in the Chicano
movement; I was active in the Chicano department. But I was a fairly unusual female
there wasn't a lot of females in, I mean this was 1972 when I graduated so I was there
from 1969 through 72 well basically from 1970. I mean there were very few of us any
gender really.

41
42 ▇▇▇▇▇▇
43 Well I have written about some of that in my, I have an article that is fairly well know
called "▇▇▇▇▇▇▇▇" Unbraiding the Self, no Unmasking the Self and
Unbraiding the Latina Stories. The mask image is about having to, what the mask image
is tied to the braid image. I use the braid image to talk about how my mother would
braid our hair, me and my sister. She would braid our hair and she would say "I don't
want you to look grenuda (uncombed)." This whole idea of being, of having messy hair
was something that she didn't want for us. She wanted us to look a certain way to be
able to get along in the world. I analyze this in terms of the strategies that my mother
was passing on to get through the racial cultural barriers. It was this chameleon quality
but it is very much about "whiteness" and "brownness" it was very much about the
assimilation that was necessary for high higher education which my mother knew
nothing about except through her own - you know my mother was active in the Church

Racism~

Teachers - Non Hispanic

Ethinic consciousness~
Feelings of Isolation~
Perception of Self~

Awareness of Cultural Identity~
Cross Cultural Experience - Anglo Culture~
Cultural Awareness~
Ethinic consciousness~

264

so she knew the gringas were a certain way, the Chicanas were a certain way. My
mother would read all of the women's magazines like McCall's, all of those women's
magazines so she knew sort of what the world was like. Not because she had been in
high education, even much I think through my dad's eyes, I don't think my mother had
a good sense of what ▆▆ was like or really what the upper middle class was like. I
don't think either one of them (my parents) were really, they were beneath, their circle
didn't include the upper middle class. They had no idea what the ruling class was like
when I went to Harvard. I had no idea that the constant question that I would be asked
was what does your dad do? Which to me was like, it was almost funny. I never heard
someone ask another person, what does your dad do? Which was of course about class
but it was also about race because I think that they assumed my dad was working class,
I mean not even sort of like white collar government. I think what they knew about
Chicano's or Mexicano's was about farm workers. This was the mid 1970's. They had
no idea that there were - a group of us that were sort of lower-middle class, middle-
middle class maybe.

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🎖 Parents Educational Attainment (Mother)~

🎖 Ethinic consciousness~
🎖 Power St▆▆▆▆▆
🎖 Racial Bias Internalization~
🎖 Racism~

</div>

44

45   So ▆▆▆▆ is about assimilation, it is also about the resistance. The resistance comes
through storytelling, of me being able to tell my story both when I was a child in▆▆
▆▆ but also when I am in the classroom at Harvard Law. The first case that we had,
in my first class it is assigned seating and there are about 150 students in each of four
sections. I was assigned to seat number 1. All of which is very - well I guess I'm
superstitious enough to say that there was a design, a design that is of course only a
design because I recognized the patter but it was the first case in the book which is
empirical I could show you the book. It was the People of the State of California v.
Chavez. It was a Chicano who gives birth in her mother's home into the toilet. The baby
is born dead and she is then prosecuted for manslaughter and the discussion in the class
was about the common law definitions of life because the baby had to be alive in order
for manslaughter to take place. The baby had to have breathed and its heart had to beat
in order for her to kill the baby. All of the discussion was about these biometric
measures. On the third day I raised my hand and I talked about the sociological
dimensions, this is 1946 she is called a Pachuca and this is the only case in which there

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🎖 Ethinic consciousness~
☼ Voice

🎖 Alternative Pe▆▆▆▆▆▆
🎖 Awareness of Cultural Identity~
🎖 Cross Cultural Experience - Anglo Culture~
🎖 Cultural Awareness~
🎖 Diverse Student Population~
🎖 Ethinic consciousness~

</div>

were all of these added materials in the case book. There were newspaper accounts of the trial; there were interviews with the attorneys that had represented her. So there was all of this additional information. She was from East LA; my dad's family is from East LA, after WW2 they moved to East LA. She was very recognizable, she was like - I had hundreds of cousins that were, could be Josephine Chavez. I had uncle who was in the Chino prison and I have had cousins who have done hard time in California prison system. I'm sitting in the Harvard classroom astounded at the fact that all of this cultural social information doesn't seem to be relevant to the circumstances in which the crime was committed. What we are talking about is the mental state, is she culpable? Without understanding and later I write in the article, that she gives birth in silence, that you can't understand it without understanding notions of female sexuality within the Latino family. You cannot understand how to represent this women without being culturally competent - what we now call cultural competence.

46

47 Then in the article I go on to talk about the cognitive masks that one needs in order to get through higher education and through the terminal degrees and that is what the article is about. This has been a central them in my work both in the classroom, in my scholarship and now an administrator. How do we have students go through higher education maintaining their cultural selves, leaving them intact or even recovering their ethnic identities in a way that allows them to be more integrated personally and ethnically and racially integrated, it is both dimension of integration. There can be people who don't look like you at all and yet share much of the cognitive processes.

Alternative Perceptions~
Cultural Awareness~
Cultural Conflict
Ethnic consciousness~

48

49 I think that a lot of times when people look at ████████ that they cannot accept that cognitively that he is very much like them, and I don't mean like them ideologically perhaps but in terms of his life experiences, raised by White grandparents, raised by a White mother, you know, much more like White people than ████████, just his cognitive imagery.

50

51 ████████

52 In law a larger number (of Hispanics) because it is a much more portable degree so you

could do lots of things with a law degree including - by the late 1980's going into law teaching. And really do not share the life experiences that result in being an underrepresented minority within that in the United States.

53

54 ████████████████

55 What happened when I finished Harvard, well two things, well lots of things happened at Harvard. One - at the end of my first year I left and then I returned. When I returned - I left thinking I would never go back and then I was invented back to a summer program, summer law program by one of the black faculty members within Harvard. It was a program in Boston, he said to me ' I want you to go to Harvard and I want you to tell them you are coming back." I said that I couldn't do that that I really don't want to. He said " I want you to do this." So I did (return) I went back and finished successfully. In my second year I was invited to apply to something called the Board of Student Advisors. The Board of Student Advisors is a very high prestige organization of Harvard. Sort of a decade before, there was the Law Review and then there was the Board of Student Advisors, The Board of Student Advisors runs the academic program so it would report, the different co-curriculum programs were run by them and the students serve as the tutors to the writing program. So they are like teaching assistance in a graduate program. It is very prestigious. I got into Affirmative Action. I had already been very prominent, I was known for speaking out in class. On the Board I eventually became the Vice President, so there some leadership that I was recognized for.

56

57 When I graduated I won something called the ████████████ Traveling Fellowship. The proposal that I submitted was to study Affirmative Action in India, in Malaysia and in Nigeria. Eventually I spent 11 months abroad on this research fellowship and studied in India and in Malaysia their Affirmative Action programs. When I returned my sister was living in Mexico City. My mom said "why don't you go see here there, before you go back to Boston," Where I had a job waiting for me. My sister introduced me to this guy who was teaching, who was an American teaching at the National University. We went on a blind date and we have been a couple ever since. Eventually we moved in, got married, our daughter was born there, we moved back… he did sabbatical at

College Recitivism~
Teachers - Non Hispanic

Extracurriclular Involvement~
Work Ethic

Awareness of Cultural Identity~

Schalarship, Fellowships, Grants~

Harvard, we went to Harvard went back to Mexico and then to ████████k and finally to ████████

58

59   My husband was a math professor and he is a researcher he is very scholarly. I always say that I learned to be a scholar by watching him be a scholar. When we were in ████████ I was in ███ services there. I was asked to apply to the local university to become the ████████. It was like, that seems interesting. I got the job then I began to teach in ████████ department teaching gender and the law. When we moved here I applied to the ████████ to be a ████████. I got the job and then became the Special Advisor to the ████████ ████████ at the time - this was 1989 or so - I became Advisor to the President. The university was under investigation by the Department of Education, the Department of Labor and the State Legislature for its hiring practices. It was the university using me as a "brown" face.

Mentor Relationships~
Faculty Opportunity
Hiring Practices~
Tokanism

60

61   By this time I was highly politicized, highly politicized. I was also under attack from the community because they thought that I was a "vendida." At community meetings they were very very difficulty. I was doing everything that I could to try and change the hiring practices. To really get the data together, institute an Affirmative Action Plan which they didn't have, to computerize - all that. So I have been able to give a talk at a national conference based on my "mascaras" paper. There were people there from the University of ████████ and they said "would you be interesting in being the Diversity Czar and the University of ████████" So I came back and I was meeting with the Provost, his name was ████████ and I said well the university of ████████ is recruiting me for this job and he said "well don't bank on it, there is big difference between being recruited and getting the job." So ████████ called me and they offered me the job. I said I would never take a job like this without doing ████████ search. It would be crazy to take a diversity job without a full search, "what are you thinking" I said. So they did a full search and eventually they offered the job to me and to an African American man, we were going to be co-directors.

Acting White
Community~
Cultural Conflict

Hispanic take other non-faculty job~
Lack of respect~
Hispanic take other ████████
Lack of respect~

62

63 So at that point ███████ offered me a three year visiting appointment to the ███ ███████. At that time I had my ████████ was basically in draft, so I had an article. I had taught already so I was already aware what a faculty job would be. I was not aware of how difficulty it would be, tenure scrutiny would be. How difficult it would be to teach from the perspective a brown woman. I could easily have been in the ██████ classroom and had a completely traditional classroom. I could have done, because I was in the ████████, I was doing legal writing and I was doing seminars. I was determined to have an impact on ████ education, to change ████ education. I did not want my students to have the experience that I had had with the Josephine Chavez case. It didn't matter that there were students who were Latinos or African American or Native American in that class or gay or disabled or…that it mattered. I did not realize how difficult it would be to try and bring that diversity agenda to ████ education. I think that I was fairly successful and I left when I realized that any voice about critical change had been silenced because I don't think my colleagues could hear me anymore. I would speak and it would be basically the roll of the eyes. And that in a fairly short period of time the ██████████ had settled back to not having classes about Latinos in the ████ or Critical Race Theory or other seminars that brought a certain perspective or even my core classes like ████████████ that were fundamentally different in terms of my pedagogy in terms of my assessment mechanisms, in terms of the way that I interacted with the students. There were services learning projects were they had to go into the high schools and teach high school students about constitutional laws. I gave a lot of emphasis to the racial history of the 14th Amendment, so there are very different ways to teach. You can teach the racial history by making it the racial history fight or you can teach it the racial history of people of color. Those are two very different lessens in the classroom.

64

65 ████████████

66 We had the highest number of Latino Faculty of any ████████ at one time we had nine. We had four Latinas and five Latinos. We had two African Americans, two Asians and three Native Americans, so half the faculty at one time was faculty of color.

67

☼ Faculty Opportunity

☼ Tenure Process ████████

▨ Cultural Awareness~
▨ Perception of Self~
☼ Voice

▨ Academic Climate~
▨ Alternative Perceptions~
▨ Cultural Awareness~
☼ Voice

▨ Cultural Awareness~
▨ Ethinic consciousness~

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68
69 ▬▬

70 No, (I didn't have a mentor) but what I say to my students - I have daughters and a step son, what I said to them was that they have been my mentors. My relationship with my students has allowed me to imagine who I can be because I didn't have anyone, teachers, any professors, when I was in ▬▬▬▬ I only had one female professor. She was not someone that I particularly identified with. I think that part of being one of the first, is that there is no one (to mentor me).

Mentor Relationships~
Mentor Relationships~
Mentors (Lack of)

71
72 Part of the difficulty I had was that I didn't know how to behave in the roles that I was in, right. I didn't know for example, I didn't know that there was a - I didn't really suffer a penalty for going to five undergraduate schools - but I didn't know that what you did was start and finish in four years, five years. I think that a lot of Latinos even to this day don't know. They don't know that there is some benefit that attaches of finishing within even six years that there is a program of studies, a progression (of courses). Or that from high school you can look to a terminal degree, that you, that you can think already that you are going to go to ▬▬▬.

Alternative Perceptions~
College Recitivism~
Cultural Awareness~

73
74 One of the things that I would share with you is an email debate I had with the dean of the ▬▬▬. There was an email that came to all the ▬▬▬ faculty that said that the ▬▬▬ was considering dropping the ▬▬▬ ▬▬▬. The Dean wrote - I believe that is where it started, I don't believe that I started it, I believe he started it and he said that the ▬▬ had opened a lot of doors for students of color. I wrote back and I said, there is another narrative and the narrative is that the ▬▬ has been the highest barrier for students of color and he wrote back and he said without the ▬▬ a native boy ▬▬▬ would not have gone to ▬▬ and a Latina from ▬▬▬ would not have gone to ▬▬▬ I wrote back and I said - and all of this is to all of the faculty - and I said that is not my story, my story is that my academic achievements including ▬▬▬ was necessary but it was not sufficient. What I needed was the Civil Rights movement, a Civil Rights movement that was able to put a dream in my heart. That I could be

Conflict within University~
Cultural Awareness~
Cultural Conflict
Ethnic consciousness~

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something that no one could imagine or dreamt, my mother couldn't have imagined it, my dad couldn't have imaging it. It had to be the collective, a community that could really dream of this for us. It was not born of individually effort, it was not born of, you know that I was smart, and I said that there were generation of women in my family who were smart, I did not come to "smart" by myself, that that it is very big mistake to think that it starts with us. The Civil Rights movement was huge, enormous in my personal story and it was first of all the figures of who know, Rosa Parks, Martin Luther King Jr., I mean I could go through and name a lot of them but it was the literature it was ready Malcolm X, it was reading Soul on Ice, it was ready - and a lot of the African Scholarship. I remember reading, particularly (a couple authors) and thinking that it was me. When they were writing about the colonizer and colonized or black faces/white masks. The mask image obviously becomes something that plays out in my life. It was like this unbelievable comprehension because there was no Chicano literature yet. I was in school when Chicano Studies is being born. What we're teaching in Chicano Studies was Karl Marx, Fredrick Ingles and lot of the African scholars.

75

76 ~~How do~~ ~~Hispanic Faculty.~~

77 I have been working on this for a while (how to increase Hispanic faculty). That is a really complex question because I think that one of the disappointments that I had at the ██████ was that I worked very hard to increase the numbers of students of color. Recently over the last few years I realized that many of the students who were being admitted had no ethnic or racial consciousness, had no social justice consciousness. Really were not schooled in the idea that they stood on the shoulders of other people and that those doors were closed. So there is that, just the failure of all of us the community, I'm going to speak in the "collaborative" right. To have kept that lesson alive that they are there because at one time people were excluded and that door was forced open by many people who are faceless and nameless now. I think that the community does not know what it means to be a professor or a faculty member and that is one of the things that I have been raising the ██████ there at ██████ is that we have to tell that story better. The role that professors play in the lives of their students that we matter that in the classroom and in our mentoring and in

Cultural Awareness~
Ethinic consciousness~

Awareness of Cultural Identity~
Cultural Awareness~

Awareness of Cultural Identity~
Community~
Cultural Awareness~
Ethinic consciousness~

Community~
Mentor Relationships~
Pipeline Issues~

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our scholarship that we have a role to play in creating any intelligence and when I speak about a Chicano intelligence or a Latino intelligence it can sound elitist but to me it is the responsibility that we have to the community to be creators of knowledge, of local knowledge, of really to rescue the knowledge that is being lost, to retell those stories, to repackage that information, and to discover the new frontiers, that is what we do a professors. You could go out there and you could survey one hundred people in the (Hispanic) community about what we do (professors) and we haven't been good in terms of communicating why it matters that children grow up to be professors. Why it matters to the community that we grow up to be professors.

78

79 I also think that we have to change universities; I think that there is no penalty that is paid by universities for not hiring people of color. So that you can have an administration that is all White, you can have an administration in ██████████ that is all White, you can have ██████████████ that doesn't have any Hispanics and it goes unreported, unnoticed and there are no penalties. Until I think that as an educated collective that we who have gone through this system are able to say, "Enough." It has to be our people, not because of some spoils system; it is because we bring value to these decisions, because we can have stronger schools and a better society if the leadership is diverse. The best work that has come out in the last few years is the work of a mathematician in Michigan whose name is ██████████. He works in something called complex adaptive systems, in chaos theory and complex systems. He has developed mathematical models that prove that diversity trumps ability. Diversity trumps ability. That if you have a diverse group of people you get better problem solving and better risk predictions, what are the risks in the future? How do we plan? How do we solve the problems of the present and how do we plan for the future? If I have diverse group it is going to be better than if you have all White people, even if they are very smart. Business are figuring it out, businesses have gotten it. Higher education has not gotten it. It is a very hard problem to solve.

80

81 Having the credentials is not enough, there are many people who now have the credentials and getting through, that is why I think that without being able to make the

Power Structures~
University Culture~

Power Structures~
University Culture~

Hispanic Faculty (Lack or)
University Culture~
Value of Diversity~

Hiring Practices~
Cultural Awareness~

argument that you don't have to abandon your culture and really I'm talking about the cognitive skills that come with that we can identify a different classification systems, a different narrative, a different understanding of cause and effect. All of those things are part of our, what happens, if you speak a different language, if you have this different life experience, it matters a lot from my perspective that I grew up in a house with an outdoor toilet. All kinds of things are attached to that, not because...you know at the time I didn't know we were particularly poor because everyone in my neighborhood had an outdoor toilet. But as I look back on it, most of the people that I work with did not have an outdoor toilet. It is that life experiences, that I can give expression to. That I do have a gift of perspective, I do have a different set of narratives, the stories that I tell are different from other people. There is something that if you are bi-lingual, called code switching. Code switching is a metaphor for this ability to move back and forth (between cultures), I think as a woman I move back and forth.

▓ Academic Climate~
▓ Alternative Perceptions~
▓ Cultural Awareness~

82

83 So part of the work that I am now sort of thinking about is this idea of complex adaptive systems. This comes out of what the ███████ e has been a leader on, complexity. It is this attempt to link complexity with culture and specifically human diversity and then link it to institutions. I think that the answer to your question, why is this so hard? Is that diversifying the faculty is right at the edge of many of these questions? It is about complex adaptive systems, it is about cultures in collision and it is about fundamentally changing a lot of the work of the university. It is about what is happening with teaching it is about pedagogy, it is about all of that vocabulary that is the domain, after all, of people who think of themselves as experts. And suddenly we are saying the expertise is really quite diverse, it is not your kind of research it is my kind of research. It is really saying, so that complex adaptive systems, a lot of the change is at the peripheral and then it just sort of cascades to the core because it is the idea of the butterfly in the forest, right? And that is I think what we are, we are right now the butterflies and there is all of this movement at the peripheral and it is my hope that in fact it will, at one state it will cascade. We have not seen it. We have not seen it.

▓ University Culture~

▓ Alternative Perceptions~
▓ Cultural Acceptence~
✿ Diversity - Resistance to
▓ Power Structures~
▓ University Culture~

▓ Power Structures~
▓ University Culture~
▓ Value of Diversity~

84

85 I think that part of this is a larger national cultural debate and change that is going on

▓ Cultural Density~

because demographically the cascade is going on, because of the demographics and it cannot be stopped. So for Midwest states to have quadrupled the Latino population, it is happening everywhere. I think that (nationally) there is a real resistance, look at Ethnic Studies in ▨▨▨ There is a real resistance to the idea that we bring value.

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⚙ Diversity - Resistance to
⚙ University Culture~