LATINA PRESIDENTS OF FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS,
PENETRATING THE ADOBE CEILING: A CRITICAL VIEW

by

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SIGNED: Sofia Martinez Ramos

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DEDICATION

This is dedicated to my father Pablo Martinez, who loved me unconditionally and taught me to dream big and to never give up on my dreams, and to my sons Kristian and Nikolas Ramos, who I love unconditionally and who I know will dream big and never give up on their dreams.

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ABSTRACT

In 2007, the nation's Latino population was estimated at 45.5 million, or 15.1% of the 301.6 million total U.S. population. Latinos are the fastest-growing minority group, exceeding 500,000 in 16 states and representing the largest minority group in 20 states (Bernstein, 2008). The number of Latinos is projected to almost triple by 2050 and will represent about 60 percent of the country's growth with about 128 million Latinos, making up 29% of the total projected 440 million U.S. population (Passel, 2008).

Latino's continued population growth makes their educational and occupational success, and their ability to self-sustain and to contribute to the greater good, essential to this nation's economy. Since education is the most critical component in the productivity and self-sufficiency of Latinos, it is important that their representation at all levels of education, including students, faculty and administrators increase along with the population growth. However, Latino representation in higher education has not grown proportionately to their increases in the U.S. population (Haro, 2003). Their representation and voice is lacking in the decision-making, top levels of administration, such as vice presidents, provosts, presidents, and chancellors.

The under-representation of Latinas in higher education was the impetus for this study, to identify elements affecting their trajectory to the top ranks of administration, including embedded structures, institutionalized filters, and elements within the social selection process that affect their representation in the presidency and other top-level administrative posts of four-year institutions. Their narratives document Latinas'

challenges and successes and validate the importance of culture and identity, and the fact

that dual culturalism is a source of strength and not a deficit. This study acknowledges

bias in higher education and the need to incorporate mentors, champions and strategic

measures to increase Latino representation in graduate programs, faculty and

administration. These Latinas' ability to penetrate the adobe ceiling serves as a model

and a "counterstory" for others who aspire to top administrative positions. Their insights

and recommendations provide a valuable context to inform practice and research.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The number of Latinos/Hispanics* in the United States (U.S.) and their projected growth as a proportion of the total U.S. population, make their educational and employment attainment not only an economic necessity but also a national imperative. In 2002, Latinos became the largest minority in the U.S. with approximately 39 million or about 13.4% of the population (Jenifer, 2005).   Five years later, the U.S. Census Bureau estimated the nation's Latino population had increased to 45.5 million, or 15.1% of the 301.6 million total U.S. population. Latinos continue to be the fastest-growing minority group, with a 3.3% increase between July 2006 and July 2007; the non-Hispanic white population grew only 0.3% during the same period. Latinos exceed 500,000 in 16 states and represent the largest minority group in 20 states (Bernstein, 2008).   In addition, Passel (2008), a senior demographer for the Pew Hispanic Center, reported that by 2050, the number of Latinos is projected to almost triple, reaching 128 million and their representation will almost double to 29% of the total projected U.S. population of about 440 million. This change in the Latino population represents about 60 percent of the country's future growth.

The term "Hispanic" is a generic term used by the U.S. Bureau of the Census that included all people of Latin American origin or ancestry living in the United States. The term "Latino", although also generic and encompassing, is the preferred term by people of such origin or ancestry and, thus, this term will be used throughout this dissertation. Also, the term "Latinas" refers to females of this group while the term "Latinos" is used when referring to both sexes or to males only.

As the number of Latinos in the U.S. continues to increase, the importance of their educational and occupational success also increases, since their ability or inability to self-sustain and to contribute to the greater good would surely have an impact on the nation's economy. Therefore, opportunities for the education, employment, and social mobility of Latinos should be part of our national strategic goals.

Education is perhaps the most critical component in the self-sufficiency and productivity of Latinos as members of this nation. As their numbers have increased in the population, it is reasonable to expect that their representation also would have increased at all levels of higher education, including as students, faculty and administrators. However, Latino representation in higher education has not grown proportionately to their increase in representation in the U.S. population (Haro, 2003). Most important is their lack of representation in the top levels of administration, such as vice presidents, provosts, presidents, and chancellors.

It is in this context of Latino under-representation in higher education, particularly of Latinas in administration, that this study set out to search for answers to some critical questions. For example: 1) What are the elements of higher education institutions that affect Latinas' trajectory to the top ranks of administration?, and 2) What are the embedded structures, institutionalized filters, or elements within the social selection process that affect the representation of Latinas in the presidency and other top-level administrative posts of four-year institutions?

The Problem

Latinas continue to be underrepresented in the student, faculty, and administrative ranks of higher education. In particular, they are highly underrepresented in the decision-making upper echelons of higher education administration, specifically in positions of vice president and president.

Clearly, increasing the educational and occupational skills of Latinos increases their productivity and, their overall economic contribution to the nation. Therefore, for many years, researchers, educators, and community leaders have searched for ways to increase the educational and employment opportunities of Latinos. Some argue that until the representation of Latinos grows at all ranks, but especially in the top ranks of educational institutions, the status quo will continue (Jennifer, 2006). Educational access and opportunity will continue to be ethnically stratified and higher education institutions will continue to serve as agents of status quo social reproduction. Franklyn (2005), a top-level administrator with 20 years of experience in higher education administration, argued that increasing the number of ethnic minority administrators is crucial to increasing the institutions' ability to serve underrepresented populations. He suggested that if the U.S. wants to continue to be the most powerful economic and military nation on earth, it would need the brainpower of all of its citizens, including Latinos. This requires that, at every level of the pipeline, the gaps between the access and participation rates of minorities, women, and men be eliminated. Furthermore, for this to happen, it requires having minorities in leadership positions, including presidencies and chancellorships of colleges and universities.

Although some scholars have argued that presidents and other top-level administrators do not have strong influence over the institution, but merely serve to move the institution along a prescribed path, and believe institutional effectiveness is not related to the effectiveness of the senior administrators or presidents who serve as figureheads or facilitators to maintain the status quo (Birnbaum, 1992); top leadership researchers Cohen and March (1974) agreed that leadership may be more symbol than substance, but they acknowledged that leaders can make a difference in certain circumstances.   With the advent of academic capitalism and the need for presidents to become strong fundraisers and entrepreneurs, this model of passive leadership may be outdated.

It is true, however, that higher education institutions are slow to change and there is strong evidence that higher education institutions fall prey to serving as agents for social reproduction, which results in a slow-changing demographic profile of top-level administrators.   The administrative selection process has elements that result in the selection of presidents who are likely to be from social backgrounds that are acceptable to the main internal and external constituent groups of the college. Throughout the entire process, there are filtration points that strain and constrain those who persist through the process. This social selection process affects ethnic minority populations differently. On the whole, presidents embody the educational, racial, ethnic, gender, class and local attributes recognized as appropriate (Cohen & March, 1974).   Presidents tend to vary only within fairly limited ranges and as a function of the main groups with whom they deal. Specifically, college and university presidents tend to be White, reflecting the

ethnic composition of the donors, search committees and board of directors/trustees who appoint them. They also tend to be strongly committed to conventional academic values and behave only according to the normative constraints of their positions. For the most part, they are not focused on making major changes but on maintaining status quo, simply keeping the institutions moving along a prescribed path (Cohen & March, 1974).

There is a powerful and highly effective social selection process that permeates higher education and counteracts efforts to increase Latina representation at the top administrative ranks, particularly in the presidency of all four-year institutions; the process becomes more restrictive and exclusionary as the prestige of the institutional type increases (thus, there are more Latina presidents at community colleges than at Research I universities).   Starting in elementary school and at each point of advancement through the educational system, would-be presidents encounter elements that either help or hinder their advancement to the next level of education and later, within the institution, their next level of advancement. At each promotion or transfer, people with the background deemed *appropriate* (e.g., white, middle-class, male) have a much higher probability of moving closer to a presidency.   Although the filtering is gradual, and in some cases subtle, it is highly powerful and a strong determinant of who makes it to the final destination: the higher education presidency (Cohen & March 1974). There is a clear funnel effect created by the necessary credentials and experience required at each stage of the trajectory toward the presidency. The pool of department chairs/heads differs slightly from the pool of senior faculty from which they are drawn. In turn, the pool of deans differs slightly from that of department chairs/heads and the faculty leaders from whom

they are drawn. At each stage many are filtered out and left ineligible for the next stage.

Of the total number of assistant professors who begin careers in higher education, some

do not get tenure, some leave education, most tenured faculty do not become department

chairs, most chairs do not become deans, and most provosts do not become

presidents/chancellors.

       According to Cohen and March (1974), there are three ways people are filtered

out of the process of advancement: (1) *the various filtration points* individuals must pass

through to get to each next step in the series of promotions needed to advance to the

presidency or top ranks of administration either discourages continuing on the trajectory

to the top or filters them out, perhaps due to a lack in credentials or experience; (2) *the*

long socialization process needed to persist in the system requires learning,

understanding, and adopting the norms and behaviors of the institution; and (3) *the*

ambiguities of success inherent in an ever-changing environment, requiring flexibility

and skill building (Cohen and March 1974). These three elements in the promotion and

advancement process work within academic institutions as formidable filters, making it

very difficult for ethnic minority individuals (especially ethnic minority women) to

develop, to move up the ranks, and to implement strategies and policies that will be most

effective at a particular institution and with a particular board. This framework is used in

this dissertation to examine how these filters and the various filtration points affect

Latinas as they traverse toward the presidency.

Research Questions

This narrative inquiry examines the fundamental phenomenon that the number of Latinas in the top ranks has not increased proportionately to their growth in the population.   In order to find ways to increase the success of Latinas and their representation in top administrative posts, including the presidency of four-year institutions, I set out to address two essential questions: 1) What are the institutional elements or filters that affect the trajectory of Latinas toward the top ranks of administration and the presidency of four-year institutions?, and 2) What are the elements that enhance their representation?

Latinas are extremely underrepresented in higher education administration, particularly at four-year institutions. Their numbers in administration have not grown in tandem with their increases in the general population or with their increases in academe; they lag far behind White men and women, African Americans, and Latino males in their quest for top administrative posts (Haro & Lara, 2003).   Their low numbers are often blamed on a broken pipeline, and while it is true that the pipeline has been broken for much too long, it is important to look at more than the simply answers. For example, what role does bias play in their low representation? Also, what effects do preconceived notions of merit, success and preferable characteristics have on the trajectory of Latinas in higher education and specifically on those who aspire to the presidency?   Most importantly, do these biases keep Latinas from aspiring to move up the administrative career ladder or from being appointed to the presidency?

Although recent information on Latinos in administrative roles reveals some important gains, these gains are coupled with many serious challenges, the 2002 American Council of Education (ACE), *American College President* report provided important data to help develop this study (Corrigan, 2002). The number of Latinas at the lower levels of administration such as directors or program coordinators has increased, but their numbers at the senior levels, including deans, provosts, vice provosts, vice presidents and presidents, have not increased proportionately. Furthermore, they are more likely to be represented in the ranks moving toward vice president of student service. These are tracks that do not usually lead to the presidency of the institution. On the positive side, there has been a slow and slight increase in the appointment of Latinos and Latinas as presidents and superintendents at community colleges, particularly in the Southwest (Haro & Lara, 2003). The situation at the four-year level is drastically different. Although the total number of presidents in four-year institutions was approximately 3,896 in 2003-2004 (Harvey & Anderson, 2005), as of May 2008, *only eight* Latinas were serving as presidents of such institutions. Moreover, to date, *only one* Latina has been appointed president at a doctoral-granting institution – four at master-granting, and one at a baccalaureate-granting institutions (de los Santos & Vega, 2008). This number, and my study, excludes for-profit institutions, professional colleges and universities, and two-year institutions.

The number of Latina presidents at four-year institutions continues to be a shamefully small number. Even though it has doubled in the last few years, it has not even reached double digits. An optimistic person might look at these statistics and

celebrate the fact that Latina presidents of four-year institutions have doubled. However, any reasonable person and certainly a critical theorist would point out that this doubling simply meant increasing from three to six, and then finally to eight the number of Latina presidents. Clearly, this is further evidence of the lack of representation and acknowledgment of Latino talent in higher education. Although a few Latinas have moved up the administrative ladder, on the whole their ascent has been exceptionally slow, making the eight Latinas currently serving as presidents an anomaly rather than the norm.

Much has been written about the bias that continues to plague higher education. Theories such as critical race theory, LatCrit theory, and critical feminist theory were all developed in response to a need for organized thought, understanding, and actions to combat racism and inequity (Yosso, 2005). They all call for developing a "counter story" of success and for strategic action to do away with the structural bias embedded within the institutions. There is ample documentation of the bias that remains in higher education, and this study is not meant to show it exists but simply take it as a given. Our primary interest is to document the experiences of Latinas in the highest levels of college and university administration.

Leonard Valverde (2003), in *Leaders of Color in Higher Education,* documented issues that still need to be addressed. He wrote, "Today's leaders of color still experience some of the same exclusionary conditions and harsh climate as their predecessors" (p. 7). "However, there continues to be a racist bureaucracy that blocks Latinos' progress despite their qualifications and accomplishments," noted Dr. Roberto Haro, a scholar who has

documented Latinos' experiences in higher education administration through hundreds of interviews for over 30 years. Dr. Haro also found that Latino men and women who sought leadership roles as presidents and provosts in American colleges and universities may have been held to higher standards in the selection process than members of other groups, particularly Whites (Haro, 2001, 1995; Veran, 1995). Few topical questions regarding Latinas experiences were explored in this study.

The following section provides an overview of the study, beginning with a discussion of its significance.

Significance of the Study

The lack of Latina representation at the top ranks of higher education administration, including at institutions serving large numbers of Latinos, deprives institutions of the leadership potential of such women and of their unique insights regarding the Latino culture and experience. Also, in a democratic society, the voices of all its members should be represented and heard.   If Latinos and Latinas are excluded from the policymaking and governance of educational institutions, equity and social justice cannot be achieved. As the proportion of the Latino population increases, addressing emerging and existing challenges requires their input and participation in top-level higher education administration, government policy positions, and corporate leadership positions. It is important to actively strive to incorporate Latinas into the system to help address the critical issues that currently affect Latinos and, thus, the nation.

Latino growth in the U.S. continues to outpace the increases of every other ethnic group. Current issues such as low high school graduation rates and college degree attainment rates, as well as underemployment and unemployment are formidable challenges. These challenges require a concerted effort, which should include the input of Latinas as their insights could be instrumental in helping to find viable solutions. Latinas must be strategically developed and placed in leadership pipelines in higher education, business, government, and other key policy-making arenas.

This narrative inquiry examines why the number of Latinas in the top ranks of higher education administration has not increased proportionately to their growth in the population, nor has kept up with Latinos, male and female Whites, or African Americans. Clearly, population growth alone has not increased their representation in higher education, therefore, many questions remain about the structures or mechanisms that prevent more Latinas from becoming presidents or from being more highly represented in the top ranks of administration. This study provides documentation on the insights participants revealed about their experiences moving through the labyrinth of higher education. The lessons they have learned can be used to both help inform scholarship and to prepare future leaders. This study also explored the role embedded institutional bias and structural filters play in impeding Latina advancement and how these barriers can be overcome or dismantled. It also explored positive elements that helped lead to the appointment of Latinas to the presidency and other top posts, and how these elements may be replicated.

Specifically, this study documents the experiences and perceptions of Latinas in the various top rungs of administration, and their ascent to the presidency and other top positions to help expand our vision and understanding of Latina leadership development within four-year institutions. Thus, the study helps provide clarity to important questions regarding Latinas in higher education administration.   Their narratives will help inform the discussion and understanding about institutional elements that may be used to help increase the success of other Latinas and representation at the top ranks.

Latinas are not a monolithic group; their ancestry may be from a number of different countries and socioeconomic backgrounds. Therefore, we should not over-generalize about how Latinas might behave within an institution or what their priorities might be. Furthermore, Latinas may have different levels of commitment to serving underrepresented communities or to increasing access. However, their experiences as ethnic minorities gives them insights valuable to higher education administration regarding, for example, how to best serve Latinos and other students of color. Also, their representation in the top ranks serves as a model and provides evidence to other Latinas(os) that they too may persist and succeed in higher education.

An important component of this research was uncovering whether institutionalized bias affects Latinas. Both the literature review and two pilot studies used as background for this study showed that institutionalized filters for advancement are biased and based on a White, male model of leadership. These are formidable barriers, difficult to overcome in the search and advancement processes for Latinas. Although changing the status quo model of a leader and the elements that lead to success

are difficult, the first step is acknowledging the situation as it actually operates, including the bias in the system. Understanding how biases have affected current presidents and presidential aspirants is critical to being able to address or propose changes to this system. In addition, understanding these biases, stereotypes, and "deficit models" enables Latinas to continue to combat them. This important (insider) look at the climate and culture of the higher education institution and its effect on Latina leadership opportunities will help develop the tools to facilitate creation of conduits for aspiring and undiscovered Latina leaders.

Assumptions

Three main assumptions helped shape this study. The first assumption is that two-year and four-year institutions are inherently different in scope, operation, and prestige. Therefore, this study focused only on the four-year institutions. Two-year institutions are known to serve lower SES students and have open access admissions. They have a large representation of minority students and a greater representation of minority faculty and administrators, including Latinas (Haro, 2001). There is also more research available about Latinos and Latinas in the administrations of two-year institutions because they are more highly represented and they have been in these positions longer. Finally, two-year institutions are in a different category because they serve a different purpose and population than the higher selectivity or research institutions, and cannot be simply compared.

The second assumption is that for-profit institutions, such as the University of Phoenix, are a different type of model: they tend to have different standards of admissions, tend to be higher priced than the public institutions, and operate using a business model that does not include state or federal funding (although they tap into financial aid for students, their operations are not dependant on government dollars). Therefore, they too were excluded from this study.

The third assumption is that professional schools (e.g., law schools, dentistry, etc.) also are not comparable to four-year institutions in their admissions protocols, operations or scope. Therefore, such institutions were also eliminated from the study.

These three assumptions (particularly the one pertaining to two-year institutions) had the effect of reducing the number of Latinas eligible for this study. However, the final sample reflected a more accurate depiction of the representation of Latinas in baccalaureate, masters and doctoral higher education institutions in the U.S.

Study Framework

The effect of the social selection process was examined using a critical lens as a framework to study the experiences of the 16 top-level Latina administrators, including three presidents who currently serve in four-year higher education institutions in the U.S. The insights of the 13 Latinas in the top ranks who were not yet presidents (some of whom did not expect or want to become presidents) provided a more complete picture of the trajectories Latinas experience to the presidencies.

This study focused on the social selection process and its impact on Latinas' trajectory. Insights from several pilot study interviews revealed that institutionalized bias played a role in the trajectories of Latinas(os) in higher education. Participants discussed painful experiences directly related to their status as ethnic minorities in predominantly White institutions. Based on information from the pilot findings, this study searched for an intersection between social selection, embedded institutional structures, institutionalized bias and their effect on the number of Latinas who eventually become presidents.

Accordingly, participants were selected from a variety of top-ranking positions to get a well-rounded view of the trajectory towards the presidency. The sample included, vice chancellors at the system-wide level, a vice chancellor at the university level, vice presidents, provosts, vice provosts, and deans. I visited participants on their campuses, interacted with their staff, and walked around the campuses to get a better understanding of the types of environments and student populations on these campuses. Interviews combined with visits helped me to document the participants' perceptions of the challenges and impediments that affect the advancement of Latinas. Meeting with them in their offices allowed me to watch how they interacted with others, their mannerisms, demeanor, and facial expressions. I was able to witness their strengths, skills, political acumen, and proficiency with institutional norms and protocols. I was able to experience the passion in their voice and their demeanor when they spoke about issues of importance to them. Their interactions with campus personnel and outsiders allowed me to understand their command of their institutions and the respect they have earned among

their constituencies, peers and people with whom they work and who report to them. These observations were combined with analysis of the transcribed material from the taped interviews I conducted with the participants, and the a document analysis of electronic news media, written reports and other documents, to develop a full picture of their experiences and the lessons learned from their different trajectories.

The experiences of these Latinas provided a substantial and well-rounded view of the challenges affecting Latinas as they moved up the trajectory towards the presidency. The women in the sample helped provide a more complete understanding of higher education from the Latina perspective. As ethnic minorities, their experiences also helped inform our understanding of the minority experience in higher education. The women's experiences helped educate us on the factors that facilitated Latinas' movement through our predominantly patriarchal institutions. The institutions over which these Latinas presided were also an important part of the story because they were part of the infiltration of Latinas as leaders in higher education. The acceptance of Latinas as leaders made their appointments possible at these institutions. Therefore, it was important to search for commonalities among these institutions to determine what elements other institutions might adopt.

Institutions with Latina presidents included two University of Texas campuses, one at Texas A & M University, two at Catholic universities, one at a California State University, one university in the Midwest (Indiana), and one on the east coast in Willimantic, Connecticut. Studying commonalities among the institutions with Latinas in top posts informed our understanding and could lead to facilitating the development of

opportunities at other institutions. The commonalities that may have led certain institutions to appoint Latinas to the presidency also provided information about why other institutions may not be making similar appointments in key positions. Latina administrators are important role models, and understanding the elements of their success helped address the question about how institutions may have filtered their trajectories toward the top ranks of administration and the presidency. It also helped to explain why some Latinas decided not to move up the ranks, and removed themselves from the trajectory toward the presidency.

Theoretical frameworks used to analyze Latinas' experiences in this study included social selection, critical race theory, dual culturalism, educational and personal resiliency theories. This study included an analysis of how academic capitalism exacerbated the effects of bias, racism, and social reproduction and how all of these combined elements affected the advancement of Latinas in higher education administration. Most importantly, the study began to address the question: Is there an *adobe ceiling* that keeps Latinas from the presidency?

Research Goals

This study sought to use the narratives of top-level Latina administrators including presidents in four year-institutions to identify institutional and other effects, which either helped or hindered their career trajectories.

Institutional filters which affected their career trajectories:

1. Embedded institutional structures;

2. Embedded ideologies, norms and preconceived notions about
    leadership and the presidency;

3. Social reproduction, social selection; and

4. Policies and protocols operationalized within the institution.

Elements which enhanced their career trajectories:

1. Institutional mechanisms that enhanced opportunities for Latinas;

2. Other opportunities or mechanisms providing opportunities/growth;
    and

3. Personal attributes that enhanced their ascent.

An analysis of the individual Latinas' experience included a search for filters, commonalities, or patterns of both positive and negative elements they experienced during their trajectory to top ranks and to the presidency. I searched for both barriers they had to overcome to be appointed and for the institutionalized mechanisms that aided their advancement. In particular, I searched for what participants believed were the filters or elements of social selection that they were forced to overcome as they traversed through their career trajectory. They were asked to specifically discuss their experiences with institutionalized bias, racism, sexism, and classism. They were also asked what other elements may have affected their advancement, for example, the search process or preconceptions of the idealized model of a president. What elements affected the appointment of Latinas as presidents or top-level administrators? Also, did the criteria, search committee makeup, or search process help or hinder Latinas?

Adobe Ceiling

Another part of the framework used was an examination of the *adobe ceiling*.
Cecilia Burciaga (as cited in Pinto, 2003) has used the phrase *adobe ceiling* for many
years to describe the experience of Latinas in the academy.

> With a glass ceiling, you are allowed to see the next level, at least you can
> see through it, and practice for the promotion. But an adobe ceiling is
> dense, impenetrable, and it doesn't allow you to see to the next level. I
> would like that luxury to see what's next. Once Latinas break through it,
> they are often surprised by the personal and professional costs (p.16).

This summarizes a popular belief that for White women, the glass ceiling means
that they can see what is available in top ranks, although the glass ceiling may preclude
them from breaking through to the other side, to the top ranks. However, for Latinas the
ceiling is *adobe*; they cannot see through it, to what is above this ceiling, and it is a thick
barrier that does not shatter like glass. Metaphorically, it is much more difficult to break
through an adobe ceiling than through a glass ceiling, and thus to make it through to the
other side, to the top ranks of leadership. The low number of Latinas in presidential
positions relative to White women certainly supports this perspective.

When I embarked on this study there were only six Latina presidents, but as of
December 2008, eight Latinas were serving as presidents of four-year institutions. These
eight women broke through the adobe ceiling to become the first Latina presidents of
their institutions. Some of them were the also the first woman (of any race or ethnicity)
to be the president of their institutions and in some cases they were the first Latinas in
their state to be president of a four-year institution. Incidentally, Dr. Julieta Garcia

became the first Latina in the U.S. to lead a four-year institution, when she was appointed president of the University of Texas, Brownville in 1992.

To truly effect systemic change, it is critical to develop visible examples of people who are diverse, influential, teach by example, and help raise consciousness (Jenifer, 2005). Latina presidents serve as examples and role models to help other Latinas believe that they, too, may become presidents or reach other seemingly unreachable goals. These Latinas are part of a growing but very exclusive group at the helm of education, government, and the corporate world who help the younger generations dream and aspire beyond what their sphere of influence might otherwise allow. These visible, national leaders also help change antiquated paradigms and promote the fact that Latinas are capable leaders and policy-makers.

Academic Capitalism

Another important framework used to examine Latinas' experience in higher education was academic capitalism. Academic capitalism has been prevalent in higher education for at least 30 years, as institutions of higher education tried to survive dwindling state budgets and funding streams. Colleges and universities responded to financial challenges by becoming more entrepreneurial and looking for alternative ways to fund and operate their programs and activities so that their institutions would remain solvent. Over the past 25 years, there have been four recessions. During three of these four downturns, funding for higher education was negatively affected. For example, after three of the four recessions, tuition rose faster than financial aid, which in turn

resulted in diminished access to higher education for people of low economic means,

many of them of ethnic minority backgrounds. Higher education and financial aid

funding continued to slip in priority as states experienced repeated recessions (Kelley,

2006). Gary Rhoades has written extensively about the effect of academic capitalism on

higher education. He provided the following explanation of the effect of this

phenomenon on bias, access, and priorities within the institution (personal

communication, October 13, 2008).

> Academic capitalism is a dominant regime and logic within higher
> education; it features an increased emphasis on status-seeking and revenue
> generation, or at least investing in initiatives and fields that are seen as
> being close to the market and having the potential to generate new
> revenues. Within this framework, the basic, endemic, institutionalized
> racism, sexism, and classism of the academy go unquestioned; in fact, they
> are heightened within academic capitalism. This holds true in terms of the
> research fields that get prioritized, the fields of study and instruction that
> are prioritized, and the sorts of student services that are provided such as
> expensive dorms for upper-middle class students, who can afford to pay
> for them. This also has resulted in decreased funding for need-based aid
> and a movement to merit-aid, as well as a focus on revenue-generating
> out-of-state students willing to pay a premium due to their out of state
> status.

Gaining an understanding of the challenges or barriers that persist was an

important first step to addressing these barriers. Therefore, I studied and documented the

experiences of 16 Latinas including the three Latinas serving as presidents of four-year

institutions. Thirteen Latinas who were in top-level administrative positions, but who

had not been appointed presidencies were also interviewed. Some had the skills and

experience to serve as presidents; others were building those skills, and one was retired.

The retired participant served in several top posts but did not move into a presidency

before she retired. Some of the participants were open to becoming presidents in the future, whereas others did not aspire to the presidency. Still others had been presidential candidates but had not received appointments in those searches.

Social Selection

This study used social selection as the theoretical framework, based on a critical review of the institutional factors that either curtailed or enabled the trajectories of Latinas in the academy. Participants were asked to describe their experiences in higher education, especially those elements/barriers they felt were the greatest impediments to their advancement. They were probed to try to uncover the effects of institutional biases and gendered institutions on their trajectory to the top ranks. I searched for an intersection of institutional factors with individual and societal factors such as White privilege and stratification in education and how these issues are exacerbated by personal factors such as social, cultural, and emotional capital, self-efficacy, outsider status and institutional capital.   The individual Latinas' characteristics were analyzed for common patterns in their leadership styles, vision, priorities, and match between the institutional goals and those of the participants. The analyses of all of these variables and issues helped to isolate the elements that served to facilitate and those that hindered Latinas' advancement to the presidency of four-year institutions.

Resiliency

Resiliency was another important framework utilized in this study. During both pilot studies and the final study, resiliency emerged as a noteworthy theme. Participants in all three studies spoke about how traumatic experiences helped them understand their own strength. As minorities who were in schools where segregation, prejudice and discrimination were often experienced, they learned early in their lives that their prospects depended on their success in school. Their parents' message was continually that school was the key to their future. Carla O'Connor's (1997) research on resiliency showed that young students who confronted bias often felt empowered to persist in an academic environment. Questions central to this study included: If Latinas faced bias with elements of racism, sexism and classism embedded in the structure of the institution, how did they persist? Did the struggles they faced make them stronger and better equipped for the challenges they faced as administrators? Did acknowledging these constraints help empower Latinas and keep them from internalizing these biases or buying into them? Early in this study and in the two prior pilot studies, I found that Latinas and Latinos had strength that seemed to be derived from the endless challenges they faced due to their status as minorities, and as women often in predominantly White environments.

Dual Culturalism

A question that emerged early in this study was, do Latinas have to assimilate to be successful? Pilot study results showed both Latina and Latino participants did not

assimilate; rather they drew from both their Latino culture and the Anglo culture to navigate the institution. Therefore dual culturalism and biculturalism theory were used to examine how participants might use their Latino culture in their leadership positions.

Institutional Analysis

The analysis of the institutions in which these Latinas served as administrators provided a wealth of information on what is possible at other institutions; this information can be used to help advance an understanding of how other institutions might do away with barriers. This analysis used three basic steps. First, I compared the type of institutions in which these Latinas served, their community makeup, and the proportion of Latinos in the community and in the schools. Second, I determined the level of selectivity of the schools and the cost to attend. I also noted the size of the school and if it is a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI). Third, I examined the institutions' focus on diversity, the demographics of the students, faculty and staff, and the make up of the top-level administrators. Finally, I identified the proportion of students who were using financial aid to attend the institution.   These analyses helped to gauge the institutions' internal commitment to implementation of a diversity agenda (as opposed to a search for external legitimacy).   Analyzing the institutions resulted in a better understanding of how some elements of the institution may be responsible for facilitating Latina advancement, and others may not.

Constructivist Approach

This study used a constructivist perspective to search for meaning and patterns experienced by the study participants.   Participants' experiences and stories were used to construct understanding and knowledge for the benefit of others who may be part of the pipeline now or in the future.   Their multiple individual experiences were grounded in social and historical contexts (Creswell, 2003).   For example, what were their shared experiences in the promotion and tenure process? Was there evidence of bias within the institution? Were they treated differently based on their status as women or as ethnic minorities? Were they subjected to extra burdens? This study utilized two units of analysis: experiences of the individual Latinas, and the four-year institutions they led.

Even though Latina representation is low now, as their numbers increase, they are changing our conceptions of what a president, chancellor, provost, vice president or vice provost might look like. The participants serve a valuable role, as examples of effective leaders who happen to be minority administrators. This study also explored the effect of the many challenges they experienced and the tools they used to persist. Bias, sexism and racism took a toll on Latinas who were subjected to these challenges, yet they persisted and continued to move up the ranks. This study documented their challenges but most importantly, it documented the successes of these Latinas.

Limitations

The limitations of this study must be acknowledged and added as a proviso when considering the findings and the discussions. It is difficult to generalize these findings to

the entire population of Latina administrators due to the small sample size; however, the design of the study was necessary to keep costs and time from becoming prohibitive. In order to travel to campuses for a visit and to interview participants in their own environments, it was necessary to keep the sample size from becoming too large. Time constraints kept some interviews to one hour in duration while others lasted days. One interview was canceled due to illness of a president; also, two presidents did not accept invitations to participate in this study. Therefore, only three presidents were interviewed as part of this study. This led to a limitation. The fact that participants self-selected may mean that Latinas who agreed to participate are Latinas who are engaged in the success of Latinas or are engaged in the topic at hand. Latinas who made time to participate in this study may be more engaged in their ethnicity than those who chose not to participate. This might have the effect of skewing the results because the responses of participants not engaged in issues related to Latinas may have not been provided. Another limitation of this study was my engagement with and deep respect for the participants. As a Latina, I had to guard against a halo effect as I wrote about the participants because of the high regard and admiration that I felt for them, particularly after the campus visits and interviews.

In spite of the limitations, the study is rich with depth, detail and candid stories about the experiences and trajectory for Latinas in higher education. Participants were candid and sincere in their desire to provide stories regarding their experiences and the lessons they had learned in hopes of helping others in the pipeline. One major challenge

for me was to provide the richness of their stories, to provide stories useful to others and to honor the time they spent sharing their information with me.

Organization of Study

This dissertation is organized into five chapters. Chapter 1 provides an overview of the study and introduces the problem, research questions, theoretical frameworks, and significance of study to higher education. It also delineates the assumptions used to develop the study and to identify the participants. It provides assumptions used and finally, it describes the structure of the study and the limitations.

Chapter 2 provides a review of the relevant literature and an overview of the available research. It includes an overview of the changing status of Latinas in higher education and a profile of Latina presidents and top-level administrators. It details the theoretical frameworks used and ends by summarizing institutional exclusionary factors and culpability. This chapter includes research regarding elements that affect the Latina experience, including social filtration, the adobe ceiling, and academic capitalism. Topics of research related to Latinas' individual experience in higher education also included are dual culturalism, educational resiliency, and critical race theory. Finally, this chapter summarizes previous studies on presidencies and on Latino(a) administrators of four-year institutions.

Chapter 3 delineates the research design and the thought process behind this qualitative study. It includes a description of the two pilot studies that provided the background for the final design. It also includes descriptions of the methodology,

participant selection, data collection, and analysis. In addition, it shows the protocols

developed to ensure validity, and finally, it provides a Statement of Positionality.

Chapter 4 provides a discussion of the findings. First, it shows the timeline of

Latina presidential appointments to four-year institutions and an overview of the

theoretical framework used.   It describes the goals of the chapter then the findings,

which are divided into three parts. The first section describes Latina top-level

administrators' unique background and experience, and explores what Latinas bring to

the institution. In particular it discusses how culture, family, and sense of self are

interconnected. It shows how Latina leadership style is unique and influenced by their

Latino roots. It also describes how Latinas' experience within the institution is a journey,

requiring resiliency, *corazón y coraje* (heart/passion and anger/frustration). It requires

that they lead from the heart and with passion and sometimes with anger or frustration

about current and past injustices. The second findings section is focused on providing an

institutional analysis of the embedded structures that affect Latina' trajectories. It

includes a section which begins with the question Cecilia Burciaga's mother asked her as

a young woman, "*Que no están en la gracia de Dios?"* (Aren't they in God's grace?) In

other words, isn't everyone entitled to just treatment? This section explores the bias that

remains in higher education and its effect on the trajectories of Latinas. It explores

Latinas leadership style and provides vivid stories of the participants' experiences and

lessons as they moved up the ranks within higher education.

The final section of Chapter 4 describes Latina leaders' insights and success

strategies and mechanisms for change. Participants provide their assessment of the status

of higher education for Latinas and their suggestions to Latinas moving up the ranks. They describe the benefits they received from being mentored or championed and from participating in various professional leadership programs. They also discuss the need to develop skilled and credentialed Latinas who will be ready to move up the ladder, the need to fill the pipeline.

Finally in chapter five, the conclusions chapter, the first section titled *Latinas Then and Now: penetrating the adobe ceiling* provides implications for practice, and implications for further research. This chapter synthesizes the lessons learned and shared by Latinas. It also provides recommendations and a model for increasing the success and representation of Latinas in the top ranks of higher education administration. The dissertation ends with a conclusion about breaking down the adobe ceiling.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This literature review provided the background information used to develop this study. It begins with an overview of the changing status of Latinas, including a historical context and a general profile of presidents of four-year institutions. This is followed by review of specific and relevant studies to help provide a synopsis of the Latino experience in higher education. Included are studies and theories that inform an understanding of the conditions, challenges, and elements of higher education, such as critical race theory, dual culturalism, women's leadership, institutional components, and leadership theory. This section also includes studies that find institutional culpability and the complicit behavior of institutions of higher education in the problematization and deficit modeling of Latinas.   Relevant critical theories, which provide an understanding of Latinas' experience in higher education, including Critical Race, LatCrit, and Latina Feminist theories, are reviewed.   A discussion of the institutional and personal elements that affect Latinas' trajectory is included along with a discussion of negative factors such as institutionalized bias.   Also, critical theories were used as tools to help identify tenets of bias, racism, sexism, and classism in higher education that continue to have an effect on Latinas. A discussion about the unique facets of Latinas' development, both as individuals and as administrators, follows.

Studies have shown that Latinas' dually cultured lives provide them with extra skills, strength, and an ability to adapt to changing situations and challenges. Latinas often straddle two cultures at once; they practice their Latino culture at home and perhaps with family and friends and the majority culture in school and almost everywhere else. Latinas often develop a more inclusive perspective and an ability to view an issue from more than one perspective (Heilemann, 2005). Yet, their ability to see how actions, policies, and procedures might affect different constituencies of higher education is not readily acknowledged. A search for elements that might affect Latina's trajectory focused on social factors that affected Latinas' career prospects toward the top ranks, including the presidency. For example, does society's propensity for problematization of ethnic minorities affect Latinas who aspire to the presidency? What effect does stratified education, use of deficit models and the pressure to take on Anglo-normed models of behavior have on Latinas at different times during their development?

The Changing Status of Latinas in Higher Education

Even in recent years, increases in both the number and proportion of ethnic minority presidents have been minimal. Data collected by the American Council on Education (ACE), showed only incremental gains in minority representation at the college president level (King & Gomez, 2008). The share of minority presidents in 1986 was 8.1%, and it increased to 13.5% by 2006. A mere five percentage points in 20 years! However, the 2006 share of minority presidents drops to 9% if Historically Black Institutions, Hispanic Serving Institutions, and Tribal Colleges are excluded. The

percentage of Black presidents has increased less than 1% in the last 20 years (King &

Gomez, 2008, pg iii).   For Latinos, the data showed slight incremental changes over the

past 20 years. In 1986, they were 2.2% of the total number of presidents, which

increased to 2.9% in 1995, then to 3.7% in 2001, and 4.5% in 2006. This translates into

an increase of 2.5 percentage points over 20 years, an insignificant change. The greatest

increase in the number of Latino presidents resulted from a steady appointment of

Latinos and Latinas as presidents and superintendents at community colleges, particularly

in the Southwest (Haro, 2003).   Table 1 through Table 4 show the statistical breakdown

by ethnicity and gender of presidents at two-year and four-year institutions:

Table 1: Distribution of Presidents by Race/Ethnicity

Race/Ethnicity	1986	1995	2001	2006
White	91.9%	89.3%	87.2%	86.4%
Black	5.0%	5.9%	6.3%	5.9%
Asian American	0.4%	0.8%	1.2%	0.9%
Hispanic	2.2%	2.9%	3.7%	4.5%
American Indian	0.5%	0.8%	1.1%	0.7%
Other	n/a	n/a	0.5%	1.5%
Total minority	8.1%	10.7%	12.8%	13.5%

(ACE) The American College President: 2007 Edition

Table 2: Percentage of Presidencies Held by Women, by Sector

Sector	1986	1998	2001	2006
Doctoral	3.8%	13.2%	13.3%	13.8%
Master's	10.0%	18.7%	20.3%	21.5%
Baccalaureate	16.1%	20.4%	18.7%	23.2%
Community Colleges	7.9%	22.4%	26.8%	28.8%
Specialized	6.6%	14.8%	14.8%	16.6%
Total	9.5%	19.3%	21.1%	23.0%

(ACE) The American College President: 2007 Edition

For women the story is slightly better, in 1986 they represented only 3.8% of the total presidents in doctoral-granting institutions in the United States, 20 years later that number climbed to 13.8 % which include one Latina. In masters-granting institutions, women held 10% of the presidencies in 1986, which more than doubled to 21.5% in 2006. Baccalaureate schools started with 16.1% and increased roughly 7 percentage points to 23.2 % in 2006.   The greatest increase in the representation of women presidents was in the community colleges where they increased from 7.9% to 28.8%.

Table 3: College and University Presidents by Gender

Institution Type	Women	Men	Total
2 year	434	988	1,422
4 year	499	1,975	2,474
Total	933		3,896

Source: Franklyn Jenifer (2005) cited Harvey, William B., and Eugene L. Anderson (2005)

Table 4 shows that White men overshadow the number of Latinos and African Americans in both the two-year and four-year institutions. Also, African Americans have a higher number of presidents than Latinos, which may be due to their representation as presidents of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). As might be expected, White males dominate the ranks of four-year institution presidencies, and Latinos have not faired much better than Latinas. Also, minority presidents (17.3 % of presidents) are much more likely to be found at public than at private institutions (9.3% of presidents).   Before 2003, there were exceptionally few Latinos who had served as presidents at doctoral-granting research institutions: Tomás Rivera at University of California-Riverside (who died in office), Manuel Pacheco at the University of Arizona (who served six years until he resigned to serve as Chancellor of the University of Missouri System), and Chris F. Garcia at the University of New Mexico (who served only as interim and was not appointed to the presidency [Haro, 2003]).

Table 4: College and University Presidents by Race/Ethnicity and Institutional Type

Institution Type	African American	Latinos	Whites	Total
2 year	101	84	1,207	1,392
	39.1%	44.4%	35.9%	36.5%
4 year	157	105	2,156	2,474
	60.9%	55.6%	64.1%	63.5%
Total	258	189	3,363	3,896

Source: Franklyn Jenifer (2005) cited Harvey, William B., and Eugene L. Anderson (2005)

In a recent study, Alfredo de los Santos, Jr. and Irene Vega used the data in the 2003 Higher Education Directory to compile a list of Latinos in higher education administration. Table 5 shows the representation of Latinos in the ranks of four-year institutions, with 27 Latinos serving as presidents of four-year institutions; six at doctoral-granting institutions and the majority (15) at master's institutions. Although twice as many Latino presidents (55) served in associate degree-granting institutions, this is only a fraction of the total number of presidents (approximately 1.6% of 3,363).

Table 5: Latino Presidents of Four-Year Higher Education Institutions

	Baccalaureate	Masters	Doctoral	Total
Total	6	15	6	27
Male	5	11	5	21
Female	1	4	1	6

Estimates Derived from the 2003 Higher Education Directory Alfredo de los Santos, Jr.

Increases in the number of Latinas at the junior administrative level (e.g., directors and coordinators) have occurred, but their numbers at the senior level of administration have not increased proportionately. Studies by Gorena, Opp, and Ginorio (1996) showed that there was still a huge gap in the advancement of Latinas to top-level administration, and especially at four-year institutions. A survey of college presidents released December 9, 2002, by ACE showed that the rate of increase in the number of women and minorities serving as college presidents slowed during 2000-2002. Since 1986, the percentage of women college presidents more than doubled from 9.5% to 21.1%. During this same time, the percentage of minority presidents, including Latinos,

African Americans, American Indians and Asian Americans increased from 8.1% to 12.8%.

Although many people believe that the educational system is fair, objective, color-blind, meritocratic, race-neutral, and provides equal opportunity, the representation of Latinas and other minorities clearly suggests otherwise. The experiences of students, faculty, and staff of color in higher education include layers of oppression presenting transformative challenges (Solorzano, & Delgado Bernal, 2001). Still others believe the issue has more to do with a broken pipeline that does not produce the number of minorities who persist and work their way up to top administrative positions. There is no doubt that the pipeline has major leaks when it comes to minorities, particularly Latinos, but there is also no doubt that much of the leakage is due to institutional bias and discrimination against minorities as well as White privilege and Anglo-normed conceptions of leadership and merit.

Changing deeply imbedded practices requires documentation of experiences and testimonies, such as the narrative inquiry that this study provides. Ideally, these narratives will provide the evidence needed to compel development and implementation of mechanisms for facilitating the evolution of higher education to a system that is responsive to issues of social justice.

Although there are many reasons why Latina representation in the higher ranks has not increased, institutional bias continues to be prevalent in the educational system at all levels of instruction and is complicit in their lack of representation. Inequity and stratification lead to a leaky pipeline that creates a funnel effect in the retention of Latinas

who eventually persist in the higher education system. Latinos continue to be products of chronically under-funded primary and secondary schools that do not provide an enriched, college preparatory curriculum (Hurtado, 1997). The number of Latinas in the educational system starting in K-12 and continuing into higher education diminishes every year until the number is extremely smaller than it began (Gandara, 1982), proportionately much smaller than for Whites. High school completion rates for the year ending in 2004 showed the completion rate of Latinos (64.4%) continues to trail behind those of African Americans (77.8%) and Whites (87.6%) (Edmonds & McDonough 2006). The number of Latinas who persist into higher education through masters and doctoral programs and into the ranks of faculty translates into the dismal representation of Latinas in influential administrative roles.   This low representation calls for action to increase the proportion of Latinas who are educated, mentored, championed, and prepared to serve and who ultimately advance to leadership positions of influence throughout the educational system, from grade school through higher education.

Profile of Latina Presidents and Top-Level Administrators

This section provides an overview of Latinas' status in higher education. It begins with a profile of Latinas followed by relevant studies and theories, including leadership theories and their evolution, practice, and relevance to Latina leadership.   It also explores the positive and negative factors affecting Latina top-level administrators, including the historical context for Latinas in higher education. Also explored are the positive and negative institutional elements that have affected their success, use of deficit

models, and elements such as institutional and personal factors that affect Latina

leadership opportunities and trajectory.

The profile of college and university presidents has not changed significantly

during the past 50 years, and particularly during the past 20 years. In 2001, a typical

president was a White male, age 57, married, with a doctoral degree who had been in

office for 6.6 years and had served previously as a senior campus executive (Jenifer,

2005). In 2008, the profile still includes a White male, although slightly older, in his 60s

(King & Gomez 2008). Women and minority presidents have not made much progress.

Women hold 40% of all faculty and senior staff positions but only 21.1% of the

presidencies, and most of these were at two-year institutions.

In 2001, 6.3 percent of all presidents were African American, representing more

than half of all minority presidents. Another 3.7 % were Hispanic, 1.2 % were Asian

American, and 1.1 % were Native American. Minority presidents were more likely to be

women than White presidents.   More than one-third of Hispanic presidents (35.2 %) and

one-quarter of African American presidents (24.2 %) were women compared with 21 %

of White presidents who were women.   Minority presidents were more likely to lead

larger institutions (over 5,000 students), almost half of African-American presidents led

such colleges and universities. More than half of all Hispanic presidents led institutions

with headcount enrollments greater than 5,000 compared with less than 30% of White

presidents (ACE, 2002).

The background and credentials of college and university presidents have changed

somewhat over the years, but one thing that has not changed is the fact that the majority

of presidents in the most prestigious institutions are White males (Jenifer, 2005). Their preparation also stands out; such presidents tend to come from the top-tier schools, earn science degrees, are tenure-track right after school, and are very involved in the community (Haro, 1990). Almost 56% of higher education presidents possess a Ph.D., followed by 20.8 % who possess an Ed.D. Some of the top graduate fields of presidents are Education or Higher Education (55.6%), Humanities or Fine Arts (13.5%), Law (4.5%) and Business (3.8%). Significantly, most Latina presidents are in 2-year colleges; half are in Hispanic Serving Institutions.

The six Latina presidents currently serving in four-year institutions have similar characteristics to those of their White male counterparts, but they are also different in many respects. Two earned doctorates in Educational Administration, one has a Ph.D. in Physics from the California Institute of Technology and graduated Cum Laude from Stanford University with a Bachelors degree in English. Two earned their doctorates at the University of Texas, Austin. These Latina presidents appear to be from more humble beginnings than the typical White male in a president's position. Most have had to overcome adversity to earn their higher education degrees, although one seems to be from an affluent and accomplished family. Half are from multicultural backgrounds with either an Anglo parent or spouse. Five of the six Latina presidents have devoted much of their career to increasing access to higher education for ethnic minorities and low SES students; one does not seem to have such a history. One president is currently serving a second appointment as president of a research institution.

Gorena's (1996) national survey identified factors that hindered and positively influenced advancement of Latinas. Latinas in her study identified factors for success including self-efficacy, resilience, social and cultural capital, skills in presenting self, institutional personality, and adopting the institutional culture. Additionally, adopting the majority culture did not necessarily mean assimilating, but it did mean understanding the institutional culture and politics necessary to survive and thrive in the institution (Padilla, 2006). Studies on efficacy and emotional capital help to explain why Latinas continue to make strides amidst a gendered, patriarchal institution laced with bias (Bandura, 1994). Critical ethnographers led the way to validating the culture of the home, recognizing the cultural resources that exist and are maintained at home, and providing validation of the importance of language, culture, and tradition.

The use of the deficit models is an insidious and dangerous practice. It presupposes that Latinos and other ethnic minorities are ill prepared, and unable to perform or compete with majority students, a conclusion which the empirical data do not support. Patricia Gandara (1995) was a pioneer in debunking the cultural deficit model; she has written extensively about factors that lead to Latino success in education, and she also documents the challenges and inequities they must overcome. Gandara's 1982, supported earlier research that like their Anglo counterparts, encouragement from mothers provided the impetus for the success of 17 low-income, high-achieving Chicanas who earned M.D., J.D. and Ph.D. degrees. Gandara also found that parents' cultivation of a strong work ethic and spirit of independence, coupled with emotional support, were critical variables to Latino achievement. Other success factors identified by Gandara's

research include, Latino students' attendance in integrated schools and proficiency in negotiating the Anglo culture. Proficiency in negotiating the Anglo culture was also identified as a key characteristic for Latina presidents by Gorena's 1996 study.

Cultural capital is the general cultural background, knowledge, disposition and skills passed on from one generation to another (Bourdieu, 1977). DiMaggio (1982) found that achievement could be traced to differences in cultural capital because schools reward dominant culture and devalue that of the lower classes. The cultural difference models suggest that minorities *are not culturally deprived* but simply participate in a *different set of experiences* that are worthy in themselves, even though they may not meet the expectations of the schools (Gandara 1995; Carter & Segura, 1979; Buenning & Ttollesfson, 1987).

Latino family factors that influenced positive advancement included parental economic status. Excessive household duties and family responsibilities were believed to have hindered children. Support from family, friends, colleagues/peers, and spouses or significant others, non-Latino administrators, non-Latino male or female mentors were identified as positive influences (Gorena, 1996). Barriers impacting Latinas' opportunities and representation in higher education include educational access, stratified education, and Anglo-normed social and cultural capital including skills to persist such as goal setting, networking, knowledge of mainstream systems, and knowledge of the advancement process.

Relevant Studies

Although most of the research focused on the presidency spent little or no time exploring the elements of Latino or minority presidencies or top-level administration, research on the facets of top administration provided valuable insights for developing strategic plans to increase diversity at the top ranks. The research on Latina university presidents is almost non-existent. A probable reason is that until recently, Latina presidents did not exist. The research on Latino male presidents and administrators is also highly limited. Still, available research, including a comprehensive overview of various aspects of the higher education presidency, provided an important baseline for this study.

The first major study was a dissertation by Antonio Esquibel (1992) in 1976 titled *The Chicano Administrator in Colleges and Universities of the Southwest* followed by the 1991 *Fifteen Year Replication Study*. His studies were both lauded for their comprehensive and original work. Both studies investigated Chicano administrators' professional training and social origins and the effect of their education, geographic mobility, and fathers' occupation on them. The study focused on Chicano administrators in colleges and universities in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. Although the number of administrators increased by 1,325 during the 15 years between the two studies, this was only a fraction of the increase in the population.

Esquibel's factor analysis concluded that Chicano administrators perceived key situational factors that influenced their appointment, including:

- Training programs, workshops, incentive programs, lawsuits and networking

- Contacts and political involvement of Chicano administrator

- Affirmative action plans and requirements

- Emphasis the administrator places on maintaining Chicano roots

- Chicano/ethnic composition of the institution and the community in which it was located

- Contacts in the Chicano community who exerted pressure for increased representation of Chicanos

- Advocates on governing boards, screening committees, and search firms

Esquibel (1992) found that educational training was the most important factor influencing Chicano appointment to administrative positions in higher education. This finding was supported by the findings of other studies as well as by the reports of the participants in my study. Clearly, in order to increase representation at the top ranks, we must increase the number of Ph.D.s that Latinos earn. The type of degree and the institution where it was earned also influence the type of institution to which a person will be appointed, the more prestigious the degree or the institution, the higher the likelihood a person will be appointed at a more elite institution. Esquibel's studies are important not only because they broke new ground but also because they surveyed large samples. In 1976, the sample size was 525 or 83% of administers providing usable data. In 1991, the sample was 945, a 73% response rate (of 1, 325 administrators identified). Both of these response rates are exceptionally high given that the average response rate for survey research is between 30-40%. Esquibel chronicled historical events that provided the impetus for change in representation. For example, *El Plan de Santa*

Barbara called for the institutionalization of Chicano programs on college campuses and

El Directorio Chicano lists campuses where Chicanos set up their own colleges. In 1974,

the National Directory of Chicano Faculty and Research, which listed 1,400 Chicano

faulty, researchers and administrators in higher education throughout the U.S., was

published.   Also in 1974, the Office of Chicano Affairs at Stanford University compiled

a list of 600 Spanish-surnamed doctorates in the U.S., including Chicano administrators

who had earned doctorates.

More recently, Arthur Padilla (2005) provided an in-depth analysis of six different

college presidents in *Portraits in Leadership: Six Extraordinary University Presidents*.

He delineated the unique characteristics of universities and the leadership experiences of

six presidents.   Padilla's description and analysis identified a new way of looking at

leadership.   He believed personal elements intersected with the institution to define their

individual styles of leadership and the most important element of leadership was

followership, because power was transferred from the followers to leaders. Padilla

believes power was not about domination or control but about persuasion and helping the

organization expose problems and work toward their resolution.

Padilla identified a key list of elements to be considered such as the early lives of

future leaders, the stimuli to which they were exposed while growing up, as well as

formal education, significant mentors, and the qualities of the mature leaders, particularly

interpersonal relations and communication (Padilla, 2005). He believed the importance

of mentors throughout childhood and during the period of formal education, including

social and professional networking, was closely linked to leadership development as are

travel during young adulthood and exposure to different cultures. This travel and

exposure helps provide a global, all-encompassing view of life.   Padilla's study is

relevant because it identified elements that led to Latino success in higher education.

For Latinas, the social networking opportunities (social capital) and cultural

capital may be different than those of the majority culture and may affect the perception

of those in the institution. These differences may result in disadvantaging Latinas within

the system.   Also, vestiges of bias toward a White-male-model may clash with the Latina

persona and must be acknowledged when considering power, leadership, and

followership relationships. However, Padilla's study agreed with scholars such as Jenifer

(2005) and Gandara (1995) who believe mentoring, travel, and/or exposure to childhood

role models helped ethnic minorities believe in education and in themselves.

In addition, Keith H. Brodie and Leslie Banner (2005) provided an overview of

the research institution with the book, *The Research University Presidency in the Late

Twentieth Century: A Life Cycle/Case History Approach.* They presented a detailed case

history of some of the presidents at the top universities with insights regarding the culture

of governance and stresses of the presidency.   They also provided another useful tool for

examining the presidency; they created a timeline for the university presidency by

identifying five critical phases. These phases are reminiscent of the filtration process

described by Cohen and March (1974) in that they describe various phases and the

experiences of each one. In the Cohen and March model, the phases are clearly a part of

the social filtration process. Whereas the Brodie and Banner model is more of a lifecycle

approach including: 1) Prelude or courtship, 2) Appointment and preparation, 3)

Honeymoon period, 4) Plateau or settled period of an administration, and 5) Exit or mental to physical departure phase.

Brodie and Leslie (2005) describe what presidents and other administrators must go through, detailing specific growing phases. Their phases parallel social selection or filtration processes where the individual must perform certain feats with excellence before he/she can move to the next level. For Latinas, one might add an additional phase or dimension to this list; Latinas must attain cultural, social and institutional capital. They must acquire knowledge about expected behavior and gain networks, knowledge and an understanding of institutional norms.

Brodie and Leslie also delineated tasks and typical areas of conflict for each phase. They focused their study on AAU Research I presidents appointed in the 1980s and found only one woman in this pool. They were surprised because in the 1970s four women were appointed. They discovered that appointments of women seemed to be clustered in the Western and Midwestern states. Some change has occurred; in the 1990s there were seven women appointed, then during the period between 2000-2004, thirteen more women were appointed. Their study, published in 2005, discussed the low representation of women but did not address ethnic diversity. This is another indicator of the importance of my study of Latina presidents, namely because this issue has not been addressed in the discussion or in the mindset of many researchers in the areas of leadership and presidencies of higher education.

In *Views From the Presidency, Leadership in Higher Education,* Francis Lawrence (2006) documented candid discussions about the intricacies of the higher

education presidency with distinguished leaders of colleges and universities, including those who went on to lead top education policy organizations at the national level. With regard to social reproduction within the institution, Lawrence (2006) believed the least controllable yet possibly the most influential aspect of leadership was the leader's family background. The origin of the family and their social situation were most influential in that study. Patterns that emerged included self-confidence and the ability to inspire collaboration; many, including high school athletes, were singled out early as leaders. In their academic careers, they progressed through the ranks with ease and were given increasing levels of responsibility, developing higher levels of skills as they advanced. This is perfect example of Cohen and March's social filtration theory.

Lawrence agreed with other scholars such as Cohen and March (1974, 1986) and Robert Birnbaum (1989), who believed that "command and control" leadership was not the key to the university presidency. However, teamwork was identified as an absolute necessity. Lawrence (2006) described the need to diversify higher education to increase respect throughout the academic community for human dignity. He believed that commitment to diversity was a process that required iron determination and tireless efforts in order to advance to an ideal that seemed to continually recede into the distance. He described a societal nightmare forewarned by higher education policy analysts who describe the effects of decreasing access: a nation split in two, with an unbridgeable chasm between the top and the bottom levels of wealth and education. This nightmare is one that affects ethnic minorities, and Latinas in particular. Changes in higher education policy that have the effect of decreasing access undoubtedly will continue to have an

adverse effect in terms of Latinas' trajectory toward the presidency. Such circumstances and situations support continuing the study of Latinas and their experiences in higher education as students, faculty, and administrators, including the presidency of four-year institutions.

Minerva Gorena's (1996) dissertation study consisted of a national survey investigating the perceptions of Latina administrators in higher education. It specifically focused on finding factors that positively influenced or hindered the advancements of Latinas to leadership positions. She studied senior administrators in president, chancellor provost, and vice president or dean positions. Factors found to influence advancement positively included education and training, goal setting, networking, knowledge of mainstream system, and knowledge of the advancement process. Support systems of family, friends, children, mentors, and affirmative action as well as both personal and family socioeconomic status helped them advance, as well. Adherence to Latino culture and traditions was found to be a hindrance to advancement when the two cultures (Latino and Anglo) conflicted. For example, the expectation of a commitment to family above all resulted in an overload from the burdens of family responsibilities. Some respondents in this study said that discrimination was a hindrance, and others said it did not apply to them (Gorena, 1996). In a study of mid-level administrators Acevedo (1979) found five factors [negatively] affect their socialization:

(1) limited prior socialization to institutional norms and values of the institution;

(2) limited roles at the institution in many instances prescribed around ethnic concerns;

(3) demands of ethnic constituencies to advocate their concerns within

institutional purview;

(4) scarcity of reference group members to provide direction regarding

institutional requirements; and

(5) lack of institutional mentors/sponsors to advocate or provide a support

system (de los Santos, Jr. & Vega, 2008).

These important studies provided a basic understanding of the higher education

presidency and showed that the study of Latina presidents is important in order to address

a major gap in the research. Previous studies have not addressed Latina presidents of

four-year institutions because they did not exist until recently. However, now that they

exist and have been serving in various capacities in higher education institutions and in

many leadership positions both on a local and national level, their experience may help

others in the pipeline.

It is difficult to document the growth of Latinas in higher education because

tracking their representation depends on their self-identification and self-selection into

studies and other tracking devices. One common way to find Latinos is to use Spanish

surnames as the identifier, but not all Latinos have a Spanish surname. Another way is

through self-identification or self-selection for a particular study; this, of course, depends

on them knowing about such a study and on them wanting to participate in the study and

be counted as a Latina(o). There is no national database compiling information for those

identifying as Latina(o) administrators. The ACE may have the best information

available regarding the demographics of presidents based on their national *Presidents*

Survey.   However, they get only a 70 % response rate; thus, fully 30% are not included

in their data set. Therefore, one recent study by Alfredo de los Santos, Jr. and Irene Vega

(2008) took on the painstakingly slow and tedious task of reading through the Directory

of Higher Education to compile a list of Latino top-level administrators using Spanish

surnames to identify them. They wanted to develop a baseline of Latino(a) presidents

and chancellors of institutions of higher education in the U.S. between 2001 and 2006.

They identified the number, gender, location by state, and institution type of the

Latinos(as) serving during this time period. They also identified the Hispanic Serving

Institutions with Latino CEOs. The ten states with the most Latino(a) CEOs in 2001

were California, Texas, New Mexico, Florida, New York, Arizona, Colorado, Missouri,

Louisiana, and Michigan (in rank order, starting with the largest representation). Five

years later, in 2006, the largest representations were in California, Texas, New Mexico,

Florida, Arizona, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Colorado (also in

rank order).

In 2001, the total number of Latino CEOs in these states was 85: 64 males and 21

females. The total number in the entire U.S. was 90: 68 males and 22 females. In 2006,

the total number in the 10 states with the highest representation was 98 (60 males and 38

females). The total number in the U.S. was 112 (73 males and 39 females). These

numbers were based on the aggregated total number of CEOs in all types of institutions:

two-year, four-year, liberal arts, masters-level, research, etc. De los Santos, Jr. and Vega

(2008) also identified the number of institutions with a Latino(a) CEO and with an HSI

designation. There were 212 HACU member institutions during the study's timeframe;

however, the 32 located in Puerto Rico were removed from the list because this was a study of the representation in the continental U.S. Of the 180 HACU-member institutions, only 56 or 31% had Latino(a) CEO's. Their study provided a wealth of data, which I used to develop my study. The tedious work these researchers undertook in mining the Directory of Higher Education to provide a more accurate representation of the status of Latinas(os) in higher education provided a baseline of numbers that told a more complete story than any study since those by Antonio Esquibel in 1977 and 1991 or the Chicano Faculty and Research Directory of 1971-1972. The de los Santos, Jr. and Vega study is also valuable because it provides a model for future efforts to identify and build accessible directories of Latino talent on a national level.

Theoretical Framework

My study sought to identify elements that affected Latinas' trajectory toward the top ranks. Two overarching theoretical frameworks used to guide this study were academic capitalism and social selection. In particular, it considered how social selection and various ideologies were operationalized through policies and protocols and were either beneficial or detrimental to Latinas' advancement. Academic capitalism is a dominant ideology that permeates higher education as a force to be reckoned with, and stands to become a stronger force in the future as economic necessity changes the way higher education function. Therefore, it was important to document its effect on Latinas' advancement. Does academic capitalism intensify the

effects of bias, racism, and social reproduction to affect the advancement of Latinas in higher education administration?

A number of relevant theories were used to analyze Latinas' experience and helped explore different challenges they are subjected to within higher education, including social selection, social reproduction, critical race theory, dual culturalism, and educational and personal resiliency theories. This study also explored the existence and effect of the "adobe ceiling", and the possibility that the ever-changing economy and funding streams exacerbate the effects of this ceiling.

Social Selection/Filters

This study was primarily guided by theories of social selection/filtration. Perhaps the most relevant topic in the discussion of low representation of Latinas in top-level administration is how the selection and filtration processes affect them. Seminal research work on the college presidency by Cohen and March (1974) is often cited because it provides a comprehensive overview of the presidency and most importantly, the path to the presidency. Their studies provided detailed empirical accounting of the university presidency. They described higher education institutions and the presidency as slow to change, more likely to be status quo driven. Although their research is well regarded and continues to be used 35 years later, it has one shortcoming: it did not study bias in the institution.

Subsequent studies agreed with Cohen and March' findings but began exploring elements related to race and racism and how these might affect the trajectory of Latinos

(Esquibel 1992; Haro, 1990). Many scholars including Haro and Esquibel believe the selection and advancement processes have elements that result in the selection and advancement of persons who are likely to be from the social backgrounds, and who are acceptable to the main internal and external groups connected to the college or university. All along the way, there are filtration points that strain and constrain who persists through the process. It is a social selection process that affects certain populations differently. This filtration results in a proliferation of characteristics that embody the educational, racial, gender, class, and local attributes recognized as appropriate (Cohen & March 1974), namely, the characteristics of the dominant group.

A social selection process permeates and counteracts efforts to increase minority representation in the higher education ranks and in the administrative ranks of four-year institutions. At each promotion or advancement point, people with the *appropriate* backgrounds have a higher probability of advancing. This gradual filtering process is a strong determinant of who persists and who excels in the institution. The pool of department chairs differs slightly from the pool of senior faculty, which differs from the pool of deans, which differs from the pool of department chairs and faculty leaders. At each stage, many are filtered out and left ineligible for the next stage. Of the total assistant professors who begin careers in higher education, some do not get tenure, some leave education, most do not become department chairs, most do not become deans and most provosts do not become presidents. According to Cohen and March (1974), there are three ways that people are filtered out of the process:

1. *Promotion Filters*: A series of promotions needed to advance. Filters screen out some candidates to produce a pool of plausible candidates with required characteristics.

2. *Socialization Filters:* The long socialization process needed to persist in the system produces candidates with a deep commitment to academe who conform to fit within a range of normatively accepted behavior. They serve as visible examples of the successful and valued norms and ideology, and help their adaptation in the institution.

3. *Ambiguities of Success Filters:* Dynamic environments of academic institutions create ambiguous conditions, expectations, and interpretations of success, resulting dependence on models, and ideologies of leadership appropriate for sporadic, noisy information generated within their careers.

The identification of filters by Cohen and March (1974) is essential to our discussion of the Latina experience. Latinas must advance through this filtration process. They must be adept at moving past the promotion filters, the socialization filters, and finally through the ambiguities of success. At each step, bias for the preferred status quo attributes and socialization may work against them. The ambiguity is especially difficult for Latinas because the definitions of success may be changed and used arbitrarily against them. At each level of advancement, those with appropriate backgrounds have a slightly higher probability of moving closer to a presidency (Cohen & March, 1974). This results in social reproduction because the selection of presidents is based on their social backgrounds being acceptable to the main internal and external constituencies of the institution. Presidents embody the educational, racial, ethnic, gender, class and local attributes recognized as appropriate (Cohen & March, 1974). These characteristics vary

only within limited ranges and only as a function of the main groups with which they deal. Presidents are most likely to be academics who worked their way up the ranks and who have been socialized into the values of academe. They tend to be strongly committed to conventional academic values and tend to understand the major normative constraints on their behaviors. Many administrators do not want to make any major changes because their past successes gave them a sense of competence and enthusiasm for what was viewed as success as they moved up the ranks and established their reputations. This results in a substantial normative homogeneity that can only be changed by sacrificing the structure of recruitment, selection, and socialization that is itself ingrained in the traditions and values of academia (Cohen & March, 1974). Given these processes, it is remarkable that any minorities, particularly Latinas, make it to the presidency.

Robert Birnbaum has written extensively about the American college president. He examined 32 college presidents to gain an understanding of the success and failures of the higher education presidency. This intensive five-year examination provided a foreground for our current understanding of college presidencies. According to Birnbaum, it is not conclusive whether institutional effectiveness is related to the effectiveness of the senior administrators. He believed that the actions of leaders had important consequences, but some important measures of institutional functioning remained unchanged even when the presidents were replaced (Birnbaum, 1989). This implies that the institutional fates may not be closely related to who the presidents are or what they do.

Academic Capitalism

An important framework used to examine Latinas' experience in higher education was academic capitalism. Academic capitalism has been prevalent in higher education for at least 30 years, as institutions of higher education try to recover and respond to dwindling state budgets. Colleges and universities respond to financial challenges by becoming more entrepreneurial and looking for alternative ways to fund and operate their programs and activities so that their institutions remain solvent. Over the past 25 years, there have been four recessions. During three of these four downturns, funding for higher education was negatively affected, and in turn, access to higher education was diminished due to decreased priority and funding for financial aid (Kelley, 2006). In this environment, need-based aid is de-emphasized as merit-aid is used to lure revenue-generating out-of-state-students who are willing to pay a tuition premium due to their out-of-state status. As funds have diminished, higher education has become increasingly more burdened with revenue generation; one way to increase revenue is to seek outside funding sources, which creates an environment fraught with competition and status seeking in order to appease corporate and government agencies that are potential sources of external funding. Revenue generation becomes highly prioritized, and institutions become market driven or at least market influenced as they favor research fields that are likely to be the highest revenue generators. This is an environment with which Latina administrators have to contend, along with other top administrators who would like to increase access and student success but must contend with the effects of economic issues and funding shortfalls.

Relevant Theories

Adobe Ceiling

Women's low representation in leadership roles has been attributed to *the glass ceiling*, a metaphor used to convey the rigid impenetrable barrier women have experienced for many years as they worked to move to top ranks. Although there is evidence the barrier is becoming more penetrable, men continue to monopolize leadership roles in the United States and many other nations (Eagley & Carli, 2007). A similar metaphor, a*dobe ceiling* is often used to describe the barriers Latinas face as they move up the ranks to top levels of administration and leadership. It describes similar limits or barriers as those imposed on white women. However, for White women, the glass ceiling means they can see what is available at the top ranks, although the glass ceiling may preclude them from breaking through to the other side, to the top ranks. For Latinas, the adobe ceiling means they cannot see through to what is above the ceiling. It is a thick wall that does not shatter like glass. Metaphorically, it is more difficult to make it through to the other side, to the top ranks of leadership. According to Cecilia Burciaga, "With a glass ceiling, you are allowed to see the next level. At least you can see through it and practice or prepare for the promotion. But an adobe ceiling is dense, impenetrable, and it doesn't allow you to see to the next level."

Research for this study revealed language and protocols embedded in the system that proliferate institutional bias. One example is the number of leadership models that were developed with the majority culture and an affluent or privileged male model in mind, for example, *the Great Man Theory*. *The Great Man Theory* was based on a belief

that when the need arises, a *Great Man* will rise to the occasion. *He* will provide the necessary leadership to handle any situation or emergency. This trait theory is based on a gendered view of society that idealizes the male model as the perfect leader (Chemers, 1993). The mere existence of a Great Man theory, demonstrates the strength of the patriarchal mentality in higher education. This institutionalized vision is of a larger than life White male who will come to save the day at the first sign of trouble, perhaps even riding in on a white horse. This view, although antiquated, remains an invisible force that disadvantages women, Latinas, and other ethnic minorities. Latinas' resistance to exclusion and discrimination continues as they negotiate and articulate their issues in contested territory, including the adobe ceiling (Cuadraz, 2005).

Change Agent

To understand Latinas in senior leadership positions, it is important to consider their history, status, and future as members of two disadvantaged groups, as women and as ethnic minorities. Institutional factors affect everyone within the institution, this study is focused on how they affect Latinas' trajectory. How does Latina leadership differ from or coincide with the leadership of the White males who dominate the institution? How are Latinas' unique experiences and qualifications filtered through the institution? Does higher education value Latinas equitably or is there bias in the system?

Latinas' leadership and role models are those of minority leaders who were vested in change. Change agents are the often-charismatic leaders who led the Chicano, labor, feminist, and Black movements. These movements were pivotal to the strides that have

been made in education, occupations and employment, and status enhancement for ethnic

minorities, including Latinas, and seem to provide an actionable model for Latina leaders.

César Chávez and Martin Luther King, Jr. are two major leaders who have influenced

minority leadership. They are relevant leaders because they used a critical race theory

approach which acknowledges systemic racism then they developed strategic plans to

effect change. They took on the role of change agent, sometimes called transformational

leaders, as they work to facilitate the evolution of society, or specifically of higher

education. Transformational leaders' vision motivates followers, and followers meld

their own identity with that vision (Chemers, 1993). Leaders work to transform the

organization/institution, but followers believe they too are transformed. This leadership

style has been used effectively since the early 1900s to force systemic change. In

addition, using critical race theory ideology is an effective tool which combines action

research, strong coalitions, community support, consciousness-raising, strong

governmental networks, and long-term commitment to a cause to effect change (Garcia,

1989). As a leadership style, used to help facilitate the evolution of higher education,

change agent leadership suits minority leaders trying to transform the system.   It is

important to note that advocating for change can put the individual in a tension-filled

relationship and may result in negative consequences for the individual (Valverde, 2003).

Latinas must learn to navigate turbulent environments as they are forced to deal with the

difficulties of effecting change.

Dual Culturalism

This study examined Latinas' leadership to see whether Latinas differ from other groups in their leadership style and to uncover the strengths they bring to the institution. Latinas' leadership comes from the experiences of their lives. Their membership in possibly three disadvantaged groups (women, ethnic minorities, and perhaps low SES) provides rich insights. Each of these identities is part of their makeup and is likely to inform their ideology and leadership style.

Latinas' lifelong experience straddling two cultures impacts the way they perceive the world and their role within it. Does having to negotiate two worlds give them strength and teach them to be diverse thinkers? Since this study examined how Latinas status in two cultures affects their leadership in the institution, dual culturalism was used as one of the theoretical frameworks.

Educational Resiliency

Latina leaders who persist up the ranks of administration must come to their positions with strength, an unyielding sense of self, and a steadfast resiliency. Another relevant framework for this study is best described by the research of Carla O'Connor (1997) on resiliency, which showed that high school students who confronted bias felt compelled to persist in their academic environment. Latinas' experience with elements of racism, sexism and classism is central to this study. Of particular interest is: how do Latinas not only survive, but also thrive within the institutions' challenges and constraints? According to O'Connor (1997), her participants' knowledge of a struggle

served to contribute to their human agency. It contributed to their academic motivation, along with strong messages from their parents about the value of school. They learned to respond to their subjugation by focusing on themselves and on their future success. O'Connor's (1977) study was based on the responses of six African American adolescents who were acutely aware of how race and class constrained and affected them. They understood that poverty and ethnicity might be limiting to their mobility, but they chose to be optimistic and proactive about their futures. They expected to realize their middle-and upper-class ambitions. O'Connor found that the students in this study had three important commonalities: 1) strong evidence of their personal competence: 2) concrete experiences which conveyed that individuals could defy racial barriers; and 3) social interactions which communicated strategies to negotiate the financial limitations of their households in their pursuit of upward mobility.

Resiliency emerged as a common characteristic for participants in both of my pilot studies and the final dissertation study. Even though participants experienced bias and other challenges, Latina leaders in this study described how the positive feedback and reassurance they received from their families helped them develop a solid sense of self. For some, this was supported by messages received during their early school years where they learned that if they worked harder and better than others, they would get positive attention from parents and some teachers. Many spoke of the lone White teacher or colleague who mentored them or helped them navigate the educational system.

Knowledge and understanding of the collective struggle of ethnic minorities inspired Latinas to work harder, be the most prepared, and not be deterred by challenges

they faced. To survive, Latina leaders refused to internalize biases they experienced over time, instead they developed resiliency and strength as coping mechanisms. Struggles they faced made them stronger and more resolute about achieving their goals. They believed this served them well as they traversed through graduate school and into their professional careers. Participants in all three studies were asked about challenges within the institution. Many shared traumatic events and experiences that helped them understand their own strength. A number of them shared stories of their experiences as minorities in segregated schools and in schools where they were not allowed to speak Spanish or use the bathrooms designated *For White Only*. They believed their parents' message from an early age, that their future depended on success in school and that it was the key to their future. They were taught to be proud of who they were and of their heritage. They were also taught that their ancestry was beautiful, something to be proud of and something to gain strength from. This led to their strong sense of self and commitment to their ethnicity and culture described in the section on dual culturalism.

Latina leaders in this study experienced the challenges of their minority status firsthand and learned what it is like to be a minority in predominantly White environments. This knowledge informed their ability to lead with an insightful multicultural perspective, flexibility and strength which serves all people well within higher education.

Bias and Inequity

Studies documenting the toxicity and inequity that Latinas continue to endure based on their ethnicity abound.   Many studies document the differential treatment and pay women are subjected to, simply based on their gender. This section provides an overview of the common barriers Latinas face in higher education, as students and as professionals. It provides insights about how the institution might have facilitated or impeded the success and career trajectories of participants. Finally, it provides insights to help diversify the institution and provide viable pathways of mobility for Latinas and other underrepresented groups?

This section provides examples of research chronicling vestiges of bias remaining in higher education. Gloria Cuadraz's (2005) *Chicanas in Higher Education: Three Decades of Literature and Thought* provided an overview of Latinas' studies and writings about their experience in higher education.   Leonard Valverde's (2003) *Leaders of Color in Higher Education* delineated the pervasive bias in higher education. He explained the dissonance between the rhetoric of inclusion and the actions of exclusion. He detailed how injustices for Latino leaders occur beneath the surface as their requests are denied; their decisions are questioned; and they are unilaterally judged, and labeled inferior or unqualified. Valverde's research and a number of studies conducted by Roberto Haro (1990, 2001, 2003) provided stories and data to substantiate the elements that affected the advancement and experience of Latinos in higher education.

After many years and extensive research of Latino administrators in higher education, Dr. Haro noted, "There exists a racist bureaucracy that blocks Latinos'

progress despite their qualifications and accomplishments." In an article titled *Held to a*

Higher Standard: Latino Executive Selection in Higher Education, Dr. Haro examined

the selection process for presidents and academic vice presidents/provosts to see if there

were any differences in expectations or standards across different populations including

Latinos, Latinas, and Anglo men and women. He found that Latino men and women

were expected to meet higher standards of qualifications and experience than members of

other ethnic and racial groups. In nearly every category, including academic preparation,

experiential background, scholarly/teaching accomplishments, matters of style and

interview impressions, Latinos were held to a higher standard (Padilla & Chavez 1995).

Haro stated,

> In nearly every category the level of accomplishment required of finalists
> by the screening committee members was almost uniformly more stringent
> for women and especially for Latinos than for the white males. In 16 of
> 25 total case studies, selection committee members said they expected
> Latino finalists to achieve at the highest level. And they said this was to
> help Latinos be competitive. The credentials of white males were
> reviewed carefully by search committees, but they were not as a whole
> held to the higher standards demanded in some cases for women and
> Latinos (p.199).

In an article titled *Dearth of Latino Campus Administrators*, Haro (1991) pointed

out a recurring issue, Latinos are concentrated in two-year institutions and only a small

number make it to the administration of four-year institutions. Also, research and elite

institutions are the least likely to have a Latino or Latina at the top ranks of

administration. He states, "Yet Latino people and American Indians remain the most

underrepresented major ethnic groups at institutions of higher learning - especially at

selective, four-year liberal-arts colleges and research universities - as students, tenured

professors, and academic administrators". In personal communications with Dr. Haro

during the scope of this study, he bemoaned the fact that very little had changed during a

lifetime of research on this subject.

> The advancement of Latinas as presidents at two-year colleges, and
> recently as presidents of regional four-year universities is important. But
> the numbers reveal very little progress. At major research universities, the
> appointment and grooming of Latinos and Latinas for leadership roles as
> provosts and presidents is almost non-existent (March 19, 2008).

Although Haro and Valverde both wrote from the perspective of Latinos, their

findings were supported by an African American, who is a past president and chancellor

of four-year institutions. Jenifer's (2005) overview of minority representation includes a

profile of a president, and praises the effects of mentorship programs for potential and

new presidents. It also provides a candid examination of persistent institutional woes,

including bias. His experience in president and CEO positions for 20 years was the basis

for strategies he believes will increase the success of minorities. He suggested time

management, effective speaking, crisis management, and doing the right thing are good

basic principles. He noted one of the most effective tools to prepare a future university

president is mentoring within the institution.

However, for Latinas the adobe ceiling continues to challenge their ascent.

Although the battle for educational equity for Latinos can be traced back to the early

1900s, equity continues to elude our nation's ability to provide access and educate the

underrepresented and underprivileged. Education continues to be stratified along social,

economic, and ethnic minority status lines and continues to be subtractive in nature

focused on homogenizing students (Moll & Ruiz, 2002). Many believe that the Civil

Rights and Chicano Movements were responsible for much of the progress that has been made in education. Many scholars also believe that the only way to continue this progress is to increase the number of ethnic minorities in positions of influence, including the higher education presidency and CEO positions (Jenifer, 2005). Their representation provides insight and voice to the needs of ethnic minorities and will help the institution to serve their needs better.

Much has been written about the factors that affect the success of Latino students navigating the educational maze. Formidable obstacles such as institutional racism and social reproduction work to keep the institution as a homogenous environment fixated on the status quo. The institution of higher education is presumed to be a meritocracy, yet the definition of a meritocracy is a system in which the talented are chosen and moved ahead on the basis of their achievement; and leadership is selected on the basis of intellectual criteria (Miriam-Webster, 2008). Although meritocracy is touted as the measure of worth and is used to dispense resources, advancement or success, it ignores that only Anglo-male normed standards and measures are used and that there are systemic and institutional biases against minorities, particularly Latinos. Meritocratic measures also ignore the Mathew Effect, which ensures that units who are already heavily resourced get more. Trow's (1984) article titled *The Analysis of Status*, describes universities as having the advantage of scientific knowledge creation and a near monopoly on basic research. They are elite institutions focused on recruiting the brightest, most distinguished scholars. He points out that they borrow status from their recruits at the same time they confer their own status to their recruits (1984). Elite status is valued

heavily which leads to a cycle where the best resourced colleges or departments tend to get more resources to keep them successful at the expense of less renowned and less resourced units. Meritocracy presumes an equitable environment without any bias. This presumption that the institution is a meritocracy where talent, hard work and achievement automatically lead to advancement sabotages the notion that affirmative action and other interventions to ensure equity are needed. In theory, meritocracy negates the existence of an adobe ceiling and the need to provide structures for the advancement of Latinas and other underrepresented populations.

The *problematization of Latinas* and other minorities affects their ability to advance in the academy and results in minorities being treated as a problem that needs to be fixed (Cuadraz, 2005). Even though the academy spurs dialogue, and encourages new research, consciousness, and reflection, it presupposes that ethnic minorities are *the problem that needs to be fixed.* Despite years of research about Latinas in higher education battling barriers to access, retention, and graduation, Latinas remain severely underrepresented at all levels of education and employment (Chapa, 1989, 1990 cited by Cuadraz, 2005). Latinas must learn the norms and expectations for behavior and productivity within higher education and develop necessary skills. They must also learn to navigate the maze of requisite credentials and differences in fields of study; grant awards, publications, professional seminars and associations. How is the Latina experience different from others in higher education? In many ways.

A Critical View

Theories such as Chicana Feminist, Social Reproduction, and Critical Race Theory (CRT) explore power relationships and reveal the oppressive relations of power (Villenas & Foley, 2002, cited by Cuadraz, 2005). Deficit models and the effect of power relationships, identity formation, race, social class and gender intersection are endemic to the discussion of the Latina experience in academe. Therefore, critical frameworks were used to decipher the experiences of participants in this study. CRT explores how supposedly "race-neutral" laws and institutional structures, practices, and policies continue to perpetuate racial/ethnic educational inequality and includes historical and cultural context to deconstruct racialized content (Solorzano 2005, Bell 1992, Crenshaw, 1995, cited by Yosso 2005). Most importantly, CRT acknowledges the systemic factors that curtail Latinas' career trajectory in four-year institutions. CRT provides the tools to change the dynamics and success of Latinos in education by challenging the belief that the education system is equitable, meritocratic, and race neutral (Solorzano, Villalpando & Osegura, 2005). CRT uses transformative resistance and critical consciousness to develop counter discourse by incorporating experiences of people of color into the study of educational subordination. Through their narratives, and discourse, the Latina leaders in my study provided evidence of their negative experiences, but also noted that there are mechanisms and support to overcome challenges in the system. Candid discussion of these challenges and positive mechanisms for change is necessary to transform higher education. This need to document Latinas' experiences in the institution and provide a counter story

and information to help others navigate through it were the impetus for this study. These elements are also tenets of CRT.

Latina Feminist Theory was born out of the Chicano and feminist movements, and spurred important dialogue about Latinas in the academy. "It prompted questions about equity and opportunity and provided the impetus for concepts such as third-world feminism, double jeopardy, and the triple oppression of race, class, and gender" (Cuadraz, 2005). "Many scholars have acknowledged the history of patriarchy within the institution and the power relations that work against underrepresented groups. But Latino scholars and these important studies question and challenge the cultural deficit model that blames the victim and the Chicano culture for low educational attainment" (Cuellar as cited by Cuadraz, 2005). Gloria Holguin Cuadraz's (2005) comprehensive study of Latinas in higher education brought attention to the fact that a number of theories had been used to explain the relative lack of success of Latinas. The Ford Foundation sponsored the first study of Latinas in higher education in 1978 and helped prompt further study and discourse. It found that domestic labor, less support from mothers for Latinas (than for their brothers) to be educated, and higher stress level factors create barriers for Latinas (Cuadraz, 2005). In tandem, Critical Feminist Theory helps to explain gender-based patterns of differential treatment, unfamiliar team playing skills, issues of equity, lack of power, and social development differences in boys and girls that have been identified as barriers to the advancement of women (Gilligan 1982, Tannen, 1991). Successful women in leadership positions must adapt to rules established by the men in power or that are Anglo-male normed. However according to Eagley & Carli,

(2007), adopting male characteristics causes women to be perceived negatively by their peers, women who are too assertive, competitive or even competent can at times threaten others. Factors that have been identified as having a positive affect on Latinas include professional training, academic preparation, social origins, networking, Spanish-speaking ability, family support, and knowledge of the institution including policies and procedures.

Institutional Culpability

An important question for this study was: how does the institution contribute to the low representation of Latinas in the top ranks of administration? To truly understand Latina leadership in higher education, it is important to consider the culpability of the educational institutions that educate, employ, and promote them. Leadership opportunities and success must be analyzed to identify success factors that should be replicated and impediments that should be eliminated. Gaining an understanding of how the social selection process affects Latinas' experience in higher education is an important step to address low representation. What is the effect of the educational pipeline on the Latinas who eventually become qualified to lead as presidents of four-year institutions? How does the problematization of Latinas or the use of deficit models help create the funnel effect that results from the dropout rates of high schools, associate degree programs, baccalaureate programs, masters programs and finally the doctoral programs, faculty career tracks, and administrative tracks that develop eligible candidates for college and university presidencies? At every phase of their trajectory, Latinas must

pass through a social filtration process, including a myriad of filters. Following is a discussion of some of these filters.

Social reproduction is a strong filter, which works against Latinas. Research shows presidents are not usually representative of the public that funds them. The majority of presidents at the helm of four-year institutions are Anglo men from middle to higher income backgrounds in their early 60s. They are more likely to serve in low-income areas or in communities with large numbers of underrepresented groups. Even though it is important for underrepresented populations to be part of the decision-making process, and for their needs to be part of the assessment when making decision, they are seldom found in leadership positions. Policies and practices of the university will likely reflect the Anglo-male-normed ideology of the president and often are lacking of a minority voice or perspective. The top decision makers and the highest ranks of the institutions continue to be underrepresented of ethnic minorities and women. Some of this can be attributed to the supply of eligible persons in the pipeline, but this shortage is also caused by institutional discrimination (Jenifer, 2005).

The presidency of a higher education institution is an elite position. Presidents must be perceived as able to handle the many facets of the institution. Job requirements include key caretaker of the institution; fiduciary and administrative responsibility for the institution; development and implementation of institutional policies and practice; and keeping up with economic, government, and population changes. It would seem that these responsibilities require a diverse leadership team and ideology, but that is not what is found in most institutions of higher education.

Documenting Latina leaders' experiences can help us understand the need to create a leadership pipeline and develop opportunities for advancement. Their narratives help explore institutional factors, which may have hindered or facilitated their ascent up the administrative ranks. Understanding the social selection process and the intersection between social filters and bias in the system may help to address these challenges. Social selection theory guides the study because it informs how Latinas are filtered all along their career trajectory. Although the Cohen and March model does not acknowledge bias in the system, it may be a strong determinant of Latinas' advancement. This study builds on previous studies of the higher education presidency, which generally do not acknowledge that ethnicity and gender play a role in advancement (or lack there of) to the presidency.

According to Cuadraz (2005), the 1980s brought concepts such as "third-world feminism"; "double jeopardy" (the effect of being a dual minority); and the triple oppression of race, class, and gender into the discourse of the study of Latinas. Although much has been written about the lack of advancement of Latinas, their lack of advancement has been attributed to them as individuals, as women, and ethnic minorities, but not enough attention has been given to the institutional factors that preclude their advancement. Latinas have been problematized with themes such as cultural deficiency and a continuous quest for Anglo-normed competencies such as social, cultural and institutional capital (Cuadraz, 2005). Latinas, like other ethnic minorities, are often exposed to exclusion, deficit models and bias throughout their educational experience. For many Latinos, exclusionary factors begin when they enter the educational system as children and continue

through their careers as educators and administrators. According to Juan Perea (1998),

"*Death by English* is a death of the spirit as identity is replaced, reconfigured,

overwhelmed, or rejected by a more powerful, dominant identity." He believes Spanish

often offends and frightens both English speakers and Latinos.

> For Latinos, speaking Spanish meant the potential loss of a job, instant
> scapegoating and identification as an outsider. Explicitly exclusionary
> factors contribute to Latinos' negative self-image and in effect murder the
> identity of Latinos by forcing them to deny their cultural identity, or by
> making them invisible and powerless in the institution. Their omission
> from history or lack of positive public identity and legitimacy are
> exacerbated by the institutions' quest for homogeneity and imposition of
> dominant norms.

The use of a deficit models continues to challenge Latinos and other

underrepresented groups and includes an education system, which devalues Latinos'

language and knowledge as inadequate and needing to be eradicated. It creates a superior

teacher inferior student relationship that is not nurturing or conducive to the growth of a

student (Ruiz & Moll, 2002). Diversity at the top ranks is important to help change an

education system that continues to be stratified along socioeconomic and ethnic minority

status lines and continues to be subtractive in nature. Subtractive education continues to

manifest itself as a disdain for the individual attributes and beliefs, and undermines

personal competence.

Institutional racism is characterized by personal and cultural racism formalized

within the institution and supported by the institutions' formal and informal policies and

practices for the benefit of one group at the expense of other groups (Hansman, 1999). In

American higher education, racism is imbedded in the structures, practices, and daily

discourses that guide universities (Taylor, 1999). Bias, both conscious and unconscious is

central to the institution and intersects with individual identity, language, generation status, gender, sexuality, and social class (Crenshaw, 1989; Valdez, 1997). Bias and racism manifest themselves in actions, inactions, attitudes, and policies that proliferate the institution and result in inequity. Subtle bias is easier to accomplish and more widely accepted than overt racism (Hansman, 1999). Insidious but powerful forms of racism are subtle and difficult to identify or address, for example preferential hiring, inequitable hiring packages, and inequitable resource allocation serve to undermine underrepresented groups. Power, privilege, and oppression within the institution persist and are formidable because they are disguised in the ideology of meritocracy and pressure to maintain the status quo. For Latinas and other minorities, institutional racism is a complex issue because it may be overt or covert, purposeful or unconscious, yet the effect remains and the result is inequity and a toxic environment. These populations must perform at an exceptional level in all their endeavors on a daily basis (Haro, 2001). Latinas must be willing to outperform and grow daily to persist in the academy as students, faculty, and administrators.

Social reproduction is the replacement of people and/or structures with a similar set so the system can continue to perform and look the same (Gingrich, 1998). There is a strong impulse for individuals to maintain the comfort of what they understand or is familiar to them. This often results in hiring or promotion practices that perpetuate a dominant group's characteristics. Over time, groups of people or social classes are reproduced. Latinas are at a disadvantage when the most accepted model of leadership is based on a White male from middle- to higher-income families. In an environment pressured to maintain the status quo, Latinas may not be readily embraced if they contrast

with dominant structures with regards to ideology, culture, tradition, or norms. New ideas

are rejected, and newcomers are disempowered or excluded.   Latinas must overcome these

barriers and become proficient in the norms and conditions of the institution.   Latinas who

struggle to keep their ethnic identity intact, but are expected to conform and react in the

accepted ways of the dominant culture, must develop ways to juggle differing expectations,

ideologies, and behaviors.

In *Getting There, Cuando No Hay Camino*, Norma Cantu (2001) recalled, "There

were so many incidents of racism in higher education that it would take a book to tell

them all, suffice it to say, I made myself strong and thick skinned to survive--*hice*

concha", I developed a hard outer shell.   Each oppressed group in the U.S. is positioned

in a particular and distinct relationship to White men. Both White men and men of color

maintain power over women, but other social constructs such as class, ethnicity, race and

sexuality allocate power (A. Hurtado, 1989). Biased recruitment, selection, tracking, and

performance appraisals, coupled with gender-role stereotypes and socialization continue

to affect job opportunities and choices as well as leadership opportunities (Chemers,

1997). Leadership theories are summarized in Appendix B. The summary provides an

overview of the leading leadership theories of the past 80 years, which were considered

in the selection of the theoretical framework and in the construction of my study's

protocols. Following is a discussion of Latina leadership and the leadership theories that

help describe their position within higher education**.**

Minority leadership models are most relevant to the Latina experience because

they describe leadership that emerged from a position of oppression and from a position

of power. A sense of powerlessness serves as the catalyst for action and for a more

militant and action-based leadership style. Minority leadership often depends on actions

and ideologies that are in stark contrast and conflict with status quo ideology. Latinas' fit

and in some cases misfit in the institution depends on their ability to understand the

institutional culture and to navigate it effectively.   Although there is little indication that

minority leaders differ dramatically in performance or behavior, negative stereotypes

about minority leaders prevail, making it more difficult for minority leaders to move up

the administrative ladder (Chemers, 1997).

Latinas who live in dually cultured, dual-language environments learn to code-

switch and to be flexible all of their lives. Their leadership styles draw from these

strengths because higher education is an ever-changing environment with a multitude of

variables and relationships, including various levels of leaders, followers and

contingencies. The intricacies of these variables and the speed at which they change

require the leader to be flexible and able to respond with ease; thus, Latinas must spend

their lives moving from one environment to another. They learn to be flexible and able to

move into different environments, develop diplomacy and an ability to establish and

maintain vital relationships.

The landscape for Latinas in higher education is changing. The number of Latinas

in graduate programs, faculty and administration is increasing. However, change is slow

and the proportion of Latinos in higher education administration continues to be a very

small fraction of the higher education population or of their representation in the larger

population. Previous studies provided a historical context, insights and a baseline for this study. The theoretical frameworks also emerged from existing literature.

Chapter 3 provides a comprehensive description of how the study methodology was developed. It also describes the protocols used in conducting the research.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODS

Introduction

A qualitative research design was used for this project because the study explored both a human and a social problem. Participants were studied in their natural settings to examine the phenomena that Latinas continue to be underrepresented in the top administrative ranks of higher education (Creswell, 1998, p. 15). The impetus for this study was the fact that the number of Latinas in the presidencies of four-year institutions of higher education is exceptionally low and is not increasing commensurate with the Latino representation in the population of the U.S. The personal narratives of Latina leaders at four-year institutions were used to describe both routine and problematic moments, and their meaning in Latinas' lives. Multiple sources of information, including the existing literature, interviews, and field observation, were used to derive meaning regarding the circumstances of Latinas in higher education administration. This qualitative study used a grounded theory approach to develop the research design, develop study protocols and to construct meaning from data collected.

Pilot Studies

To prepare for this study, two separate and distinct pilot studies of top-level Latino administrators at a Southwestern university were administered. The pilot studies were used to identify central themes, develop the interview instrument, test study questions, and maximize the usefulness of the interviews in the final study. Pilot study interviews

helped identify issues affecting Latino(a) administrators and refine the protocols. For the

first study, top-ranking Latinas of a doctoral institution in the Southwest were interviewed,

including an executive vice president, a vice president, a dean, and a director. For the

second pilot study three Latinos were interviewed, including a past president of a liberal

arts college, a vice provost, and a dean who was a finalist for a presidency at a top research

institution and had been offered the provost position at another top research university.

A notable finding of both pilot studies was that most participants had experienced

institutional bias and racism. They provided information about these experiences and

how they had to learn to adjust to bias and racism as part of the institutional culture.

Only one female and one male did not believe racism had affected their experience in the

academy. These administrators both had an Anglo parent and did not identify exclusively

as Latino(a). They seemed to enjoy a dual-cultural identity that enabled them to navigate

the institution and their role within it feeling more entitled than oppressed or powerless.

These preliminary findings generated questions about the effects of generational

status on Latinos' perspectives about their fit or entitlement within the institution. Is

there a generational effect based on the number of generations Latinas' families have

been in the U.S.? Do they acquire important skills with increased generations in the

states that enable them to advance in predominantly White systems? Have they learned

to successfully straddle two cultures and become proficient in both?

Individuals who are immersed in two cultures simultaneously and who are

deliberately taught not to favor one culture over the other are referred to as "dual

cultured", or "bi-cultured". Maintaining a dual cultured identity means the individual

chooses not to assimilate. This experience is different than the marginal model where the person feels cut off (marginalized) by one or more of his/her cultures and therefore feels isolated or worse, as their personal characteristics are ascribed as negative (Padilla, 2006). It appears that maintaining ties to one's culture provides refuge (a place of safety) and a mechanism for acquiring social and cultural capital. The female administrators who participated in the pilot study developed an informal support network with their Latina colleagues, which helped them learn the institutional culture and survival mechanisms. They developed resilience through adversity and with the help of their support group. The support group also served as a mechanism for them to expand their network, including with colleagues who were not Latina(o).

Male participants of the pilot study exhibited a different sense of self from Latinas and seemed to depend on themselves and not on any network or support group on campus. Their responses were unlike those of female participants indicating that there may be differences in coping mechanisms and need for support in a work situation between Latinos and Latinas. Males developed resilience and strong self-esteem through adversity, but these difficult times and challenges seemed to make them feel stronger.

Following are the most relevant findings from the two pilot studies used to develop the protocols for this study:

- Adversity helped Latinos(as) develop resiliency and self-efficacy;

- Interpretation of bias was influenced by level of critical consciousness;

- Cultural identity seemed to affect how they viewed and experienced events;

- Institutional racism was both overt and covert, as well as insidious;

- Power (based on position) is exercised differently by Latinos than by Latinas;

- Being alone at the top (without other Latinos' support) is lonely and difficult;

- The expectations or standards for Latinos(as) are more exacting and demanding; and

- Many believe Latinos are *given* positions as "tokens", "window-dressing", or to fulfill affirmative action quotas.

In sum, many of the challenges Latinas described in the literature 30 years ago do not appear to have changed according to my pilot study results and recent studies of the environment for Latinos in higher education. The barriers and institutional bias they encountered then are still being faced by Latinos today.

Qualitative Study Design

This section provides a detailed synopsis of the Adobe Ceiling study design. It begins with a delineation of the research questions, followed by descriptions of the study components, including study protocol, participants, data collection and analysis. It ends with a discussion of the study's validity, preliminary findings, and the significance of the study. The purpose of this study is to inform practice by providing a basic understanding of factors Latinas' believed led them to the top ranks of administration.

This study sought to identify institutional and other effects, which either helped or hindered the career trajectories of participants. In particular, what were the institutional filters that affected them and what were the elements that enhanced their trajectories?

To address these questions, 16 Latina top-level administrators, including presidents of four-year institutions, were interviewed. Since this is an examination of the filtration effect that sifts out candidates at each rung of the career ladder, this group of Latinas was invited to participate due to their varied experiences within higher education. These individuals have served in a variety of positions and passed through numerous filtration points en route to the presidency. Some of the participants indicated that they never thought about the presidency, yet they became presidents, while others aspired to be presidents but have not yet achieved their goal, and others were further down the administrative line but on the trajectory towards the presidency. Some were either already qualified for the presidency or were preparing themselves to continue moving up the ranks by acquiring the necessary skill-set and credentials. Several others indicated that they did not have an interest in the presidency, and one retired without becoming a president. To understand the Latina president experience, it was important to hear not only from Latinas who are already presidents, but also from those who are making their way up through the different stages, as well as from those who may be in top administrative positions but do not want to become presidents.

The Latinas in the study were asked what they believed had the most effect on their careers in administration. Specifically, they were asked about the effect of their identity, inner strength, resiliency and the various forms of capital including social, cultural, and institutional. One important question was: how did they manage the pressure to assimilate? Was institutional acculturation or assimilation necessary to move up the ranks? What did they have to change (e.g., give up and/or acquire) to succeed? What

were the elements that helped or hindered their ascent?   Also, how did Latina leaders'

level of critical consciousness affect their trajectory, their leadership style and carrying

out of their duties?

       This research project was conducted using a four-prong approach which included

the following elements: 1) Two pilot studies of top-level Latino administrators in Arizona

helped in the development and pretest of interview questions; 2) Lengthy on-site interviews

of Latina presidents of four-year institutions; 3) Lengthy on-site interviews of top-level

administrators who were either already qualified or were developing the skills necessary to

become presidents of four-year institutions; and 4) Analysis of the participants' institutions

(Marshall, Rossman, 1999). Aspirations to the presidency were not a condition for

inclusion in this study. Additionally, this study relied on document analysis (e.g., existing

literature and institutional documents such as reports) and on-site observations to

supplement interviews.

       This study is important and relevant because it addresses a gap in the literature.

To date there has not been a study dedicated to documenting the experiences of Latina

presidents of four-year institutions. Such studies may not exist because Latina presidents

of four-year institutions did not exist until recently. Other studies of Latinas included

various levels of administrators (such as directors and coordinators) but did not focus on

preparation for the presidency or on a search for mechanisms to increase the

appointments of Latinas to the presidency.

       According to a report sponsored by the American Council on Education (Bridges,

Eckel, Cordova, & White, 2008), in 1986, 10% of the presidents of Associate degree

granting colleges were women, in 2006 that number had increased to 28.8%. However,

the total number of minority presidents, including men, increased from 2.2% in 1986 to

only 4.5% in 2006. Even though the number of minority presidents more than doubled,

the total number is still woefully low given the extremely low starting point. Therefore,

this study compiled information about the experiences of Latina leaders of four-year

institutions to help address the gap in the literature and to identify mechanisms that can

be used to increase the number of minority presidents, particularly Latinas.

Study Participants

A number of different sources and informants were used to identify potential

participants for my study. After an exhaustive search, during the exploratory phase of the

project, six Latina presidents of four-year institutions in the U.S. were identified. It

appears; at the time, this was the population of Latina presidents/chancellors of four-year

institutions. The sources for identifying these individuals included word of mouth,

national organizations, Latino scholars, and periodical and web research. Similar sources

were used to identify the other participants.

During the conception phase of this study, I hoped to be able to interview all

Latinas serving as presidents of four-year institutions. Thus, invitations to participate in

the study were sent to all six presidents. The written invitations were follow-up by

telephone calls and e-mail messages describing the study and its parameters, and

providing sample questions for their review and preparation. During the late stages of the

data-gathering phase of this study, two more Latinas became presidents, bringing the total

number of Latina presidents of four-year institutions to eight. However, these two

additional presidents were not invited to participate due to time constraints and costs. Of

the six presidents invited to participate, two declined, citing schedule conflicts. One

president accepted the invitation but later canceled due to a serious illness that included a

lengthy hospital stay.

In addition to the presidents, 13 top-level Latina administrators also accepted the

invitation to participate in the study. These 13 included provosts, vice presidents and

deans, all positions in the traditional administrative trajectory to president.

To help participants prepare for the on-site interviews, they were sent a

description of the research focus and a preliminary set of questions and statistics to

consider. They were asked to think about specific themes regarding their educational and

professional development and their ascent to the presidency. All of the participants were

extremely generous with their time and gracious in accommodating the study and me.

All were fully engaged, setting aside time for the interviews and were careful to provide

thoughtful and candid answers.

On-Site Visits

Site visits included both formal and informal interviews as well as observations

with a broad area of interest. On-campus visits provided opportunities for face-to-face

interviews along with a visual assessment of the universities, including the campus

environment, grounds, eating areas, parking areas, bookstores, as well as the

neighborhood locations, demographics and general activity. Standard ethnographic

research techniques and study principles were used to explore the socio-cultural and socio-political context of the campus environments and the presidents' ascent within the institution. The result was a set of multiple case studies that incorporated information obtained through interviews, document analysis, site visits, personal observations and conversations with college staff, students, faculty, and administrators.

Due to the time demands and constraints of the senior-level administrators in the study, I interviewed them at locations of their choice, which included a hotel room during a conference, a hotel café en route to the airport, a Starbucks, two Mexican restaurants, and in a home with a million dollar view of the Pacific Ocean. Even though participants were geographically dispersed throughout the U.S., I visited them at their campuses when possible to enhance my understanding of them within their institutions. To that end, I visited five different campuses in California, including National Hispanic University and four California State University campuses: Monterrey, Bakersfield, Fresno, and Los Angles. In Texas, I visited Our Lady of the Lake University in San Antonio, and the University of Texas at Brownsville. I also visited Eastern Connecticut State University in Williamantic, Connecticut. One interview was administered during a break at a Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (HACU) conference in Chicago and one interview was conducted in a hotel café in Hartford Connecticut on my way to the airport.

It is important to note that invariably, participants were gracious and flexible in accommodating my needs as a researcher and they were engaged in providing useful information for the study. Often, the interviews were lengthier than expected and participants delayed their next meetings to complete the interviews. Many expressed

support for proactive and strategic development of a pipeline of Latina faculty and for development of mechanisms to increase representation of Latinas at the top-ranks of higher education administration.

Interview Protocols

Potential participants received an e-mail message from me that included an invitation to participate, a summary of the study, and preliminary questionnaires. This initial e-mail was followed by telephone calls to provide additional details about the study and to solicit an appointment for interviews and site visits. Most site visits were about three hours long including one or two hours of interview and several hours of campus assessment. Several were all day, full-access visits. One visit included shadowing a president during meetings and activities, beginning early in the morning and ending late at night after the president had taped a television interview.

The interviews were face-to-face, semi-structured and audio tape-recorded. Interviews were conducted using a semi-structured but open-ended format to help build rapport and establish a basic understanding of the administrators. Use of the semi-structured method of interviewing enabled me to probe and follow the lead of both the topics being discussed and of the participants. This method also helped me gain insights into the context of the Latina experience, including their reasons for becoming president, their long-term aspirations, and their experiences along the way. All interviews were audio tape-recorded, transcribed and coded as described in the protocol section.

Ethnographic interview techniques described by Creswell (1998) were incorporated into the study protocols, because my work required interpretation of the culture-sharing group and setting, as advanced by Wolcott (Wolcott, 1990b, cited by Creswell 1998, p. 152). Comparison tables were used to search for patterned regularities in the data. Participants' cultural identity, knowledge, experience, and the effect of these elements on Latinas' leadership were examined. These were relevant because an integral question of this study is: Do Latinas have to give up their cultural identity to be accepted as leaders by academic institutions?

Most interviews were conducted at the participants' campuses. However, when it was not possible to meet at their campuses or when a participant was no longer at a campus, alternative sites were selected by the participants to fit their schedules. These face-to-face, on-site interviews and interactions provided a more complete picture of the experiences of Latina presidents, provosts, vice presidents, vice provosts and other top administrators. When possible, they were observed on the job, including interacting with colleagues and assistants. These observations provided insights regarding their leadership styles and how they accomplish their duties relative to their faculty, administrators, and staff. Face-to-face interactions during visits allowed me to observe their facial (e.g., smiles) and body expressions, gestures, tone of voice, the firmness in their styles, and their use of Spanish to communicate with their staff and others in their daily lives. I observed their communication style and their body language during their speeches and lectures, in meetings, and in their one-on-one interactions. I noted the way people reacted to them when they walked in the door and during interactions and

meetings. I also witnessed their different personalities during various interactions, including expressions of generosity, kindness, and humanity during some interactions, followed by their no-nonsense, pragmatic management styles in other interactions.

Ethnography and Personal Narratives

Ethnography and personal narrative methodologies were used to examine the personal histories and development of Latinas as top-level administrators. Narrative research was applicable to this study because it focused on life history, personal identity, lifestyle, culture, and the historical world of the subject/narrator and of the 16 Latina participants. Topics that emerged during the pilot studies included Latinas' level of assimilation, cultural identification (reference group), resiliency, and self-efficacy. Therefore, ethnographic research methods were used to identify key cultural concepts, themes, roles, behaviors, acculturation, and communication styles (Creswell, 1998). Questions developed for the pilot studies were refined and administered to participants of this project, the Adobe Ceiling study.

Ethnographic interviews incorporated semi-structured questions to gauge participants' critical consciousness, cultural knowledge, and identity, and the effect of these elements on Latinas' trajectories (Creswell, 1998). One important question that emerged during preparation for this study is central to the conversation about Latinas in higher education: Do Latinas have to give up their cultural identity to be accepted and to succeed in academic institutions?

Study Data

Collection

The primary source of data collected was the information gathered during the interviews with the participants. All participants consented to being audio tape-recorded, and their interviews were painstakingly transcribed verbatim. Other data collected as supporting documentation included supplementary public documents, and conversations with relevant informants. As cross validation, print, recorded, or web-based documents were sought, retrieved, and reviewed to help support the testimony of participants during interviews. Particularly, documents such as media releases, journal articles, speeches, and special publications related to presidents and other administrators in this study were reviewed. Other secondary sources used to validate my data and provide context to information gathered from primary sources/participants included analysis of institutional websites.

Participant protection was an important consideration for both the subjects and the validity of the study. All of the Latina leaders in this study gave permission to be identified as participants in this project. However, this agreement required that "sensitive" information not be associated with the individual participant or her institution. In fulfillment of this agreement, information was aggregated and the findings were presented only when requested by participants.

Analysis

The data analysis phase of this study was a necessarily slow and careful process. After the data collection period, three stages of qualitative data analysis were employed: 1) data reduction; 2) data display; and 3) conclusion drawing/verification (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Taped interviews were transcribed and, along with field notes, were categorized or reduced and coded using the emergent theme process described by David Thomas (2003).

To facilitate data reduction, I first sorted and organized the information gathered through interviews, site visits, and document analysis to make the analyses easier. I searched for personal factors, overarching themes and commonalities in the form of recurrent phrases or patterns. I developed a color-coding system to draw out the themes and to make the information easier to process and visually clear. Transcripts were color-coded to identify recurring themes; in addition, differences in personal factors were noted and summarized.

Data reduction also included content analysis, which helped organize the data to reflect the themes that emerged using the color-coded data system. The content analysis table provided a scheme to identify keywords or phrases that emerged in the field notes and transcripts of the interviews. Some of these keywords and phrases had already been identified in the literature review and the pilot studies. Themes identified during the pilot studies were refined to include the terms or phrases that emerged during the document analysis and the interviews, and included the researcher's reflections on those remarks. The fact that the same themes emerged in all three forms of inquiry, including the

literature review, the pilot studies and the final interviews, provides evidence that these themes are relevant to the study of Latinas in higher education administration.   The major themes that emerged were related to identity, leadership style, and opportunities in the system. Also identified were success-building mechanisms such as mentors and career development plans or leadership development programs. In addition, coping mechanisms identified included resiliency and self-efficacy.

Personal interviews were the primary source of information used to identify emergent themes, commonalities, differences, and helped frame the findings and results (Creswell, 1998). However, interview transcripts were lengthy and unyielding. Therefore, the data display function was necessary to help manage the information into a usable form. The data were summarized into tables and appendices, and patterns that emerged were tested for recurrence across subjects. Preliminary finding were compared to past studies and historical records for corroboration and to electronic media sources for more current information to support the data I gathered from interviews and site visits.

The drawing of conclusions was achieved through an exhaustive iterative review of the interview transcripts and other documents, followed by cautious inference drawing and further development of possible explanations of findings at each stage (Miles, & Huberman, 1994). After the participants' narratives were evaluated for emergent themes, analysis included repetitive comparisons to seek out embedded categories and help find the commonalities or differences among the three presidents and the 13 top-level administrators.

Tables were used to organize the data and to document the recurrence of patterns and substantiate findings. This process provided a structured methodology to inform the study regarding the personal factors as well as the institutional factors affecting the study's population of Latina leaders. Possible findings were then compared to previous studies to increase understanding and validity (Yin, 1994).

Document Review

Preliminary document review provided basic information about the subjects' ascent up the administrative ladder. Document analyses conducted prior to site visits provided background information and maximized the effectiveness of the time participants devoted to the study. Background information regarding the institutions and the administrators also provided the basis for refining protocols for the site visits and interviews. Demographic information reviewed included socioeconomic status, education level, type of higher education institutions attended, degrees earned, parents' education level, higher education positions held, and length of time in positions. Data collection also included review of participants' advancement using background documents such as media releases, publications, curriculum vitae, community involvement, national associations, awards, and their administration trajectory.

Institutional Analyses

The institutions led by participants were also reviewed for common patterns with respect to the advancement of Latinos. The patterns that had surfaced in previous studies

of Latinos(as) administrators were used to identify factors of interest. Because academic capitalism was a theoretical framework used for this study, factors examined included access indicators such as the demographics of their students, faculty and staff; financial aid given out; cost of tuition; community demographics; and the poverty level in the school's vicinity. Of interest were the institutional mechanisms in place to facilitate the advancement of minority/Latino and/or women, for example, mentoring, or use of leadership programs specifically tailored to advance minorities.

The HSI status of the institutions Latinas lead was of interest to this study because HIS designation may only be achieved if 25% of the student population is Hispanic. Also, institutions that achieve HSI status are eligible for federal funding to increase retention of Hispanics. Therefore, I was interested to know if HSI status increased the chances of having a Latina president or Latina top-level administrators. Previous studies have found that the political strength and involvement of Latinos in the community and their advocacy in the search process of presidents increased the likelihood a Latino would be appointed (Esquibel, 1992). Therefore, I was also interested in the level of involvement of the Latino community in university affairs, including on search committees, board of trustees and board of regents.

Esquibel (1992) also found top-level administrators tend to be concentrated at institutions were there is a large representation of Latinos both in the community and in the institution. Therefore, the demographic compositions of both the top-ranks of administration and of the community around the institution were of interest to this study. Most of the institutions led by Latinas seemed to belong to a similar level of selectivity.

Therefore, selectivity was an element I reviewed. However this led to more questions than answers, beyond the scope of this study, for example: 1) Are Latina top-level administrators more heavily represented at lower selectivity institutions? 2) Are Latinas more likely to be appointed to institutions where access is a focus? 3) Are Latinas attracted to institutions with lower tuition costs, and lower SES students? 4) Are Latinas attracted to institutions with students in need of academic remediation?

Latina participants in the pilot study said their support systems were critical to them as they faced challenges within the institution. This finding lead to an important question: how did their institutions support them? Some Latinas described the support they received from their mentors and champions as critical to their survival. They said they appreciated the "translation" (interpretation and explanation) of the institutional language, culture and expectations. They benefited from having translators and were thankful for the help they received in interpreting and understanding the information, policies, and protocols of higher education and of their particular institutions. Based on their responses, and the understanding that higher education leadership is Anglo-male normed, participants were also asked if they believed differences in cultural and social capital affected their advancement? In particular, what effect did they believe formal or informal networks had on their advancement? They were also asked to share lessons they learned about navigating the institution, and the factors which facilitated their trajectory to top administrator posts? Other areas of interest included their participation in internal and external leadership development or mentor programs, or other formal or informal support systems they benefited from.

Validity

This study is important because research on Latina presidents of four-year institutions did not exist when this study began, perhaps because Latina presidents of four-year institutions did not exist until recently. The accuracy of the narrative developed from the study interviews and the documents reviewed is critical to the usefulness, and validity of this study. Therefore, reflective listening techniques and member checking was used. Triangulation was achieved using site visits and document analysis to ensure that interview information matched available public information (Creswell, 2003). The 13 top-level administrators who participated in this study were carefully selected to represent the experiences of Latinas in the top ranks of higher education administration and the trajectory toward the presidency. Some were chosen because they were eligible for the presidency, others because they could be eligible if they continued on their path. Also, to ensure the validity of the study, precautions included careful documentation of the process, focus, methodology and findings. In addition to member checking, review of various media reports and document analysis also helped ensure the accuracy of the data and findings.

Statement of Positionality

I am a first generation Mexican American and a first generation college graduate. I am one of several in my family to have earned a graduate degree and the first to pursue a Ph.D. I have 13 years of experience in various levels of administration in lower to mid-level positions at a community college and at a research/doctoral-granting institution;

eight years in the community college system, mostly in low to mid-level administrator positions, and five years in the doctoral-granting institution.

During my tenure in higher education, I have witnessed the effects of bias on others, and have experienced bias both as a woman and as a Latina. I have worked closely with top-level administrators at a research institution to develop and implement policies to increase diversity at that institution. As a Latina with a vested interest in Latino success and status enhancement, my personal insights, background and experience in academe provide an understanding of the nuances of issues related to higher education and the minority experience. I identify with the study's participants and their experiences and found their stories and experiences compelling and inspirational. Although I have great respect and admiration for the Latina leaders in this study, I remain confident that I am able to separate these feelings as I search for answers to help other minorities in the trajectory towards the top ranks of higher education administration.

Although this study focused on the experience of Latinas in higher education, ethnic minorities are challenged in many of the same ways in business and government positions, including in both public and private entities. The notion of an adobe ceiling is fitting for Latinas but the dynamics of bias and social reproduction affect Latinos (males) and other minorities in very similar ways. As noted above, since I identify with the study's participants and have experienced many similar challenges, I therefore built in safety mechanisms into the study protocols to ensure that the findings are not biased and simply based on the respondents' narratives and supported by previous research. Finally, participants' review of the study's findings increased the validity of this research.

The following two chapters complete this dissertation. They provide the major findings, discussion, implications for research and for practice, and conclude with suggestions to improve the representation of Latinas at the top-ranks of higher education. Specifically, Chapter 4 provides an overview of the findings and Chapter 5 identifies some implications for practice and further research. Chapter 5 also delineates a model of the steps that institutions may take to facilitate increasing ethnic diversity at their campuses.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This study examined the under-representation of Latinas in the top ranks of four-year university administration, where they consistently lag behind their Anglo counterparts. The number of Latina presidents continues to be only a very small fraction of the total number of college and university presidents in the U.S.   According to the American Council on Education, the total number of Latino male and female college presidents including two-year and four-year institutions was only 2.2 % in 1986. Fifteen years later, in 2006, this number had increased to 4.6 % (King & Gomez, 2008). Even though it more than doubled, this remains an extremely low proportion of the total number of presidents and certainly does not reflect the size of the Latino population in the larger society.

The goal of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive look at Latina leaders, who are often perceived first and foremost as Latinas, and who both benefit from and are hurt by their status as Latinas. The chapter presents the study's findings and is organized in three parts to best address the guiding research questions and major findings. Each section presents themes that emerged from personal interviews and document analysis. Part One provides an overview of the background and experience of the Latina top-administrators in the sample. Part Two examines the embedded and organizational structures affecting Latinas' trajectories to top-level administrative positions. And, Part Three presents Latina leaders' insights and success strategies that may be useful to

informing practice. In this chapter, I offer the voices of Latinas in the top ranks of four-year institutions. My aim is to enable the reader to learn about and understand these Latina leaders as historical figures and change agents in higher education.

For this study, I interviewed a total of sixteen Latina top-level administrators, including three presidents, one State System CEO, one Vice Chancellor of Academic Affairs, one Assistant Vice Chancellor, three Provosts, three Vice Provosts, one Vice President, one Assistant Vice President and two Deans. This group of participants provided an overview of experience at the various rungs of the administrator career ladder, which emulates the filtration points described by Cohen and March in 1974 and by Esquibel in 1992.

Researchers face major challenges obtaining accurate data about Latinas because some Latinas do not always choose to disclose their ethnicity. For this study, a number of different sources were used to identify Latinas in top administrator positions, including searches using surnames, because there is no central database that tracks presidents and other administrators disaggregated by ethnicity. Participants' surnames, self-identification, media reports and informants were used to identify top administrators eligible for participation in this study. Latina leaders were purposely chosen to provide narratives and give voice to their experiences regarding the challenges and structures that facilitated their advancement within higher education. Table 6 lists the titles or positions held by the participants of this study.

Table 6: Positions/Titles of Latina Study Participants

State System CEO	Vice Chancellor Academic Affairs	Assistant Vice Chancellor	President	Provost	Vice/ Associate Provost	Vice President	Assistant Vice President	Dean
1	1	1	3	3	3	1	1	2

Latina Presidential Appointments to Four-year Institutions

The appointment of Dr. Julieta Garcia as the first Latina president of a four-year public institution was a historic event in higher education in the U.S. Dr. Garcia's appointment in 1992 was followed by a ten-year gap until the next two Latina presidents were appointed in 2002. It is noteworthy that during the following fifteen years, from 1992-2007, only seven new Latina presidents were appointed. Some of the trajectories of these Latinas are atypical compared to the career paths of most university presidents. For example, it is generally not common for a president of a for-profit institution to be named president of a public institution, as was the case for Dr. Mildred Garcia. Similarly, it is not likely for a two-year institution president to move to a four-year institution, yet both Dr. Tessa Martinez Pollack and Dr. Julieta Garcia served at two-year institutions before becoming presidents of four-year institutions. Also atypical, Dr. Julieta Garcia currently serves at the helm of both a two-year and a four-year institution that share the same campus. Dr. Tessa Martinez Pollack, and Dr. Josefina Castillo Baltodano both serve at Catholic universities, institutions whose religious mission is linked to social justice.

By contrast, Dr. France Córdova's ascent profile is more like that of most male presidents, particularly of White males. She is the only Latina to date who has served as

president of a Research I institution. Dr. Córdova presided as the chancellor of the

University of California-Riverside for five years before moving to President of Purdue

University. She had a long and stellar research career as an astrophysicist before moving

into administration of a four-year institution. Table 7 provides the chronology of Latinas

identified as either CEO's or presidents of four-year institutions (this is not the list of

study participants). Appendix A is a list of this Adobe Ceiling study participants.

Table 7: Timeline-Latina President Appointments

1992		2002	2004	2006	2007
Julieta Garcia Southmost University 1986 (22 yrs)	10 Y e a r s	France Córdova Chancellor, University of California Riverside	Blandina Cárdenas University of Texas Pan American	Josefina, Castillo Baltodano Marian College	Mildred Garcia California State Dominguez Hills
and				Elsa Nuñez Eastern Connecticut University	
University of Texas Brownsville (16 years)		Tessa Martinez Pollack Our Lady of the Lake			France Córdova Purdue University
					Elsa Murano Texas A&M

These Latinas in key leadership roles contradict the classic model of a president

of a four-year institution. First, they are women; secondly, they are of ethnic minority

background; and thirdly, many are from working class or lower income families. This is

in contrast with the typical background of most presidents: Anglo males in their 60s',

from professional, executive, manager or proprietor fathers, from upper-middle income families (Cohen & March 1974; King & Gomez, 2008). For many Latinas, their backgrounds, ideologies and their vision are not typical of the Anglo male model of a president or top-level administrator.

Throughout this study, an effort was made to chronicle Latinas' experiences in leadership positions with regard to embedded structures and mechanisms that have affected their trajectory towards the top ranks of administration of four-year institutions. Conceptions of merit, leadership and individual characteristics, and skills and strategies that might help Latinas move up to the top ranks of administration were examined. Success strategies used by these leaders, that might help more Latinas in higher education move up the ranks of administration, were also noted. In examining the experiences of Latina leaders in the academy, theoretical frameworks used to examine the institution included academic capitalism and social selection. Later in the study, social reproduction emerged as relevant to the examination of Latinas in higher education. Resiliency, dual culturalism, and change agent leadership theories were also found to be useful in examining Latinas' personal experience and characteristics.

A review of the leadership literature, and the actions and ideology of participants, showed that the change agent leadership model most clearly describes the leadership style of Latinas in top-level administration. These women used a change agent ideology that fits within the tenets of critical race theory to facilitate the evolution of their institutions. They understand change is slow, but were willing to work to facilitate dialogue and action. Also, their commitment to increasing access and to better serving first-generation

college students, students of color and low-income students keeps them focused and working hard.

As early as 1980, academic capitalism began to bring a free market economy ideology to higher education, as a series of recessions changed the funding structures for higher education and diminished the ratio of state dollars dedicated to higher education. Economic upheaval is a fact of life for everyone charged with policy development at the local, state and federal levels. Funding sources dependent on a tax base vary as the economy fluctuates. When revenue shortfalls are allocated among state services, higher education is likely to absorb larger cuts than other sectors, such as law enforcement and corrections. As the economy tumbles, public higher education must compete with K-12 schools, welfare, Medicaid, law enforcement, corrections and other services for available state funds (Callan, 2002). As state revenues for higher education decline, administrators must search for additional revenue sources to fund higher education.   As we search for ways to increase access and diversity at the top ranks of administration, it is important to understand that, as Callan phrased it, "the politics of scarcity are very different from the politics of prosperity in ways that are often inimical (detrimental) to financial support of higher education" (2002).

A study by the Illinois State University Center for the Study of Education Policy, titled *The Recession, Retrenchment and Recovery,* reviewed the effects of four subsequent recessions on allocations within institutions of higher education as a result of decreased state funding (Kelly, 2006). They analyzed 25-year trends and found that in each successive decade, recessions affected more states, percentage declines in

appropriations were larger and it took longer to recover.   In 1980, FTE declined in 26

states; in 1990, FTE declined in 38 states; and finally in 2001, the decline affected 44

states. In three of the four recessions, tuition increased faster than student aid or family

income, causing financial access to decline (Kelly, 2006).

Increasing tuition is one of the first things administrators consider as a way to

raise funds necessary for operations, but public outcry often compels administrators to

search for alternative sources of revenue. "A panel of university chief budget officers

said that campus administrators were very outspoken against tuition increases until the

legislature indicated that this would be the only source of new money. They reportedly

changed their minds very fast" (Callan, 2002, p. 14). As public resources become

scarcer, an environment emerges which forces administrators to search for new dollars.

The institution becomes more and more focused on entrepreneurialism and innovation, as

it moves further into the model of academic capitalism.

Although this study explored the impact of social selection process (filters) and

embedded structures on Latinas' trajectory, it also searched for an intersection between

these elements and institutionalized bias. Because there is agreement among researchers

that bias and institutionalized racism exists in higher education, (Valverde, 2003; Haro,

1990) this study does not seek to prove these biases exist, but merely documents their

effect on Latina administrators from the perspective of these individuals.

There is an overlap between Latinas' social justice ideology, change agent

leadership style and understanding of principles of critical race theory. Their actions

reflect a firm belief in *servicio al projimo* (service to the community or greater good) and

not a quest for personal, professional, or institutional advancement. They understand their fiduciary responsibilty and the need to have competitive programs and highly qualified faculty, however, they do not believe the critical mission of educating students should be sacrificed. These Latinas understand and acknowledge that racism exists but they are not deterred by it; instead, they seek to combat it by becoming successful and proficient in institutional cultural capital.

The Latinas in my project are clearly resilient and dually cultured. Before the study began, I anticipated that in order to succeed in higher education Latinas had to assimilate, that is, that they would have to leave their culture behind and assume the Anglo culture. However, the participants in this study chose not to assimilate; rather, they gained much strength from their dual culturalism. They used their Latino culture as a tool to guide them, but also were quite proficient in Anglo culture and tradition. Most importantly, their resilience and strength seems to have come from their strong sense of self, and their love of and passion for their Latino culture and traditions.

The Latinas in this study understood that in order to thrive in the institution, they first have to survive and their survival depended on their proficiency with institutional norms, protocols and cultures. It also required a steadfast sense of self and resiliency that is undeterred.   All of them persisted in spite of formidable challenges. This persistence and success allows others, including Latinas(os) in the pipeline, to believe that the adobe ceiling can be penetrated, however dense it may be.

Overview of Theoretical Framework

The study's findings and theoretical framework are represented in Figure 1. The model depicts the adobe ceiling that Latinas encounter, which also includes the effects of academic capitalism on the adobe ceiling represented by the triangle roof of higher education. It shows Latinas beginning to penetrate the adobe ceiling's thick surface as change agents who maintain a dual cultural perspective and are guided by their commitment to social justice.

The model also depicts Latina top-level administrators' characteristics and the ideologies that guide them in their leadership of the institution, and enable them to to penetrate the embedded structures represented by the triangle adobe ceiling that challenges their trajectory to the top-ranks of higher education administration. The square structure represents Latinas, their characteristics and the ideology used to counter institutionalized sexism, racism, classism, and the persisting pressures to maintain the status quo, which are embedded structures within the adobe ceiling.

Academic capitalism is the backdrop for the challenges Latinas face in higher education and, thus, it is part of the adobe cieling. Changes in funding ratios and decreases in state dollars for higher education move higher education institutions closer to the market and propel them into a quest for rankings and a search for external funding sources. Academic capitalism has helped create an enviroment more open to entrepreneurialism and to appointment of presidents who are percieved as able to fundraise and run the institution like a business, focusing on revenues, expenditures and profits. This business-type environment increases the inequities within higher education

in a variety of ways. It reinforces old hierarchies, and fundamentally undermines social justice oriented movements and mechanisms like affirmative action. Student aid is used as an enrollment management tool to maximize tuition revenue, not student success. It is used to lure students from other states, sometimes with tuition breaks, since out-of-state students pay hihger tuitions (provide more revenue) than in-state students. For the average student, grants become loans, and merit aid is increased at the expense of need-based aid (Rhoades, 2008).

Academic capitalism favors a leadership style that is focused on increasing revenue and resources for the institution. It favors ventures and leaders who will work to increase the fame and fortune of the institution by attracting new donors and funding sources. As institutions chase outside funding and rankings, research and instruction fields that will increase the revenue streams of the institution are given higher priority. The biological and physical sciences and medicine are favored over the social sciences, humanities, fine arts, and other non-revenue gereating fields. Similarly, student services are prioritized based on their revenue producing ability, not necessarily their impact on student retention and success. Tuition policies in this environment work against access. The steepest tution increases occurred during recession as states shif their costs to users, including students and their families (Callan, 2002). Access and diversity becomes buzz words, not funded goals.

The model that emerged from the data of this study portrays the findings that Latinas are dually cultured, social justice focused leaders, and who want to be part of the evolution of higher education. Their leadership style is based on an understanding and

acknowledgement of racism and inequity. Their actions reflect a firm belief in *servicio al projimo* (service to the community or greater good) and not a quest for personal, professional, or institutional advancement. They have had to contend with bias and stereotyping as well as deficit modeling in their own educational experiences. These experiences helped them understand a collective struggle for equality and the need for expanding access to education. Hardships have helped strengthen them and reinforced their sense of humanity. For some, their immigrant background also played a role in their academic motivation. Many were often told by their parents: "We came to this country to give you educational opportunities". This manifests itself as an unyielding commitment to education and as personal resiliency, handed down by their families. Most of the Latinas in this study described themselves as *mujerotas* (strong woman with inner potency and verve). A small number preferred to think of themselves as spiritual warriors, peaceful warriors, but warriors nonetheless.

Latinas in this study are clearly *change agents* vested in *social change*. They want to increase the access and success of underpriviledged and underrepresented populations in higher education. They refuse to strip themselves of their Latina identity or to fully assimilate to the Anglo culture; instead, they draw from their insights of being *bi-ultural* to lead the institution. As ethnic minorities they have experienced and they acknowldege vestiges of racism, classism and sexism in higher education and lead with an understanding of the need for social justice. They choose to combat the "isms" by being the most prepared and accomplished at the table and by being proficient in pertinent policy, protocal and procedure to move their institutions forward. As role

models, their experiences provide a counter-story as they provide evidence of what is possible for other Latinas and other institutions.

The model in Figure 1 may not depict all Latinas in top-level administration, however, I believe that it represents the experiences of the overwhelming majority of them; and, clearly all Latinas are affected by academic capitalism and the evolution of higher education. Although I cannot conclude that all Latina leaders refuse to assimilate or that they all use their culture and experiences with racism as a moral compass, regardless of whether they identify as Latinas or not, society will likely identify (and treat) them as such. The particpants in this study indicated that perhaps the most important difference about them is that *they are Latina presidents*. They said it is an inescapable fact, that regularly affects how they are percieved and treated. They must constantly battle deficit models and stereotypes, without alienating those who perpetuate these myths since they have to work with such individuals on a daily basis. The following model depicts Latina top administrators common characteristics, guiding principles and tools for Success.

FILTERS

EMBEDDED STRUCTURES

Adobe Ceiling-Academic Capitalism

Decreased funding-academic capitalism and increased focus
on entrepreneurialism, fundraising, rankings and revenue streams

Institutionalized bias-sexism, racism, classism, status quo persist

Anglo-normed vision of leadership and social reproduction

Are Change Agents	**Understand Higher Education**
- Committed to access, student success - Understand underserved populations - Have self-efficacy, resiliency, and courage	- Proficient in institutional culture and norms - Know how to manage large budgets and large workforce - Able to fundraise
Maintain Dual Cultures	**Have Educational Resilience**
- Refuse to assimilate - Choose to maintain Latina identity/view - Use cultural experience and insights as tools to lead institution - Chameleon	- Understand and have experienced collective struggle - *Mujerota*-woman with inner strength/verve - Spiritual Warrior-strong principled advocate - Human agency and academic motivation
Believe in *Servicio al Projimo*	**Are Social Justice Oriented**
- Guiding ideology is serving common good - Focus on serving students, community, faculty and not on personal advancement - Focus on making a difference not self-promotion	- Acknowledge effect of bias - Have experienced embedded structures of racism, sexism and classism - Political acumen informs advocacy

Figure 1: Latinas Penetrating the Adobe Ceiling - Embedded Structures and Counteractions

Latina Administrators' Unique Background and Experience

The insights of Latina leaders are underrepresented, indeed almost non-existent, in the literature. However, their underrepresion and their often underpriviledged beginnings make Latinas a valuable asset to higher education, and a valuable resource to enhancing our understanding of students, faculty, and administrators of color and other underprivileged populations. This may not be clear to all of the gatekeepers; thus, this study hopes to provide information to help clarify the importance of Latina leaders in higher education.

This study is focused on the Latina experience. In particular, what is different about being a Latina president or top administrator compared to being an Anglo male or female president of a four-year institution, from the perspective of Latinas? Participants were asked to explain what they believe is different about Latina presidents and Latinas in the top-levels of administration. Latinas invariably answered: "The fact that I am a Latina". In their perceptions, that is what is most different for Latinas. They believe that, first and foremost, they are seen as Latinas and they are treated (evaluated) as such. One president answered the question in these words: "The fact that I am a Latina makes me different. When I walk into the room I am often perceived as a Latina first and as the president second. But I am the president for everyone not just for Latinos, that is my job."

All Latinas currently serving as presidents have been publicly touted as the first Latina presidents of their institutions and in some cases the first woman to serve, as well. Unlike Anglo males and Anglo females, whose racial or ethnic ancestry is largely ignored, Latinas are always identified by their ethnicity the minute they are identified as possible candidates for a top administrative position in higher education. Often for Latinas, their ethnicity seems to be an overriding characteristic for both the search firms and the institution.

Some participants believe that Latinas are often invited to be part of a search simply so that the search firm and institution can demonstrate that the pool was diverse, with no intention whatsoever of treating them as viable candidates. They firmly believe that they are often invited to be part of the search even though they are not the right fit and are not likely to get the position. This practice is so commonplace that a number of the Latinas interviewed said that they ask search firms: "Are you calling me to satisfy your need to have a diverse pool or are you seriously considering me for the job?" One participant stated she refuses to be used in this way so she addresses the issue up front and does not allow them to use her name to satisfy their need for diversity in the pool of candidates. One president recalled:

> The first time I applied for the presidency, I knew I wouldn't get it but I
> just had to do it. I made it to finalist...I got in because I was a Hispanic
> woman and they had a pool of all White men. They knew enough to get
> me in the pool because they needed a Hispanic female. Since then, of
> course, I get calls and I always ask, 'so do you need a Hispanic female'?
> There is always a pause at the other end of the phone, because you know
> what they want, and now they know you know. When it is out in the
> open, then you can have a real conversation. Then they can say we want
> diversity or we need a diverse pool and you can decide if you want to
> participate.

Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs since 1999 at CSU-Monterey Bay, Diane Cordero de Noriega was born, raised, and educated in California. Her credentials include a B.A. in Spanish from UC-Santa Barbara, an M.A. in Spanish Language and Literature in 1969 from UC-Davis and a Ph.D. degree in Confluent Education (bilingual, cross-cultural emphasis) from UC-Santa Barbara. Her career trajectory includes Assistant Vice President for Academic Affairs, CSU Executive Fellow, and Dean of the College of Education at CSU-Sacramento. Dr. Cordero de Noriega's areas of expertise include university Strategic Planning; preparing for WASC accreditation; working collaboratively with Student Affairs on enrollment management; and technology and distance learning. Latinas who are this highly credentialed and have this level of experience are few in numbers. Therefore, Dr. Cordero de Noriega, like some others in this study, reported they are often recruited for presidencies.

A number of participants reported they are disenchanted with search firms that are only interested in generating a diverse pool but who may not really try to match the person with the institution. This was particularly the case in public institutions (or systems such as CSU) that tend to use the same search firms. Latinas know which search firms are not sincere and they share this information among colleagues. Dr. Cordero de Noriega, like others in this study, reported that she makes a point of being candid with those search firms who are not really interested in placing her in a presidency or other top posts, but are simply trying to use her name to fulfill the need for diversity in the pool of candidates.

> Look I need you to be honest, are you looking for a little color in the pool? Are they interested in me? Do they know me? They choked and I said, well call me back when you know. I'm just appalled! Or the search firm will say, "We just don't understand why you are not a finalist, you were so fantastic."

In their eyes, Latinas are not judged merely as individuals serving as presidents, or provosts or chancellors but as Latinas first and foremost, representing *their people/their community*.   This is a heavy burden (one with which Anglo presidents are never saddled), but it is also a source of pride and of mission for Latinas serving in these top posts. The participants in this study clearly realize they have an opportunity to break new ground with their work and a responsibility to supersede all expectations and to "represent" well. They firmly believe they must work three times as hard, be three times more credentialed, and most of all, understand the politics and nuances of the institution, including the embedded structures of bias and privilege. This puts Latinas in challenging positions, where they have to choose between advocating, speaking out, or letting things pass unnoticed since advocating or speaking out comes with a personal cost. Two participants expressed the sentiments of the group with regards to expectations and personal cost:

> You have to know more than anybody else, you have to know all the footnotes; you have to know all of it, because people are counting on you. And you have to be the most prepared. It was instilled in me; every time you speak, every time you act on something, you are representing your people who were counting on you. That is probably what gave me a lot of strength to deal with things. I took on things that were clearly an injustice and it was the right thing to do, violation of people's rights and social justice. My elders and mentors would tell me. 'Whatever happens, never let them see that they hurt you, even though inside you want to cry. *Te lo tragas* [swallow it/keep it inside], never show fear!'   This advice served me well…. Never show fear!

> So I am very used to going in prepared. If they say you have to study
> 5 hours, then study 10 hours.
>
> My whole life has been about being the only Latina in the room. I go
> to meetings and there might be a black person or another Hispanic. I
> am conscious of my ethnicity and understand my responsibility. It is a
> complicated situation, on the one hand you don't want to speak for
> your group, but on the other hand, you have to speak for your group.
> I don't focus on my ethnicity, but when I have to speak up, I do. I
> have never taken on the role of being the minority and I choose my
> battles very carefully. You can spend your whole life and you cannot
> change people. But I am principled, so if I have to, I will speak out.

Although the study's respondents take pride in their Latina identity, their ethnic identity and bicultural orientation may be imposed on Latinas depending on their phenotype or the accent in their speech, which marks them appear as outsiders to the dominant social group (Padilla, 2006). Other women who may not have a Spanish-surname or look like or sound like a Latina may not suffer from racism based on their surname or appearance, but may be subjected to other forms of bias such as sexism. Of course, for most Latinas it is difficult to pass as Anglo, given surnames, appearance, and language. All of the Latinas in this study, regardless of surname and phenotype, are loyal to their ethnic and gender identity as Latinas. They are resolute in their need to serve the common good, *servicio al projimo,* and are unwavering about the need to help improve educational and employment opportunities for Latinos. Latina leaders in this study are passionate about serving low-income populations. It should be noted, however, that since not all sitting Latina presidents chose to participant in this study, it is not clear that all Latina presidents choose to embrace their Latino heritage or that all are focused on increasing access and serving underprivileged populations. Nonetheless, regardless of

how they feel about being Latinas, for the foreseeable future they are likely to be identified and judged as such wherever they go, including in institutions of higher education. Therefore, they are likely not able to avoid the effects of their ethnicity on them and their institutions.

Latina Leadership–Culture, Family and Sense of Self

This study provides insights regarding the experience of Latina administrators of four-year higher education institutions. Therefore, the effect of their Latino culture and their affinity towards their heritage was the first issue this study examined. What is the relevance they place on their status as Latinas in their daily lives and in their roles within the institution? Does their heritage come into play during their leadership of the institution? Also, although resiliency and self-efficacy is a shared characteristic for this study's participants and others in positions of high responsibility and authority, where does this sense of self come from for Latinas?

Latina administrators are often placed in one large indiscernible group, but they are not a monolith and should be considered as individuals. They come from different ethnic backgrounds, different walks of life and different ideologies. For example, this study includes Latinas of Puerto Rican, Cuban and Mexican descent. Some come from struggling low-income families with firm traditional beliefs; others come from highly accomplished, educated or biracial backgrounds. Their generational status in the U.S. influences their perspectives, acculturation, and ability to navigate different systems, including the higher education system. Still, all of the Latinas in this study, including the

biracial ones, highly value and cherish their Chicana, Latina, Hispana culture and identity. Ogbu's theory of the *involuntary minority* provides insights regarding differences in Latinas' self-perceptions and ideology (Ogbu, J. U., & Simons, H. D. 1998). This perspective helps us understand why Latinas who have much in common such as language, tradition, culture and even ancestry may see the world through a different lens.   According to Ogbu, SES and circumstance of immigration as well as generational status in the U.S. play a major role in how immigrants and their offspring see themselves (1988).

Latinas do not belong to the dominant group, language or ideology. The country of origin and generational status of participants in this study are different. They are an eclectic group with interesting histories. Estela Lopez is a Cuban exile, and experienced a traumatic departure from Cuba at an early age. Desdemona Cardoza's father is of Mexican descent born in Los Angeles but raised in Mexico, and her mother is Danish, born and raised in Copenhagen. Jeronima Echeverria is of Spanish descent; her father did not go through immigration and customs when he jumped off a ship in New York as a young man.

The 16 participants had slightly different realities and perceptions regarding their varying immigration histories. Most of the participants are of Mexican descent (10 of the 16); two were of Spanish descent, two of Puerto Rican descent, one of Cuban descent but was raised in Puerto Rico, and one is of Mexican descent on her father's side and her mother is an immigrant from Copenhagen. Yet their sense of purpose and commitment to social justice, inclusivity, low SES students, access, and Latino success was consistent.

Study participants are keenly aware of power differentials, White privilege and the minority experience within the institution. Even though they have different generational statuses in the U.S., they have similar style and passion for shaping higher education policy, and for increasing representation of Latinas(os) in higher education. Most of the participants in this study were first generation Americans, and first generation college graduates and in some cases first generation high school graduates. The three participants who emigrated from Puerto Rico were asked if they believe there is a difference between their experience and that of persons of Mexican ancestry. Does their normative status as U.S. citizens impact their feelings of belonging? Some answered that they believe the racism they experienced may be overshadowed by bias due to their low SES status. John Ogbu (1998) acknowledges the varying effects of different generational status of immigrants and the significant differences between immigrants from different nationalities and socioeconomic statuses, and the way they acculturate to American norms, their educational attainment and career trajectories. Latinos, whose circumstances are often oppressive due to bias and SES, experience formidable hardships. Participants in this study experienced stratified educational systems, laws prohibiting them from attending certain schools, policies keeping them from using White bathrooms, racism, and other forms of oppression based on their status as Latinas. SES also plays a role in feelings of (or lack thereof) entitlement and privilege once Latinas are in a new place.

Culture Empowers and Guides-*Servicio al Projimo*

This study discovered a connection between culture and Latinas' leadership style. Latinas used something that has historically been perceived as a liability (their culture), and they turned it into strength, refusing to assimilate and recognizing the value of the lessons of their families. They employed the pride and strength that was handed down from generation to generation to guide and empower them. Participants' ideology and leadership style were clearly influenced by their Latino cultural background and their experiences around low SES populations. Ninety-four percent of the participants were from low-to-middle SES backgrounds, but they were all sensitive and deeply committed to the needs of low SES students, even those whose parents achieved higher income status at some point in their lives. Participants expressed passion about developing a solid pipeline of Latinos who earn baccalaureate and advanced degrees, including doctorates and professional degrees such as in medicine and law. They are focused on providing mechanisms for skill-building and demystifying higher education. Many described increasing student success and expanding access as their life's work, more important than titles or distinctions.

Cecilia Burciaga, a pioneer and icon for Latinos is well known for her work at Stanford University and CSU-Monterey Bay. Cecilia, along with her husband Antonio Burciaga (now deceased), helped develop a multicultural residential area at Stanford. For over 20 years, she worked her way to the top ranks of administration and served students as a mentor and role model. Mrs. Burciaga's trajectory at Stanford began in 1974 and included positions such as assistant to president and director of the office of Chicano

Affairs; assistant to the provost; assistant provost; associate dean of graduate students; interim affirmative action officer for one year; and finally, associate dean of students and resident faculty. Looking back on a lifetime of service to students, she expressed participants' consensus belief about Latina administrators' motivation:

> For us it is a different trajectory, when you have a heart reason for being in a position. It gives you more courage and more stamina; you have a spiritual reason for doing this. My mission, my vision for doing my job was different. It was not about a job or a promotion. The students were the reason I was there! So you never rest; there is always something to do. Your sense of responsibility is different…. you don't have to succeed for yourself but for everyone else, the whole community depends on you.

> We were forging new ground; it was a very big deal. But our dedication takes its toll; many of us early Latina feminists got divorced. Some Anglo administrators felt it hindered my career, but I felt it enriched my life. That is why I got into it. We, my husband and I, were not in it for the resume. When my husband died, I got 500 letters …500 cards. We did touch a lot of lives! If I had lived differently or if I had focused on my career, I would not have gotten anything.

Dr. Estella Lopez was born in Cuba, although Puerto Rico became her home. Her family chose to leave Cuba, a decision that initially was very traumatic for her, but it helped her to realize that education was the only way to succeed. She attended Queens College and was awarded a scholarship to Columbia University where she earned her Masters and Ph.D., and later she was awarded an American Council on Education (ACE) fellowship. Dr. Lopez has served in a number of top-level administrative positions, including Vice President for Academic Affairs at the system level in Puerto Rico; Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs at Northeastern Illinois University; and Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs for the Connecticut State University System. Her

description of commitment to low SES students and access is very personal, yet it clearly states the feelings of others in this study.

> I made a commitment to work in places where access was one of the values. That is also where politics are strong. Education is what saved me and anchored me. I wanted to ensure that others had the same opportunities. I never wanted to work in a research institution. Research may be very beautiful, but I wanted to work at an institution where the learning was important. When I was young, I was a loser; I got clothes from the catholic charity. I did not know how to dress. I am very fortunate both my father and my mother graduated from college, but losing our country was very traumatic. We left after Castro…. my parents made that decision. Education has always been an anchor in my life.

Participants were asked what they believed helped empower them through life and professional careers and what challenges they had faced. They answered that their families provided the basis for how they view their lives, their commitment to social justice and their dedication to community. They spoke of childhood challenges and experiences that helped shape them as individuals. Interestingly, a pattern that emerged was their ability to turn adversity into strength and inspiration to do good things.

Julieta Garcia became president of University of Texas Brownsville at age 37 yet she has had a lifetime of seemingly insurmountable challenges. Dr. Garcia believes that empowerment and other gifts do not come from just one source or one individual. She believes it is important to give a lot of credit to others; it is important to know that none of us do this alone so we need to be humble. Although Dr. Garcia's mother died when she was just nine years old, she was deeply touched by her mothers' commitment to excellence and her lessons about our responsibility to others. Dr. Garcia and most of the

participants in the study credit lessons from adversity and their parents for empowering

them in times of duress.

> For most of us it comes from our parents; it definitely came from my parents. My mother instilled in us that we were to excel. She believed that we all have gifts and they were to be used for others. If you did not know your gifts, you would soon discover them; and we have to develop them. She was emphatic, '*ohhhh* you have been given a gift.' She was very serious about this and the more gifts you were given, the more responsibility you had to work very hard and to help others.

> Griselda Castro, Assistant Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs at the University of

California, experienced bias as she was going through high school. Her experiences

created a dissonance in her mind that made her angry. She did not understand why she

and other Latinos were being tracked away from college. This experience helped to

make her stronger and her anger made her want to prove her counselor wrong. It also has

been a guiding force in her administrative roles, which helps her work long hours to

increase the recruitment and retention of Latinos and other underrepresented populations.

> I am here for the benefit of students, not for personal recognition. I've never been about making a career for myself in higher education. My desire and passion to make a difference in the realm of education has empowered me. Being young and idealistic, I was very moved to change the structures that I saw as a high school student, to remove the barriers to education, which prevent access. We wanted to succeed in spite of our counselors who told us to our face: 'Mexicans are not lawyers. That is not a realistic goal for you. You need to go into auto mechanics or go the clerical route.' But this made us more determined to get to college in spite of them. My core value of working to achieve an equitable society with open access to higher education is also my strength, and my number one motivation. My strong sense of family history has helped guide me. I learned so much from my parents and grandparents as a result of their lives; they are also part of my guiding values.

Dr. Sylvia Rodriguez Andrew was appointed Provost and Vice President for

Academic Affairs for Antioch University Los Angeles (AULA), effective August 1,

2008. Dr. Andrew earned a Bachelor of Arts from St. Edwards University and a Master

of Social Work from Our Lady of the Lake University, followed by a Ph.D. in Social

Work at the University of Texas, Austin, and her J.D. from Lincoln Law School in San

Jose, California. In Texas her trajectory included assistant and associate faculty

positions. At San Jose State University she served as faculty and dean of the College of

Social Work. She also served as acting President of Evergreen Community College and

Interim Chancellor of the Evergreen Community College District. Dr. Andrew's very

humble beginnings, like other Latinas in this study, helped influence her life's work. She

described a life-changing experience, which, like those of other participants, provided

guidance regarding how to respect others and that also helped her develop a passion for

social justice. When she was a young girl, she rode the bus around downtown San

Antonio with her grandmother to translate as the elder went about paying her bills. In

time, this event served to empower her and make her very conscious of equity, dignity

and respect for others.

> When I was ten years old, I was responsible for going with my grandma
> to pay her bills and to translate. One day, I had to go to the bathroom so
> we went into a store to try and use the bathroom, but they threw us out
> saying, 'This store is not for you people.' Grandma asked, '*Que dice;
> que dice*?' [What are they saying?]. I remember the pain in her face;
> she understood the inflection in their voices and their demeanor. I knew
> I had to make something up. I knew not to tell her the truth, so I said, 'I
> don't need to go. It is upstairs, but I don't need to go.' So we left that
> store and took the Guadalupe bus home. I knew something was not
> right, I did not understand '*you people*' but I knew something was
> wrong. I never forgot that experience. Years later that experience, and

others within higher education, helped guide me in deciding the type of administrator I would become.

Respondents were deeply affected by and proud of their cultural roots. They spoke in-depth about the profound lessons and influence their parents' strong work ethic and pride in their heritage had on them. They believed their sense of self, their strength, and their empowerment came from watching their parents confront formidable challenges. As they were growing up, they understood the effects of their low SES status, language barriers and bias or racism they faced in their early years.

Even though they were fighting against procedures that were the well-established norm, Dr. Garcia remembers how her mother and her father did not back down from advocating on her behalf. When she was a little girl, Dr. Garcia was placed in a Spanish-speaking class although she was bilingual and spoke English as well as Spanish.

> In the mid 50's, about 1955 or 1956, my mother went to argue about this and they told her that there was no room. Then my father went in and made the same argument and got the same answer. So my father, who is a very peace-loving person, told them that he was going to take out an ad in the newspaper describing what they were doing to his daughter. The story that was retold over and over in our family is that as he was walking out the door, the principal chased my father and said 'Mr. *Vilarayal*… [Mr. Villarreal, she could not pronounce my fathers name]. I will find room in the class for your daughter.'

This event changed Dr. Garcia's track in school and put her on a path of rigor, and high expectations; it also placed her with a teacher who helped her believe that she was smart and capable. But the most important lesson this event and this placement taught her was that sometimes you have to take a stand to change things, and that you have to fight inequity and injustice. She became a misfit because the school was divided into the

Anglo and the non-Anglo groups, and now she and her best friend were placed with the Anglo-group, but Julieta Garcia was not an Anglo. "My teacher, Miss Alexander, believed that we were smart and that we were going to make it. So then I believed that I was smart and I was going to make it. That was the expectation I got first at home and now in school, together they made it true and I was not going to counter it."

Many Latina leaders also gained strength and resilience from watching their mothers work alongside the men or in independent businesses, modeling a strong work ethic and self-efficacy. Even though they had language barriers or different cultures than the environment they worked in, their parents never backed down from hard work and never stopped encouraging their daughters to become educated and help *el projimo* (fellow human). Although some families achieved success in their businesses, the Latinas in this study learned the value of hard work and responsibility from watching the operations of their family-owned businesses or by joining their parents as they worked the fields as migrant farm workers. Most importantly, they watched their mothers work hand-in-hand with the men in their families, along-side uncles, husbands and brothers to make their businesses thrive. Several participants whose families worked in the fields as migrant farm workers, and others who watched their fathers work as laborers, spoke with pride, mixed with pain, about their parents' hard work. They appreciated their parents' dedication to providing a humble but loving home.

Dr. Hilda Silva, Vice President Student Affairs at UT-Brownsville was taught the value of hard work, family, tradition and most importantly education. As part of a migrant farm worker family who fallowed the crops in Texas, she believes, her mother's

strength and strong role modeling still guides her through tough times. Like the other Latinas in this study, the hardships Dr. Silva faced growing up help guide her today and give her a passion for student success.

> There is no question my identity and empowerment came from my family, from my migrant farm worker family of seven. My parents taught us to be of service to others, to work hard, and to always try your best at what you are doing. My mother was a strong role model. She was in charge of hiring the women and daddy was in charge of taking the men to the different places. She was always very clear of who she was and what she wanted. One day we arrived to work only to find the place filthy. Mom said, 'If you want us to work, you clean and paint this place, or we leave. We will go back home! You are going to put us up in a hotel while you clean this place. I'm not going to put my children or the people that I brought here in this place!' So the guy did it. She knew we needed to work, but the guy needed us to stay. That example, watching her, taught me. They were great because of the foundation they gave us, and I was very fortunate.

Jeronima Echeverria, Provost at California State University-Fresno, was born in southern California. Her parents were Basque, born in northern Spain, who came to the U.S. at a young age. Her mom came with her parents but her dad was illegal. He jumped ship in New York City and migrated across the country to California as part of a chain migration that included Basque immigrants at the turn of the century. Dr. Echeverria credits her parents' steadfast work ethic and belief in education for her work as an educator. She describes her life on a sheep farm as a place where gender did not apply. There is no such thing as a man's world in her consciousness. She never set out to become part of top administration but enjoys being able to affect change.

> I grew up on a sheep ranch where my extended family tended to the sheep. I cannot describe all the many experiences I had there that contributed to who I am. But this question about a man's world, I guess I just don't buy it. I think that if you come from certain elements of society, elements that

don't deal with life in terms of this is a man's world, or woman's world, you look at the world and say this is hard work and then you do it. My mother was a very independent for a woman at the time. She provided a role model for me. She and my uncle owned a business in town before she married. My mother was very influential in making decisions and could make decisions without consulting my father. That helped [shape] me.

Dr. Adriana Ayala, Vice Provost at National Hispanic University, is a deeply religious and idealistic woman, but like the other women in this study, she is also a revolutionary thinker. The study's participants question the legitimacy of things others might take for granted. For Dr. Ayala, this strength has carried her far and led her to top posts at an early age. Dr. Ayala served in several administrator positions at National Hispanic University in San Jose, California; she served as department head, vice provost and interim provost. Like others in the study, she credits her mother's tenacity and strength of character for providing a role model to emulate.

My sense of self came from my family. We are very tight, and family-oriented, we did everything together. Our parents gave us a sense of our culture; a sense of what being Mexican meant. We spoke Spanish at home and with the family, but English at school. I knew that I belonged to the family. It gave me a deep sense of who I was, of being *Mexicana*. I was not a Chicana. I did not know what that meant until later. I always had a very positive self-image, a very strong sense of self. I had very thick glasses, one eye was very blind so my glasses were thick on one side and thin on one side. This is how it was for a very long time, but I was never conscious about anything negative. We are good Catholics; my parents are very positive, socially and humanly positive. They were very positive and kind, but they were also very clear that we must always help *el projimo*, help our community, and help others.

Cecilia Burciaga sums up participants' beliefs about what separates Latinas from Anglo administrators as follows: "It is that we still have the same sense of drive, passion and commitment, characteristic of underrepresented students. It is that you are not just here for yourself but you are here for a cause. It is about making a difference!" Latina

top administrators' unique background and experience includes respect and loyalty to their culture, family and sense of self. They are firmly committed to student success and expanding access, and to *servicio al projimo*, helping the community, and helping others. They are influenced by a desire for social justice, using negative experiences and bias as lessons providing insight and strength.

Latina participants in this study do not believe in gendered roles; to them there is no such thing as a man's job, or a man's world. Watching their mothers toil with the men in their lives gave them a fluid view of gender roles. A number of participants also believe that interacting as equals with their brothers taught them skills that later facilitated their interactions in the professional world.   Participants in this study do not buy into the notion that roles or positions should be appointed based on gender. They believe the work they did and the roles they took on in their families were the education and practice they needed for their careers. Practicing these roles at a young age with family members enabled them to compete freely with men and with total disregard to gender roles and stereotypes later in life.   Furthermore, Latinas who experienced sexism and even sexual harassment in higher education used their experiences to empower them and make them stronger.

Latinas in this study exhibited a solid sense of sense, and a strong sense of justice. I witnessed these characteristics during my site visits, as I watched them interact with colleagues, community members and others. Also, my conversations with the people in these Latinas' lives helped to provide a holistic understanding of them as individuals and as administrators. All of these data points led to a well rounded picture of the work and

the vision of these Latinas, as well as how they are perceived both in their communities and on a national basis. For participants in this study, the fact that they are representing their communities is never lost on them. Julieta Garcia best described what others exhibited or expressed during interviews:

> Very early on, I learned a great deal about courage and honesty. There is not any gray area in decision-making. It is either right or wrong. When you have a decision to make, it is black and white. There is nothing gray about it. If you would not want to see it in big print in the headlines on the front page of the newspaper, in big print, not little print, it is not right, and then you cannot do it.

Dual Culturalism Provides Strength and Insight

Latinas in this study maintain dual cultures; they have not assimilated into the Anglo culture. Most maintain their Spanish language, and Latino culture and traditions. Dual-culturalism is a viable alternative to assimilation. In anthropology and sociology, assimilation is described as the process whereby individuals or groups of differing ethnic heritage are absorbed into the dominant culture of a society. The process of assimilating involves taking on the traits of the dominant culture to such a degree that the assimilating group becomes socially indistinguishable from the dominant members of the society. As such, assimilation is the most extreme form of acculturation (Encyclopedia Britannica online).

Traditionally, assimilation has been taboo for Latinos as a means of replacing Latino culture and traditions with Anglo culture and traditions, particularly as a way to gain opportunity or acceptance. Latinos, unlike immigrants from other countries, have decried the pressure to assimilate and clung to a firm belief that their culture has value

and should not be replaced, even in spite of the extreme pressure to assimilate in order to be accepted and prosper. Those individuals who do assimilate are often shunned, marginalized and regarded "sellouts" by other Latinos.

Latinas in this study chose to maintain a dual cultural identity; they did not abandon from their identity as Latinas. Instead, they became proficient at the dominant institutional culture and used standard protocols, policies and procedures as the means to succeed and move up the ranks. They seemed to gain strength and empowerment from their culture and seemed able to lead more effectively due to their dual culture status as Americans and as Latinas. Their dual culturalism helped them develop exceptional leadership behaviors such as forethought, flexibility, inclusivity and empathy. They used culture and tradition to ground themselves and to give them a strong sense of self. Participants' strong sense of pride in their ancestry provided a sense of security that manifested itself as a shield against some of the biases they encountered. Participants' success seemed to be based on their ability to navigate both cultures with proficiency.

Before this study, I surmised, as many onlookers of Latinos in top ranks of administration might, that in order to move up the ranks, Latinos were compelled to assimilate, to leave their Latino roots behind as they moved up the ranks. For Latinas in this study, this was certainly not the case. Latinas in this study were asked a number of probing questions to find out if culture was part of the tools they use in the workplace and what effect it might have on their decision-making. They were asked to describe the things that guide and empower them: How do you describe yourself? Where do you get

your strength? What motivates you? What are your dreams for higher education in the future? What do you want to accomplish during your tenure in positions of influence?

As noted above, Latinas' identity is deeply rooted in the family and includes a sense of community and social responsibility, which informs decisions, guides them and shields them. They are also Americans living in an Anglo environment and are often working in predominantly White institutions. Early in their lives they learned and adopted critical fragments of English and other Anglo traditions and culture. Two presidents and several top administrators in this study are married to White men and have benefited from their husbands' insights, and perspective. These exceptional women have traversed and competed in formidable situations, primarily Anglo-male-normed environments, all of their lives. Their perspective, ideology and behaviors are not uniquely Latina or Anglo, but dual cultured. They have moved up the ranks of their institutions through hard work and dedication, by being exceptional and rising to the top in spite of the many barriers they faced along the way, and most importantly by becoming experts in the institutional culture and protocols.

It appears that Latinas' strong sense of self, and connection to family values are assets to them, but their ability to code-switch and move seamlessly through at least two different cultures and different situations makes them exceptional leaders. However, their dual identity includes varying degrees of internal turmoil and external tension between the two cultures. Although they fully understand their position in two distinct worlds, embracing and gaining strength from their ethnic background, values, and culture, they are also keenly aware of their sometimes-tenuous position within White

institutions. Only by becoming proficient in institutional culture can they navigate the trajectory to the top ranks. Although, they refused to turn their backs on their cherished heritage, they were astute in their ability and willingness to become proficient in dominant culture, traditions and norms. They were aware of but undaunted by bias they encountered throughout their education and professional careers, and empowered by a need for social justice and equity. Diane Cordero de Noriega believes, like others in this study, that you have is to be true to yourself.

> We don't have to fit into the White-male-model of leadership. I had a terrible experience, which had a deep effect on me. My mentor, who was just beginning to coach me, committed suicide. It frightened me and I thought, if this is what happens to women…. Or they become ball busters and fight all the way to the top; then they are attacked for acting like men, which is unbecoming of a woman. Getting caught in that can really pull you apart. Women have skills that men do not posses: negotiating and conflict resolution skills and skills which are fairly unique to the feminine psyche. Women can lead in a different way. Women are more inclusive in their decision-making. They listen more and are more responsive. They are divergent thinkers and can see the bigger picture. Those are real skills that can be brought to the table. I learned alternative ways of leading that allowed me to be true to myself. You have to learn your own style that is authentic to you.

Traditional models for integration of immigrants to the U.S. have included the process of "othering" and of forced assimilation. For example, anti-bilingual, English-only efforts seek to strip native languages and replace them with a dominant language to compel assimilation (Valencia, 2002). Seemingly innocuous models, theories and philosophies suggesting minorities strip themselves of their identity to succeed are both faulted and discriminatory (Tierney, 1999).

Tierney discounts efforts to strip students of their identity in order to succeed in the institution. He says for example,

> Vincent Tintos' theory of college student retention makes implicit suggestions that students must commit cultural suicide, that they must abandon their ethnic identities to succeed in predominantly White institutions. Tinto suggests students must shed their cultural heritage in order to succeed in school. This suggests that colleges and universities should take students during their first year and transform them into a monolith in order for them to have the opportunity to succeed within the institution, compelling them to conform and become "model students". Tinto's models are based on a dominant majority culture that expects that institutions of higher education strip non-Anglo cultures from incoming students so that they may excel in these institutions.

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) argued that the knowledge of the upper- and middle-classes are considered capital valuable to a hierarchical society. If one is not born into a family whose knowledge is already deemed valuable, one could then access the knowledge of the middle- and upper-class, and the potential for social mobility, through formal schooling. That is, if they assimilate, they will succeed. These theories have been challenged by critical race theorists and are becoming outdated, giving way to a more inclusive ideology. Forced assimilation and the belief that the only culture that is relevant is the majority culture are being challenged by top scholars in an interdisciplinary environment, including William Tierney-Student Development Theory (1999), Tara Yosso-Critical Race Theory (2005), Luis Moll and Norma Gonzalez-Funds of Knowledge (1993), and Amado Padilla-Bi-Culturalism or Dual Culturalism (2006). These scholars champion integration of the individual's culture and "funds of knowledge," or family wealth of culture and tradition, into the learning environment as tools for success.

One key finding of this study is that participants chose to maintain their cultural

identity, which defies conventional wisdom that "to succeed, you must assimilate". They

are dually cultured and did not give up who they are to become successful administrators.

Rather, they use their cultural and personal identity to strengthen them during challenging

times and to guide them in transforming their institutions. They attained or maintained

bilingual skills and they are bicultural. For example, Dr. Diane Cordero de Noriega's first

language was English but she studied Spanish and made Bilingual Education and English

as a Second Language her first career choice. Her family has been in the U.S. for many

years, so she sought to maintain her culture and her traditions.

Latinas' leadership is informed and highly influenced by their understanding of

the minority-status experience and by their first-hand view of poverty in their

communities. Latinas in this study witnessed the challenges students faced and were

focused on providing access and opportunities for low SES students. They understand

the bias that exists toward themselves and the students they are there to serve. One top-

level administrator explains what many encountered.

> We have some White faculty in leadership positions who, deep in their
> subconscious, believe Latino kids are just too way behind educationally
> and it is never going to happen [for them]. It comes out, I have heard it
> third person and I have seen it in their actions. That still exists here.
> We have some Latino faculty who also believe this, who were trained in
> other institutions to think like those institutions.

Latinas face deficit modeling and stereotyping that is both painful and irritating.

When Dr. Julieta Garcia was a student, a fellow Latino Ph.D. student explained to her the

nuances of the racism that have encroached on her and other Latinas throughout their careers.

> *'Fijate [Look]…* if you don't get the Ph.D. for some rare reason, *van a decir que no te lo dieron por que eres Mexicana,* you didn't get it because you are Mexicana. But if you do get it, they will say it was given to you because you are a Mexicana. You are going to spend the rest of your whole life proving that you earned it.'

> It is true, even to this day, at my age and with my credentials, and with my career successes. When I walk in, I still have to do it all again. People do not want to believe that whatever I have done, I did it. It is not attributed to me. People do not want to believe that I could have done what I did or that I am smart. I can feel it. They will say things to other people like: 'boy she is so smart. I didn't know, she is so impressive.' What they are saying is: 'this is in contrast to what I thought.' It is real, not imagined. For the rest of your life you have to prove that you didn't get the degree because of affirmative action. You got it because you merited it. You did not get the job because they were giving it to Hispanic women. You got it and kept it, because you merited it.

The majority of the participants work in institutions within communities that are low SES and have high concentrations of Latinos. They acknowledge that their experience in these institutions may be different from those of predominantly White institutions. One Latina at an H.S.I. institution bristled at some of the experiences that tend to repeat themselves regardless of the institution. She was incensed when she voiced a frustration shared by other participants, as they struggled to work past stereotypes and the burden of being the token minority. Latinas who succeed are often treated as the exception and as "not being like others Hispanics."

> Someone said: 'I don't consider you a Hispanic.' I asked: 'why, because I don't have an accent?' I am a Chicana! I am not White! People find me the exception to Latinas. It is meant as a compliment, but I get so frustrated. Is it because I am smart enough to be at a top school, because my parents are not poor? What makes you think I am not Hispanic? Is it

> that I don't talk like *theees,* with a heavy accent and I am not a maid? Is that what makes me a non-Latina in your eyes?

A key success factor for these Latinas has been their ability to draw strength from their culture. They nurture themselves, using their sense of self and resiliency to ignore negative stereotypes and deficit models that many try to impose on them. They do not go through life unfettered by negative experiences, but choose to capitalize on the positive. Furthermore, they focus on their role as change agents, and the positive work they are able accomplish because of, and through the positions they hold.

> I don't understand why a Latina would sell-out to White culture. Why? I don't want to embrace the White culture. I don't want to be a coconut. I am very clear, my label is Chicana, and I like that label. But when I deal with people who don't consider me like all the other Latinas, it makes me furious! ¡*Por favor*! [Please!]. I see plenty of intelligent, motivated, ambitious Latinas.   But why don't they see it. I am constantly shocked at how often they don't try, or deny what is right in front of them. Talented, skilled Latinos in every field, you just have to go look for them.

Resiliency and Survival-*Corazón y Coraje* (Heart/Passion and Anger/Frustration)

Meeting Latina leaders who participated in this study helped me to witness and understand their strength. It was evident that they had experienced many challenges and had learned tough lessons. But it was also clear these were not women who backed down from a challenge. They described their traumatic experiences, both personal and professional, and explained how they had developed resiliency and survival skills. They also described how their sense of duty was heartfelt from *el corazón* (the heart) and helped them in their daily lives. A number of them said their work was inspired by the anger and frustration they felt about the injustices they had witnessed and experienced.

Many of the participants from the California schools, in particular, said their c*oraje* (their anger and frustration) motivated their work.

Latinas believe that surviving early life events, including family poverty, struggle, traumatic deaths, and the challenges of being a minority in predominantly White schools or communities, gave them evidence of their inner strength. Participants found strength in various places, including their families, their culture and traditions. Some Latina leaders were challenged by poverty, unemployment, underemployment; or by a parent with alcoholism; and still others by the constant movement of being migrant workers. But the constant they all experienced was that of their families teaching them values, culture, tradition and an understanding of their personal worth; sometimes providing religion as a means of foundational support.

Participants experienced lessons in resiliency by observing the way their parents faced challenges. Language barriers, first generation college student status, and their status as first generation Americans challenged many of the participants. Several traveled around the country as migrant farm workers, following and picking crops. Still, others worked with their parents in their various occupations, including a sheep farm, a dairy farm, and Jafra and Avon sales. They were able to learn resiliency and personal strength from these experiences.

Padilla (2005) used a quote from Ernest Hemmingway to describe resiliency: "The world breaks everyone and afterward many are strong at the broken places." According to Padilla, there is an apparent correlation between a troubled childhood or an absent parent, and unusual achievement in later life. He cites researchers' findings that

successful adults often describe using academics, athletics, or leadership to neutralize turmoil in their lives. They feel buffered by the activities and supportive mentors such as teachers, friends and classmates. This helps them develop a sense of mastery through education and activities (Padilla, 2005).

Padilla (2005) also found that not just higher education presidents, but also world leaders experience the pressures to conform. He found leaders were exceptionally bright and able deal to with various forms of conflict by separating themselves from an issue ("dual view"). He describes their ability to view the organization from a metaphorical helicopter with a detached vantage point and, thus, better able to understand challenges and devise solutions.

He found that leaders who had extreme childhood difficulties learned to deal with adversity at a very early age by putting conflict aside ("dual processing") to deal with things in order of priority, such as President Clinton who has written about being able to live in parallel lives. He lived with alcoholism and abuse at home, but was able to compartmentalize at a very early age, to lock the door on problems, and run with full energy to resolve others; as if he were living two separate lives at the same time.

It appears that Latinas in this study also developed an ability to compartmentalize the various parts of their lives and are able to live parallel lives. They understand racism, sexism and classism exist and may impact them on any given day, but they choose to lock the door and run with full energy to address issues and resolve problems that need to be resolved. Like leaders described by Padilla, these women are able to ride the

helicopter and see the institution's problems from a detached viewpoint in order to be most effective.

When participants were asked to describe themselves and their leadership style, their words reflected the challenges they have experienced and the resiliency they have developed. Latinas view themselves as change agents working as facilitators in the evolution of the larger institution of higher education, not just their own institutions. They used a number of different words to describe themselves and other Latinas in top-levels of administration. Specifically, the words they used describe strength and verve and are words associated with Latino culture and of being from two cultures. During interviews, participants often spoke in Spanish to describe things that are somehow best described in a native tongue. They used words like *coraje* (anger), *corazón* (heart), *chingona* (tough, influential woman), *chameleon*, *spiritual warrior*, *mujerota* (tough, strong, determined woman), *revolu* (chaos perhaps of revolution), and *mujer* (woman) to describe themselves and other Latinas leaders. Another word that also emerged was *coraje* (anger/frustration); a word that emerged not just in my conversation with these Latinas but that is also found in the literature. It seems to have originated in California as a way to describe Latinos' need for change and frustrations with systems of oppression:

> I really believe that Latinas, coming from the background that we come from, do see it from a different angle. We have a different level of investment. It is different! We are tied to the community. It comes from an angle of being angry, that there is no representation out there. Yes, it is very different. *CORAJE*...That is where my *coraje* comes from; it has always been there, it has never gone anywhere. It is always present in everything we do and it will not dissipate until we see representation. That is what drives a Latina president. Just having a Latina president is very different.

Provost Echeverria is lucky to work on a campus she believes supports diversity efforts and where the institutional culture is positive and collegial. Still, like others in this study, she acknowledges that challenges exist, but tries to facilitate change through visionary and strategic action. Like most of the participants in this study, she views herself as (and is) a change agent. She understands boundaries and works within constraints to maximize her effectiveness, but is also willing to try new approaches to get things accomplished and is willing to take risks to make things better.

> You can be a little bolder when you are not worried about it. I just hit my 60 years of age, so tell me something I don't know. I am at a stage in my life and in my career where I don't feel as vulnerable as I might have at 25. I am not untouchable, but I am not worried. We choose to live in our own reality so I can focus on the negative, but on the other hand, I can focus on that which will have the most positive effect. So that is what I do. It is one or the other. I look for the way to be most effective and to get what I want.

Some leaders are relying on the model used to recruit athletes as a way to increase diversity in search pools. This requires a more deliberate search process. You have to keep an eye out for developing talent on a national level and be willing to do the extra work to develop relationships. Under this model, one has to look for talent that fits the particular institution's needs and culture, write the job description to reflect the applicants' talents, and bring them to campus for presentations and events. Thus, one is always carefully identifying the talent for the next generation of faculty and leadership and helping to prepare them. Although the Latinas in this study each have their own style and personality, they are all deeply committed to change. One administrator described a recent search:

I do feel responsible to behave within certain norms. You have to know
the rules, and then look for the flexibility for you to operate.   I really miss
Affirmative Action. Affirmative Action gives employers some leverage,
but there are ways to be proactive and creative to increase diversity.

Dr. Adriana Ayala believes *Mujeres Activas en Letras y Cambio Social* was

pivotal to her growth and development. She described the usefulness of Latina support

organizations and national networks, and believed the support and information she

received from mentors and champions at the national level have helped her move up the

ranks.

Latina organizations and networks provide support and leadership
training. We call each other *mujer* [woman], all the time. They are
beautiful mentors and role models, *mujeres* [women] who were the first
Latina Ph.D.s in their fields. They are fierce. I loved their fierceness and
how they articulated their ideas and their thoughts and challenged each
other. They were not lovey, dovey, they did not hold back, they were
fierce and frank and it was ok to challenge each other. They were my
mentors in these leadership positions. When you say *mujerota* [influential
woman], you are talking about being *chingonas* [powerful women]!
Mujeres [women] that know what it is about, what being a mujer [woman]
is all about? They know what it is like to be the only one in the
department. They are working class, heterosexual, *lesbianas* [lesbians];
they know and understand.

For all administrators, day-to-day experiences in the institution may be

challenging, but for Latinas there is an added component. From an early age, Latinas are

likely to experience cultural bias but then there are additional challenges such as sexism,

racism, and even classism. Latinas in this study learned from those experiences, they

used negative experiences to gain wisdom and became more resolute. Those who

experienced intensely traumatic events developed resilience and self-efficacy, which they

believe helped prepare them to deal with the challenges of their high-level and high-

responsibility positions, including bias they faced in higher education administration.

Dr. Julieta Garcia remembers her most powerful lesson vividly:

> My mother died when I was nine and my father never remarried. He
> focused on us and taught us a lot about strength, and what happens when
> you falter. He said, 'you three have survived the hardest thing children
> will ever experience. You lost your mother and nothing you will ever
> encounter in your entire life will ever be as hard again. Remember, you
> have survived this, everything else is survivable.' Those are very
> powerful words to give to children, and we believed everything he said.
> We have used those words over and over again in our lives and reached
> for those words when we needed them, when we hit the wall. We have
> already survived the worst so… His words set the roots for all of us. It
> was very empowering!

Dr. Tessa Martinez Pollack, President Our Lady of the Lake University, is a

beautiful, tall, elegant woman. At first glance she reveals a strong sense of self that

is unyielding. However, she is not intimidating, she is kind yet cautious and knows

her strengths and her limits. Dr. Pollack has endured life and career challenges that

would break a lesser person. Yet she uses these challenges to steel herself for

whatever comes next. Dr. Pollack uses the legacy of her mother and the

grandmother who raised her, to empower her. Her grandmother worked a day job

at a fabric store then bartered sewing with the nuns in exchange for a portion of Dr.

Pollack's education at Our Lady of the Lake High School.

> My mother died when I was two years old. My empowerment came from
> having to learn to stand on my own. After my mom died and dad went
> back to Mexico, I felt abandoned. But my grandmother gave me
> unconditional love. I remember my grandma … GOD, I remember this
> and maybe this is where my tolerance came from. She worked all day and
> at night she sewed for the convent so I could go to Our Lady of the Lake

High School. She had terrible foot trouble and she would get off that bus and she could barely walk. She had bunions from here to the street. I remember thinking, boy I know she is hurting and she still gets up to go to the bus, to go to the fabric store and sew. Then she comes back home at night to sew some more.

Loss was always kind of an important part of my life. I had to be very self-sufficient. If I was unhappy, I had to make myself happy. If I was lonely I had to find ways to deal with that. At 17, I lost my beloved grandma. My empowerment came from somewhere deep within…. that drives every human being when you are left standing on your own. It calls for you to do a lot for yourself, to find your own center and your own grounding. It forces you to be strong.

For Latinas, strength and hard work are the means to an end. One word that best describes the Latina leaders in this study is verve; they had verve! They were strong, dynamic, and full of vim and vigor.   As with all administrators, their skills, patience and resolve were tested daily and undermined often.

Most of the Latinas in this study went to college at a time when social activism was at a peak. They witnessed the Civil Rights Movement, the Moviemiento Chicano, anti-war movement (Vietnam), civil unrest and demonstrations. These events and experiences helped shape their perspectives and helped them develop their leadership styles. They describe political acumen, problem-solving, conflict resolution and understanding the institution as critical skills. They also use words like *mujerota, mandona, chingona, mujer*, *chameleon*, and *spiritual warrior* to describe themselves and their coping mechanisms. These words denote their toughness, strength, conviction, verve and ability to persist against the odds. One participant, however, was not comfortable with these strong words. She describes herself as a spiritual warrior. Even though her strength has been proven repeatedly throughout her tenure in education and

the challenges of being a single mom, she believes being young and idealistic and her

desire and passion empowered her to make a difference in the realm of education**.**

Assistant Vice Chancellor for Student Life Griselda Castro refused to get caught up in

anger but chose to be the peaceful, spiritual warrior:

> I am a fighter; I am very resilient. I do not see myself as a *mujerota*
> because I am not an aggressive person I am a quiet warrior, a spiritual
> warrior, a peaceful warrior. I work most effectively behind the scenes.
> The component of being a warrior is an essential part of the package, but a
> spiritual warrior and peaceful warrior. When my children experienced
> racism, I taught them how to survive racial profiling and assumptions that
> created crisis in their self-esteem. They learned to heal by spiritual warrior
> ideology and building resiliency. These skills have also enabled me to be
> useful to the institution and to my community in times of conflict.

Dr. Cordelia Candelaria is a respected administrator and well-known scholar,

having been awarded the University Distinguished Professor of English at Arizona State

University (ASU).   Dr. Candelaria was recently appointed dean of the College of

Humanities and Sciences at Southern Methodist University (SMU) in Texas. Previously

at Arizona State University, Dr. Candelaria was the founding associate dean for the Office

of Strategic Initiatives and served as Vice President for Academic Affairs for ASU's

Downtown Campus. She has a long history of academic service and scholarship, but also

of working tirelessly for equity and to provide mechanisms for all students to be

successful. She is passionate about demanding respectful treatment of Chicano history

and students within higher education.

Dr. Candelaria has been called a *mandona* and a *mujerota* most of her life. A

mandona is a bossy person, someone who is in control and a *mujerota* is a woman of

substance, a woman who knows her mind and is unfettered by life. Part of a migrant farm

worker family who moved extensively during Dr. Candelaria's childhood, she became

"the responsible one." She credited her family experience with learning to finish tasks.

She described her early life as very transient and pivotal to becoming a *mujerota* as she

helped her mother keep the family moving forward. Like the other Latinas in this study,

her memories of struggle and even tragedy and trauma during her formative years served

her well. Although her family roles were fairly gendered, her very close relationship with

her brothers and the early years of playing football with the boys, gave Dr. Candelaria a

gender-free perspective of life. Like other Latinas in this study, she refused to be told

what a woman can and cannot do. She is not intimidated by men or male roles and is

happy to voice her opinions regardless of the gender of the receiver. The love the women

in this study experienced from their tight knit families, and their focus on education as the

mechanism for creating better futures, continues to anchor them in times of struggle.

Dr. Sylvia Andrew described the higher education experience as having to learn

how to be a chameleon, because one has to be flexible and play so many different roles

every day. Because Latinas have straddled two cultures all of their lives, it facilitates

their movement from one environment or role to another:

> Latinas are like chameleons. One minute you are an administrator at the
> Council of Deans meeting giving your dean's report and talking about
> your budget; but when you speak of students and advocate for them, there
> is passion in your voice and you are a Latina. We are flexible, different
> roles require different demeanors, depending on the needs of the situation.
> So that is one of the beautiful things about us Latinas, Hispanics,
> Chicanas, *mujeres*, Tejanas, whatever term you want to use. We are like
> chameleons and you have to be a chameleon to succeed in academia.

The Latinas in this study are breaking new ground. Their unique perspectives and ability to straddle at least two cultures makes them an asset to their institutions. They are role models for Latinas in the pipeline. Their success using a dual culturalism ideology provides a model that can be replicated. Understanding that it is not necessary to assimilate, but that Latinas can be successful blending two or more cultures to benefit themselves and the institution, is an important finding of this study. This finding tracks well with current research that is challenging historical beliefs that the only relevant culture is the majority culture. Top scholars in an interdisciplinary environment, including William Tierney-Student Development Theory, Tara Yosso-Critical Race Theory, Luis and Norma Gonzalez-Funds of Knowledge, and Amado Padilla- Dual Culturalism are paving the way to new ways of thinking about cultural capital; they provide mechanisms for helping move the institution to a model of inclusivity and out of embedded structures of exclusivity. These scholars have shown that it is highly possible and quite useful to incorporate respect of diverse populations, cultures and ideologies to enhance higher education.

Familia Primero-Family First

Latinas are family-oriented, their culture teaches them *la familia primero* (the family comes first). This ideology is in contrast to higher education and other professional environments and presents an additional challenge. The structure of higher education, like other professional environments, is not always geared to accommodate family needs, since expectations and norms are based on a male model. The male-

dominated leadership of institutions commonly discourages the advancement of women to the top echelons through a lengthy and ambiguous filtration and socialization processes.

Since women's career tracks often include detours for childbearing and motherhood responsibilities and sometime include stopping the clock for maternity leave. There may be some reluctance to hire women who are headed for motherhood and possible work stoppages. Alice Eagley and Linda Carli (2007) provided a comprehensive look at the challenges women face in various institutional settings and include a discussion about gender differences based on numerous studies. They describe the plight of women in various institutions, including higher education, as follows:

> Historically, women with young children or who admitted they planned to have children were penalized. A male CEO of a search firm is quoted as saying, 'Listen I'm meeting my bottom line. My reputation is based on getting them candidates they are comfortable with. I can't bring in too many minorities and women.' This rationale served to block women's ascent to elite leadership positions even as lower-level positions began opening up (p. 5).

Latinas share many experiences with women of all ethnicities that they do not generally share with males. In a study of ten women presidents, Susan Madsen (2008) found that nine of them had children. Presidents interviewed discussed their life choices and how having children affected their careers. Of course, this is generally not part of the conversation with male presidents. Five study participants chose to work only part-time while they were bearing and raising their children. They described this as enabling them to continue their careers while focusing significant time and energy on raising their children and only worked part-time until their children were in school full-time. Three of

the presidents Madsen interviewed continued working full-time during the years they were bearing and raising young children. They described finding dedicated caregivers who gave them peace of mind (Madsen, 2008). This discussion of motherhood choices and responsibilities shows that even the women who chose to continue working fulltime had the responsibility of "finding dedicated professionals who gave them peace of mind". Male presidents generally get peace of mind from their wives. However, for women, without these exceptional caregivers there would be no peace of mind. Male presidents do not have this additional burden or internal conflict, because they have not generally been expected to be the primary caregiver for their children.

Latinas in this study were undeterred by the negative stereotypes that motherhood and family responsibilities infringe on women's ability to fulfill work expectations. They stressed the importance of family as paramount to their happiness and ultimately their success and use creative ways to maintain their emphasis on family while excelling at their professional duties. Most of the participants start their day very early and end it late into the night to fulfill family and work expectations. They find ways to work from home, or commute to nearby universities to maintain stability for their children. They schedule family time and involve their families in their campus events and activities. They believe their families keep them grounded and energized to do the work that is needed to advance access and student success. They are also deeply committed to their communities, devoting time and energy to involving their community in the success of their institutions and students.

A number of participants said that their demanding environments require time to step away from the pressures and unwind. They stressed the necessity of separating work pressures to spend time with one's family or outside interests. Dr. Nuñez provided a good example of how to make the adjustments to maintain balance and family unity:

> You have to maintain good relationship with your family. You get a lot of satisfaction and love from your family. If you value that, you will be secure. I have always been family-focused. That is the value I got from my mother and father. I separate my family life from my professional life very well. That has helped me in my career. I get a tremendous amount of satisfaction from work, but I get a tremendous amount from my family. When my work is not perfect, I have my family. I don't look at my work to make me a satisfied person. My family defines me. During my first year as president, I attended my daughter's graduation from medical school instead of commencement at my own campus because they were at the same time. It was the right decision.

Participants also stressed the importance of maintaining a sense of self to help them make difficult decisions and lead initiatives. Important characteristics of a leader identified by researchers also include understanding one's strengths, weaknesses and limitations (Padilla, 2005). Latinas' stubborn bond to family traditions and love of their culture gives them a strong sense of self that empowers them. Study participants are self-aware and reflected on their limitations within the institution.   They understand that in order to succeed in their university initiatives, they cannot try to impose their will, but rather they work to build consensus. They understand the structure and politics of the institution and the importance of their efforts within it. This understanding gives them the patience to work slowly within the constraints and ambiguities of the institutions. It keeps them from being overwhelmed and burning out in the short run and enables them

to focus on the long-term effect their efforts will have on future generations. However, this does not mean that everyone accepts their initiatives or that their existence within the institution is without conflict or controversy. Those who choose to be change agents often find themselves immersed in tumult. Latinas' belief in *la familia primero* may cause some role conflict and tension that they have to reconcile, but the rewards they get from *la familia* (the family) also seem to provide the impetus for the work they choose to do.

Institutional Analysis -Embedded Structures Affect Latinas' Trajectories

The focus of the institutional analysis of this study was to uncover the organizations' embedded structures that help or hinder Latinas. Participants were asked what institutional structures affected them in their trajectory to the top ranks of university administration? What were the filters, challenges or constraints that they faced and what keeps Latinas from the presidency? Most importantly, what elements can help increase the appointment of Latinas to the presidency? To uncover elements that affect Latinas trajectories, in addition to interviews, I gathered information by reviewing websites, press and media documents, and visiting university campuses. I searched for common organizational elements that may affect Latinas' recruitment and trajectories in higher education. In particular, I searched for similarities in key areas such as:

- Selectivity or admit rate
- Status as private or public institution
- Cost of tuition

- Degrees awarded

- Demographics of the students

- Demographics of areas in close proximity to the institution

- Status as H.S.I. or proportion of Latinos at the school

Latinas in this study lead institutions with similar student demographics, size, H.S.I. status and selectivity or admit rate. Their appointments are in institutions similar to those described by Esquibel (1992), institutions in which Latino male top-level administrators were accepted and in geographical areas where Latinos were clustered around 30 years ago. They are concentrated in areas where there are large representations of Latinos in the community. Table 8 summaries the characteristics of the institutions participants in this study lead, and Table 9 shows the characteristics of the students at these schools.   Five of the seven administrators interviewed in California were found in institutions with H.S.I. status and located in low-income, high Latino communities. Of the remaining two California participants, one worked for a private elite college and the other is located in a low-income, high Latino community but with a 16 percent Latino student population.   If the high-selectivity, elite school with an admit rate of 10 percent is removed as an outlier, the selectivity rate of the California schools averages 59 percent.   The selectivity of the remaining schools is low. One school is an open access school and one has a 95 percent admit rate. The remaining schools' selectivity average is 54 percent.

Although this study cannot be used to make grand generalizations due to the small sample size, it is clear that, in the majority of the cases, Latinas are at the helm of low to

moderate selectivity schools with high concentration of Latinos in low-income areas.

This has not changed much from the traditional representation of Latinos in these

institutions, except for slight increases in representation at the higher ranks of

administration.   On the positive side, most of the institutions led by Latinos are located

in areas where they are in a position to help provide and expand access for low income

and minority students. Although a small number of Latinos have had presidential

appointments at research institutions, to date only one Latina, France Cordova, has served

as president in such an institution.

Table 8: Institutional Characteristics

Institution	City	State	Female: Male	Selectivity Admit Rate	Degrees	Instate Cost	Out of state Cost	HSI Status	Percent Instate	Total # Students	Graduate Students
Arizona State University Public	Tempe	AZ	51 49	Low 95%	B, M, D, P	$5,661	$17,949	N	64	50,904	9,278
California State University-Bakersfield Public	Bakersfield	CA	68 32	Med 47	B, M	$4,077	$14,247	Y	81	7,700	1,635
California State University-Fresno Public	Fresno	CA	60 40	Med	B, M, D	$3,687	$13,857	Y	99	21,457	2,266
California State University-Los Angeles Public	Los Angeles	CA	63 37	Med 63%	B, M, D	$3,651	$13,831	Y	98	2,0565	5,213
California State University- Monterey Bay Public	Monterrey Bay	CA	58 42	Med	B, M,	$3,3014	$13,471	Y	95	3,879	261
Connecticut State University System Public	Hartford	CT	N/A	NA	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	NA	N/A	N/A
Eastern Connecticut Public	Willimantic	CT	52 48	Med 58	A, B M,	$7,406	$16,543	N	90	5,137	311
The National Hispanic University Private	San Jose	CA	57 43	Low 61	A, B	$6,080	$6,080	Y	NA	519	120 Post Bach
Our Lady of the Lake Catholic	San Antonio	TX	67 33	Low 49	B, M, D	$20,232	$20,232	Y	98	2,642	1,079
San Jose State University Public	San Jose	CA	52 48	Med 64	B, M,	$3,992	$14,162	N	98	31,906	7,516
Stanford University Private-elite	Stanford	CA	51 49	High 10%	B, M, D, P	$36,030	$36,030	N	44	18,744	12,160
University of Texas Brownsville Public	Brownsville	TX	60 40	Open Access	C, A, B M, D	$2,337	$7,401	Y	92	11,620	473

N/A - Not Available Information

Table 9: Student Characteristics

Institution	American Indian	Asian	Black	Hispanic/ Latino	White	Undergraduate	Graduate
Arizona State University	2	6	5	15	67	41,626	9,278
California State University- Bakersfield	1	7	8	38	33	6,065	1,635
California State University-Fresno	1	14	5	32	37	19,191	2,266
California State University-Los Angeles	1	23	10	51	16	15,352	5,213
California State University- Monterey Bay	1	3	4	27	47	3,618	261
Connecticut State University System	NA	N/A	N/A	NA	N/A	N/A	NA
Eastern Connecticut University	<1	2	9	7	73	4,826	311
The National Hispanic University	NA	N/A	N/A	Predominantly Hispanic	N/A	N/A	NA
Our Lady of the Lake University	<1	1	6	81	8	1,563	1,079
San Jose State University	<1	31	5	16	8	24,3900	7,516
Stanford University	2	25	8	13	40	6,584	12,160
University of Texas Brownsville	0.1	0.6	0.3	93	5	11,147	473

N/A - Not Available Information

Data Tells a Story of Slow Growth in Representation

Even though strides have been made, the number of Latina top-level administrators continues to be a very small fraction of their Anglo counterparts. According to the ACE *Pathways to the Presidency* Report, only 16% of all senior campus administrators are people of color and 84% are White (King & Gomez, 2008). The demographic breakdown of higher education top administration is shown in Table 10. The 16% minority administration is made up of 4% Hispanic, 9.3% Blacks, 1.6% Asian American, and 0.4% American Indian.

Table 10: Racial/Ethnic Characteristics of Higher Education Senior Administrators

Race/Ethnicity	Percent of Senior Administrators
White	84
Black	9.3
Asian American	1.6
American Indian	0.4
Hispanic	4.0

On the Pathway to Presidency: characteristics of higher educations senior leadership (King & Gomez, 2008)

The percentage of women compared to men in the presidency of four-year institutions is shown in Table 11. Women make up 45% of all senior administrators, but only 16% of senior leaders surveyed were members of minority groups. The presidency is made up of approximately 86% Anglos, with 23% female and 87% male presidents. Only 14% of all presidents are people of color (King & Gomez, 2008).

Table 11: Gender and Ethnic Makeup of Administrators and Presidents

	Percent of Senior Administrators	Percent of Presidents
Female	45	23
Male	55	77
People of color	16	14
White	84	86

On the Pathway to Presidency: characteristics of higher educations senior leadership (King & Gomez, 2008)

Pipeline issues are often blamed for the low representation of Latinos at the top ranks of administration. Participants echoed this concern repeatedly, saying that the number of doctorates earned by Latinas(os) must increase in order to provide a critical mass and increase the representation at the top ranks of administration. Many believe that until the number of Latino doctorates and tenured faculty increases, leadership appointments will continue to stagnate. However, pipeline issues are not the only reason the numbers continue to languish. Bias embedded in the system at each step in the filtration process must also be acknowledged in order to address the need for increased representation of Latinas(os) and other people of color at the top ranks. Status quo search committees and processes, focused on Anglo-male normed leadership models, must be scrutinized, and addressed with strategic measures to increase inclusivity and diversity in the search, selection and advancement processes.

A woefully low representation of Latinos continues in the faculty ranks, college deans and in other top academic leadership positions, including the Chief Academic Officer/Provost and College Dean positions, as shown in Table 12. Hispanics make up only 2.9 % of all tenured full-time faculty compared to Whites who make up 85.2%.

Latinos are similarly underrepresented in academic administrative tracks, such as Chief

Academic Officer (CAO) positions, with a mere 4.5% representation as compared to

90.5% White. Also, Latinos make up only 2.4% of academic college deans compared to

85.8% White. These are three key positions where the number of Latinos must increase

in order to develop a significant pipeline to the presidency.

Table 12: Faculty and Senior Academic Administrators by Race/Ethnicity

Race/Ethnicity	Full time Tenured Faculty %	CAO Provost %	Central Senior Academic Affairs Officer %	Dean of Academic College %
White	85.2	90.5	85.0	85.8
Black	4.5	5.0	7.6	7.2
Asian American	6.2	1.9	1.8	2.8
American Indian	0.4	.2	.3	.5
Hispanic	2. 9	2.4	4.6	2.4
Other multi race	0	0	.6	1.3

Source data on faculty: Cook, B & Cordova, D. (2006). Minorities in higher Education:
Twenty-second annual status report, Washington, DC: American Council on Education

At each juncture there are a number of specific steps that must be taken to move up

the administration trajectory, and at each step there are critical filters that are keeping

Latinos out. The participants in this study agreed that bias could be a formidable filter for

Latinas and others moving up the ladder. They understand that it is easy to be derailed at

each step of the process. They believe that mentoring and champions are useful to help

ameliorate these effects, individuals who can demystify the protocols and the filtering

process. They believe Latinas are judged more harshly and are expected to know more

and perform better than their Anglo counterparts. They credit the Civil Rights

Movements and Affirmative Action for creating an environment that became more open

to them and other underrepresented minorities and helped bring about important change.

Latinas interviewed struggle with academic capitalism universities that are

primarily focused on increasing rankings at the expense of access. They expressed

passion for increasing access and success of Latino students but, most importantly, they

are amenable to the needs of low SES students of any race/ethnicity or gender. They

bristle at deficit modeling but acquiesce that there are pipeline issues and grapple with the

challenge of the remediation necessary for many of students of color. They are ready to

take steps to facilitate the evolution of their institutions and are not satisfied with status

quo management. Much of the conversation regarding success mechanisms, skills, and

moving up the trajectory towards the top ranks included notions about developing the

elements of social, cultural and institutional culture for those who might most benefit

from this.

Institutional Challenges

¿Que no están en la gracia de Dios? (Aren't they in the God's grace?). This is an

important question for Latina leaders, which was best expressed by one participant's

mother. When she was a young woman, Cecilia Burciaga's mother asked her: "doesn't

everyone deserve to be treated justly?" (¿Que no están en la gracia de Dios?). Climate

studies at the university level continue to show an environment tainted with hostility,

inequity and bias toward women and minorities. This environment appears to depress the

number of Latinas (and other underrepresented minorities) who make it to the top ranks

of higher education administration. Therefore, this section combines prior study findings with the input of Latinas in this study to try to delineate elements that challenge their trajectories.

Cohen and March (1974), known for their research of American college presidents, looked at the organizational behavior, decision-making, governance and leadership of presidents of higher education. Their model of the career trajectory of presidents depicts the promotional steps most administrators take on their way to the presidency and identified the process as the Standard Promotional Hierarchy for American Academic Administrators (Esquibel, 1992). The model also depicts the process of filtering that occurs in the institution. The top ranks of higher education administration have formidable filters that begin very early in an academic career and continue along the way to the top. At each step of the trajectory, requirements for specific credentials and experience filter candidates away from the next rung on the ladder. Anglo-normed conceptions of merit and leadership, curriculum and admissions process, hiring and tenure practices, board and search committees make up, and budget and resource allocation punch large holes in the pipeline for administrators of color.

Legal challenges to affirmative action and anti-immigrant sentiments have flattened out (and in some cases reversed) the impetus of the civil rights mandates of the 1960's-1970's, which serve to provide cover for gatekeepers and administrators with a low commitment to diversity (Bridges, Eckel, Cordova & White, 2008). Gatekeepers are using cases such as Bollinger v. Grutter to support their apathy and dislike for diversity and, thus, to derail diversity efforts. Academic capitalism compounds these challenges as

the institution focuses on chasing prestige and outside dollars at the expense of access

and diversity initiatives, which end up toward the bottom of the list of priorities.

Diversity becomes more of a buzzword and less of a resourced priority. It is seen as a

possible add-on but not as a measure of excellence in a search pool, even though diversity

advocates believe that without diversity one cannot be complete or excellent.   Without

diversity in leadership, one is missing a fundamental component to leadership,

particularly in an environment of ever-increasing diversity (Bridges, Eckel, Cordova &

White, 2008). Women and candidates of color continue to be underestimated for their

potential to lead. Stereotypes and bias are exacerbated by cultural and stylistic

differences in leadership styles, this becomes an unfair hindrance to Latinas and other

ethnic minorities, as Anglo male-normed leadership styles continue to be used as the

yardstick by which all candidates are measured by.

All of these elements and processes result in the low representation of Latinas at

the top ranks of both elite and non-elite institutions. Although Latinas' numbers are

small, they are concentrated in public non-elite, two-year and four-year institutions, at

Hispanic Serving Institutions and in communities with a high concentration of Latinos.

Although these institutions are challenged by many of the same issues as predominantly

White institutions, but they differ in that they are more likely to provide a sanctuary for

Latina(o)' success.

Half of the Latinas in this study said that they are not subjected to as much bias in

their current institutions as they have experienced or heard exists at the predominantly

White institutions. Keep in mind that these Latinas work in institutions with is a large

representation of Latino students, faculty and administrators. Also their campuses are located in communities with large Latino representations. Many of them also have influential Latino leaders in business and they believe they would not have achieved many of their accomplishments at a predominantly White institution.   Their presidents and other top administrators provide vision, championing, resources and leadership training, and have fostered their growth and development. Most importantly they are not made to feel like an outsider within their own institution. Their experience may be compared to that of Blacks in Historically Black Institutions. Although their campus environment is not perfect, they have a modicum of collegiality and support on their campuses. They do not feel that are under siege.

However, it should be noted that all of the women in this study have worked in or studied in environments where they were either the only Latina or one of a very few ethnic minorities, and most have been mentored by either Whites or other minorities.   For example Cecilia Burciaga and Griselda Castro both worked at Stanford University and had great mentors who helped them understand and negotiate the institutional culture. They spoke highly of one man who made a concerted effort to promote the well-being of minorities at Stanford and who specifically helped them both tremendously. Although they worked in a predominantly White environment, their experience with both Anglo and Latino men who helped to mentor and champion them made all the difference in their trajectory. They also believe that the elite status of Stanford provides a very different environment and opportunities than public institutions with different resource and hierarchy structures. Most importantly, they believe that one has to understand the

different cultures of the various institutions and the constraints or freedoms that come

with each type in order to succeed within them.

Critical Race Theory and Change Agent Leadership-*Revolu*

As Latinas move up the ranks of higher education they are confronted with

institutional structures that work against them. They come to the institution with insights

regarding the minority experience in higher education and hoping to change the system

even as they work on surviving within it. They understand the minority experience and

feel a sense of justice and responsibility to transform existing structures to accommodate

the different needs of the increasingly diverse populations on campus. Latinas in this

study would like to help develop a strong and solid pipeline of individuals with

baccalaureate and advanced degrees. Some talked about their commitment to access but

did not want to be involved in simply enrolling students without retaining them. They

understand language and cultural differences and are willing to develop environments

where differences are accepted.

Latinas in this study take on a change agent role and ideology as they make

decisions and develop strategic and operational plans. They do not focus on being

stewards of the status quo, but pride themselves in be able to think and act outside the

box. Their ability to transcend norms is a critical first step for Latinas. They must defy

convention in their own minds before they can begin a trajectory to top positions and they

must be willing to withstand difficult situations and challenges.   For Latinas, self-

efficacy and resilience are required regardless of whether they decide to take on a change

agent role or not in higher education because they are likely to be the first Latina in a top level position on their campus.

Latina leaders in this study are change agents willing to take on the role of changing status quo ideologies and antiquated ways of doing things. Although they understand the need for academic excellence, including rankings, academic rigor and excellence, distinguished research and operational or fiscal effectiveness, Latinas know that access, equity, and social justice can also be part of academic excellence. Excellence might be achieved through a focus on operational efficiency and elite research, but it might also be achieved by making student success and social justice priorities. Latinas in this study combined their understanding of their fiduciary responsibility and their need to operationalize the vision and mission of their institutions. However, they are committed to incorporating access and student success into their strategic plans. They contend with bias and an *adobe ceiling* but have been able to penetrate it by working hard and developing key proficiencies. Latinas are breaking through, but academic capitalism continues to increase the inequities in a variety of ways; it does not help open the academy up for diverse populations. It reinforces many old hierarchies, and fundamentally undermines social justice-oriented devices such as affirmative action (Rhoades, 2008).

Latinas have permeated the adobe ceiling using tenets of critical race theory: 1) social justice ideology; 2) understanding and acknowledging that bias, racism, sexism and classism exists; and 3) most importantly, refusing to be deterred by these embedded structures and taking action against them. Critical Race Theory espouses change and

provides a guide for change. First, the racism in the institution must be acknowledged, then there needs to be commitment to eradicating it, and individuals must be willing to take action and be part of developing and implementing solutions for change. Going against accepted norms, no matter how wrong or egregious the norm, has the potential to affect the individual personally. Leaders such as Dolores Huerta, César Chávez, and Martin Luther King, Jr. are examples of individuals who knew they were fighting against powerful forces, yet chose to do so anyway, putting themselves in jeopardy.

Latina leaders in higher education face similar difficulties when they go against the status quo and embedded structures of bias and inequity. An important distinction for Latinas that differentiates them from their Anglo counterparts is that they have experienced firsthand the hardships caused by racism, classism, or sexism, and understand the experiences of their students and colleagues. They use their own experiences to guide their decisions regarding advocacy, resource allocation and strategic planning.

A number of Latina leaders in this study including Cecilia Burciaga have fought against injustices and powerful forces. Ms. Burciaga faced many challenges over the years, but she had the support and wisdom of her famous husband, José Antonio Burciaga, to empower and guide her. Together, they advocated for students, gave them refuge and enabled them to take pride in their heritage. Legon, (1995) captured Mr. Burciaga's essence when he described their accomplishments:

> For 25 years, José Antonio Burciaga has been a bridge between two
> worlds. One is modern, exclusive, educated, white and English speaking.
> The other - traditional, proud, hard working, brown and filled with the
> chatter of Spanish. Both are found in the writings, performances and

paintings that have made the longtime Bay Area resident a source of pride for Chicanos nationwide . . . and an angry, socialist provocateur for almost as many critics. College students cite his five books like Scripture. His murals, mixing religious themes with social commentary, have been bitterly denounced by conservatives….

If Burciaga's life were a meal, it would be a warm, soft Mexican tortilla wrapped around a juicy Oscar Mayer wiener, tasty, filling, a somewhat humorous yet novel, working stiff's blend of two cultures. Just like that meal, Burciaga's work has provided sustenance to young Latinos - those who are eager to celebrate their own culture and those simply seeking reassurance that they have a place in this country. His works often poke fun at convention, religion and the government. He repeatedly attacks the white power structure that he believes condones racism and social ills.

Ms. Burciaga is known for her advocacy and development of venues of support for Latino students. During her tenure as Director of the Office of Chicano Affairs at Stanford, she was instrumental in the development of El Centro Chicano (the Chicano Student Center). In 1985, Cecilia and her husband Antonio became Resident Fellows in Casa Zapata, a dorm where most of the residents were Chicano students. They lived on site with their two children and provided a safe place for Latinos to gather for socializing, educational events and immersion into art and history. In May 1994, Antonio and Cecilia Burciaga were laid off from their positions at Stanford University. Their supporters believe they were laid off because their politics collided with Stanford's new conservative leadership, but the school said budget cuts were to blame. Passionate supporters staged a three-day hunger strike to protest the layoffs (Legon, 1995). Not long after leaving Stanford, Antonio died of cancer on October 16, 1996. Cecilia associates her husband's cancer with the pain of leaving Stanford: "I think that it was such a profound betrayal, so brutal, that I think it activated a cancer that had been dormant inside of him".

As change agents, Latinas often find themselves immersed in battles because they are principled and cannot allow the inequity and racism that exists to go unchallenged. Ms. Burciaga and other Latina leaders in this study have chosen to fight for their ideals many times during her career, even when it required a personal cost to them and their families. In November 1994, Ms. Burciaga was appointed to the founding team for the California State University-Monterey Bay campus of the CSU System. She served in several positions there, including as Executive Assistant to the President, before she joined two of her colleagues Bert Rivas and Octavio Villalpando in a racial discrimination suit against the institution. In May 2002, the campus agreed to a $2.5 million settlement, which included $1 million for the three plaintiffs and their lawyers and a proviso that the university had to establish a $1.5 million scholarship fund for low-income students in the Central Coast (*Los Angeles Times*, 2002).

Although bias can be formidable in higher education, academic capitalism is a force compelling change. In an environment of decreasing resources, top administrators become fixated on finding alternative sources of funding and the notion that rankings and reputation lead to money for the institution creates a feeding frenzy for elite status, entrepreneurship and new resource development. These priorities often supersede student success goals, and enrollment management becomes part of a plan for increasing revenues. Top administrators feel pressure from their board of trustees, their faculty or their university systems to increase the rigor and rankings of their institutions. Some institutions mount aggressive campaigns to enroll merit and other academic scholars and to fund their education. These institutions increase the rigor of admissions standards and

move from need-based aid to merit aid for students.   Access for low-income students and students of color becomes secondary as academic capitalism takes over. Competition for resources and competing priorities of the institution are sometimes manifested as personal attacks against individuals who question or advocate for a non status quo model of management of the institution. The management, leadership capabilities, loyalty and/or motives of such individuals are questioned.

How does this affect Latinas? Earlier models of leadership were not amenable to change or change agents. The presidential leadership model Cohen and March described in *Leadership and Ambiguity* is one of a steward that maintains the status quo and does not make changes, he simply ensures that the institution self replicates and continues forward. However, with the advent of continuing financial pressures and the move by higher education toward academic capitalism, leaders able to prepare and react to constant change are needed. Higher education funding changes and economic turmoil continue to move to higher education into entrepreneurial leadership styles. Only time will tell if this new paradigm will help Latinas with a different leadership style to be accepted. It is not clear at this time if the institutions' gatekeepers appointing new leaders will be open to leaders not focused on status quo management. Latinas interviewed expressed dismay about the lack of diversity in higher education administration and in the search process:

> Boards of directors are male-oriented business folks, upper class and heterosexual and very conservative. Boards of trustees are usually very conservative. They look for presidents with a track record of fundraising. They want a proven fundraiser able to develop big donors. You have to have a powerful network. You are changing the face of the presidents. You are breaking the barrier for these kids out there. They are seeing that

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Latinas can be presidents and very successful presidents. White male presidents have been doing it for years. They have a protocol, a standard about how it looks, and about how it is done. Being a Latina president is seeing it in a different manner with different passions and commitments.

All my bosses have been White. What made it different is that they came with an internal support; they had access to internal and external support. It was not spoken but it was inevitable that they would succeed. The fact that there were more of them was different. A White woman president at a California school brought in nothing but women administrators, a lot of women administrators. When she had dinners and social functions, only the White women were invited. A Dean who was mixed, half White half Mexican, was sometimes included. I was never included in those groups…they might have included you if there was a perception of class, privilege.

Latinas don't necessarily have networks, as many networks or the right networks. You don't necessarily have long networks to help you. You don't have what I call 'under the water networks,' like your male counterparts. You have the obvious networks, the visible networks but you do not have the under the water networks. The social networks, you didn't go to Rotary Club with so and so and belong to the same sorority as so and so. You don't have the same reference points. They say, 'Everyone knows that story', but then of course you don't. There are visible and invisible networks and often you don't have ties to the invisible networks [to insider standing or information].

Latinas in this study are immersed in what might be described as *revolu,* from the word *revolución* (revolution or the chaos of change). They are revolutionary in that they are not patrons of the status quo. Yet, by necessity they have armed themselves with an important toolbox. They are aware of their place in history as role models, as change agents and as the providers of a counter-story by example. They have experienced or witnessed poverty, bias, racism and the need to navigate an environment that may be foreign to their parents or their reference group. Their keen insights into poverty, isolation, bias, and their ability to build resiliency and self-efficacy brings a revolutionary approach to leadership, often defying convention. They defy convention as they move up

the trajectory, like salmon swimming upstream. For most of them, the swim ends much further downstream, while for others the journey may be stymied but yet it continues longer and steadier.

Latina leaders in this study believe that sexism and racism continue to be formidable challenges, yet they believe that this an important reason to persevere. They believe that the best weapons to combat ignorance and all forms of "isms" are hard work, dedication and proficiency. They believe Latinas must work three times as hard, be more prepared, and more stellar just to get in the door. They also believe that they must prove themselves everyday of their academic life just to stay in the game. Still, they believe that even though change is slow, it is worth fighting for and working to achieve it.

Racism

One participant has chosen challenging positions because of her deep commitment to social justice and wanting to be a part of the evolution of higher education. There is evidence of battle scars in her voice and in her stoic determination to provide access and mechanisms for student success and remediation. She described lessons learned along the way and battles fought for all the right reasons, but which induced personal pain and turmoil along the way. She admits that the bias in the system created some tremendous conflict. She arrived at a new position at the very top of the institution, happy to have been appointed to the top post. Her elation was quickly squashed when she opened her mail:

> Sexist comments, racist, ethnic comments…when I got to one
> institution I had not even set foot in the place and I already had

anonymous notes in the place, in my mailbox and on my desk…. I
hadn't even gotten there!   I had just arrived, I hadn't even
unpacked and within a week I had nasty notes in my mail that came
to my desk.

The Latinas in this study stoically contend with and overcome challenges for

themselves and for others. Sexism is a challenge few men experience and many women

have to contend with; at least half of the women interviewed had experienced it. There

were a number of compelling stories involving sexism and sexual harassment; stories of

unwanted advances and egregious behavior that was extremely traumatizing for some of

the participants.   One participant, who has moved past her aggressor in career

advancement and stature, believes, as others in this study, that this is one more challenge

Latinas are forced to deal with that in some cases derails career objectives.   Two of the

most highly regarded Latinas in higher education described their experiences in their

interviews for positions in higher education and also in navigating the embedded

structures and bias.

Sexism and Sexual Harassment

Study participants vividly described their experiences with sexism and with

sexual harassment that they experienced as they moved up the ranks. For several, such

experiences were severe and traumatic, beginning with their graduate student days and

continuing for many of their professional years.

To get to a position of power…. you have to understand that you will
experience sexual harassment, but you will get through it. Sexual
harassment was one of the most horrible experiences ever. It was not
just sexual harassment. It was all around harassment, and mean. As a

doctoral student, you know that you have to get through the experience to survive. I had to get very strong; I decided to get through it.

Part of the reason he made my life so difficult was because I would not tolerate his behavior. He made me cry and tormented me, so I was determined to never cry again. Because he would never let me forget that I had cried.   It was the most difficult thing I have had to go through, but it helped me to become the person that I am today.

When I started standing up for myself things changed, and it has really served me well. People look at me and they know I will not put up with it, so nobody messes me.   If people know you won't put up with it… It is an aura and you have to get there. Or maybe it is something inside you that is already there and you don't know it and then you get there. To have survived that, it made me stronger.

People know who to go after.   It is an issue of self-confidence. There are theories that women of color are more vulnerable. Sexual harassment is colorblind, but Latinas are seen as hot and sensual, so we become targets. Many, many women experience this.

Gender Bias

Women continue to make strides as they become more visible at the top ranks of business, government and education; now even visible in positions that would have been unimaginable a few years ago. Historically, the barriers for women have been described as a *cement ceiling* and then this became the *glass ceiling*. These images conveyed a rigid impenetrable barrier, but barriers to women's advancement are now believed to be more permeable (Eagly, 2007). Although prejudice and discrimination have not completely disappeared, the concept of the glass ceiling is said to be outdated. Alice Eagly and Linda Carli (2007) describe the new environment as moving through a labyrinth. They believe that the varied challenges confronting women's trajectory on

indirect paths, through alien territory en route to leadership positions is challenging but more navigable.

Many Latinas with few visible role models at the top ranks may not see themselves as being able to move past the soft but thick and dense *adobe* ceiling. The concept of a labyrinth does not capture the strong effect on Latinas of coupling racism with gender. Participants laughed at some of their experiences in higher education, which now seem comical but were not at all funny when they occurred. Two participants provide telling examples of what Latinas have endured:

> In an interview for the presidency, the town men interviewed me. I knew budgets, I knew policies, I mean I knew it all, but none of those questions came to me. It must have been 1978. The question was, you have to go on a trip with a man. And what do you do? Do you go on the same plane? Do you stay at the same hotel? I was insulted, but I was in the middle of an interview for the presidency so I said, 'Sir I am a member of many organizations, most are male-dominated and I have not had any problems, nor do I expect to.' *Y con eso se acabó...* [That ended it…].

> We went to interview for my first job in the institution as a family. A room full of men interviewed me, but the search committee directed their questions to my husband. Finally they asked him, 'Can she do it?' He answered, 'You need to ask her!' I took the job because we needed the money.

LatCrit scholars assert that racism, sexism and classism are experienced amidst other layers of subordination based on immigration status, sexuality, culture, language, phenotype, accent and surname (Montoya, 1994; Johnson, 1999; cited by Yosso 2005). The five tenets of Critical Race Theory that inform education overlap with the actions and ideology of Latinas in this study. According to Solórzano (1997, 1998, cited by Yosso, 2005) inter-centricity of race and racism, challenge to dominant ideology, commitment to social justice, centrality of experiential knowledge, and utilization of

interdisciplinary approaches apply to education. The Latinas in this study enact these tenets in different ways and to different degrees.

The Latinas in this study all discussed their experience with racism as endemic within higher education and acknowledge that it can be based on gender, class, immigration status, surname, phenotype, accent and sexuality. They acknowledged that there is much work to be done before educational institutions can truly be considered objective, meritocratic, colorblind, race neutral and providing equal opportunity. They were asked to consider the statement of Supreme Court Justice, Sandra Day O'Connor, and the deciding vote in Grutter v. Bollinger: "Affirmative action is still needed in America -- but hope its days are numbered. We expect that 25 years from now, the use of racial preferences will no longer be necessary to further the interest approved today" (NPR, 2003). Participants unanimously believe that this is not a realistic assessment of the progress higher education has made to date in realizing an equitable environment for students, faculty or staff, nor does it assess a realistic timeline for change. One participant's comments express the frustration many Latinas feel:

> The difference is that often you are the one and only Latina. You are breaking new ground. You have many more expectations than your White counterparts. You have many more external expectations to do much more. It comes from your students, your faculty, your community, and everyone expects something from you. It can be very overwhelming.

They further acknowledge that deficit models continue to be used to inform practice and perception of Latinas(os). This group of Latinas understands the centrality of experiential knowledge and recognizes Latinas' knowledge as legitimate and

appropriate. They are committed to social justice as a transformative response to racial, gender and class oppression. They use both historical and contemporary contexts to analyze, to survive, and thrive in the higher education environment (Yosso, 2005). These Latinas are forging new ground. They continue to be subjected to stereotyping, doubt, deficit modeling, sexual harassment and bias. They regret that many things have not changed significantly.

However, Latinas, provide skeptics with a counter-story or a contradiction of the stereotypes their peers or communities may have. Participants described their experiences with transformation, bias and sexual harassment as unending and exhausting. They believe that it wears Latinas down and creates doubt, not just for colleagues and onlookers, but for themselves. These forces have debilitating and crushing effects that must be counteracted on a daily basis. Often Latinas are subjected to backhanded compliments that are just as painful. Many participants described encounters with well meaning people who made surprising comments about their expertise or their accomplishments. The hidden message is that these individuals are surprised that Latinas have accomplished something, as if this is abnormal behavior for Latinas. Latinas in this study provided a number of examples of how their merits are often diminished by well meaning but insensitive comments:

> Because you are a woman and a minority, if you do something wrong, everyone notices. Every day you are in a test situation. You don't walk in with earned credits every day; you have to earn the credits. Every day you have to prove, prove over, and over, and over, and again and again. It is an endless kind of exhaustion that does not end.

The conflict is internal, but there is always an assumption. We don't get the same assumption of competence that White males get and sometimes you internalize this and believe it. Then you see that it is not the case.

You have to convince yourself that you are competent, that you can do the job and you are there for a reason. You have to have your core values guide you.

When you have increasing numbers at the top ranks, part of what happens is either they get very scared. Or for a lot of people, they say 'OHHHH, this is not so bad.' Their guard goes down. A White male provost exclaimed about a Latina president, 'Isn't she incredible? She is such a good speaker' and he was genuine, he meant it, it was real. I hear that all the time, accolades that include disbelief.

Unfortunately, what happens is that for many of them it is the first time [they encounter a Latina] and they did not know what to expect. When they see an intelligent and engaging person, they like the persona, who she is. So on top of being competent, she is genuinely interesting. What they see is different than whatever stereotype they have of us. So I think to the extent there are more of us, that begins to break down those barriers.

Bias has not changed…the double standard [remains]. I felt I had to work far harder than my male counterparts. But that wasn't just gender, it was also ethnic, in both my graduate/doctoral program and also in the workplace. Latinos experienced the same thing. You have to do more and do it better. I always do more and do better. It just became part of who I am. I always have that, what I produce, I do more and better.

People talk about the oppressor but some of the most racist people I have met are Latinos who are middle-to high-income.

When the concept of this study was first developed and during most of research period, the fact that a Black man could have any chance to be president of the United States was a dream for the future. Now Barak Obama's presidency has become a reality and his success has catapulted race issues into the spot light. At times it seems that progress is imminent and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s dreams may be coming true, then there is a news report about racist remarks or actions with regards to President Obama to

jolt us back to reality. Latina presidents are facing the same challenging environment.

On the one hand they are at the head of the institution as a force to be reckoned with, as

role models for other Latinas(os), and on the other hand, they continue to be subjected to

racist and sexist behavior.

 Our participants' stories are valuable as we search for mechanisms of success and

ways to increase the number of Latinos in the top ranks.   They illuminate the lessons

these pioneers have learned. It is important to consider that many of the Latinas in this

study were mentored and championed by White men or in some cases White women.

Also, the very basic lesson these Latinas rely on in their leadership of their institutions

and in their daily lives, *servicio al projimo,* is not gendered and is not a message about

servicio al Latino or service only for Latinos. President Elsa Nuñez firmly believes in the

goodness of all, she represents this group of participants' vision as she encourages us to

remember to value everyone:

> The Civil Rights Movement…. you could have never had the Civil
> Rights Movement without Whites. Never could Blacks have pulled
> that off. It is important for us to understand that you can have White
> people doing great things for Hispanics and minorities in institutions.

Latinas' Insights and Success Strategies-Mechanisms for Change

Latinas' Tools Needed for Top Administration

It is important to identify critical skills Latinas must have to succeed in higher education, particularly to help others moving up the trajectory towards the top ranks of administration hone these skills. Latinas were asked to provide an overview of the skills they believe are needed to succeed in this ever-changing, ever-demanding environment. What are the networks, skills, tools or strongest characteristics Latinas need to get to presidency? How do you deal with the unending challenges? They were also asked what lessons they would share with their daughter regarding the presidency as a Latina. This section summarizes their responses to questions.

No one enters an administrator position knowing all the answers and top-level administrative positions are very complicated. In addition, administrators must have power and legitimacy to lead their institutions. Latinas in top-level administration, like all other administrators, must learn and adapt to institutional culture, be strong and wise enough to lead at times, and to allow others to lead at other times. Higher education administration challenges include budgets, personnel, students, faculty and the community, all seemingly set out to derail the presidency.   Latinas are often faced with additional challenges such as bias and hostile environments and, thus, they must have added self-efficacy to be able to lead amidst the chaos of constant trials and tribulations.

Most Latina leaders have endured and learned from the many challenges they faced growing up. Many of them watched their families battle poverty, racism, segregation and White-Only bathrooms and schools. Yet, they were empowered by these occurrences because they learned that these and other injustices needed changing. They also grew up in families where education was strongly promoted. Many where mentored and/or championed along the way, some by White males or White females, others by Blacks and Latinos, and others by older Latinas. Most importantly, tough times taught them resilience. Early in the study, we learned that the traumatic events and racism encountered by the Latinas in the sample lead to their development of personal strength, resilience, and steel determination. For some, the traumatic situations they experienced before becoming leaders of their institutions made the never-ending challenges of administration pale by comparison. Resiliency and self-efficacy are two key skills that must be honed by Latinas aspiring to leadership positions. The top ranks of administration require an ability to continue moving forward in the face of difficult physical and emotional challenges. Without resiliency and self-efficacy, no administrator will survive. Administrators must be able to compartmentalize and depersonalize everyday tensions. Arthur Padilla (2005) calls it, "dancing on top of a volcano without getting burned!" The strong sense-of-self exhibited by participants in this study was hard won; most endured many challenges both growing up and in the workplace. Their strength came from family, from teachers and from mentors along the way. The bias encountered was often turned into lessons by parents and by mentors. Strength and empowerment came from successes along the way, but it also came from

the lessons of overcoming never-ending challenges. Latinas in top administration, like their White male and other female counterparts, must learn to adapt to institutional norms. No one comes into their position knowing all the answers or having the power or legitimacy to lead their institutions. They must understand the culture and be strong enough and wise enough to lead at times and allow others to lead at other times. For some Latinas, this means being able to lead amidst chaos, constant challenges, bias and inequity. Additionally, Latinas are subjected to an environment ruled by Anglo-male-normed conceptions of merit and preferable characteristics. These norms also affect the selection process with regard to Latinas who aspire to the presidency.

For this part of the study, participants were asked to describe the lessons they have learned and the lessons they would pass onto their daughters regarding how to traverse up the ranks towards the presidency. Although some of their answers recommendations may seem simplistic, they are important to consider since they have helped these Latina leaders traverse higher education, and may also be useful in reaching top-levels of management in education, business or government. These suggestions are especially meaningful for Latinas and other minorities who must also contend with embedded structures and bias.

First and foremost, Latina leaders acknowledge the need to continue working to address pipeline and access issues. They are working to move higher education in the right direction towards access and inclusivity at all levels.   Secondly, they believe that understanding the institutional culture and expectations before one accepts a position is key to long-term success within the institution. Demystifying the institution is also

critical, as is knowing the institution's rules, policies and procedures better than anyone, and understanding what is expected of you in your position. As managers with fiduciary responsibility, Latinas need to understand the many facets of the institution and learn how to manage very large budgets and staff. They need to understand the different environments in which they will operate on a daily basis.

Participants further recommend that Latinas must, "understand your role and your voice within the institution, value your unique talents and skills and use them for the benefit of the institution and yourself." They believe a strong sense of self is most important in both one's personal and professional lives to be able to keep moving forward. They also suggest understanding one's values is essential. "You have to be principled; you have to be the best. You have to set goals and understand how to achieve them." They advise setting goals and figuring out what one needs to do to achieve them. Understanding the necessary credentials, and experience required, helps plan out how one can gain the skills to achieve one's goals. "You have to be the best and you have to take all the right steps to be academically stellar and professional. You know that very important work needs to be done, so you center yourself on that and move towards the goals. Having someone mentor you from a professional, academic or scholarly point of view is also important." They said that understanding the need to be discrete and respectful of the fact that one is a public figure who represents the university is important to success as an administrator. One has to understand the confidentiality of the position, "be discrete, *tienes que saber con quien, y cuando.* You have to know with who and when to discuss things."

Separate Yourself--Don't take it so *pinchi* (damn) serious!

Latinas are automatically put in a position of representing their ethnic group and of advocating and fighting for their communities. This is not something they have devised; it is something that is thrust on them by both the dominant group and Latinos. This can be very overwhelming and it can take over one's life. Antonio Burciaga provided his wife, Cecilia, with support and wisdom throughout her career in higher education. He liked to use quotes from movies and books to help cheer her up or to give her strength as she needed it; one of his favorite comments to her was a quote from the movie *Zoot Suit*. He would tell her, "Don't take it so *pinchi* serious!" In other words, separate yourself; don't take it personal or so very seriously! Latinas have to develop a strong shell and an ability to compartmentalize all the issues and problems they must contend with. Since higher education can be a difficult environment for Latina leaders, they have to learn to not take everything to heart and to understand that their job is the business of the institution. They may have to make unpopular decision such as increasing tuition, increasing admissions standards, or cutting programs, actions for which they are likely to be criticized, but they need to understand that most of the times the attacks are not personal but against the decision made or the position taken by the institution.

A number of respondents recommended not allowing oneself to become the political instrument for the community. Latinas choose their battles very carefully because they are sometimes futile and almost always exhausting and likely to make them a target. Therefore, they understand their limitations, and set reasonable goals and expectations for themselves. Latinas develop strong networks of like-minded individuals

who are in better positions to advance agendas that are not appropriate for persons in their positions. They do not turn a blind eye to inequity or wrongdoing. They suggest their survival in the system depends on them choosing their fights very carefully and not taking on the entire system or the entire institution, on their own. Understanding the organizational culture, norms and expectations is important to being able to affect change in order to move within the labyrinth, as Alice Eagley (2007) would call it. Cecilia Burciaga provides insights about how to navigate this so-called labyrinth that is often times doubly challenging for Latinas:

Tiralos a León (Ignore them/Get over it)

> It is good to talk to people who are not like-minded. I needed help to figure it out from an organizational context. You need a couple of people who were very good at looking at an issue and finding a solution from an organizational context. You need to find people to help you break a situation down, aside from personalities, because you get lost; disaggregate the situation and take it apart and look at it in different ways. You have to find good organizational analysts, friends able to break down a situation, who really help to understand the institution but who also don't let you fall into personalities.
>
> My husband was very good about that. I think that men do things better then we do. He would say, *'Tiralos al leon!'* He said get over it. Don't get caught up in it. I would say *'pero…pero esto y esto y esto.'* I would say 'but… but this and this.' He would answer, ' *y?'* And? His answer was always, 'so, ignore that; you cannot get caught up in it.'

Latina leaders talked about wanting to increase access and hoping change will come, although not a single participant expects higher education to change quickly or radically. Still, they believe that some progress has been made and are hopeful that higher education will continue to evolve.

Part of Latinas' strength comes from understanding their place in history and the remnants of bias that remain in society generally, and higher education specifically. This understanding is a very important skill because it helps them to remain strong and undeterred. They believe that racism, sexism and classism are big problems that need to be addressed but that these cannot deter Latinas from moving forward. They acquiesce that they cannot change the world and so they must focus on small victories within their scope of influence. This understanding keeps them from being overwhelmed by the enormity of the challenges they face. They want to be part of making higher education the mechanism for low SES students that will enhance their life and employment opportunities. They bristle at deficit modeling and accept that there are pipeline issues that must be addressed. They are not satisfied with the progress in this area in higher education so they grapple with the cost and challenge of the remediation necessary for low SES and minority students.

One of the most valuable tools Latinas bring to the management of the institution is their willingness to see issues from many different perspectives before making decisions. Their insights regarding poverty and minority status distinguish them. During the discussion regarding the importance of social, cultural and institutional capital, Latinas were asked what they believe are the key success mechanisms or skills needed for moving up the trajectory towards the top ranks of administration. Among other things, we discussed elements of social networks, and being a part of the elite community of influence and wealth. Latinas believed that understanding the institutional culture, working hard, being proficient and honest are more important than connections to

prestige and wealth. These Latinas are not deterred by negative stereotypes and understand their own personal value and that of their heritage. They do not buy into the negativity towards Latinas that sometimes permeates the media and the institution but, rather, rely on their strong sense of self to empower them. They use a bicultural perspective to provide them with a more nuanced understanding of the needs of students and the institutions' responsibility to their constituents. A central part of the ideology they use to guide them is *servicio al projimo*. They believe they are in their positions to serve the needs of the wider population, including students, staff, faculty and the community at large. These are some of the best tools Latinas have to offer higher education, and the ways in which they are working to transform higher education, even if only one institution at a time.

Developing Leaders

It appears that leadership programs were instrumental in helping the Latinas in our study move up the trajectory. Programs such as the American Council of Education, the Harvard Executive Leadership Program, Leadership Texas, California Executive Fellows Program, FORD Fellowships, ASPIRA Youth Program for Puerto Ricans, and College Assistance for Migrants Program (Department of Education) are helping to develop the skills and experience of Latinas. Leadership programs provide evidence to the participants that they are capable of being leaders, but they also signal to onlookers that the person these Latinas are regarded well enough for an investment in their future.

Most participants believe that the focus needs to be on increasing the number of Ph.D.s; building a critical mass of Latinos with doctorates is the first step in the credentialing process that is paramount to moving up the trajectory to the top ranks of administration. This, of course, depends on developing mechanisms to facilitate access and student success for low SES students, Latinos and other students of color. Latinas do not blindly demand that low SES students and students of color be admitted into an institution if they are not ready. But they do champion the need to develop holistic solutions and partnerships to help strengthen the pipeline to four-year institutions.

Dr. Desdemona Cardoza is Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs at California State University-Los Angeles, where she previously served as Dean of the College of Natural and Social Sciences. This campus has one of the most diverse faculties in the country, with 40 % of its full-time professors being from underrepresented populations. She shares the interest of other Latinas in recruiting faculty members who understand a student-focused vision of higher education. She beams with pride when she talks about a very successful program, even as she bemoans the limited number of students they are able to serve.

> University preparatory programs with predominantly Latino students are key to increasing representation at all levels. We need to build their leadership skills very early on; before they come to college; it starts in middle school and high school. Providing leadership training and interfacing with college professors is critical; so many of our kids from our community don't believe that they can attend college. But they also need to learn social leadership; that has to continue with them as they continue and learn that they are leaders. We have to help them keep the notion that 'I am a leader.' Confidence training and assertiveness, and that is hard because they are just trying to get through their coursework. Because it is the largest group, if you look at the population in the L.A. area, it is one of my biggest.

Many of the Latinas in this study attended various different leadership trainings programs. A number of them mentioned programs they attended in high school and in college, which changed how they perceived themselves and empowered them to keep moving forward. The Puerto Rican leaders attended a program called ASPIRA, which emphasized their culture as an asset. They believe this program produced many of the leaders who are now serving in top administrative posts including mayors, CEOS and top educational leaders in this country. Another program participants discussed was a program for migrant farm workers that they believe provides life changing vision and support. One Vice President of Student Affairs benefited from the College Assistance for Migrants Program and is now using it to help her students succeed. Other important programs include the Harvard Executive Leadership Program, the HACU Kellogg Leadership Program, and state programs set out to develop leaders to run the state. Participation in state programs requires a nomination and approval at the state level. Participants are placed on committees with legislators and the governor and also have opportunities to attend sessions in Washington, D.C.

Those Latinas whose campus presidents sponsored their participation in the Harvard Executive Program or other expensive programs requiring time commitments off campus for no other reason than personal development, were much delighted and in some cases flabbergasted. One top-level administrator explains, "When they like you, they take care of you; to the president's credit, they did send me to the Harvard School. This is healthy respect, they do not necessarily like you, but you are not too bad kid." Another participant spoke of how watching siblings and friends organizing around civil

rights in California influenced her leadership style and empowered her around social issues.

Sylvia Andrew has a long career of administration and leadership. She was rewarded for her hard work and for using her skills of diplomacy and political acumen to solve problems and manage crises. Her president sponsored her to attend the Harvard Leadership Program; this gave her the message that he respected her enough to invest in her as a leader. Dr. Andrew credits the opportunity to work with politics at a young age with giving her insights and putting her in circles of influence. She believes that experiencing the strength of community leaders who focused on social justice shaped her leadership style.

> I was very fortunate. I had the opportunity to see the Southwest Voter Registration Project thrive under Willie Velasquez. He was such a powerful figure and showed all of us the power of exercising our right to vote. Willie was a rebel who championed voter rights and fought injustice, but using the law. I learned to stand up for social justice by using the rules and the law. Use the law and you can make a difference.

Yvette Melendez credits the ASPIRA program for helping her to dream and to trust her abilities. She believes it gave her and many other Puerto Rican kids permission to aspire to the top and made them feel they could accomplish anything they set their minds to. Two of the three Latina leaders in this study participated in the ASPIRA program.

> ASPIRA, a program for Puerto Rican kids was an incredible influence and force in my life, because I met lots of kids; my best friends were all a part of this. My peer group, we all had a sense of CAN DO and this is what we are going to do. My best friends, two other Porto Rican girls, we were all part of this together. We had a sense that we could do those things that we said. WE WERE TAUGHT TO DREAM! Those dreams, whether they became reality or not, was not important. What

was important was that you set those dreams for yourself and that you
set a path to reach them. If you need to alter them along the way, you do
that.

Dr. Hilda Silva is vested in the success of her students as if they were her own

children. She credits the College Assistance for Migrants Program for giving her the

support and information she needed to persist in college. She is also happy to use this

program to benefit students at UT-Brownsville where she is the Vice President of Student

Affairs.

We have a very successful College Assistance for Migrants Program. I
went through the program in 1972 and then I got that funded on this
campus. I am a product of this program and now I oversee the grant. It is
very exciting to see it. It is from a DOE grant for migrant students. We
work with 50 students and put them in higher education jobs and out of
their seasonal work. You know that you are not just changing the
students' lives; you are changing their families' lives!

Mentors and Champions

Most study participants had a mentor who helped them understand the institution

and/or champions who provided resources and supported their participation in national

leadership development programs. They believe having someone believe in you is as

important as the information they provide. Champions who advocate and open doors

have an incomparable effect on the advancement process. Because they are senior

individuals with knowledge and understanding that the junior person in the relationship

does not have, they can make the difference between moving forward and getting stuck.

Latinas believe mentoring students into PhD programs, into tenure track positions and

through the tenure process would begin the process of a pipeline of Latinas(os) in higher

education. They believe this is the most important way to develop a critical mass of professionals to move into the top ranks of administration.

> The Provost was a good-hearted man who used his power and position to do what was right. And he was also president of a school board and he encouraged me to participate in policy. He was a great mentor and role model, which made a huge difference. He believed in me and put me on committees of influence and gave me visibility and taught me the road map. He showed me the way to move the institution. He was a great role model for me. It made a huge difference. I felt very supported on all levels.

> Having champions and mentors is really important. Having people who will, a long way in advance, help you chart a path, and who know you well enough to know what to do for you. You need to have people who will share information and help you navigate [the system].

Leadership programs have a long-lasting effect. They provide networks; and they identify participants as leaders in training to both the participants themselves and to the onlookers. One participant described her experience by saying, "they taught us to dream!" All the Latinas in this study participated in leadership programs. Most are now involved in providing opportunities and mechanisms for their students and their staff to benefit from leadership programs, in hopes of changing their futures. Most are also careful to facilitate mentors and champions for those who are coming up the ranks, including students and staff.

Skills and Credentials Required

Being a Latina does not mean you will get a free pass with positions and advancement coming your way without effort, experience or preparation. On the

contrary, it means your credentials will be questioned every step of the way. Some

people may even believe and some will say: "She only got that job because she is a

Latina, due to affirmative action." Latinas have to be the most prepared and the most

experienced in order to get a position or to advance to the next level. They will have to

continue to grow and learn every step of the way to maintain credibility and be able to

advance or keep their position in higher education. Cecilia Burciaga described this

reality as follows:

> You walk in facing the test, test, and test situation. Too many people
> are going to assume that you got your job because you are a
> minority. They are going to expect you to fail, but if you do
> something right then they say, well that is ok I will give that one.
> Let's just see what she does next time. Ok well she did that so let's
> see what she does next time. So every day you feel like you are
> Sisyphus rolling the rock back up the mountain.

The credentialing process for top administrators has specific steps. For the most

part, one must have an advanced degree and rise through the ranks, enhancing one's

institutional skills and experience along the way. This is part of the filtering process that

Cohen and March (1974) described as promotion through hierarchy The presidency

requires skills of diplomacy, crisis and budget management, and fundraising. In these

contexts, one has to understand the institutional structure; one has to be a proficient

organizational manager and personnel manager. Most importantly, one must understand

the stated mission of the institution and demonstrate fiscal responsibility for the

institution. Dr. Elsa Nuñez believes that one of the most important things to consider is

one's match to the institution. A mismatch between one's beliefs and those of the

institution is sure to cause trouble in the long run.

Dr. Nuñez never thought of becoming an administrator, much less a president. She had very humble beginnings as a very low SES person; she credits merit scholarships for helping her get her baccalaureate degree, then a Ford Fellowship helped her to obtain the Ph.D. Additionally, the fact that she was singled out to be part of the ACE Fellowship Program helped her to begin to explore a different career track, one which she had not previously considered. Her selection into the program helped her develop skills to become an administrator, but most importantly, to see herself as administrator material. The number of Latinos that make it through to the full professor is very low, yet, getting a tenure-track faculty appointment and being promoted through the ranks to full professor was a critical step to her advancement to the presidency. "Having that academic background really helped me to become president. Without that I would not be here today." She describes important skills in very simple terms, skills that would help in any position.

<div align="center">Participants' Recommendations</div>

Participants' provided a number of recommendations for increasing Latinas(os) representation in higher education administration. Their suggestions have been summarized in this section. Participants believe it is critical to understand the trajectory towards the top ranks. One must excel and have credentialing specific to the position as one moves through the steps and through the ranks. Many of the respondents expressed a need to focus on developing a critical mass of faculty:

> We need more Latinas with doctorates that go into faculty tracks. We need more doctorates to start off, but to be presidents they need to be academics. We need tenured, full professors. They must be tenure-track and they must have published with demonstrated skills and understanding of the institution and the faculty. Being effective teachers and researchers gives them credibility with faculty and helps them understand their faculty once they become administrators.

> The mentoring they need is not about golf or what to wear, but about getting the doctorate and getting tenured. Hispanics are put on a 100 committees. So you have to stop taking up the committee work. I would say, 'No, I can't' or 'I can't, I am doing scholarly work.' Success in the tenure process is critical.

Participants explained the need to be professional and proficient in every role as they traversed the career ladder. They said that for Latinas there is no luxury of anonymity. Since they may be the first top administrator of color or the first Latina in the top position, they are likely to be watched carefully. Latina administrators must learn the essential functions of the institution such as academic and student affairs, and human resources, including policies, protocols, as well as budgets and funding sources. They need to understand both the academic and non-academic tracks. Latinas need to understand the limits of their position and they need to stay within their role without deviating from it. They cannot be all things to all people. They must develop a reputation for having a strong work ethic, maintaining excellence and the top standards of work, along with an uncompromising honor, integrity and sense of dignity. Expectations are likely to be higher than for their Anglo counterparts, therefore, Latinas must distinguish themselves by being twice or three times as skilled and hardworking as others.

> Your actions are no longer yours when you are the president or the top-level administrator. You have to be a consummate professional and understand your actions and your words have repercussions. Always be aware that if you would not want it published in bold words on the front

page of the newspaper, then you should not do it or say it. You have to be
discreet, as the president, you have to be measured about what you say
because it reflects on the institution.

Understanding the institutional culture may be one of the most important and

daunting challenges for Latinas. A number of them said that an individual's philosophy

and vision must match their institution's philosophy and vision in order for them to be

successful. They stressed the importance of due diligence when searching for positions.

However, most importantly, as they rise through the ranks past the numerous filtration

points, is their understanding of the expectations of their positions and their ability to

perform their duties with proficiency that enables them to continue moving up the ranks.

Participants described their success mechanisms:

Even though everyone develops their own unique style of management
and leadership, you have to be patient, focused and a good listener. This
job is all about patience; you cannot do anything unless you have been
there for ten years. Everything takes a very long time to move.

You have to know what battles you can take on. People will criticize you;
learn not to take things personally. Community and faculty members will
slam you and say things that will hurt you. You cannot be vengeful. The
one thing that you cannot do is to say, 'I am going to get you.' Most of
the time they attack you on a personal level but it is really about an issue.
You have to deal with the issue and not the personal and this is very hard.

You also have to understand the difference between confident and
arrogant and how you come across in the presidency, the two are very
close. The job calls for being a *mujerota;* sometimes it is a natural. A
mujerota is a person who has to exhibit strength that has female
characteristics, temper, emotion, etc. There are times when you are
involved in such a complicated/complex situations. Yes! You have to be
a *mujerota,* a strong woman.

Participants also described their communications with others as critical to their

success. They emphasized the importance of the ability to lead campus initiatives; to lead

in times of crisis and in times of change. As change agents, they understand the

importance of trust and coalescing with their campuses and their constituents.

> You have to learn how you come across to others. You need to lower your
> voice and understand the system that you are in, and how things are done
> in this particular institution. Private institutions have their own way of
> doing things that may be slightly different from a public; that may differ
> from another, based on size, community, and board of directors.
> Understand there are nuances at each institution that will affect how you
> are perceived and will affect your ability to be effective in your position.
> Understand the mission of the institution and understand the unwritten
> expectations and culture.

Cecilia Burciaga was a change agent during her tenure as a university administrator

at Stanford University. She was focused on increasing the recruitment, retention and

graduation rates of Latinos at Stanford. There were times when these priorities put her at

odds with her colleagues or other institutional stakeholders. She remembers fondly how

her husband would caution her about taking things too seriously. When she came home

distracted by the tensions of the day, he would tenderly remind her, *tiralos a león,* ignore

them. Or he tell her, *don't take it so pinchi serious* (a quote from the movie Zoot Suit).

She used her garden as an escape, so the tougher things got, the more beautiful her garden

became. In retrospect, Cecilia believes it is easy to get too caught up in adversity. She

cautions that there is so much work to do that one has to focus on the change one is

working towards; so she advises:

> Replace the furious with the curious, learn to ask questions, be interested.
> You need to ask, why, who, what? Be organized–a strategic and global
> thinker. Develop a list or outline of your thoughts. Develop trained,
> efficient, capable and loyal staff.   Learn how to manage large
> multimillion-dollar budgets and very large staff.

A number of participants described an environment where they were made to feel that they represented Latinos as a group and not just themselves as individuals. They became accustomed to setting high standards for themselves since missteps might also be perceived as representative of all Latinos. However, increased scrutiny is not all that keeps Latinas working hard. Julieta Garcia described her internal need for excellence:

> I learned very early that you have to have very high standards of behavior and honor as well as in the work that you do. I have high standards and they have served me well. You cannot change that core. Sometimes I seem unforgiving, but I am very hard on myself too. I will always be harder on myself than others will be.

Academic environments include competition and rigor, but many Latinas described pressures they experienced that are not placed on Anglo men or women. For example, because the number of Latinos(as) in higher education remain very low, they are often expected to serve on many internal and external/community committees, to represent Latinos and other people of color. They are also likely to feel obligated to provide support for underrepresented students and to work on projects to help facilitate the evolution of higher education, and specifically to help increase access or student success. All of these expectations and goals create conflict and overload. Participants described their experiences, feelings, and coping mechanisms:

> You have to be better than... You have to make sure and do all the things needed to be academically stellar. You have to learn the things that you need to do, learn all the expectations. In academe you can get sidetracked. You have to set your goals and figure out the steps you need to take to achieve them and you cannot vacillate on this.
>
> Latinas will be 'committeed to death' if they allow it. They will end up publishing here or there and sometimes they end up getting off track intellectually. Having someone mentor you from an academic or scholarly

perspective is important. Having someone who understands what you
need to do and who will help keep you on track is critical to your success.

Sylvia Andrews believes one has to be the most informed and the most prepared.
You cannot take anything for granted and one has to double- and triple-check things that
may seem obvious.

> The best preparation is to know the rules; know how that budget is put
> together. You must understand what are allowable and what are not
> allowable expenditures.   You have to be super-meticulous on finances
> because you will be held accountable for them. You have to know the
> policies, and understand how they are operationalized. You cannot trust
> the information that you are given. You make decisions based on
> information you are given and your decisions impact others. You have to
> be able to check out the information for yourself. This is not to say that
> you cannot trust people, but as an administrator you have an obligation to
> know what is going on.

Adriana Ayala believes that the ambiguity of managing an institution amidst financial
uncertainty and an ever-changing educational environment requires an ability to think
long term and be positive. She echoes other Latinas in her assessment of the required
steps and skills that Latinas must master:

> Be positive! There is always something to learn, so always be honing
> your skills. Don't be scared to try new positions or challenges. Go for
> dean, department head/chair positions. Be the first if need be, even if
> you are green, take on challenge and explore yourself and your growth
> opportunities. How will you know if you are ready, unless you try?
> Even if you get burned or have a bad experience, you will learn.
>
> Love the criticism. Don't get me wrong, I do get hurt, but you have to
> have a positive attitude, and be ready to learn. Be ready to fall on your
> face and learn, that is the trade. You need to fall on your face, pick
> yourself up and keep going.

> As a leader, you have to be able to make decisions that people will not
> agree with, and then be able to go home and sleep at night.
>
> In order to grow and learn you must also develop and maintain both
> local and national networks. Tap into administrators who are willing to
> mentor you. Shadow those who are able and willing to teach you.

Julieta Garcia made history as the first Latina president of a college or university. She does not take her success for granted; she credits the many people along the way who chose to help her learn and grow. Dr. Garcia is very thankful for the opportunities and support of mentors and champions who she says gave her information, lent her their power and were there in times of uncertainty and challenge. She believes that they made the difference for her and enabled her to achieve all that she has.

> I had a great, great fortune. I had mentors and champions. I worked hard
> and was capable but so do many other people and not all of them make it.
> What really made me were all those people who kept reassuring me and
> telling me or showing me what to do. Then they were there when I needed
> them. It started with teachers in grade school, and later it was faculty in
> college. Then it was board members and community who supported me as
> an administrator. All along the way, I had lots of people who kept
> reaffirming and teaching me.

Study participants were clear about who they are and what they stand for. They believe that in order to be effective leaders they have to know their own values and be willing to stand up for what they believe in. They have learned to value and trust themselves and their beliefs. Most importantly, they must trust themselves as leaders.

> As a leader you have to understand first and foremost that what any
> institution needs, whether it's Harvard or a community-based
> organization, what they need is a leader. The issue of sense of self is
> absolutely the most important thing for a leader to understand. In our
> personal and in our professional lives, we have to constantly be checking
> in on ourselves. Resiliency is important but it may also be tied to having a

clear sense of self. Understanding what your values are is key; also, your goals have to be in keeping with the values that you hold.

Participants believe having a strong sense of self is a key component of their success. They also have learned from life events that they must be resilient; being able to get back up after a crisis or traumatic event is an important skill for a leader. Yvette Melendez describes her strength:

> You learn resiliency through adversity, by allowing yourself to fail and brushing yourself off and getting right back up. In terms of life experiences, I remember two traumatic events for me. I had never lost anyone that was close to me, and then my nephew died at 20 years old. It was the first time I had experienced unbelievable pain, because it was unbelievable pain. It really hurt, for a long time…pure devastation. It helped to prepare me because a couple of years later; I lost my lifelong friend after a ten-year illness. But by then I was much more resilient. Watching her resiliency helped me and we did it together. It puts things in perspective. I learned to rely on those things that my father taught me. For example, what is important in life? You go back to those things that are truly meaningful and they lift you up.

One administrator is strategic about working to increase the representation of Latinos and other people of color in her institution. She provides a number of useful examples of how to enhance their representation and trajectory. She is methodical and aggressive in her search for excellent and diverse faculty from across the nation. Once she gets them to her campus, she provides them the structure to succeed. She believes one way to create a pipeline of administrators is with mentors. She uses creative ways to identify faculty who are interested in administration, then she champions and mentors them. Since not all who eventually become administrators start their careers with a goal of going into leadership positions, she tries to find individuals who may not know they

have leadership potential. She takes time to get to know them and have conversations with them at either lunch or social events and she also makes a point of inviting faculty to national conferences. For example, she takes students and faculty to the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (HACU) conference and walks around with them to talk about the issues addressed in the sessions. Or she simply invites them to her office to chat about aspirations and opportunities. Not everyone is interested or knows they are interested in leadership or advancement, but she tries to provide opportunities and exposure to avenues for knowledge and career enhancement. She also provides resources and support for participation in professional Latino organizations. She looks for opportunities to highlight people: "We give them leadership opportunities or nominate them for awards and recognition at a local and national level. We nominate them for programs such as ACE and we set aside funds to sponsor them."

<div align="center">Latina Lessons Learned</div>

This section summarizes the lessons Latina participants would like others to learn; they provided insights about their experiences to help others. Latina leaders in this study realize that the leaky/broken pipeline and lack of access keeps Latina representation in the top ranks of administration at a fraction of their Anglo counterparts. They understand that stratified educational systems and bias help slow down the growth of minority administrators. But they believe creativity and resourcefulness can help develop opportunities for growth. They are well aware of the impact that their mentors or

champions had on them and they are willing to play a part in providing others with similar information and opportunities.

These Latinas excelled and defied the odds in moving up the ranks. They are exceptional, pragmatic women, down to earth and grounded. They are unimposing, with kind smiles and generous spirits; however, they are not to be taken likely. They are *mandonas*, *mujerotas* with extreme work ethics. They described their commitment to student success, access and social justice with passion and hope. They understand the institution and the players well enough to know that one has to be steady, strategic and wise to survive and help transform higher education. They use CRT ideology to empower and inform them as they arm themselves with data, policies and strategic plans to increase access and student success. They are protective of first-generation college students, seeking to provide success mechanisms to increase retention and graduation rates. They engage in struggles over resource allocation, policies and procedures that systematically work against the recruitment, retention and success of underrepresented and underprivileged students.

Latina participants are ready and willing to use whatever tools and resources available to improve the education and opportunities of their students, faculty and staffs. They are on the frontline daily, as *peaceful/spiritual* warriors creating a different paradigm of leadership as they take difficult stances and advocate for change. As change agents, they are promoting a higher education that includes multiculturalism and access. They are also called upon to take on national issues of importance to their students and their communities. For example Julieta Garcia prevailed against members of the federal

government who were ready to carve up her university into two parts, with a border fence running through the grassy fields where students play soccer. Dr. Garcia and other school officials challenged the federal agents in the courts until they were able to reach a compromise that will not desecrate the campus and students' learning.

Latinas, like all other administrators, have been thrust into the turmoil of academic capitalism. They understand the limitations of resources allocated to their institutions and therefore find creative ways to counteract embedded structures using mentors, champions, leadership development programs, and opportunities to help others as they persist under difficult circumstances. The very strong forces of academic capitalism continue to move higher education into a quest for rankings and outside funding, which shifts the ideologies and how the institutions operationalize their missions. As the nation's economic turmoil continues to move higher education into more entrepreneurial models of education, calling for maximizing tuition revenue and increasing the rigor and admissions standards, the participants in study continue to search for ways to admit more needy students and help provide them with the remediation they need to persist to graduation.

These Latinas are change agents, ready to push boundaries and they do not apologize for their efforts. They are firm in their conviction that their culture is of value and not something to be discarded. They are effective managers who use their dual culturalism as a tool to provide flexibility and diversity of thought. They use the ideology passed down through generations of Latinos, that you have a responsibility for others, *servicio al projimo*, to guide them. They provide a model of incorporating many

different facets into one model of strength, endurance and conviction of heart and ideology. They are role models and their success provides a counter-story to learn from. Although the growth in numbers of Latinas is slow-paced, the Latinas in this study are paving the way with their example.

Chapter 5 begins with an overview of this study, and it provides a synopsis of the findings and relevant theories; this is followed by implications for practice and implications for additional research. This Chapter also provides a model, based on the lessons provided by the Latinas in this study, that demonstrates how institutions can break down the adobe walls that keep Latinas and other people of color from moving to the top ranks of the higher education administration and, thus, a model depicting strategic steps that may be used to increase the representation and success of Latinas and other underrepresented people in higher education.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

Latinas Then and Now: Penetrating the Adobe Ceiling

*With a glass ceiling, you are allowed to see the next level. At least you
can see through it and prepare for a promotion. But an adobe ceiling
is dense, impenetrable, and it doesn't allow you to see to the next level.*
Cecilia Burciaga (Pinto, 2003)

Although the Civil Rights Movement is usually identified as the Black persons' movement to contest segregation and inequity, Latino children have been customarily denied respect, equity, and access to the best schools for more than a hundred years. The effect of a history of neglect and embedded bias continues and is evident in the low representation of Latinos at the top ranks of higher education administration. Although Latinos' struggle for education and equity has been hard fought, and often ignored, it has been consistent for more than 100 years. A largely ignored case is the 1943 Mendez v. Westminster class action suit to fight segregation and gain access to the better-funded schools attended by Anglos in Westminster, California. This case preceded the Brown v. Board of Education (1954) case and set the groundwork for its success (Ruiz, 2001). In the 65 years that have passed since the Mendez case was decided, Latinos have experienced many changes in the educational system and in the opportunities afforded them, but equity and access to education continue to elude them. Their voice and inclusion in the education and governance of this democratic nation should be a national ethical imperative, but it is not.

The fact that Latinos are the fastest-growing minority group, but continue to be underrepresented at all ranks of administration especially at the top ranks of four-year institutions was the impetus for this study. The data tells a story of Latino population growth in size and importance to this nation, but not in representation. It grew in size (45.5 million), and proportion (15.1%) of the total U.S. population of 301.6 million in 2007 (Bernstein, 2008). In stark contrast, the increases in representation in higher education presidencies are negligible. In 1986, Latinos made up 2.2% of the total number of presidents, this increased to 2.9% in 1995, then to 3.7% in 2001, and 4.5% in 2006 and translates to a mere increase of 2.5 percentage points over 20 years (King & Gomez, 2008).

Since education is a critical component of their self-sufficiency, productivity, and their contribution to the larger society. Latinos' voice needs to be represented in this arena and their representation must grow at all ranks of administration, but above all in the decision-making upper echelons of higher education, where it is the lowest. Their representation at the top ranks of education, business and government, continues to be woefully low, without evidence of substantive imminent change. Therefore, important questions this study set out to answer include: What institutional filters affect Latinas career trajectories in four-year institutions? What elements enhance their career trajectories? What elements hinder their ascent?

This study identified forces playing a significant role in the low representation of Latinas in higher education, particularly, the forces of, social filtration, social reproduction, and academic capitalism. These forces are intrinsic in the policies,

configuration and operation of higher education, and biased by Anglo-male-normed conceptions of leadership and merit, and overshadow who persists and advances to the top levels of administration. Also, Anglo-normed social, cultural and institutional capitals define and constrict accepted social circles, behavior and institutional protocols, and serve as additional filters for Latinas in higher education. These embedded status quo structures combine with the effects of the leaky pipeline to prolong the low representation at the top ranks.

Nonetheless, the bias in the system is often ignored: it is not a priority in the development of strategic plans or research that should be addressing these challenges in higher education. For example the social filtration model in terms of "the system" described by Cohen and March (1974), which systematically filters out individuals at each level of promotion, did not include the critical variables of ethnic or gender bias a filters. This seminal research assumed a level playing field for those moving through the numerous filters in the trajectory towards the presidency and the top ranks of administration. However, gender and ethnic bias continue to act as additional filters for Latinas and others, constraining their advancement.

Findings

Thus, this study examined additional constraints within the filtration process of the institution and their combined effects on Latinas. It used a critical lens to explore the consequences of embedded structures, social reproduction, and bias in higher education.

A model was developed based on the responses of the study's participants and relevant research literature. It shows the embedded structures, which make up the metaphorical adobe ceiling and stifle the growth in the representation of Latinas at the top ranks. Introduced in Chapter 4, Figure 2: Latinas Penetrating the Adobe Ceiling - Embedded Structures and Counteractions is a model depicting both the challenges Latina top administrators face, and the guiding principles and tools they use to succeed within the structures of higher education.

This model shows the adobe ceiling includes bias, racism, sexism, classism, and pressures to maintain the status quo as well as academic capitalism and the social reproduction which plagues higher education's administrations, boards of regents, and search committees. The model also shows the profile of Latina leaders that emerged from their personal narratives. They are dually cultured, social justice focused, change agents vested in access and equity due to their own experiences and personal understanding of racism, classism and inequity. Their narratives and actions reflect inner strength, resiliency and a firm belief in *servicio al projimo*/service to the community or greater good, not focused on a quest for personal, professional, or institutional advancement. Their commonalities and the mechanisms Latinas use to manage challenges and continue the trajectory to the top ranks include:

1) They are effective change agents vested in social change and *servicio al projimo/* service to the common good, not their personal success;

2) They did not have to assimilate to succeed in higher education;

3) Their dual culture or bicultural status gave them useful skills;

4) They used their culture, ideology and traditions to guide them through challenges;

5) Their strong sense of self and pride in their heritage provided resiliency to overcome bias;

6) They used proficiency in institutional policy and protocol as a formidible weapon to move up the ranks;

and

7) They understood the need to be better prepared and work harder than their Anglo male and female colleagues to move up the ranks.

An important and recurring question is, how much process has been made for Latinos in higher education? Latina leaders who participated in this study were asked if they agreed with Sandra Day O'Connor's assertion in the June 23, 2003 Grutter v. Bollinger (NPR, 2003) case decision, i.e., saying affirmative action is still needed in America -- but hoped that its days are numbered. "We expect that 25 years from now, the use of racial preferences will no longer be necessary to further the interest approved today." Participants' were not optimistic about an end to the need for affirmative action or about the need to take steps to increase diversity. President Garcia expressed the thoughts of other participants who agreed that Justice O'Connor's assessment was overly optimistic if not completely unrealistic:

> I don't think it is an automatic. I would love to think that she is right. But I just don't see it. I think that education is the key. When I finished my doctorate in 1978, there were only 1% Hispanics in the nation who got Ph.D.s. Ten years later it went to 2% now it is 3%, it has been 40 years.

We have to be smarter, credentialed and skilled. This is very slow and sad. It means that it will take a concerted effort to make things change. I had mentors and champions. I worked hard and was capable but so do many other people and not all of them make it.   What really made me were all those people who kept reassuring me and telling me or showing me what to do. Then they were there when I needed them.

Dr. Desdemona Cardoza, believes:

It is a thing of the past, but not for the reasons that Justice O'Connor says. We can no longer have any race-based scholarships in this state or things like that, but we can fight economic and educational disadvantage by tailoring programs around first generation college student status and low SES status, many black and brown students fit into these categories.

Another top-level administrator answered:

Well, I'm a student of history. I would say that is bullshit…it is not realistic. I really miss Affirmative Action. Affirmative Action gives employers some leverage. We talk about diversity hiring and I can tell you which deans are doing it, and which are the ones who are committed, and it is not always the Latinos.

Yet another Latina leader said:

We are "*faaaar"* from not needing affirmative action; we are far from that. The fact that our representation is so very low at the top ranks is evidence of a remaining need for affirmative action. Yes, there are more Latino presidents. …but not many more, we are far from not needing affirmative action in the US. The end of affirmative action is coming but the need for it is not.'

Court challenges, low representation and the opinions of these Latina leaders

support the theory that embedded structures continue to constrict the progress of Latinas

and that an adobe ceiling persists for Latinas. Tomás Arciniega, past President of

California State University- Bakersfield, and other leaders summed up the environment

for Latinas(os) in higher education in statements made in a 1995 public hearing on

education in Los Angeles and in the follow-up report titled, *Our Nation on the Fault Line: Hispanic American Education, September 1996:*

> The nature of the problem with the education of Hispanic Americans is rooted in a refusal to accept, recognize, and value the central role of Hispanics in the past, present, and future of this nation. The education of Hispanic Americans is characterized by a history of neglect, oppression, and periods of wanton denial of opportunity. The failure to face up to the need for change represents myopia in America... Clearly, we have failed to recognize the crucially important role that those segments of our society who are out of the mainstream will have to play, if America is to compete successfully in the world economy.

Yet through all of the many challenges, Latinas (albeit only a few) manage to traverse through the educational labyrinth to top-level administrative posts. How does this happen? The most powerful forces able to counter barriers for Latinas(os) and increase their representation seems to be the concentration of Latinos in the community; Latino community involvement, wealth, influence and power; along with the infiltration of search committees and boards of trustees/regents by Latinos and diversity-minded persons.

Antonio Esquibel (1992) performed two national studies one in 1976 and a follow-up in 1991, from which he developed a model of the "Career Mobility of Chicano Administrators in Higher Education." Five of his findings echo the perceptions of the Latinas in this study regarding mechanisms necessary for substantive change to occur: 1) Training programs, networking and lawsuits; 2) maintaining Chicano roots; 3) affirmative action; 4) Chicano composition and influence within the institution and in the community; and 5) advocates on the governing board, screening committee and search firm.

Results of this Adobe Ceiling study showed Latinas in this study concur as follow: 1) They believe their participation in leadership programs such as ACE, Harvard Executive Program, Ford Foundation Fellows, Leadership Texas, ASPIRA and HACU Kellogg helped to empower them and to view themselves as having leadership potential. 2) Most of them described their Latino heritage as a key element in their feelings of self-efficacy and empowerment. They used their Latino culture to guide them and refused to assimilate. They preferred to take advantage of their dual culturalism to strengthen them within their roles in higher education. 3) Latinas expressed dismay that affirmative action has become a moot point and is no longer a tool at their disposal. They believe that it used to provide leverage that could be used to help increase diversity within higher education. 4) Many of the Latinas interviewed are happy to be at campuses where they have large Latino community support and often high profile and powerful Latinos in their communities help them to diversify their campuses and advocate for access. They believe this support has been instrumental in their ability to lead their campuses towards change. Many also believe representation of Latinos and like-minded individuals on the governing boards, screening committees and other gatekeeper positions is critical to being able to facilitate an evolution in higher education that includes the increasing of diversity and Latino representation at the top ranks.

This study documents the experiences and perceptions of sixteen Latinas who have made the difficult journey to the top ranks of administration of four-year institutions. These women serve as successful role models and offer hope that it is possible to succeed through their resilience. Their narratives provide new insights about

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what Latinas experience in higher education, their dreams, ideologies and challenges. Their candid discussions about the elements that affected their trajectory provide lessons and suggestions to help other Latinas who aspire to be a part of higher education administration. Most importantly, their stories coupled with research suggest that the adobe ceiling will not go away without strong intervention.

Implication for practice

Still, the existence of Latina presidents and of Latinas in other top-level, higher education administrative positions provides evidence that the adobe ceiling is thick but penetrable. They provide a counter-story, documenting the fact that Latinas can overcome barriers. Although, the number of participants in this study precludes making sweeping generalizations, the voice of Latina leaders is underrepresented in the literature, and the insights provided by the participants in this study give us valuable information, from which to learn from and from which to develop countermeasures to the challenges they describe.

A key finding with implications for practice is this group of Latinas' refusal to assimilate, on the contrary, they maintained their cultural identity and wove it into their success, using it to guide and empower them. This is a lesson for all individuals who feel the pressure to strip themselves of their cultural identity and adopt another to adopt another as they move up the ranks of higher education, whether on the faculty or in administration. It is also a lesson for institutions with structures, which compel homogeneity, stripping the identity of those who join them as students, faculty, staff or

administrators. Diversity can and should be incorporated into the success of the institution, without expectation or forcing cultural assimilation.

This is not to say that Latinos should ignore the institutions' norms and protocols; since, proficiency and adherence to these can be achieved without a loss of one's culture or ideology. The words of César Chávez, best describe a reasonable ideology which can be used to guide diversity and inclusivity efforts: "Preservation of one's own culture does not require contempt or disrespect for other cultures...We need to help students and parents cherish and preserve the ethnic and cultural diversity that nourishes and strengthens this community - and this nation" (César E. Chávez Foundation, 1995).

Many strides have been made, but many challenges remain. Diversity and inclusivity in higher education are, at best, not a priority, and at worst, under siege as the number of legal cases contesting affirmative action continues to increase. Higher education institutions must drastically change, if Latinas and other ethnic minorities are to increase their representation at the top ranks of administration. Entrenched status quo ideologies and practices that feed institutionalized racism, classism and sexism must be eradicated for true change to occur.

Additionally, Academic Capitalism is the backdrop for the challenges Latinas face in higher education: it is part of the adobe ceiling and has been a documented phenonmena for at least thirty years. The changing funding streams of higher education move institutions closer to the market and into behaving like businesses rather than educational institutions. Resource shortages and increased competition for internal and external institutional funds increase the antagonisms that lie dormant or undercover.

Intensified competition for limited resources spurs insecurity, rivalry and social reproduction. Academic Capitalism also increases inequities within higher education by reinforcing old hierarchies, stifling movement towards access and diversity by focusing the institution on pursuing entrepreneurial ventures and maximizing revenue streams. This environment favors a leadership style focused on increasing revenue and resources not diversity. Therefore, Latinas also suggested strategic steps to identify, recruit, retain and advance ethnic minorities are necessary.

Social reproduction is embedded in higher education institutions. It can be a byproduct of conscious or unconscious bias and manifests itself in search committees, advisory committees, and boards of regents that are not diverse and do not include newcomers or outsiders. Latinas suggested community involvement and pressure were critical to diversity initiatives, their collective community voice, visibility and advocacy were found to be influential in presidential and other top level searches. As was increased representation of Latinos in gatekeeper positions which have the opportunity to increase or stifle the growth in diversity in higher education. Gate keeping agents are stakeholders who tend to be selected because they are likely to maintain the stability of the institution, but this process results in the selection of status quo members and committees. Reviewing membership selection in these important gate-keeping bodies and holding members accountable for their success in increasing diversity is necessary for change to occur. The barrage of "English Only" efforts, anti-affirmative action campaigns and the interminable debate over immigration are evidence of the tensions surrounding the acceptance of Latinos in the U.S. Latinos' stance within higher

education will not change without strong pressure from the community advocating not just for inclusion, but also for equity and a collective commitment to change. Latina leaders believe a strong community voice is both needed and influential in presidential and other top level searches.

Another key finding with implications for practice, is the use of champions and mentors who helped this study's participants understand and survive the institutional norms that seemed foreign and unyielding. These *translators* helped them traverse unknown terrain armed with insider information and a support system, which helped them continue their trajectory to the top ranks. Increasing the number of translators, mentors and champions available to Latinas (and other underrepresented minorities) would help likely increase their comfort and success within the institution.

Participants said the fact they are Latinas is an inescapable detail that affects how they are viewed and treated, and often includes negative preconcieved notions, bias, deficit modeling, and other stereotypes. Even if they decide to assimilate, they are likely to be identified as Latinas and to experience bias. This study showed that, even within higher education environments steeped with tradition and homogeneity, Latinas' ability to persist and succeed is due at least in part to the strength and pride they get from their culture. This supports current research that discounts institutions' pervasive practice of compelling what William Tierney (1999) called "cultural suicide".

One interesting finding was that, although many participants described themselves as *mujerotas*, strong woman with inner potency able to be tough when needed, several preferred to think of themselves as spiritual warriors/peaceful warriors. Noteworthy is

the fact they include the word warrior to describe themselves in their roles within higher education. They all acknowledged their need for strength and an ability to stand up for what they believe.

Finally, as Latinas and others work through the social filtration process to the top ranks of administration, it is important to acknowledge that the playing field is not level in higher education. The filtration model developed by Cohen and March (1974) needs to be modified to include bias at every rung of the career ladder and an environment that espouses Anglo-male normed conceptions of merit and leadership. Acknowledging that bias exists and plays a role in the trajectory of individuals is a first step to addressing it. Cohen and March did not address these factors in their model and thus, failed to show how bias can limit someone's ability to move up or at least how it can slow their progress. This study demonstrates that it exists and calls for dealing with it with through thoughtful and concerted efforts. Following are two figures, which show the trajectory to the presidency, Figure 2 is Cohen and March's (1974) Promotional Hierarchy for American Academic Administrators. Figure 3 is an adaptation of Cohen & March's model based on the responses of the Latina leaders in this study. It depicts the additional filters described by the Adobe Ceiling participants and includes the filters to which Latinas are subjected and more clearly describes Latinas experience in higher education institutions.

President

↑

Academic Vice-President

or

Provost

↑

Dean

↑

Department Chairman

↑

Professor

Student   Teacher   Minister
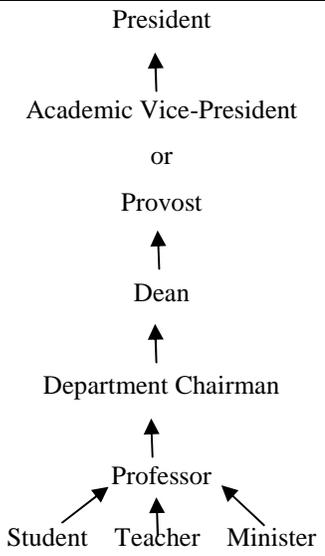
Figure 2: Promotional Hierarchy for American Academic Administrators Cohen & March (1974)

President

Unconscious bias

Sexism   Academic Vice-President

or

Classism   Provost   Conscious bias

↑

Racism   Dean

↑

Department Chairman   Social Reproduction

↑

Academic Capitalism

Professor

Student   Teacher   Minister

Figure 3: Promotional Hierarchy for American Academic Administrators Including Additional Filters

Implications for Research

Earlier studies have hinted at the effects of stakeholders and constituencies on the increased representation of Latinos in higher education. This was certainly the case for the participants in this study; a number of system administrato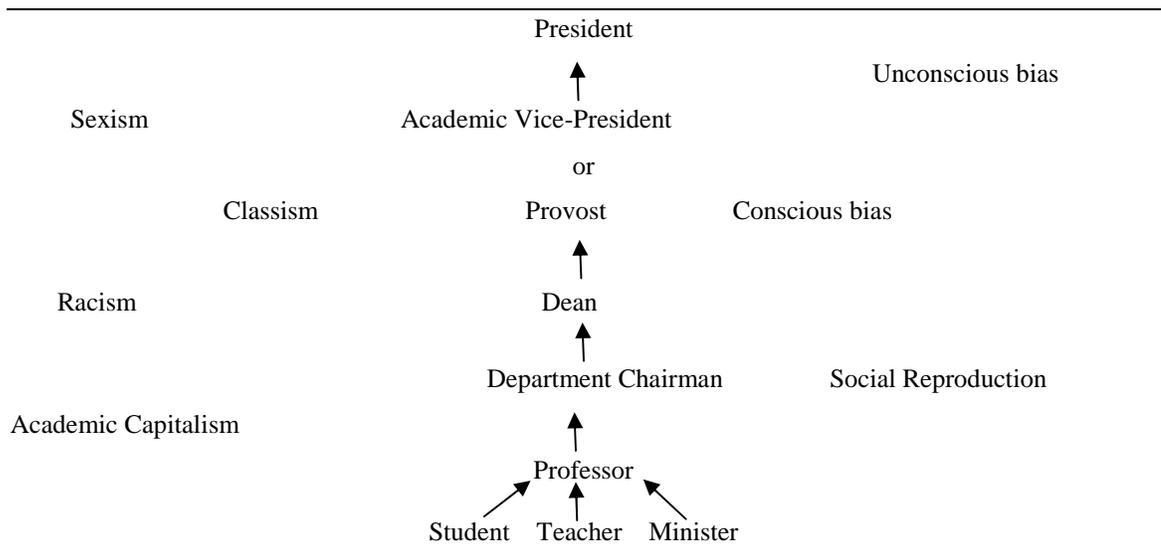rs, university presidents, city mayors, national figures and other key community or public figures were instrumental in the success of Latina the leaders in this study. They mentored, championed and/or "lent them their power", enabling Latinas to persevere and to be effective, often times with seemingly insurmountable challenges. An interesting and important follow-up study would be to find the connection, if any, between Latino representation (and/or other underrepresented groups) on key filtering, advisory or decision-making positions, such as university leadership, search committees, and gatekeepers/stakeholders and constituencies (including, boards of directors, advisory committees and boards of regents) and the number of Latinos selected for top-level administrative positions.

Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) have long produced a cadre of higher education professionals including top-level administrators and presidents. A number of this study's participants' felt fortunate to have had a Black chancellor or president who supports them and their efforts to diversify their institutions. They provide resources to recruit, retain and advance people of color in an effort to support diversity. A specific research question would be: What is the numerical relationship between Black

administrators and their ability to attract, mentor and grow Latino administrators for the presidency.

Also there is a growing trend to appoint Vice President of Diversity and charge that individual with increasing the diversity of the institution. As the number of diversity Vice Presidents grows, it will be important to see how influential they can be in increasing the diversity in the faculty and at the top ranks of administration.

During interviews with the three study participants who emigrated from Puerto Rico, discussions about their experiences with bias were slightly different from the Mexican and Spanish descent participants. They had vivid negative memories of bias due to their low SES status in Puerto Rico and noted that Puerto Ricans tend to focus more negatively on income status than on race or ethnicity. Questions emerged regarding how their identify formation and self-efficacy, since they are not immigrants but U.S. citizens. A research question would be: Does growing up in Puerto Rico give them the same sense of security and entitlement similar to what Black students experience when they attend an HBCU?

Anecdotally, we estimated that there is a large number of Latino(a) administrators who are of Puerto Rican descent. This calls for further examination to see if indeed their representation is high compared to other Latinos. If so, what are the lessons we can learn from their ability to rise through the ranks in education, business and government. John Ogbu (1998) acknowledged the varying effects of different generational status of immigrants and the significant differences between immigrants from various nationalities and socioeconomic status, including the way they acculturate to American norms as well

as their educational attainment and career trajectories. His research may provide

guidance when examining the differences among Latinos from different countries, SES

and generational status. Examining these differences may also provide more information

on how to develop leaders based on their own experiences and perceptions (Ogbu, 1998).

Recommendations

Participants felt strongly that a key to increasing Latinos' representation at the top

ranks is to find ways to increase the number of individuals with doctorates, which will

lead to opportunities to grow the number of tenured faculty and finally more tenured

faculty will be available to work their way up the administrative ranks to the presidency.

Thus, strategic identification and preparation of Latinos is necessary including formal and

informal efforts to mentor, champion, and to help advance them to the top ranks.

"Translators" can help Latinas and other underrepresented groups decipher those things

that are mysterious within the institution, and can also help them develop career plans

including identifying the skills and credentials needed to achieve their goals. Community

voice and advocacy are effective and necessary forces that are able to topple barriers for

Latinos. Therefore, increased involvement of Latino and diversity-focused persons in

search committees, boards of regents and other advisory positions is critical to change.

The most vital change that higher education must make is to move from an

ideology of transforming individuals to match the institutions' ideology to one of

acceptance of diversity and inclusivity. The participants in this study are excellent

examples of the fact that it is not necessary to force people to give up their culture for them to be successful administrators in institutions of higher education. These Latinas used their culture as a strength and as inspiration to guide them in their decisions and leadership style. To completely tear down the adobe ceiling, higher education must adopt more current notions of diversity, which espouse inclusivity and not assimilation. These modern notions include William Tierney-Student Development Theory, Tara Yosso-Critical Race Theory, Luis Moll and Norma Gonzalez-Funds of Knowledge, and Amado Padilla-Bi-Culturalism. These scholars champion integration of individuals' culture and funds of knowledge or family wealth of culture and tradition into learning and academic environments as tools for success. They challenge the notion that only Anglo culture and traditions are worthy of reproducing in higher education.

This study set out to identify elements depressing the representation of Latinas at the top ranks of administration. In addition, possible solutions or mechanisms to counter these elements were sought. Latina Leaders provided valuable insights and suggestions based on their own experiences and those of their colleagues. Participants were hopeful about the future; they did not focus on the negative aspects of their positions or the low numbers represented at the top ranks; rather, they focused on the progress made to date and on the prospect of continued positive change.

Their suggestions, case histories and previous research were all combined to develop the model depicted in Figure 4. This model delineates steps necessary to increase the number of Latinas at the top ranks of administration. It represents countermeasures needed to thwart the effects of the adobe ceiling, academic capitalism

and social reproduction. It also provides a representation of the elements that may be used to help offset social selection filters at each of the different levels identified by Cohen and March and supplemented by the information provided by my study's participants. Implementation of this model requires institutional and community commitment, coupled with the necessary resources to make initiatives successful.

EMBEDDED STRUCTURES

Adobe Ceiling & Embedded Filters

- Institutionalized sexism, racism, classism, status quo pressures
- Social reproduction in governing boards, administration, and
  search committees

Increase Access-Produce PhD's	Identify Latina Talent
- Develop doctorate pipeline - Demystify doctoral processes for Masters students - Provide financial support for doctoral students - Provide dissertation support/mentoring	- Identify potential faculty in graduate school - Recruit early and aggressively - Develop ongoing relationship with promising students in graduate school - Provide effective start up package
Develop Faculty	**Develop Leaders**
- Provide support system - Watch and mentor through tenure process - Guide through minefields, i.e. avoid over-committed-minority-death-spiral - Provide Opportunities to grow i.e. local and national exposure, research opportunities and funds	- Provide opportunities for leadership development and experience - Invest in leadership training: ACE, HACU, Harvard, Bryn Mawr, other national and state leadership Programs - Provide opportunities for skill building - Appoint to key committees
Champion and Empower	**Inform/Translate**
- Appoint to key committees - Provide opportunities for visibility and interaction with institution leaders - Provide support and demystify and help decipher unknowns	- Decipher institutional norms, expectations - Provide insights, Translate organizational context - Social, cultural and institutional capital - Help break down mental & institutional barriers
Advance/Promote	**Adobe Busting**
- Provide opportunities for advancement/promotion - Facilitate understanding /building networks - Goal set and skill build, prepare to advance - Promote at appropriate times and position - Use cultural experience and insights as tools to lead institution	- Need governing board, administration, vested in diversity, inclusivity and equity, - Community pressure and advocacy is needed - Informed and committed search committees, held accountable for diverse pool and hires

Figure 4: Countering Academic Capitalism, Social Filtration and the Adobe Ceiling

Countering Academic Capitalism, Social Filtration and the Adobe Ceiling

Higher education institutions are very slow to change; a slow-changing demographic profile of top-level administrators results from a social selection process that affects certain populations differently and likely results in the selection of individuals from acceptable social backgrounds. Presidents and top-level administrators tend to reflect the SES, education, race, ethnicity, and gender attributes recognized as appropriate by internal and external stakeholders and constituencies. They vary only within limited ranges and tend to be White as a reflection of the composition of the majority of the donors as well as the members of the search committees and board of directors/trustees associated with the institutions, who appoint college and university presidents (Cohen and March 1974).

The adobe ceiling is made up of institutional culture, norms, and practices which are kept in place by the gatekeepers and stakeholders who consciously or unconsciously help keep the institution from changing. The triangle part of the model represents the adobe ceiling and the most prevalent filters, including institutional stakeholders and constituencies who have control over resources, appointments and ultimately the priority given to diversity and inclusivity. The ceiling includes governing boards/board of trustees/board of regents, presidents, top administrators as well as the institutions' policies, protocol and procedures. Other ceiling components, which can either help to promote change or stifle it, include community involvment, influence and pressure, search committee and process, and promotion processes. In order to counter conscious

and unconscious bias and social reproduction, it is important that search committees, board of trustees and board of regents have diverse and representative membership. Diversity advocates do not have to be Latinos or people of color, but key gatekeepers need to be committed to increasing the diversity within the institution and must have the power to make it happen. It is also important to have Latinos represented at these key filter points and they must be coupled with community support and advocacy.

Access-Ph.D. Production

Latina leaders in this study believe that the first and most critical step is increasing the number of doctorates earned by Latinos in order to develop a pipeline towards the top ranks of administration. Without an increase in number of doctorates earned by Latinos(as), it is not likely that the number of top-level administrators will increase. Yet, access to higher education continues to be a challenge for Latinos. A combination of institutional commitment coupled with foundation, governmental and corporate support can help increase the number of doctorates earned by ethnic minorities. During the 1970s Cecilia Burciaga was instrumental as a liaison for the Ford Foundation in increasing the number of minorities who earned doctorates at Stanford University, by combining fellowship awards with institutional support. Dr. Elsa Nuñez, now a president and a participant in this study, was a recipient of Ford Fellowship and a participant of the ACE Fellows program. She believes these fellowships and experiences helped her to succeed by providing essential skills, but also by helping her see her own strengths and potential. Both Elsa and Cecilia firmly that believe fellowships, like Ford and ACE, help

low SES students earn doctorates, individuals who might not otherwise consider earning

doctoral degrees.   These comprehensive programs which couple funding with support

systems are key to increasing the number of Latinas(os) and other ethnic minorities who

earn doctorates. They are especially important for first-generation college students who

do not have a full understanding of the higher education system. Scholarships,

fellowships and other sources of financial aid must be coupled with a support system

such as a peer mentor/counselor, faculty advisor/mentor to help demystify the process

and ensure success.

Identify Latina Talent

       In order to increase the number of administrators, higher education needs to

increase their representation at all ranks. We know that the social filtration process filters

out candidates at each step of the trajectory, but Latinas are less likely than their Anglo

male and female counterparts to be in the trajectory to begin with. If Latinas lack

understanding of the higher education protocols, they may not enter administrative tracks.

Without institutional commitment to increase the number of Latinas in the professorate

and in the administrative ranks, change is not likely to occur. Search committees often

say that the number of Latina candidates is small-to-nonexistent.   An athletic recruitment

model can be used to recruit minorities for doctoral programs, faculty and administrator

positions. Top college athletes are watched as early as their junior high school years in

order to find and recruit the best. Participants in this study have used the athletic

recruiting model to aggressively pursue top ethnic minority candidates for their

campuses. They identify and track top scholars and then recruit them aggressively. They offer tangible and intangible benefits such as support systems and collegiality and follow-up the hire process with nurturing and support system to get them through the tenure process.

Develop Faculty-Provide Support System

Before the number of Latinas at the top ranks of administration can increase, the number of doctorates earned by Latinas and the development of tenured faculty must occur. Four-year institutions expect their administrators to be academic scholars, they are generally expected to have moved through the faculty ranks and earned tenure. Latinas need to understand the expectations and the protocols involved in the tenure process. Study participants suggested mentoring and strong support systems are needed to produce more tenured faculty, especially first-generation college graduates. Participants suggested junior faculty would also benefit from mentoring through the tenure process. Insider information may be provided to guard against pitfalls such as the *minority over-committed death spiral.* Participants said the mentor and champions who translated the institutions' expectations, protocols, and language for them, were instrumental in their success.

Develop Leaders -Provide Opportunities

Many administrators start their careers without any inclination towards administration. They became accidental administrators who were identified as having leadership capabilities by others who helped them moved into this track. Latinas do not

fit the vision of a G*reat Man Theory*, they may not be seen as leadership material and may not be advised and helped to move into an administrative track.   Concerted efforts must be made to identify Latina faculty who may be interested and skilled to become institutional leaders. Also, gender bias may make them less likely to be considered for the administrative tracks. Many of the Latinas in this study were approached and nominated for local, state and national leadership programs and opportunities. They stressed the importance of having simple conversations to introduce the topic of leadership and administration and to help provide insights as well as help to empower Latinas. A number of study participants, including presidents, did not consider going into administration until they were persuaded to participate in the ACE or Harvard leadership programs and were mentored and championed into increasingly more responsible and higher-level positions. It is also important to provide information about skills and credentials needed, to help Latinas plan their future trajectories and to help them develop the skills they need to achieve their goals.

Champion and Empower

A number of Latinas in this study credit their mentors and champions for helping them understand the intricacies of higher education. Champions demystified the institution and nominated them to key committees, positions of authority and advancement to the next level in their career. They helped pave the way with advocacy, information and support. One president said: "influential people lent me their power and enabled me to move forward with difficult projects and policies that could not have been implemented

without the support of key stakeholders." Champions can also provide opportunities for visibility and interactions with the institutions' leaders, which may lead to opportunities to advancement.

Inform and Provide insights

The institutions' operations and measures of success are based on social, cultural and institutional capital that is Anglo-normed. For many first-generation college graduates and/or first-generation Americans, some of these norms are unlike personal norms and may be a mystery. Latinas in this study found mentors and leadership programs helpful in translating the organizational context of language and actions that were not intuitive to them. Their supporters helped break down mental and institutional barriers by helping to decipher institutional norms and expectations. The insights they provided were often not available in books and were distinct to the position, department, or institution.

Advance or Promote

Once Latinas have acquired the necessary skills, experience, and credentials, the final step is to promote them. Dr. Garcia pointed out that there are many Latinas who have the requisite skills and credentials but who are nonetheless not identified and not promoted or supported to the top ranks. She concurs with the others in this study, who believe that it will take intervention and strategic effort to increase diversity at the top ranks of administration. They acknowledged that they would not have applied for

advancement opportunities if they had not been offered positions, leadership training, mentoring and help to move up to the top ranks. Several said that their parents were happy for them to have become teachers, faculty and to be *en un trabajo decente* (in a decent job, doing good work) serving their communities. Mentors helped prepare them for advancement by facilitating an understanding of different opportunities, and different trajectories, and helping them build networks, set goals and build skills and credentials needed to advance. In order to increase diversity, institutions and administrators must be active participants in promoting diverse professionals, who are skilled, credentialed and experienced at appropriate times, to pertinent top-level positions.

Conclusion-Breaking Down the Adobe Ceiling

The outlook for increasing the representation of Latinas and Latinos in top administrative positions in colleges and universities is not good. Insidious neglect, a broken pipeline, deficit models, and biased assumptions coupled with status quo recruitment and retention practices continue to plague the trajectories of Latinos in higher education. This study, in conjunction with data from other national studies, documents the fact that the number of Latinas advancing to top posts is not increasing anywhere near the growth of Latino representation as a proportion of the population in the U.S.

Noteworthy is the fact that, although the focus of this study was Latinas, most of the challenges Latinos experience are similar if not identical to those experienced by Latinas. Although, Latino males do not experience the same gender or motherhood challenges as Latinas, such as not generally having to stop out to bear children, and not

having the same role expectations at home, including feeling the pressure to be the perfect

mom, they do experience the same deficit modeling, bias and inequity that Latinas

experience. Although Latino males are more likely to be accepted into the male

environment of golf playing and male social encounters, which women are usually

excluded from, they do not fit the Anglo-normed model of leadership. Latinos are likely

to have experienced racism and to be focused on access in much the same ways as

Latinas. Their experiences with injustices provide them with similar insights and

strengths, as those Latinas bring to their careers. They are also likely to be change agents

wanting to be part of the evolution of the institution into a more inclusive and

multicultural environment.

The numbers tell an undeniable story that Latinos and Latinas will likely continue

to be underrepresented at the top ranks of administration, including the presidency, unless

aggressive and strategic action is taken. Although their numbers are slightly higher than

those of Latinas, Latinos continue to fall behind their Anglo counterparts at all of the

stages of the career trajectory in higher education. Latinos and Latinas as a whole make

up only 2.9% of all tenured-fulltime-faculty compared to Whites who make up 85.2%.

They are also underrepresented in Chief Academic Officer (CAO) and college dean

positions, which are generally part of the trajectory to the presidency, with a 4.6% Latino

representation in CAO positions, as compared to 90.5% Whites, and only a 2.4%

representation of academic college deans compared to 85.8% Whites. The forecast for

increasing Latino representation as presidents of higher education institutions appears to

be dismal. Hispanics make up only 4% of all minority presidents, lagging behind Blacks

who make up 9.3% of the 16% total representation of minority presidents (King & Gomez, 2008).

The most important question that must be addressed is: why is there a severe under representation of Latinas(os) in top executive positions in higher education? Roberto Haro, among top scholars who have asked this question, spent much of his scholarly life researching Latinos and leadership, including a study on the hiring patterns and behaviors of search committees for presidents and academic vice presidents. He found that search committees held Latinos to a higher standard than they held Anglo male applicants.

More than 30 years have passed since Haro began studying the experiences of Latinos in higher education administration, and little has changed. The impetus of social reproduction continues to be entangled with the social filtration process, and now the anxiety of dwindling resources within the context of economic downturns and academic capitalism.

Diversity, inclusivity and compelling interest continue to be strongly debated topics, but more importantly are issues that affect the operation and experience of everyone in higher education. As our nation watched Barak Obama become the first African American to successfully run for President, become the democratic candidate, and finally the President-Elect of the United States, many people were wide-eyed with expectation that progress and change had finally arrived. However, the controversy continues. Challenges to affirmative action continue to question the usefulness of interventions to ensure diversity in higher education are evidence that bias defies

inclusion and equity, and that even with affirmative action efforts, diversity in higher education continues to elude us.

Still, the Latinas who participated in this study remain hopeful that although change may be slow, it is inevitable and the numbers will continue to increase. They are role models providing excellent examples of Latinas' unique contributions to higher education, and they are evidence that other Latinas should be aggressively identified, recruited and retained to serve in top administrative positions, including and particularly as presidents of higher education.

APPENDIX A: STUDY PARTICIPANTS

Name	Position	Institution
Adriana Ayala	Vice Provost (Returned to faculty position)	National Hispanic University
Cecilia Burciaga	Associate Provost for Faculty Affairs Associate Dean of Graduate Students (retired)	Stanford University
Cordelia Candelaria	Vice Provost at ASU (Now Dean at SMU)	Arizona State University Southern Methodist University
Desdemona Cardoza	Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs	California State University Los Angeles
Griselda Castro	Assistant Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs	University of California Davis
Janice Chavez	Interim Dean of Graduate Studies and Research (Now Executive Director Education Programs at Santa Clara U.)	California State University Bakersfield Santa Clara University
Diane Cordero de Noriega	Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs (returned to faculty)	California State University Monterrey
Jeronima Echeverria	Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs	California State University Fresno
Mari Fuentes-Martin	Associate Vice President and Dean of Students	University of Texas at Brownsville
Julieta Garcia	President	University of Texas at Brownsville and Texas Southmost College
Estela Lopez	Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs (Now Director, Latino Policy Institute)	Connecticut State University System
Tessa Martinez Pollack	President	Our Lady of the Lake University
Yvette Melendez	Chief Executive Officer	Connecticut State University System
Elsa M. Nuñez	President	Eastern Connecticut State University
Sylvia Rodriguez Andrew	Dean of College of Social Work (Now Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs at Antioch U.)	San Jose State University Antioch University Los Angeles
Hilda Silva	Vice President for Student Affairs	University of Texas at Brownsville

APPENDIX B: LEADERSHIP THEORIES

Leadership theories are usually divided into four main types: Trait, Behavioral, Contingency and Transformational. For the purpose of this discussion, Latina and Minorities leadership theories will also be introduced.

Trait Theories was the first major category of leadership theories. These Classical models of leadership are based on the belief that leaders are "born" and not "made". Research by Stogdill (1948) identified a number of personality characteristics that distinguish leaders from followers. People who exhibited these traits were believed to be born leaders. However, the attributes that emerged as leadership traits were those of the people in power, the aristocrats, since individuals from the lower classes did not have (were not allowed) the opportunity to lead. Most importantly, modern conceptions of leadership, leadership styles, and leadership models are based on men since they were the early leaders (since, for the most part, women were not permitted in leadership positions).

The Great Man Theory was based on the belief that when the circumstances required it, a *Great Man* will rise to the occasion (Chemers, 1992). *He* will provide the necessary leadership to handle any situation or emergency. This trait theory is based on a highly gendered view of society that idealizes the male model (and maleness) as the perfect leader. This conception of leadership does not consider that a woman might also rise from the ashes like the Phoenix to save the world.

Although there are different forms of trait theories with various strengths and weaknesses, all trait theorists paint leaders as saintly figures that can do no wrong. Eventually, scholars could not agree on the exact traits that make a great leader, so they began to look past trait inventories towards the behavioral, contingency and transformational theories that followed.

Behavioral Theories were first conceived in the 1950s-1960s as leadership scholars began to focus on how leaders behave and what they do. Scholars came to believe and promote the idea that leadership can be learned and that it is not necessarily something one is born with. Furthermore, under this model teaching success behaviors can develop leadership. Scholars identified different styles of successful leadership and, therefore, leaders could be taught the style needed for the specific job, task or position at hand. Blake and Mouton (1964; 1978) identified four main styles: 1) Concern for task; 2) Concern for people; 3) Directive Leadership; and 4) Participative leadership.

Transactional leadership is based on social exchange theory, something is given and something is received. In this model, leaders depend on support through a leader/subordinate relationship based on rewards and punishment (Chemers, 1992). The leader provides direction, vision, and recognition, and in turn receives loyalty and responsiveness. This leadership style may disadvantage Latinas who do not have the cultural capital to expect an exchange for what they give, and they may be unskilled at making this style work in their favor.

Contingency Leadership theory is based on Fred Fiedler's Contingency Model, developed in the 1960s to fill a gap left by trait and behavior theories. Fiedler believed effective group performance is contingent on: leader-member relations; situation or task structures; and leader's position power. Therefore, effectiveness depends on the situation in which leaders are able to function. The previous *one-size-fits-all* leadership models became obsolete due to Fiedler's influence.

A Situational leader can adapt his/her leadership style to the situation or followers. Their actions depend on situational factors including follower motivation and capability, relationship with followers, the leader's perceptions of needed action, and stress and mood.

Contingency and Situational Theories do not assume *one right way;* Situational theory focuses on the *behaviors that the leader should adopt* based on the situation; and Contingency theory focuses on *contingent factors such as leader capability* and variables of the particular situation.

APPENDIX C: PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS AND IDEOLOGY

Ethnicity Phenotype	Sense of Self	Resiliency/ Traumatic Event	Credentials	Embedded Structures	Leadership programs	Leadership Focus	Motivation/ Ideology
M	F, E, S, V	T, R, B	PhD	M, N, C, SS	MALC	A, M, L	J. T, P, W
M	F, E, S, V	S, R, B, H	Master	M, N, C	--	A, M, L	J, T, P, W
M	F, E, S, V	S, B, H, T	PhD, T, F	M, C	Woodrow Wilson	A, M, L	J, T, P
M, L, B	F, E, S, V	S, H, T	PhD, T, F	SS, N	--	A, M, L	J, T, P, W
M	F, E, S,	R, B, T,	Master	M, C, N, SS	Harvard	A, M, L	J, T, P,
M	F, E, S	B, S, R	PhD, T	--	--	A, M, L	T, J, P
S, M, L	F, E, S	B, S, R, T	PhD, T	M, C, N	State Exec Program Harvard	A, M, L	J, W
S, L,	V, F, E, S	T, C	PhD, T	M, N	--	A, M, L	J, T, P
M	F, E, S	B, C	PhD, NT	M, C, N	HACU, Harvard State Leadership,	A, M, L	T, P
M	V, F, E, S	S, T, B, C	PhD, NT	M, C, N	FORD, Harvard,	A, M, L	T, P
PR/C	F, E, S,	S, T, B, C	PhD, T	M, N	ACE, ASPIRA	A, M, L	T, J
M	F, E, S	S, B, R, T, C	PhD	M, C	Kellogg	A, M, L	T, P
PR	F E S	C	Master	M, C	ASPIRA	A, M,	T, P
PR	F S-SES	S, T, B, C	PhD, T, F	M, C	Ford, ACE, ASPIRA	A, M, L	T, P, J
M	F E S	S, B, T, R	PhD, JD	M, C	Harvard,	A, M, L	T, P, J
M	F E S	R, C,	PhD	M, C	Harvard, State Exec	A, M, L	T, J, P

Mexican=M	Verve=V	Experienced:	Masters	Mentor	Ford Fellows Harvard	Access	Transform =T
Spanish=S	Strong Family Connect = F	Traumatic event	PhD Tenured	Champion	ACE State Executive Program	Low SES	Women issue=W
P Rican=PR	Ethnic =E	Racism		Networks			Status Quo=S
Biracial=B	SES=S	Classism	Full Professor	Support System	HACU Kellogg	Minority	Servicio al Projimo =P
Cuban=C Light=L Blonde=B		Bias	Researcher				Justice Soc. =J
		Sexism/ S Harassment					

APPENDIX D: STUDY PROTOCOLS

Invitation to Presidents to Participate in Adobe Study

Dear President ------,

As one of the first Latina presidents of a four-year institution you are an important role model for other Latinas in the pipeline, but you are also history in the making. Currently there are only six Latina and twenty-one Latino presidents of four-year institutions. This is out of approximately 3,896 presidents of colleges and universities in the U.S.   I am writing to you as a Latina in the education pipeline.

I am doctoral candidate at the University of Arizona with a major in Higher Education and a minor in Language, Reading and Culture. I have 13 years experience at various levels of administration of higher education, with eight years in the community college and six years at the University of Arizona, a research institution. My studies have focused on access and Latino success in higher education.

Your experience as a groundbreaking, Latina president is invaluable to informing our understanding of success mechanisms and challenges within the institution. Ideally, this knowledge will be used to develop more opportunities and/or address the challenges that may keep others from serving as presidents.   The key questions that will be studied are:

- What factors challenge the trajectory of Latinas to the presidency of four-year institutions?
- What are the personal and institutional factors that enable Latinas to the presidency at four-year institutions?

I am very interested in interviewing you for this study. As a participant, you would be asked to set aside several hours for the interview and to provide background information. It would include a site visit and possible interviews with campus personnel. Since there are only six of you, I hope you will agree to participate. Without you, the story will be incomplete. Please consider participating in this important study. Thank you in advance for considering this project. I will call your office to follow up on this correspondence.

Sincerely,

Sofia Ramos
Ph.D. Candidate

Invitation to Latina Administrators to Participate in Adobe Study

Dear -----,

You have been identified as one of the few Latinas who serve in the top echelons of higher education administration in four-year institutions. You are at the forefront of changing the dynamics and policies of higher education for Latinas. You are a powerful role model for Latinas aspiring to become a top-level administrator or president of a four-year institution. Currently there are only six Latina and twenty-one Latino presidents of four-year institutions. This is out of approximately 3,896 presidents of colleges and universities in the U.S. I am writing to you as a Latina in the education pipeline.

I am doctoral student at the University of Arizona with a major in Higher Education and a minor in Language, Reading and Culture. I have 13 years experience at various levels of administration of higher education, with eight years in the community college and six years at the University of Arizona, a research institution. My studies have focused on access and Latino success in higher education.

Your experience in the top levels of administration may provide vital information about success mechanisms and challenges within the institution. Ideally this knowledge will be used to develop more opportunities and/or address the challenges that may keep others from serving as presidents.   Is there an adobe ceiling that keeps Latinas from the presidency? The key questions that will be studied are:

- What factors challenge Latinas who aspire to the presidency of four-year institutions?
- What personal and institutional factors enable Latinas appointment to the presidency at four-year institutions?

I am very interested in interviewing you for this study. As a participant, you would be asked to set aside several hours for the interview and to provide background information. Participation includes a site visit. I hope you will agree to participate and help provide insights about your experience to help other Latinas. Please consider participating in this important study. Thank you in advance for considering this project. I will call your office to follow up on this correspondence.

Sincerely,

Sofia Ramos
Ph.D. Candidate

Interview Questions

Introduction

As you know, this study is interested in your experience as a top administrator of four-year institutions in the U.S., because you are one of a few. Your experience and insights are invaluable to others in the pipeline and other future leaders. I am interested in your perceptions about the institution of higher education and your trajectory within it, therefore some of these questions are about you as an individual and others are about your interactions with the institution.

Cultural Identity and Self Concept

1. What was your first language? What languages were spoken at home?
2. What languages do you speak? Spanish? English? Other?
3. Do you consider yourself a Chicana, Latina, Hispana, Mexican American, American or other? Why?

Personal Elements and Institutional Filters

1. At every stage of your career there were two options: to stay in the current position or to move up in the career ladder. Please think about the many years and different phases of your advancement and describe opportunities and challenges that you experienced along the way:
   a. Probe: Have you been affected by (higher education) institutional challenges?
   b. Probe: What institutional opportunities or resources have helped you?
   c. Probe: Did you have mentors either formal or informal?
   d. Probe: Who initiated involvement in mentoring? Institution? Self-initiated?
   e. Probe: Have you participated in leadership development programs, national/local?

2. What are your strongest skills or knowledge that *helped* you advance?
   a. Probe: What *helped* you the most in your advancement?
   b. Probe: How did you acquire these skills or knowledge?

3. What are your weakest skills or lack of knowledge that *hindered* your advancement?
   a. Probe: What *hindered* your advancement the most?
   b. Probe: What did you learn from this experience?
   c. Probe: What advise would you give someone based on this experience?

4.   Did you have an overall career plan when you first began your career?
     a.   Probe: Was administration in your plan?
     b.   Probe: Were you identified and nurtured to become an administrator?
     c.   Probe: What resources did the institution provide to help you advance?
     d.   Probe: What resources did you identify and go after to help you advance?

Social Reproduction and Embedded Filters

1.   Do you believe there is an idealized model of what a president looks like or acts like?
     a.   Probe: Do key decision makers look for specific characteristics in presidents?
     b.   Probe: What are they?

2.   Is there an expected behavior or norm that presidential aspirants must adhere to?
     a.   Probe: Have these expectations or norms worked for or against you? How?

3.   Do you believe in self-promotion?
     a.   Probe: Have you used self-promotion effectively?
     b.   Probe: Has self-promotion affected you negatively/a lack of self-promotion? How?

4.   Are there networks that have helped your career trajectory? Please describe them.
     a.   Probe: Which ones, internal to institution? Local? National?
     b.   Probe: How did networks help you?
     c.   Probe: Have existing networks hindered you in any way?

5.   Do you feel pressure to maintain status quo in programming, resource allocation, hiring practices, and goal setting?

Is there bias in the system? How does it affect Latinas?

1.   The number of Latina presidents in 4-year institutions is currently only eight. What are the biggest challenges or constraints that Latinas face as they aspire to move up the ranks of higher education?

2.   What are the most common conceptions of merit associated with candidates for the presidency of higher education institutions?
     a.   Probe: Have institutional definitions of merit impacted your trajectory? How?

3. Does bias exist in the institution?
   a.   Probe: Does it affect career trajectories of Latinas?
   b.   Probe: Has bias affected your trajectory? How?
   c.   Probe: Have you ever been evaluated/treated differently based on gender/ ethnicity?
4. What changes have you undergone to succeed within the culture of the institution?
   a.   Probe: How have you adapted?
   b.   Probe: Is there anything you had to give up or adopt to succeed in the institution?
   c.   Probe: Has the institutional culture had any effect on you? Give examples

5. Are you trying to transform the system or are you trying to survive in the system?
   a.   Probe: What hinders your ability to effect change?
   b.   Probe: What coping mechanisms have you used to negotiate institutional expectations and culture? How do you overcome challenges to your efforts?

Overarching Vision for the Future–what is possible?

1. What do you believe the future holds for Latinas in higher education?
   a.   Probe: Do you agree with Sandra Day O'Connor that in 25 years, affirmative action will no longer be necessary? (Grutter v. Bollinger case decision)

2. If your daughter were entering the institution as new administrator with her eye on the presidency, what lessons would you share or what advice might you provide to help her advance faster and easier?

3. If you could change one thing in the higher education, what would it be?

APPENDIX E: NATIONAL LEADERSHIP PROGRAMS

ACE Leadership Program Activities and Programs

Programs for Presidents
Presidential Seminars and Roundtables: ACE conducts periodic and ongoing seminars and roundtables on emerging topics of interest to presidents.

Women Presidents' Summits
ACE's Office of Women in Higher Education periodically convenes presidential summits: in 1990, 1993, 1996 and 2002.

Summits for Presidents of Color
The Center for Advancement of Racial and Ethnic Equity sponsors Summits for College and University Presidents of Color, designed to explore the challenges and opportunities of the presidency for persons of color, provide direct support and service to sitting presidents, establish a multi-ethnic presidential network, and foster collaborations among presidents of color and with association leaders, government officials, and higher education scholars and consultants.

Presidents' Consultation Network
"*Just-in-time"* counsel to college and university presidents assists with immediate challenges and pressing problems. Former presidents discuss presidential challenges, test ideas, and provide advice via phone to presidents looking for objective understanding and expert referral, if a longer-term consultation would be helpful.

Institute for New Chief Academic Officers (CAOs)
Executive Leadership Development Institute: Yearlong series of three meetings per year enable participants to explore a broad range of leadership issues, including making difficult strategic and financial decisions, managing academic personnel, setting and evaluating institutional and personal agendas, leading change (and stability), and working with key internal and external constituencies.

The Internationalization Forum for Chief Academic Officers
Invitational Program Network of about 50 CAOs addresses key leadership challenges of internationalization through sharing of promising practices and exploration of common challenges. Disseminated to a wider audience through a web site and web-based publication. CAOs eligible to receive mini-grants to leverage innovation advances for comprehensive internationalization on their campuses. Supported by Henry Luce Foundation, Inc.

The Office of Women in Higher Education
National Leadership Forums: Brings together university presidents to work with women who are ready to move into presidencies (more than 65 forums to date). Three-day event offers discussions of issues and challenges surrounding leadership in the academy. Introduces participants to search consultants who prepare them for search process. http:///senior administrative positions or presidencies

Advancing to the Presidency
A workshop for Vice Presidents Seeking Presidency: Two-day workshop focuses on presidential leadership, the CEO search process, contract negotiation, and successful transitions into the presidency. Interactive, with candid conversations with search firm executives, coaching by current presidents from diverse institutions, feedback from mock interviews, and cover letter and CV/résumé critiques. Preparing to become a president requires a keen understanding of oneself and the search process, and a game plan for a successful search and the transition into the presidency.

ACE Fellows Program for Senior Faculty and Administrators
A national individualized program, prepares to become skilled in the leadership of institutional change. Long-term professional development program provides on-the-job experience and didactic (educational) component. More than 1,500 higher education leaders have participated in the ACE Fellows Program since 1965. More than 300 Fellows went on to serve as chief executive officers of colleges or universities and more than 1,100 served as provosts, vice presidents, and deans.

Regional Leadership Forums
The Office of Women in Higher Education offers Regional Leadership Forums for emerging and mid-level women leaders who are ready to move into deanships and vice presidencies. The three-day events offer discussions of issues and challenges surrounding leadership in the academy, especially strategic planning, resource allocation, and fund raising. The participants are introduced to a number of search consultants who prepare them to engage in the search process.

CLASSIC Series
Scholars and administrators discuss diversity issues and consider strategies to promote greater participation of underrepresented groups at higher education institutions. Meetings provide a forum for leaders of color to collectively explore the challenges and opportunities associated with the positions of chief academic officer or chief student affairs officer. Explores public policy issues affecting poor and minority students with special sessions on federal public policy offer opportunities for discussing ways to forge new alliances on critical issues and to leverage federal resources for improving the condition of minorities in postsecondary education.

ACE National Network for the Advancement of Women Leaders
Supported by the Office of Women in Higher Education and the ACE Network Executive Board of presidents and former state coordinators, is a state-based national network committed to strengthening women's leadership in higher education. In 2004–05, Network activities involved more than 10,000 women. Each ACE State Network offers programming to identify and develop leaders, advance them into more senior positions, and support women serving in these roles.

The ACE Network (formerly known as the ACE/National Identification Program) Relies upon the support of current presidents and is coordinated within each state by an appointed state coordinator and a planning committee. A special conference, held yearly in conjunction with the ACE Annual Meeting, promotes strengthened leadership programming in individual networks, cooperation between and among the states, and career advancement for the coordinators themselves.

Women of Color Summits
These summits, jointly sponsored by the American Council on Education's Center for Advancement of Racial and Ethnic Equity and the Office of Women in Higher Education, address the issues facing women of color in higher education. Often described as having a "chilly climate" for women, the academy has presented special challenges for women who are African American, Asian American, Native American, or Latina. Meetings provide an opportunity to engage in dynamic discussions with some of the nation's most outstanding academic leaders of color.

The Department Chair Services
Workshops specifically designed to develop the leadership capacities of newly appointed department, division, and program heads and to renew the skills and enthusiasm of experienced heads. Topics include leadership, mission-based change, evaluating teaching, performance counseling, team-based leadership, and conflict management.

ACE Conflict management
A complementary web site on departmental leadership, the Department Chair Online Resource Center, also has been fully developed. By special arrangement, ACE additionally offers customized workshops for individual campuses, groups of cooperating institutions, associations, and consortia.

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Association of American Colleges and Universities
diversityweb@aacu.org

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MMUF - Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship
The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation: To increase diversity in the faculty ranks of institutions of higher learning, the MMUF program administered by over 100 campus coordinators at 34 institutions and a consortium of 38 HBCU's within the United Negro College Fund.

Faculty Diversity: Problems and Solutions
Book by Jo Ann Moody: Colleges and universities have not achieved success with efforts to diversity their staffs. Illustrates the barriers that minorities and women encounter as they enter the professorate and offers practical solutions for campuses, departments, and individual faculty to follow, which may improve their evaluation, recruitment, retention, and mentorship of women and minorities.

Diversifying the Faculty
Book by Caroline S.V. Turner: Practical strategies for institutions interested in enhancing their faculty diversity with best hiring practices from a variety of institutions and an extensive annotated bibliography and appendices included to help search committees and institutional leaders.

Shattering the Silences
A documentary film: Explores faculty diversity in American higher education and illustrates ways teaching and research by scholars of color affects students, university communities, and the academic disciplines in which they work, and the triumphs and disappointments they encounter in their personal lives and academic careers.   Ordering information through California Newsreel, phone: 415/621-6196.

Compact for Faculty Diversity
Seeks to increase the number of minority students who qualify to teach in higher education. Program goals include securing multi-year financial aid for graduate students, building a culture of support for diversity on campus, providing mentoring and training for effective teaching, and building coalitions with other national programs.

New England Board of Higher Education
Member of the Compact for Faculty Diversity seeks to promote educational opportunities at New England colleges and universities. Three diversity programs include: science doctoral program, 12-month dissertation scholar in residence program, and production of a directory of advanced minority graduate students seeking faculty positions.

Southern Regional Education Board
Member of the Compact for Faculty Diversity--works with 16 member states to increase faculty diversity. SREB's Doctoral Scholars program works to increase the number of minority students earning doctorates in fields where they are most underrepresented. SREB also helps states establish independent, self-sustaining funding to support the Doctoral Scholars.

Hispanic Theological Initiative
Offers scholarship awards to Latinos pursuing doctoral degrees or studying theology and provides students with mentoring, networking, and community building opportunities.

Illinois Consortium for Equal Opportunity Program
Provides two different programs for undergraduate and graduate students aimed at increasing the number of diverse faculty at Illinois schools.

King-Chavez Parks Future Faculty Program
This program offers financial assistance to students pursuing master's degrees or doctorate degrees at Michigan institutes of higher education.

The Future Black Faculty Database
Created by the Black Graduate Engineering and Science Students of UC Berkeley, this database contains records of doctoral candidates, recent graduates, and professionals seeking a position in academia. All database members are of African descent and plan to obtain a tenure track faculty position within 5-7 years.

Committee for Institutional Cooperation
Numerous diversity focused programs with programs for faculty development, minority student recruitment, and women in science and engineering.

The Ph.D. Project
The Ph.D. Project is an alliance of corporations, higher education institutions, and academic and professional associations interested in increasing the diversity of business school faculty.

Directory of Women in Science and Engineering, PhD Candidates, Postdoctoral Appointees
Published by the Committee on Institutional Cooperation, lists women who recently completed their Ph.D. degrees at a CIC University in the fields of science, engineering, and mathematics.

The Minority and Women Doctoral Directory
Comprehensive national listing of minority and women students who have earned or are about to earn doctoral or master's degrees. It lists approximately 4,500 Black, Hispanic, American Indian, Asian American, and White women students in nearly 80 fields: sciences, engineering, social sciences and humanities serves as tool for increasing the representation of minority men and women and White women in university faculties.

A Study on the Status of Women Faculty in Science at MIT
MIT admits to having discriminated against female faculty members in School of Science. Three female faculty members collected data on male and female faculty across science departments. A committee created to inform the administration of the biases. Four years later MIT raised women's salaries, increased research money and space for women, awarded them key committee seats, and increased pensions for a handful of retired women to amount they would received without salary inequities.

Executive Summary from the Keeping our Faculties Symposium
In 1998, over 300 faculty, administrators, and students from 36 states participated in a national symposium "Keeping Our Faculties: Addressing the Recruitment and Retention of Faculty of Color in Higher Education" sponsored by the U of Minnesota and the Minnesota State Colleges and Universities. Scholars, practitioners, and policy makers generated strategies for increasing faculty diversity on college and university campuses; the executive summary provides recommendations and a list of resources.

Impact of Social Interaction and Reward System Norms on Underrepresented Faculty
By Annie Gubitosi-White: Examines the institution's cultural norms and how these norms affect underrepresented faculty and identifies social interaction and reward process norms which indicate that underrepresented faculty experience these norms differently than majority faculty. It also suggests that underrepresented faculty are often disadvantaged by these norms. See Diversity Digest for a study synopsis.

Faculty Recruitment in Higher Education: Research Findings on Diversity and Affirmative Action
By Debra Humphreys, AAC&U: Debunks several myths about affirmative action and faculty hiring in higher education. It provides facts about the history of diversity in higher education, the actual numbers of women and minority faculty members in colleges and universities today, and how the recruitment process works.

The Florida Education Fund (FEF)
Non-profit corporation for educational advancement of underrepresented groups through programs and consulting services related to faculty and staff recruitment. FEF maintains and draws from a custom designed database of underrepresented faculty and administrators database is from the *McKnight Doctoral Fellowship* (MDF) program and the *Minority Participation in Legal Education* (MPLE) program.

Leadership Alliance National Symposium (LANS)
Consortium of 29 leading research and teaching academic institutions, including minority-serving institutions, dedicated to improving participation of underrepresented students in graduate studies and Ph.D. programs and in academic, public, and private sectors research professions. Summer research activities bring together Alliance scholars, faculty, administrators, selected private sector representatives, federal officials and private individuals.

Faculty Resource Network at New York University--at New York University (FRN)
award-winning, nationally recognized faculty development initiative whose mission is to improve the quality of teaching and learning at its member and affiliate institutions by providing opportunities for faculty development and cross-institutional collaboration.

Center for the Integration of Research and Teaching, University of Wisconsin, Madison
The CIRTL Diversity Institute brings together a critical mass of scholars to produce materials and resources to reform Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math (STEM) higher education. STEM students' learning is enhanced when classes, laboratories, and discussion sections foster engagement of all students irrespective of race, gender, or socioeconomic background. The institute creates and disseminates resources to enable faculty and future faculty to enhance diversity in STEM fields with inclusive classrooms.

Liberal Education and Global Citizenship -The Arts of Democracy
The first project of the Shared Futures: Learning for a World Lived in Common, Liberal Education and Global Citizenship. Supported by the Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education and designed to work with colleges and universities to develop societal, civic, and global knowledge in their graduates by linking liberal education and democracy in the context of our interdependent but unequal world.

Boundaries and Borderlands--Search for Recognition and Community in America, AACU
Centerpiece of 2-year project is 10-day faculty development institute designed to deepen and expand campus work on diversity and faculty capacity building. Hewlett Foundation's "Pluralism and Unity" initiative, informs curricular and co-curricular campus work about diversity, democracy, and inter-group dialogues, see Summer 2000 institute results.

Teaching American Pluralism in the Humanities
University of Washington: This project builds on major efforts across the nation that engage humanities scholars in the comparative, interdisciplinary study of American racial/ethnic groups in order to develop new conceptual frameworks for teaching. New frameworks help elucidate connections and conflicts of forging the narrative of the "making of America" and attempting to redefine a national identity more representative of multiple cultural heritages.

Summer Institutes for Intercultural Communication
Professional Development for people working in education, student services, training, counseling, business, and consulting in domestic diversity and international/intercultural contexts. More than 40 in-depth workshops with topics such as Teaching Intercultural Communication, Developing Leadership for Campus Diversity, Training Design for International/Multicultural Programs, Methods of Intercultural Training, Effective Leadership in International Educational Exchange, and Counseling Across Cultures.

HACU Leadership Fellows -The Kellogg MSI Leadership Fellows Program
Hispanics make up less than 4 % of all college presidents therefore this program is designed to increase the number of Hispanic senior-level leaders at Hispanic-serving

Institutions (HSIs). HACU selects ten Fellows per year and provides training and develops the leadership skills needed to be a successful senior-level administrator.

Develops skills needed to manage issues unique to HSI's, part of a collaborative effort of Kellogg MSI Leadership Fellows Program to increase number of senior-level leaders at MSIs. Fellows undergo joint training sessions with Fellows from programs directed by the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) and by the National Association for Equal Opportunity (NAFEO). Fellows are trained to be administrators and leaders prepared to handle the challenges of a diverse higher education community. All three programs are funded by a four-year $6 million dollar total grant from the W. K. Kellogg Foundation.

2007 HACU-DHHS Professions Capacity Building Program
HACU manages projects funded by federal agencies, corporations and foundations to support Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs). Builds HSIs competitiveness in procurement of federal grants and contracts in the health sciences fields. HACU Headquarters, 8415 Datapoint Drive, Suite 400, San Antonio, Texas 78229, **www.hacu.net**

ADVANCE

Minority Postdoctoral Research Fellowships and Supporting Activities
Postdoctoral Fellowship proposals, Research Starter Grants submissions accepted, Graduate Student Travel awards:
http://www.nsf.gov/funding/pgm_summ.jsp?pims_id=13454&from=fund

Fellowships
Graduate Student Travel award requests must be received no later than 3 months prior to the proposed travel. Fellows may submit Research Starter Grant proposals between October 1 and March 1 following the expiration of the fellowship.

Educational Opportunity
Minority Postdoctoral Research Fellowships and related supporting activities to increase the participation of underrepresented groups in selected areas of science. Fellowships support training and research in science, technology, engineering and math (STEM) fields in a host institution only in the areas of biology and social, behavioral, and economic sciences within the purview of NSF. Supporting activities are travel grants to graduate students to visit prospective sponsors and starter research grants for Fellows.

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