

Transformative Resistance as Agency: Chicanas/Latinas (Re)Creating Academic Spaces

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Abstract: *In this study, we examined how tenure-track Chicana/Latina faculty negotiate and transform academic spaces by cultivating a social class consciousness and redefining notions of success through transformative resistance in teaching, research, and service. By acknowledging the intersection of race/ethnicity and class, we illuminate how a social class consciousness plays a role in these women's ways of being and thinking. The study's findings point to a redefining of academic success that transforms traditional deficit notions associated with the working-class into an asset. Furthermore, a social class consciousness was connected to viewing academic success not as an individual endeavor or accomplishment, but rather as community uplift.*

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The number of minority full-time faculty in U.S. colleges and universities has been steadily increasing, from 65,000 positions in 1993 to more than 97,000 in 2003, representing a 50% gain (NCES, 2005). Despite this gain, minorities account for less than 20% of full-time faculty (Cook & Córdova, 2007), with disproportionate percentages of women employed in less prestigious community colleges (37.6%) and 4-year colleges (29.3%) (Cooper & Stevens, 2002). In fact, of the more than 145,000 assistant professors identified in 2001, fewer than half were women; Chicanas/Latinas held only 2,200 of those positions (NCES, 2005).

Even though current hiring processes address affirmative action and diversity, Chicanas/Latinas continue to be underrepresented among university faculty and encounter difficulties in securing and retaining tenure-track positions in research institutions (Aguirre, 2000; Contreras, 1995; Padilla, 2003). Barriers to the success of Chicanas/Latinas in the academy include instances of tokenism (Medina & Luna, 2000), being pegged to serve on minority-centered committees, and being involved in research projects centered on minority issues more so than their non-Hispanic counterparts (Turner & Myers, 2000). Furthermore, Chicanas/Latinas indicate feelings of isolation, lack of mentoring (Cooper & Stevens, 2002), and institutional sexism and racism (Antonio, 1998; Park, 1996; Turner & Myers, 1997), including impediments for promotion and equitable salaries. Thus, not only must Chicanas/Latinas worry about learning and following the rules of the game in academe (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988), they also must struggle to have their voices acknowledged within the walls of the ivory tower (Medina & Luna, 2000; Watford, Rivas, Burciaga & Solórzano, 2006).

Gender adds another layer to the barriers described by Latina scholars. Cooper, Ortiz, Benham, and Scherr (2002) highlight how “women and minority faculty face a double layer of complex and interconnected conditions that create a chilly climate for them” (p. 72). Women face the paradox that, even though people believe that women should have equal opportunity to men, “cultural norms still maintain a sexual division of labor at home and in the workplace which perpetuates sexist gender distinctions and differences” (Faragher & Howe, 1988, p. 184). In addition, most Chicanas/Latinas encounter feelings of marginality throughout their educational experiences because of their gender, ethnicity, and social class status (Medina & Luna, 2000).

The intersection of racism, sexism, classism, and other forms of oppression identified by researchers focusing on Chicanas/Latinas in the academy (Cooper & Stevens, 2002; Cuádras & Pierce, 1994; Cuadraz, 1996, 2005; Park, 1996; Reyes & Rios, 2005; Vasquez, 1982) revealed the importance of addressing and articulating these issues in order to bring about equity. It is imperative to study the lives and academic trajectories of Chicanas/Latinas in these intersections. Indeed, our paper draws from a larger qualitative research project which examined the intersections of race, class, and gender for Chicana/Latina faculty. However, because issues of class are often subsumed by issues of race, we intentionally foregrounded issues of class for Chicana/Latina faculty.

Specifically, we examined how Chicana/Latina junior faculty negotiated the intersection of social class and race at a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) and sought to create a space for themselves in the academy. Our analysis indicated that social class is an asset in the scholars' motivation and commitment to engage in transformative resistance in an environment traditionally known as male-dominant and Eurocentric. To frame our research and analysis, we employed Latina/Latino Critical Race theory (Solórzano & Delgado-Bernal, 2001) with literature on working-class professors in academia and on the experiences of Chicanas/os/Latinas/os in higher education (Iglesias, 2000; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001).

Literature Review

Critical Race Theory (CRT) in education was developed in an attempt to discover how race, class, and gender intersect and impact communities of color (Ladson-Billings, 1999; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Central to CRT are five tenets including the primary principle asserting, "that racism is endemic in U.S. society and deeply ingrained legally, culturally, and even psychologically" (Tate, 1997, p. 234-235). Research using CRT in the field of education has impacted student identity development, student engagement, and pre-service teacher training programs.

Evolving as an expansion of CRT, Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) reveals how race, class, and gender complexify the multitude of identities for Latinas/Latinos (Solórzano & Delgado-Bernal, 2001). Solórzano and Yosso (2001) added to CRT a transformative method for examining

racial/ethnic, gender, and class discrimination. Iglesias (2000) characterized LatCrit as an expansion of CRT beyond the “limitations of the black/white paradigm to incorporate a richer, more contextualized analysis of the cultural, political, and economic dimensions of white supremacy, particularly as it impacts Latinas in their individual and collective struggles for self-understanding and social justice” (p. 178).

LatCrit theory extends critical race discussions to address the layers of racialized subordination that comprise Chicana/Latina experiences (Solórzano & Delgado-Bernal, 2001; Stefancic, 1998). Indeed, by viewing the transformative nature of Chicana/os/Latinas/os in the academy through a CRT lens, one can see that communities of color have asserted that racism, sexism, and classism are experienced amid other layers of subordination based on immigration status, sexuality, culture, language, phenotype, accent, and surname (Montoya, 1999). In their research, García and Guerra (2004) acknowledged that deficit thinking permeates U.S. society, and that schools and educators mirror such thinking. They argued that this reality necessitates challenging the individual race, gender, and class prejudices expressed by educators, as well as critically examining “systemic factors that perpetuate deficit thinking and reproduce educational inequities for students from non-dominant socio-cultural and linguistic backgrounds” (Garcia & Guerra, 2004, p. 55).

LatCrit provides a framework to analyze how Latinas/os have been marginalized and oppressed in schools. It provides a lens that (re)frames our understanding of how Latina/Latino students resist these oppressive systems and marginalization. We used this as a framework in understanding transformational resistance among Chicana/Latina faculty pursuing tenure at a HSI.

Transformative Resistance

Resistance theories illuminate the relationship between schools and the dominant culture (McLaren, 1994). They provide a framework to understand how individuals grapple, understand, and internalize encounters and relationships with schools (Solórzano & Bernal, 2001). Through resistant theories the role of individuals as agents and actors who are in constant negotiation with institutions is highlighted. As active agents, individuals are continuously engaged in meaning making. In doing so, it became evident that “resistance that is motivated by a desire

to create more just and equitable learning environments” (Solórzano & Bernal, 2001, p. 309) is a form of resistance that social scientists largely have ignored. In fact, most of the literature on school resistance has focused on working-class males and self-defeating resistance, such as that found in the seminal work of Willis (1977) and MacLeod (1987). However, self-defeating resistance does not change oppressive conditions; instead, it perpetuates oppressive structures.

Solórzano and Delgado-Bernal’s (2001) critique of traditional resistance studies shed light on the need to investigate oppositional behavior that leads to alleviating social inequity. One form of resistance that moves toward social justice is transformational resistance. “Transformational resistance framed within the tenets of a CRT and LatCrit framework allows one to look at resistance among students of color that is political, collective, conscious, and motivated by a sense that individual and social change is possible” (Solórzano & Delgado-Bernal, 2001, p. 320). Consequently, this student behavior “illustrates both a critique of oppression and a desire for social justice” (Solórzano & Delgado-Bernal, 2001, p. 319). The concept of transformational resistance is useful in studying and understanding our experiences, goals, and motivations as Chicana/Latina faculty at an HSI since our interactions, engagement, and objectives in the academy are a result of our racial and social class consciousness and are best understood through a transformational resistance framework.

Social Class Consciousness

Educational research has demonstrated that social class influences and shapes educational outcomes, performances, and behaviors including academic achievement, parental involvement, teacher expectations, and students’ performance on high-stakes testing (Lareau, 1989; Rist, 1971). Other research demonstrates that social class has a powerful influence on access to opportunities. Students from the middle to upper classes have resources—cultural, economic, and social capital (Bourdieu, 1984)—that they can leverage in educational institutions to attain educational success (Lareau, 1989). While this body of research has contributed much to our understanding of class differences, it can unintentionally reinscribe deficit perspectives of working-class students and their families. For instance, working-class parents are often blamed for not engaging in educational behavior that reflects middle to upper class ways of being and doing (Lareau, 1989).

For members of racial and ethnic minorities, it is impossible to separate the marginalization brought about by class from those of race or ethnicity (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995). Writing about her experiences at Harvard Law School where as a working-class Chicana she felt like an outsider, Montoya (1999) stated:

For outsiders, being masked in the legal profession has psychological as well as ideological consequences...the experience of class-jumping—being born poor but living on the privileged side of the economic divide as an adult—can induce schizoid feelings...Most Latinas/os in the legal profession now occupy an economic niche considerably higher than that of our parents, our relatives, and frequently our students. The masks we choose can impede our legal representation and advocacy by driving a wedge between self and our *familias* and communities (p. 196).

Montoya goes on to state that working-class Latinas who have made this class-jump must present two faces in order to navigate different social class worlds.

Low income women writing about class state that discussion of class issues is lacking in academia. One reason that such a discussion may be missing is that class identity can often be rendered invisible given, for example, that wealthy students can dress in ragged jeans and that poor students can have a full-time job without their professors or classmates realizing it (Overall, 1995). Christine Overall (1995) writes that her attempts to disclose her working-class origins and their significance in the university were received with discomfort. She wrote about a working-class consciousness which she defines as “the consciousness of a being radically alienated from one’s world and often divided against oneself” (Overall, p. 21).

Borrowing from Overall (1995), the participants in this study, who come from primarily working-class backgrounds argue for a social class consciousness to demonstrate how our class-backgrounds influence our academic lives in positive ways. Our social class consciousness includes a realization of class stratification. Following Delpit’s (2006) observation that those with the least power are the most conscious of power, we posit that those with the least economic capital are most aware of class privilege.

Writing about their class based experiences in graduate school, Cuadraz and Pierce (1994) stated that social class consciousness is located in the space between an individual's internal struggles to define oneself based on one's ontological selves, which include working-class ways of being, and external struggles that perpetuate the connection between stereotypical perceptions of appearance and working-class definitions: that consciousness is embedded in Chicanas/Latinas' daily, personal, and professional performances and in Chicanas/Latinas' navigation of the complex conditions of the academy. Social class consciousness helps Chicana/Latina faculty understand the "forces of racism, sexism, ageism, and homophobia that add considerably to the burdens women and minority faculty face" (Cooper et al. 2002, p. 72).

Alarcón (1990) described how social class consciousness manifests itself in the "feminist Chicana, [as an] activist, writer, scholar, and intellectual, [through her need to] break out of ideological boundaries that subject her in culturally specific ways" (p. 254). Segura (2003) attested to the "subtle discrimination that occurs in the workplace and discloses the hidden injuries of class, race-ethnicity, gender, and the strategic oppositional consciousness Chicanas evoke to develop an empowered praxis from an institutionally alienating subtext" (p. 30). As the writing of these women scholars demonstrate, social class consciousness is an asset for Chicanas/Latinas' participation as researchers and educators in colleges and universities. Informed by these arguments, we focus on how Chicana/Latina faculty negotiate and transform academic spaces by cultivating a social class consciousness and redefining notions of success through transformative resistance in teaching, research, and service.

Methodology

A qualitative approach using narratives from Research for the Educational Advancement of Latinas (REAL) members was employed in this study. Narratives were drawn from two focus group sessions and individual reflections. The use of narratives (Gay, Mills & Airasian, 2006; Stewart & Shamdasani, 2006) enabled Chicana/Latina junior faculty to manifest multiple layers of agency in relating how social class influenced their participation in academia. Our inquiry focused on the type of resistance each of us engaged in through teaching, research, and service. Using a Chicana epistemological perspective (Delgado-Bernal, 1998, 2001) that reflects the social, political, and cultural conditions of

Chicanas, we reflected on our individual identity and status within academe and the normative structures that diminish our status within the professoriate and often silence Chicana/Latina culture and community (Alanis et al, 2007). The overarching questions that guided our larger qualitative research project were: 1) How do race/ethnicity, class, gender, and culture influence or shape the experiences of Chicana/Latina tenure track faculty at a Hispanic Serving Institution? and 2) How do Chicana/Latina tenure track faculty actively resist and transform a predominately white and male academy that often marginalizes females and women of color?

Participants

The participants (including the authors of this paper) were all members of a formal academic group of junior scholars in colleges of education, namely, the REAL Collaborative. This interdisciplinary research collaborative was comprised of nine Chicana/Latina and one white tenure-track faculty members from two universities in the same city who were interested in researching Chicana/o/Latina/o issues in education.

The primary goals of the REAL collaborative are to engage in active interdisciplinary research and to present collaboratively at educational research conferences with a focus on Chicana/o/Latina/o issues. REAL was created in 2005 to establish a female network of support among junior scholars struggling in a white-male-dominant environment (Cuadraz & Pierce, 1994). The group members shared similar cultural and linguistic backgrounds, perceptions of marginalized status, research agendas that included a commitment to advocate for underrepresented communities, and most important, a desire to transform the academy to a more just and equitable environment for others. To explore the theme of agency within the academy, we engaged in co-operative inquiry and dialogical epistemology (Jenlink & Banathy, 2008) which afforded us the opportunity to be both researchers and participants in the research.

Data Sources

We had multiple data sources which included: transcripts of two conference presentations by the members of REAL, email communications, transcripts of two one-hour focus group sessions, and written responses to open-ended questions over a six-month period. Both semi-structured focus group sessions and interviews elicited the stories,

thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of the participants who were also invited to contribute individual reflections using the same guiding questions as were used in the focus groups. The focus group assisted us in our active roles (Morgan, 1996) as both researchers and participants throughout the interviews. The focus groups also allowed for multiple perspectives to evolve, and it enabled the participants to include past and present events in their responses (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999).

Our interview questions were: 1) Why did you choose to pursue a Ph.D. in education at your academic institution?, 2) How do you see your social class background influencing your identity? Your goals?, 3) How have you used your Ph.D. (status and credentials) to help your community?, 4) How do you define academic success? Give an anecdote from graduate school or as a faculty member., 5) What were some costs (e.g., physical, emotional, financial, psychological, etc.) in your journey toward the academy?

Using reflection, clarification, and self critique, we each brought a different perspective into the interpretation based on our diverse experiences and emotions. We share our stories to provide a more realistic picture of the challenges that Chicanas/Latinas experience within the academy. These challenges are critical for others in the academy to consider as they seek to diversify the ivory tower.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis is a continuous, iterative process in which researchers go back and forth between data looking for authenticity and entertaining alternative conclusions (Miles & Huberman, p. 94). Miles and Huberman (1994) define analysis “as consisting of three concurrent flows of activity: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification” (p. 10). Our qualitative analysis is an ongoing process. Specifically, we read through all of the emails, focus groups and interview transcripts several times, coding to identify salient themes, patterns, and relationships (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995). These codes helped us to identify emerging themes and patterns.

As we reviewed and coded these data, we made sure to repeatedly re-evaluate our coding scheme and preliminary analysis in order not to make premature judgments. Preliminary findings emerged which were challenged or confirmed as we continued the iterative process of

analysis. Once we approached the final stages of analysis and began to draw conclusions, we made sure that we verified our analytical conclusions. According to Miles & Huberman (1994), “The meanings emerging from the data have to be *tested* for their plausibility, their sturdiness, their ‘confirmability’—that is their *validity*. Otherwise, we are left with interesting stories about what happened, of unknown truth and validity” (p. 11).

Triangulating data refers to collecting multiple sources of data and comparing them to check that they support the same information (Yin, 1994). Because this project drew upon multiple sources of data, including email communications, focus groups, and interviews, we were able to compare and contrast emergent themes and findings in these data sources. We verified the conclusions we drew by searching for alternative explanations. Multiple codings challenged our initial interpretations of themes and helped refine later interpretations.

These data were analyzed for insight into 1) how race, class, and gender influenced or shaped the faculty’s identities or goals and 2) how they resisted and transformed dominant socialization in the academy. Furthermore, while we understand that the experiences of Chicanas/Latinas are marked by the intersectionality of race, class, and gender, our analysis for this article sought to understand how class influences or shapes Chicana/Latina faculty’s trajectories in the academy. Thus, our findings focus on developing an understanding of how class is central to career choices and to the teaching, research, and service we carry out on a daily basis in the academy.

Results

In this section, we report our examination of how we tenure-track Chicana/Latina faculty negotiated and transformed academic spaces informed by a social class consciousness. That seven of the ten members of REAL come from working-class backgrounds may account for the strong influence of a social class consciousness for the group. Embodying such a political and collective consciousness played a central role in fueling transformative resistance behaviors and in redefining academic success in teaching, service, and research for tenure-track Chicana/Latina faculty.

The majority of REAL members identified as working-class and first generation college going students. These women's narratives are key to understanding the social class consciousness that influences the choices that the members of REAL make in their everyday work. Victoria, for example, stated:

I grew up in a single parent household....I watched my mother struggle to hold things together and push forward. She worked long hours for minimum wage at local department stores—the only places that would hire her without a high school diploma. After the divorce, she began to study for her GED and passed it. There she was encouraged to go to college. What I remember growing up is my mother always working and going to school at night. Eventually (after about twelve years) my mother finished her degree.... Because of these experiences I learned the importance of self-sufficiency. I learned that education did make a difference. I learned how a little help can help keep a family going. I learned to be humble and never forget where I came from. As for my goals, I wanted to be educated and able to support myself. I also wanted to give back for all the things I was able to receive.

Victoria's story highlights what the hardships of a poor, working-class background can give to people: self-sufficiency, resourcefulness, and the value of education. Victoria also emphasized how "as a woman it was important to get your education." That she learned to value women's education counters that the myth Chicanas/Latinas do not value education for their daughters. In addition, Victoria stated that she learned to be humble and to remain connected to her roots. What she gained growing up in a poor working-class family were important tools that have enabled her to achieve success in academia. When asked about how her social class background influenced her goals, Laura, another colleague, stated:

I was raised as a working-class immigrant and I still identify with this category even if I possess some material resources (i.e., home, car, neighborhood) that is middle class. It [working-class identity] keeps me grounded and I think it informs my thinking much better when I choose research topics that are also related to this identity. Of course my goal is to continue research that undoes the deficit

view of Latino immigrants in this country as well as mentor those who grew up like me.

Laura's working-class identity keeps her grounded and shapes her research agenda which involves her desire to counter the deficit views of Latino immigrants. It is interesting to note that for Laura, the "class-jumping" that Montoya (1999) describes, does not erase her working-class identity because she still retains the category despite her material possessions. In fact, several of the other REAL members who grew up working-class still claim a working-class identity.

Other members of REAL who come from middle-to-upper class backgrounds reveal the complexities of race and class for Chicanas/Latinas. For example, Soledad, one of the REAL members, who comes from a middle-class background and grew up thinking, "I'm going to get my education and I'm going to be very successful," encountered a different reality when she entered the academy. She stated, "[E]ven now as a tenure-track faculty, I'm not afforded a lot of status because I'm female and a minority female.... While I may view myself as middle-class others may not acknowledge my middle-class status." Soledad's statement demonstrates how class is often, if not always, connected to race and gender and thus we Chicanas/Latinas live in the intersections of these categories.

Indeed, despite the differences in our social class backgrounds, several of us had similar experiences in which other people assumed our social class background as working-class. For example, Lourdes was mistaken for a cleaning lady when she was looking for an apartment in an affluent community in Southern California during the first year of her doctoral program. Maya was mistaken for a server at the breakfast buffet at a hotel where she was staying while interviewing for a tenure track position. Soledad had a similar experience in which she was mistaken for a server during a reception at a meeting of the American Association of Colleges and Universities. Cuadraz (1996, 2005) argued that racism makes class visible for women of color. Her argument fits the experiences of the Chicana/Latina working-class women, whose working-class roots are made visible by racism. However, for middle-class Chicanas/Latinas like Soledad, racism may make their social class backgrounds invisible.

A class consciousness means that we are aware that those who have a “stereotypical Chicana/Latina” phenotype are perceived as being working-class no matter their actual class status. In this way, race and class intersect in stereotypical ways. Moreover, the predominantly white, upper-class spaces that Chicana/Latina faculty inhabit are sites where race and class may be misconstrued, for example, that they are domestic workers and servers in the service industry. Such experiences are often jarring and remind us that we work in spaces that were not created for us as women of color. We are also aware that Chicanas/Latinas who look phenotypically white have differing experiences. For example, Sophie, who is biracial (Latino and White) with a Spanish surname stated, “I do not appear to be Latina, whatever stereotype there is. But I have the name. So people ask if I’m married to someone.” Because of her stereotypically White phenotype, her Latina identity is erased and consequently she would not be mistaken for coming from a low-income background. Hence, Chicana/Latinas who look white can “pass” not only in terms of race (from Chicana/Latina to white), but also class (from working-class to middle/upper class). These class experiences and perceptions influence our choices in academia.

Redefining Good Career Choices

All of the members of REAL received their doctorates from tier-one research institutions and worked with some of the leading scholars in their respective fields. Many of their advisors, peers, and mentors expected that, upon graduation, these women would choose to follow the tier-one research university track, particularly because the message about success at top research universities is that their graduates will take positions in similar institutions. However, the women of REAL redefined traditional notions of success, particularly with respect to the kind of institution in which they chose to work.

Nine members chose tenure-track positions at an HSI which ranks as a doctoral-degree-granting institution (Carnegie, 2007). Some REAL members turned down job offers at tier-one research institutions which surprised their mentors and advisors. Soledad recalled that her senior faculty mentor remarked with surprise, “You’re going *there*. You really need to go to a tier one. They need you there.” However, Soledad believed the community – a university along the Mexico-U.S. border needed her more. The concerns of advisors and mentors to want to see more Chicanas/Latinas at tier-one research institutions is understandable,

given that “[i]n academe there is little doubt that rewards go to those at research universities and to those who produce more research” (Leslie, 2002, p. 70). This elitist ideology was apparent when REAL members were doctoral students. In fact, members began to resist this ideology early on in their careers. Laura (a working-class faculty member) stated:

One thing, though, I’ve had to struggle with is when you attend white elite institutions you get indoctrinated into thinking that that is the top, the cream, and that’s where you need to be. So when I left a tier one university, people were shocked that I was even applying to a teaching university and that I wanted to return to my [hometown], that I should have been applying to again more elite institutions. But I had to really take a moment and step back and quit that process. I think that is really part of the Americanization process—that you need to succeed as an individual and you need to be the best. Why do I want to go and be a prof at Stanford or Harvard? Why can’t I be with students who I think have more my background, and maybe I can bring some background that other professors can’t. So I really tried to shape my own agenda with what I wanted to teach and not follow the traditional route just taking the cream from the top.

Laura and Soledad described redefining success in academia as a struggle because redefining success meant going against the norm and asserting a “minority” voice in the midst of the larger discourses of what it meant to be successful in academia. The societal thrust for Latino/a immigrants like Laura is towards assimilation or “Americanization” that includes striving to be “the best”. Middle class values and norms are part of the U. S. ideology of what constitutes this highest level which often does not place much value on service to working-class communities of color. Our consciousness propels us not only to study these communities, but also to help with the uplift.

Transformative Resistance through Service

Community uplift was paramount in our definition of academic success and aspirations to advocate for underrepresented groups. Uplifting our community was central to how we perceived and embodied our roles as faculty, demonstrating how this philosophy illustrates once again that academic success is a reward stemming from a collective effort. Thus, the meaning of scholarship was transformed, illuminating “a commitment to the local and larger community. This means that as

scholars we considered our roles to be one of uplifting the community and not simply uplifting ourselves. We have a commitment outside as well as inside the academy" (Reyes & Rios, 2005, p. 385).

Intertwined within the notion of community uplift was the belief in and pursuit of building community within our universities. Emerging from the narratives were notions of community building and uplifting at the university, community, and familial levels. These three levels were never discussed as distinct or separate, but rather as interconnected and essential to the participants' success in academia. For example Maya stated, "how we represent ourselves at the university is intertwined with our conscious connection to the community and responsibility to family obligations". Consequently, we demonstrated a conscious identity that did not distinguish between research and service.

Uplifting the community was brought about through activism in activities at the state and national level. Participation in political activities was not just viewed as "service" to fulfill university or community obligations, but rather was seen as a moral and ethical obligation to each of us. Unfortunately, Soledad's political participation at the state level was discouraged by some academic mentors. She recalled:

Although the chair of my department suggested I remove myself from the state bilingual organization I feel that it is my responsibility to advocate for language minority children and bilingual teachers. So, I have chosen to remain a board member.

Soledad's belief that she is 'responsible' for voicing the concerns of bilingual teachers and children reflects her desire for social justice at institutional levels where this population is often marginalized. Despite colleagues' advice, disengaging from or minimizing community service responsibilities was difficult because "service" was a moral and ethical responsibility reflected in our social-class consciousness. Moreover, uplifting our community was inextricable from our research agendas.

Transformative Resistance through Research

In the process of building transformative resistance, we capitalized on our agency to create an academic environment that was more just and equitable for women of color. Our formation of a collaborative group

allowed for resistance that was “political, collective, conscious, and motivated by a sense that individual and social change is possible” (Solórzano & Delgado-Bernal, 2001, p. 320). We chose to be collaborative in our research instead of being competitive with each other. We had a vested interest in working together and sharing resources, in forging joint efforts that would lead to significant outcomes for individuals. Because we all shared the condition of marginalization in academe, our view was one of emphasizing the power that existed *within* the group. Choosing to compete against each other would have minimized whatever power already existed among the Chicana/Latina faculty. Instead, our shared cultural knowledge and social class consciousness led to mobilization and organization within the college and university. For example, organizing a colloquium for graduate students in the college of education gave us an opportunity to present our research in an academic environment where REAL members supported each other as well as mentored their students.

As a community of young Chicana/Latina scholars we supported each other intellectually, socially, and emotionally by creating academic and social networks. Creating safe spaces to dialogue and share experiences along with knowledge of the “system” became critical for us. For example, Xochitl stated, “because academia is often isolating, we chose to form a *community* of scholars that works toward establishing a focused line of research about Chicana/Latina/o issues”. This illuminates how community building within the university was transformed into a form of resistance. As women we drew on our experiences and our ways of knowing to educate and to serve each other. Through our agency we created strategies of resistance that challenged the institutional norms of competition and individualism and created patterns of collaboration and collective efforts. As Lourdes affirmed:

I think if I had to attribute my success in academia, it would have to be to these supportive collaborative networks and REAL. To me that’s what these women are, they are my *comadres*, I can talk to them, get support from them and at the same time have intellectual conversations and talk about our research agenda... and how can we strategize.

For Lourdes, the support she received from the collaborative was similar to that of familial support that guided her to move forward with her

research. A “comadre” in Spanish translates to the relationship between parents and the godmother of their child. Thus, “comadre” denotes a kinship relationship. Although none of the members of REAL are literally “comadres” in that none of us is a godmother to another’s child, our use of “comadres” to describe one another signals the level of closeness that we feel within the group.

A large part of our work as university professors includes conducting research projects and publishing the findings. Messages about what constitutes success often center on how many articles one publishes in the top mainstream journals. Certainly, to gain tenure, one must be aware of this process and the differing values afforded to particular publications. However, REAL members valued other aspects of the research. For example, Laura stated that she felt successful:

[w]hen your research can merge with your socio-political goals. I was able to conduct a participatory action research project that had me working with Latina youth. This great experience led to the publication of a children's book and to me writing my dissertation. It is great to be able to do this kind of community work while still completing institutional requirements.

Laura’s research involved working with marginalized communities and engaging participants in the design and implementation of research that included the participation of Latina youth and herself. She was able to publish her work not only in traditionally academic venues (such as a dissertation), but also in more practical publications such as a children’s book which would reach a wider audience even though this publication is not highly valued in the attainment of tenure.

Part of building a transformative research agenda meant making connections with senior Chicana/Latina faculty across departments who could serve as mentors. Members of REAL invited senior faculty, who themselves had experienced marginalization and who had created a more welcoming space for us through their activism, to share their knowledge at brown-bag lunch meetings. As these mentors had experienced and survived marginalization in the academy, they understood their rights both human and legal. At these meetings, ideas and strategies were shared in a non-threatening environment; question-and-answer sessions were useful for everyone.

Although REAL members are comprised of junior faculty, several members from the collaborative had been in academia for more than five years. Their collective experiences proved to be invaluable to the group. Frequently, members offered suggestions for pursuing promotion and tenure, or advice on how to handle particular situations. The opportunity to learn from each other had been advantageous, as Elena commented, “We have someone to ask a question to, and it’s made a difference for me.” Soledad followed by sharing, “It’s nice having members of the group that are in different stages in the tenure process and from different institutions. The dynamic is such that we are supportive of each other’s accomplishments.” The group also provided support as REAL members experienced challenging moments, as evidenced by Xochitl’s comment: “I think mentoring is very critical and we have to understand it...It’s hard to step back and say, well, maybe I don’t know everything. That’s really hard.” Xochitl went on to say, “Even though I’ve had a lot of experience in administration, I think learning how to write and to publish, that is another kind of apprenticeship. It doesn’t come automatically to most people, it certainly doesn’t to me.” Academic networks as demonstrated by REAL members were important in the process of seeking tenure and promotion. The group discussed the concept of having mentors, “experts” in the field and seasoned faculty members, as a way to learn from each other and to unite against an unjust system of meritocracy that had excluded many other Chicanas/Latinas before them. We demonstrated our activism in preparing the next generation of scholars by mentoring graduate students, inviting graduate students to collaborate on research projects, and co-authoring with them. We embarked on these collaborative efforts despite our knowledge and understanding of the systemic norm that places a higher value on single-author publications for tenure (Reyes & Rios, 2005).

Sharing knowledge and experiences about how to secure tenure or understand the “rules of the game” were central to these mentoring relationships. For this group of scholars, securing tenure was an academic and personal accomplishment as well as a contribution to their local, home, and national communities (Reyes & Rios, 2005). Maya stated:

Of course I want to secure tenure but for me tenure also means success for my familia, my community, and an opportunity to bring forth changes so the next generation of Chicanitas and Chicanitos will not have as many challenges as we had.

For Maya, tenure was not an individual success but was shared with her family. In addition, she saw her eventual attainment of tenure as opening the educational pathway for the younger generation. Teaching was also viewed as an important part of supporting future generations.

Transformative Resistance through Teaching

A large part of success for REAL scholars is intertwined with how we can mentor students who have been traditionally underrepresented in higher education, particularly students of color. The traditional definition of academic success is that professors are fortunate to work with the highly academically prepared students who attend more elite institutions. Such students are predominantly white, middle- to upper-class students. Often, these elite universities use labels such as *quality* or *excellent* or *top students* to describe their student populations. Unfortunately, these labels often represent a narrow definition of *excellence*, which frequently excludes Chicana/o/Latina/o, African-American, or first-generation students, who often are short-changed by a substandard schooling system.

Contrary to mainstream notions of success, the members of REAL feel fortunate to work with students of color. In fact, members are empowered by their disruption of and resistance to traditional notions of academic success. Understanding how faculty can be change agents and foster educational equity for students of color is extremely important to each REAL member. Zenaida, an assistant professor at a small, private liberal arts college with a majority white student population stated:

I tend to be one of the gatekeepers now. It's all about power, to me that was such a realization that I was now able to open the doors for many of our Latino students... I think one of the successful experiences that I've had in academia is that I've been able to increase the number of students of color that have gotten accepted into teacher education. I've also been able to guide them throughout the process.

Zenaida viewed increasing the presence of students of color in her predominantly white university as part of her academic success. Likewise, the women of REAL consider teaching and mentoring to be as important as research. However, having these priorities can create challenges when seeking tenure and promotion because “the explicit reward structure of academe favors research and publication” (Leslie, 2002, p. 70).

The opportunity to teach and mentor Chicana/o/Latina/o students was extremely important, symbolic, and demonstrative of how each member engaged actively in uplifting their respective communities. Maya shared her experience interviewing at an HSI:

the moment I walked into the student center and saw Chicanas/Latinas and heard Spanish being spoken I knew this was the institution I wanted to be part of....As a doctoral student at a predominately white university I wanted to have students of color in my classroom yet was fortunate to have one or two students of color each semester...and here the majority of students are Latina/Latino...the opportunity to teach and mentor Chicanas/Latinas is a dream come true!

Working with Chicana/Latina students was an important way for Maya to provide a service for her university but also to give back to her racial community. In her quote, Maya also points to the importance of working with bilingual students. As the daughter of an immigrant mother from Mexico she was familiar with the stigma that U.S. society places on Spanish. For Lourdes, working with a specific group of Chicana/Latina students was also important. She stated: “That is something that has influenced how I approach my research and my teaching in terms of wanting to be working with Latina/o students, in particular, working-class students.” Lourdes’ desire to work with working-class Latino/a students like herself is a commitment she has carried with her throughout her entire 16 year teaching career beginning with teaching in her old elementary school. As conscious professors, we know that the educational system fails to prepare working-class Chicanos/Latinos for university work. Servicing and mentoring Chicano/Latino students are the very reasons many of us obtained our Ph.D.’s in the first place, contrary to other professors who may steer away from these students. As Chicana/Latina scholars we aimed to “create more just and equitable

learning environments” (Solórzano & Delgado-Bernal, 2001, p. 309) at the university.

Discussion

In this study we examined the path of Chicana/Latina tenure-track faculty and how they negotiated academic spaces through transformative resistance. We drew from and built on Solórzano and Yosso’s (2001) work on Latino Critical Theory to examine the kinds of resistance in which Chicana/Latina faculty engage. Social class-consciousness was a significant point of tension that influenced our choices and career trajectories, especially when we recognized that a Ph.D. degree was not sufficient to shed off stereotypes people may carry of Chicanas/Latinas, and other people of color in academia.

From our research, class analysis emerged at the forefront of our findings with the goal of dismantling the perception of working-class as a barrier to success. Instead, a working-class background and social class consciousness were found to be tools for resistance that the women used in their quest for success in academia. In this study, class always intersected with race and gender, showing how as Chicana/Latina faculty, we will continue to live and operate in the intersection of these categories.

Interestingly, the Chicana/Latina faculty negotiations were being developed in a Hispanic Serving Institution. As tenure-track faculty, it was revealing to recognize that notions of white supremacy and marginality can be identified even in minority serving institutions. We recognized that in order to promote the resistance of students to achieve academically, we concurrently had to develop resistance in order to continue in our chosen academic positions and establish ourselves in work spaces that were not created for us as women of color. We, therefore, engaged in transformative resistance, following Solórzano and Bernal’s (2001) recognized desire of those motivated to create just and equitable learning environments.

Therefore, as Chicana/Latina faculty, we engaged in a collaborative network (REAL) to resist traditional notions of individualism and competition that characterize the traditional Eurocentric, male-oriented academic environment that historically excluded or silenced working-

class communities of color. Through a process that included community uplifting, building community networks, redefining academic success, and an unwavering commitment to service, we realized how we are creating alternative spaces for ourselves and others scholars of color—places that value the collaborations and contributions of working-class women of color. The resistance was translated through these scholars' persistence in facing multiple challenges in the achievement of academic success. Although this article was focused on class, we recognize that race and gender are highly intertwined with class. We argue that such intersections can produce the necessary consciousness that leads to transformative resistance.

Implications for Practice and Research

The research presented in this article has various implications for practice and research. To offset feelings of marginality expressed by Chicanas/Latinas throughout their educational experiences due to gender, ethnicity, and social class status, it is important for the university to recognize how Chicana/Latina faculty negotiate their presence in the academy and challenge existing structures of inequality.

In an article from the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, Sheila O'Rourke (2008) wrote, "any university that is seriously committed to equity must value faculty contributions to diversity made thorough teaching, research, and service." Our article demonstrates how members of REAL were impelled to include issues of equity and diversity in their academic work because of their social class consciousness. Unfortunately, as we mentioned in our article, the standards of excellence in teaching, research and service often overlook faculty's contributions to equity and diversity.

The academy should also consider contributions to equity and diversity in the tenure and promotion process. In this way, the academy can demonstrate that they value this work that is often carried out by women and scholars of color. As O'Rourke (2008) argues, "Rewarding faculty work to advance educational equity and access counteracts the stigma and stereotypes associated with earlier efforts and it compensates underrepresented faculty for their unpaid labor supporting the diversity mission."

Universities can also help create and sustain collaborations such as REAL that benefit women and scholars of color by providing funding for retreats, spaces for meeting, and by legitimizing such organizations. By doing this the academy can help move scholars of color from the margins to the center. We anticipate our research can help in the recruitment, retention, tenure and promotion of women scholars.

This research will also encourage more empirical studies by and for scholars of color that highlight contributions by faculty and women of color. Research that focuses on the daily negotiations that faculty engage in and benefits the institution is also warranted. This article has included a particular methodology where the Project Investigators are both the researchers and the participants. Such methods provide important tools for documenting and legitimizing the stories and lives of underrepresented faculty of color. This type of research highlights the heterogeneity of faculty experiences.

We anticipate that our own research interests and study will inspire other faculty of color to research their own lives or their students who have similar backgrounds. Further exploration of these intersections and how they affect service, teaching, and research may contribute to a broader understanding of transformational agency instances. Additional studies may, in fact, facilitate and increase recruitment, retention, and promotion of these scholars—a particularly important endeavor given the dismal numbers of tenured Chicana/Latina faculty in institutions of higher education.

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