

2015

Listening to the Voices: Multi-ethnic Women in Education

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LISTENING TO THE VOICES: MULTI-ETHNIC WOMEN IN EDUCATION



**COMPILED AND EDITED BY
BETTY TAYLOR**

Contributors

Karen McGee
Marta Frias Morales
Greggory V. Wolcott
Stephanie H. Carlos

Ingrid Mariano Gonzales
Demerris Brooks-Immel
Edward Miamee Salce
Kristen Conner

Victoria Duran
Anniqua Rana
Celeste Fowles Nguyen
Brian Arao

**University–Community Engagement
An Increasing Awareness of the Multidimensionality of Women of Color in Education**

A global anthology by USF graduate students

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A global anthology by USF graduate students

Department of International and Multicultural Education
University of San Francisco

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978-1499319477
Cover concept courtesy of Eileen Lai and Shabnam Koirala-Azad
Printed in the United States of America

Department of International and Multicultural Education
University of San Francisco
San Francisco, CA
Orders: <https://www.createspace.com/4786409>

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This book is dedicated to
Anita De France and Mildred Senora Vandevere
African American Women Scholars, Instructors and Activists

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Honorable Mention

Silent No More Feminist Scholarship: Women of Color in Academia

—Onllwyn Dixon

The Current Role of Tongan Women

—Alisi M. Fineasi

The Struggle of Black Women Administrators in the Academy

—Samantha Rainer

Keep Reaching: What do Women Educators and Graduate Students Need

—Amber Picou

Las Soldaderas: Chicanas in Higher Education

—Belinda M. Sandoval

Through the Looking Glass:

A Participatory Study of Filipina American Experiences

—Monica Santos

Foreword

The University of San Francisco has come a long way since the first female full-time faculty member was hired in 1947. Even when I joined the faculty in 1991, there were very few women. Today, 48% of our full-time faculty members are women and nearly 27% are women of color. In the last decade alone, we have increased the number of women on the faculty by 45%.

Similarly, 63% of our students are women and 45% are women of color. In a recent survey, over 42% of our female undergraduates indicated that a language other than English was the primary language spoken in their home.

Women are also increasingly represented in the administration; nearly 30% of the University Leadership Team and 50% of the Provost's Council are women. Of those, 50% are women of color. Fifty-four percent of our associate deans are women, with more and more finding leadership fulfilling.

As a result, we have created a tremendous sea change at USF, one that we continue to nourish through a variety of diversity programs such as the MA in International Multicultural Education, one of our longest standing and most successful offerings. It is encouraging to see the next generation of scholars coming through this program, evidenced by this important collection of their scholarly work. *Listening to the Voices: Multi-ethnic Women in Education* offers a collage of perspectives, illuminating the value of including women of color in education and beyond.

—Jennifer E. Turpin
Provost
University of San Francisco

Introduction

*The secret to editing your work is simple: You need to become the
Reader instead of the writer.*

—Zadie Smith

This book is an effort to engage the University of San Francisco community, to strengthen its understanding of the role of multi-ethnic women in education and their participation in enhancing the community's academic discourse. The inspiration for the *Multi-ethnic Women in Education* book unfolded in the following manner: First, the publication of this student-oriented book evolved from a course that I teach in the department of International and Multicultural Education, *Women of Color in Higher Education*. The purpose of the course is to provide students with an introduction to the history, theory and cultural intersection of race, class and gender of women of color in education. This book explores, in the context of the course, a thorough review of the research literature; autobiographical voices of those of African American, Latina American, Asian American and American Indian ancestry; and those of mixed races and genders among global ethnicities, incorporating the implications and dynamics of social, political and psychological strategies.

Second, as a result of a departmental self-study and periodic program review, faculty determined to further involve graduate students in scholarly writing and methods so they may subsequently present their course research and dissertation proposals at national and international conferences. In addition, the faculty works to provide guidance to students that could result in their work being considered for academic publication in scholarly books, articles and journals.

Third, after several conversations with my School of Education colleagues and Professor David Holler in the College of Arts and Sciences, Department of Rhetoric and Language, concerning the value of student publishing. I agreed with their thoughts that “student writing is often composed in uncertainty.” This is especially so when students interact with teachers as a demanding exclusive audience of profes-

sors, as our curricular work as professors at the University focuses on increasing content knowledge and skill development (Holler, 2009). Thus, I used certain aspects of the model articulated in the Department of Rhetoric and Language student publication, *Writing for a Real World*, in an effort to provide an opportunity for students in my Women in Higher Education course to not only focus their research and writing on learning, but to identify critical issues in broader areas where uncertainty exists. I advised students to creatively choose from topics covered in the course, and from their individual interest related to multi-ethnic education in national and global settings. In addition, I collaborated with students to write reflective essays as a formative, experimental course process and a prerequisite to discovering the process of research and writing for publication.

This reflective, formative approach to writing and learning, used in the development of the student essays, is supported by the work of Ghaye and Ghaye (1998) and the principles of reflection on experimental practice. As described in their work, critical reflection is essential to acquiring an ability to formulate arguments and apply those skills to the empowerment to change existing practices. The principles include such areas as self-interrogation of experiences, and then return to look at presumed learned values, understandings, and professional values, establishing dispositions toward inquiry by viewing situations “problematically,” asking probing and challenging questions, linking theory and practice as a creative process, and socially constructing “ways of knowing.” Thompson and Pascal (2012) suggested that a more sophisticated understanding of topics develops when reflection and writing about knowledge is integrated into practice with discussion of concerns. During the course, students were able to engage in reflective conversations about their essays and share them with classmates and the professor.

The student essays highlight how social injustice driven by institutionalized dominance and the intersectionality of race, class and gender often bypass all women, particularly multi-ethnic women of color in societies. The essays reveal an influencing trend of factors in

the field of education determined by gender, inequality, class privilege, diversity, cultural norms and level of political astuteness that impact upon the general wellbeing, as well as the academic and professional career development, of multi-ethnic women. In addition to examining the existing research literature and narrative voices of multi-ethnic women involved in varied structural, formal and informal roles in both national and international settings, the essays offer the reader a unique lens from contributing millennial writers. The final essays submitted were reviewed with a peer-review faculty team.

Graduate students enrolled in the course during a period of three semesters. The students submitted 28 reflective essays on a variety of cultural topics related to women of color in education. The faculty peer reviewers recommended 12 essays for publication and six for honorable mention. I greatly appreciate the insightful contributions of Jennifer Turpin, the University Provost, Mary Wardell-Ghirarduzzi, Vice Provost for Diversity and Community Engagement, and L. G. Harris, Professor of Management at Portland State University, who made valued written contributions to this book, supporting graduate-student learning and the role and contributions of multi-ethnic faculty in education.

The publication of the book initiates Department of International and Multicultural graduate students into writing, research and publication in the academic community. This volume gives voice to women and men who, under other circumstances, may not have been heard in the portals of academia. The student essays add to the body of research and knowledge of the roles of women in education at all levels of discourse. Despite a paucity of studies focusing on the multidimensional roles of women of color in education and their individual experiences, opportunities and consciousness in the research literature, this effort by School of Education graduate students will enhance the knowledge of members of the USF community as a milestone along the path of “lived experiences” of multi-ethnic women in education as they navigate through oppression and conflict in concert with issues of self-identity as emerging scholars. Last, the

book's publication provides an opportunity for the USF community to broaden its understanding of the role of multi-ethnic women in our own community, suggests a counternarrative as a means of defying stereotypes and an insightful lens into the interpretive experiences of women in other diverse cultural communities.

—Betty Taylor, Editor

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Acknowledgements and Gratitude

This book was initially funded by the President's Advisory Committee on the Status of Women. The book project benefits from the collective administrative funding support of the university community, University Provost Jennifer Turpin, Vice Provost of Diversity and Community Engagement Mary Wardell-Ghirarduzzi, and deans within the schools and colleges: School of Education Dean Kevin Kumashiro, Acting School of Management Dean Michael Weber, School of Nursing Dean Judith Karshmer, the Gleeson Library and Geschke Resource Center Dean Tyrone Cannon, Associate Dean of Arts and Sciences Pamela Bogonasta, Director of Cultural Centers, Dawn Le Tu; and the department chairs of International and Multicultural Education, Susan Katz, Educational Leadership Studies, Christopher Thomas, and Counseling Psychology, Brian Gerrard. Most importantly, enthusiastic focus groups and funding was given by the Graduate School of Education multi-ethnic alumnae storytellers Hollis Pierce, Valeria Skinner Martin, Joan Torme, Cynthia Rapaido and, Marie Moore; and multi-ethnic graduate students Monica Santos and Karen McGee through teaching weekend bake sales.

Finally, I congratulate the winners who are now published authors by virtue of this publication of their first work based on the submission of excellent essays selected by the reviewers. I congratulate the students on the honorable mention list as we received more commendable essays than we were able to publish. I reserve special thanks to my colleagues Emma Fuentes, Shabnam Koirala-Azad, Mary Wardell-Ghirarduzzi and Patricia Mitchell, who have been very supportive of this academic endeavor. Due to the distribution guidance of the University Bookstore's Greg Dreikosen and Sheila Mihardja, this book is being made available to students.

My deepest gratitude is extended to the faculty of the University of San Francisco; Ruth Kim, Steven Cary, Patricia Mitchell, Leyla Perez-Gualdron, Shabnam Koirala-Azad, Sarah Capitelli, Brad Washington, Jamie Prince, New Jersey City University faculty Susan Phifer and Spellman University faculty Melvina Turner who reviewed

and commented on the submitted student essays. Special thanks to the School of Education Computer Technology and Learning staff, Eileen Lai, John Bansavich, and Kenneth J. Yoshioka for helping us conquer our technology issues. A huge debt is owed The Gleeson Library Geschke Resource Center Reference Librarians Joe Garity and Amy Gilgan, and Digital Collections Librarian Zhengy Lu for their research and digitalization commitment to the book's success. Thanks to the program assistant Conor Cooke who deserves special praise for his support in organizing book project materials and merit scholar Jennie Bosco for her part-time research assistance to the project. Thanks, too, to Ramona Valencia and Kim Nguy for managing our ledgers. The aforementioned support for this project exemplifies the university's community-wide engagement and participation in student and faculty academic endeavors.

—Betty Taylor, Editor

Overview: Faculty Perspective

According to the U.S. Census (2012), women constitute almost 51% of the general civilian population. The data on the combined minority population stands at 31.8% of the total population, 16.9% of whom self-identify as Hispanics. These figures were revised upward from 2010 to reflect the growing presence of this demographic. Yet, despite the significant growth of Hispanics nationally, Asians, for instance, have been dubbed the fastest growing group in the United States since 2000, compared to the growth rate of other racial or ethnic groups during the same period (U.S. Census, 2012). Further, there are already five minority–majority states, including the District of Columbia (DiversityInc, n.d.). These demographic shifts have been largely fueled by immigration, coupled with the simultaneous occurrence of lower birth rates and higher death rates of the elderly among Whites (Frey, 2012). This trend for the foreseeable future, or at least by 2050, is that the American landscape will increasingly transition to a country comprised of people of color.

Minority women in this equation represent 36.3% and 18% of the total female and general civilian populations, respectively (Chu & Posner, 2013). A 50-state analysis of minority women showed that among the daunting challenges of employment, the economy, health-care, and politics, minority women exhibit abysmally lower rates of graduation from institutions of higher education when compared to White women. Moreover, even when minority women complete their education at these institutions—again, when compared to White women—their earning power is markedly less, despite a 60% surge in the number of minority women securing at least an undergraduate degree between 1997 and 2007. More than any other demographic group, minority women continue to be woefully underrepresented in the scientific disciplines (Chu & Posner, 2013; White House Council on Women and Girls, 2011). These entrenched disparities no doubt collide, compound, contribute, and conspire in setting up women of color for subsequent and needless challenges in employment, the ability to accumulate economic wealth, access to quality healthcare,

and achieving representation in politics. Other reports such as those by the White House Council on Women and Girls (2011) and Insight (2010) support this gloomy forecast for women of color, especially in their later years when they have the least opportunity to recover from these afflictions. For example, poverty rates for Black and Hispanic women stand at 28% and 27%, respectively, (White House Council on Women and Girls, 2011) and more than any other group. When all factors are controlled, the income for Black women has reached an astonishingly low rate of \$5 per year (Insight, 2010). And, because of discrimination in credit, housing, and the labor market, having incomes equal to those of Whites does not translate to par incomes for Blacks (Shapiro, Meschede, & Osoro, 2013).

Notwithstanding the exorbitant costs of pursuing higher education today, women of color face another pressing challenge. They are, for the most part, absent as faculty in the classrooms of higher education and, in turn, cannot serve as exemplars for current and future generations of students of color (American Federation of Teachers [AFT], 2010). The AFT (2010) said, “Scholarship has consistently shown that racial and ethnic diversity has both direct and indirect positive effects on the educational outcomes and experiences of students” (p. 3). Yet, regrettably, despite the rhetoric to support faculty of color in principle, the commitment and actions by institutions of higher education are wanting in practice. Women faculty of color encounter and are forced to navigate the obstacle of courses that are associated with the dual barriers of gender and race or ethnicity that prevent them from securing tenure-track faculty positions and elevation to tenured faculty ranks (AFT, 2011). Although this state of affairs is stark for women faculty overall, it is even worse for women faculty of color and especially so in the science, technology, engineering, and mathematics disciplines. These already seemingly intractable barriers are further exacerbated by women of color’s underrepresentation as students in professional schools where faculty do not reflect the student body and the associated baggage of coming from disadvantaged groups, including the added economic disadvantage for Black and Hispanic women as

having disproportionate high school dropout rates; and contending with sexual harassment as part of on-campus life.

Specifically for faculty of color, not only are there still blatant and continuing inequities in compensation, the absence of family-friendly policies, and the lack of transparency in the employment process, but a climate of outright disrespect for women and faculty of color persists (AFT, 2011). In a study of 27 private colleges and universities in California, Moreno, Smith, Clayton-Pedersen, Parker, and Teraguchi (2006) found that, once hired, the retention of faculty of color is anemic, given the high rates of attrition among these groups. The situation for attrition and, correspondingly, retention in these higher education institutions indicated that at a rate of 58%, new minority faculty were simply replacing those minority faculty who have prematurely separated from these institutions for one or more reasons. Essentially, more than half of new minority faculty served as replacements for rather than as new faculty hired at these institutions. More pointedly, the study bemoaned that the deliberate efforts at diversifying the faculty in higher education during the 1960s, who are now retiring if not already retired, are being eroded by a lack of similar efforts toward the diversity of future generations of faculty of color.

The aforementioned paints a grim, or—some would say—dire, picture for people of color mired in obstacles that reverberate throughout all walks of life to portend gloomy prospects for their success and realization of the America dream. In higher education, for students of color, particularly for women faculty of color, and more so for such underrepresented groups as African Americans, Native Americans, and Hispanics, the system is rife with failure against them. Therein lies the urgency for this endeavor, *Listening to the Voices: Multi-ethnic Women in Education*, which assembles an array of stories, told by and through the lens of graduate students of several ethnicities, the majority of whom are women of color. Dr. Betty Taylor is to be commended for not only recognizing the need to fill this gaping chasm from the perspective of students of color, but, as an educator

in higher education, the obligation to prepare the canvass for the next generation and beyond of women of color to paint their own portraits. For, as the current recipients of this knowledge, rooted in and informed by their experiences, it is the hope that these graduate students will then become the purveyors of this knowledge in the future. It is thus all the more important, if not a moral imperative, for these students to contribute to the scant literature about women of color in higher education. This book, therefore, becomes a fitting tribute to the legacy of those who have preceded them; I am indeed honored to have played a role, albeit small, in helping advance this crucial yet underappreciated work.

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The Impact of Matriarchal Traditions on the Advancement of Ashanti Women in Ghana

Karen McGee

What is the impact of a matriarchal tradition and the tradition of an African queenmotherhood on the ability of African women to advance in political, educational, and economic spheres in their countries? The Ashanti tribe of the Man people is the largest tribe in Ghana; it is a matrilineal society. A description of the precolonial matriarchal tradition among the Ashanti people of Ghana, an analysis of how the matriarchal concept has evolved in more contemporary governments and political situations in Ghana, and an analysis of the status of women in modern Ghana may provide some insight into the impact of the queenmotherhood concept.

How do scholars define matriarchy? A matriarchy can be a social system in which the mother is head of the family, or it can be defined as a family, community, or society based on this system or governed by women. Data used to document the existence of a matriarchy are of three types: first, societies in which women make a major contribution to subsistence; second, societies in which descent is traced through women; and third, ancient myths of women rulers.

In 2000, Ghana celebrated the 100th anniversary of the battle of the Ashanti people against British occupation. The battle was led by Asantewaa, the Queen Mother of Ejisu. In March 1900, Asantewaa inspired Ashanti chiefs to take up arms against the British, who had arrested Prempeh I, the *Asantehene* (king), in 1896 and deported him to the Seychelles Islands off the northern tip of Madagascar. Prempeh I was in exile for four years with 30 of his most important paramount chiefs and elders, as well as his family. The Ashanti chiefs in Ghana were afraid to wage war against the British; however, Asantewaa gave an impassioned speech and subsequently led an army of about 4,000 men to fight against exploitation by the British.

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How can a proud and brave people like the Asante sit back and watch, while the white man took away their King and chiefs, and humiliated them with a demand for the Golden Stool. The Golden Stool only means money to the white man, they have searched and dug everywhere for it, I shall not pay one predwan ([pound] 8 25) to the governor. If you, the chiefs of Asante, are going to behave like cowards and not fight, you should exchange your loin clothes for my undergarments. (Agyeman-Duah & Boateng, 2000, p. 40)

Asantewaa understood the ramifications of British occupation, although she could neither read nor write. She is seen by Ghanaians today as a queen mother who exercised her political and social clout to help defend her kingdom. The role she played in influencing the Ashanti men to battle the British appears to be a function of her matriarchal status.

In 1995, First Lady Rawlings, wife of Ghana's President Rawlings, was honored at Lincoln University, alma mater of Ghana's first president, Nkrumah. First Lady Rawlings was honored for her work in the 31 December Women's Movement, an organization she created to advance women's economic causes in Ghana. The 31 December Women's Movement was said to have a membership of 2 million Ghanaian women. The purpose of the organization was to mobilize Ghanaian women in the areas of literacy, business and agricultural development, children's health, and family planning. Famous men had been honored by Lincoln University; however, the recognition of Mrs. Rawlings' contribution to the women of Ghana was a historic event in that it was the first time in the history of Lincoln University that both a husband and wife were honored with honorary degrees. It was also significant that Lincoln University honored a woman whose tribal background included a matriarchal clan system. Mrs. Rawlings' family came from the Ashanti region of Ghana; she was entitled by heredity to be a "queen mother," a title held by women as part of the matriarchal tradition.

In 1990, Ocloo, a native of the northern Volta region of Ghana, was the first woman to be awarded the Africa Prize for Leadership, presented by the Sustainable End to Hunger Project (Fultz, 1990 p. 16). The Africa Leadership Prize was one of many awards received by Ocloo for her lifetime of work toward the empowerment of women in business. Ocloo founded Nkulenu Industries, a successful company in Ghana. She was the first chairwoman of Woman's World Banking; she pioneered the concept of micro-lending—the financing of small women's businesses by means of very small loans. “Why are we talking about women as victims or as passive beneficiaries of social services. Poor women are the world's farmers, traders, informal sector industrialists. Women need access to financial services—not charity, not subsidies” (Ardayfio-Schandorf & Okwafo-Akoto, 1990, p. 7).

Ocloo was a prominent advocate of the role of women in economic development. She did not come from a tribe that subscribed to the notion of queenmotherhood. Accounts of Ocloo's early life indicated that she was born in Peki-Dzake to parents who were poor farmers; however, Ocloo was able to obtain scholarships that allowed her first to graduate from high school, and to later attend college in the UK where she studied food technology, food preservation, nutrition, and agriculture.

Diop (1989), in a text entitled *The Cultural Unity of Black Africa: The Domains of Matriarchy and of Patriarchy in Classical Antiquity*, disputed Western definitions of matriarchy. According to Diop, Bachofen used Greek literature to infer that matriarchal systems first had to do not with marriage, but with “barbarism” and “sexual promiscuity,” and that marriage and matriarchy evolved, and were based on the supremacy of women (Diop, 1989, p. xi). Diop also disputed Morgan's analysis of the concept of matriarchy. Morgan suggested there were stages in the evolution of marriage and family in which matrilineality and matriarchy were practiced by “barbarian peoples”—they had primitive “promiscuous intercourse”—whereas monogamy and patriarchy were practiced by “civilized” people—Romans and Greeks (Diop, 1989, p. xi). Diop stated that the theories of

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both Bachofen and Morgan were racist, and reflected their European notions of family structure. Diop explained the concept of matriarchy in the context of social organizations, women's organizations, and kinship associations, but did not describe matriarchy as a society ruled by women.

Diop (1989) hypothesized that the evolution of the concept of matriarchy had to do with how ecology influenced a given social system. The author spoke of two world geographical zones: north and south and theorized that matriarchy originated in the agricultural south (Africa). In the agricultural south, women were in charge of the house and were the keepers of the food. Women were involved in agriculture whereas men were hunters, and the power of the woman was based on her economic contribution to the social system. In this system the mother was considered to be sacred and had unlimited authority. The power of motherhood was symbolized in African religions, and it was also symbolized in African spiritual or magical powers. Diop substantiated this hypotheses on the concept of matriarchy by describing numerous African Queens and their achievements. In contrast, Diop theorized that the concept of patriarchy originated in the north (Indo-European culture) because of the nomadic nature of communities. In this system, women were denied a public role and were given no power, "a husband or father had the right of life and death over a woman" (Diop, 1989, p. xii). Diop also theorized that patrilineality became part of African culture with the introduction of Islam in the 10th century.

In the book entitled *Reinventing Africa: Matriarchy, Religion and Culture*, Amadiume explored the concept of matriarchy in Africa. The author did not fully agree with Diop's emphasis on Egyptian queens as evidence of the existence of matriarchies. Instead the theory presented was that the unit of mother and children formed the basis of a matriarchal system that existed in conjunction with a patriarchal system. Amadiume described matriarchal systems as the power women had through women's societies, control over food production and

the marketplace, and through goddess worship, which deified their maternal role (Cousins, 1998, p. 2).

In an investigation of female political authority in precolonial West Africa, Farrar (1997) asserted that ancient African political systems were dominated by queen mothers, women who had considerable political powers. This author asserted that the position of queen mother was not necessarily derived from a genuine matriarchy, and that other scholars tended to confuse the concept of matriarchy with the concept of matrilineality: tracing descent through the maternal line. Further, the status and power of women could be better explained if one differentiated between the great majority of women—common people who lacked power to any significant degree—and royal women who did have political, economic, and social status. An example of royal women who had political, economic, and social status was the queenmother roles among the Akan people in Ghana. The Akan Queenmother, *ohemmaa*, had true political power, and at some times in history had even become the king. The *ohemmaa* held her title because she was a senior female in the royal family. She was chosen by her male and female senior lineage mates. One of her responsibilities was to nominate the *Assantehene*, King of the Confederacy (Farrar, 1997).

Farrar (1997) further explained the concept of queenmotherhood by describing a dual-sex political system. Every office in the political hierarchy of the Akan people had female and male counterparts.

This practice of maintaining separate, parallel political hierarchies for the female and male sections of the population is a fundamental and presumably ancient feature of Akan political organization. In the day to day affairs of government in pre-colonial Akan society, women did not normally come under the authority of men. All issues pertaining primarily or exclusively to women (and there were many—political, economic and cultural) and all conflicts between women were addressed within the context of this female hierarchy. Furthermore, issues involving both females and males—issues

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like adultery, rape, marital conflict, and so forth—were also handled by female stool-holders. (Farrar, 1997, p. 6)

What is the current status of Ghanaian women in social, economic, and political arenas? In 1999, Fallon interviewed 24 residents of Larteh, Ghana, to determine the effect of gender and education on the perceptions of social status and power. Fallon found that for girls, more informed educational information involving reproduction issues resulted in an increase in the use of contraceptives, a decline in fertility (childbearing was more often postponed), and a decline in infant- and child-mortality rates. There did continue to be a discrepancy however, in the numbers of women enrolled in secondary education, compared to the numbers of men. This was explained in terms of the sociocultural view that women were best suited to be mothers, and men were financial supporters. Women who were interviewed indicated that because of a kinship-lineage emphasis, they felt pressured to have children to continue their lineage. The women felt that their social status was linked to their ability to bear children. The overall result of Fallon's study was that exposure to education did lead to increased social status and power for both men and women.

In the year 2000, Ghanaian women became more involved in the political life of their country. The women began to organize discussion groups focusing on social and gender issues in their homes. It appeared that the roles of Ghanaian women began to change, although the women did not believe they could make a positive impact upon society due to their lack of social status.

What are some of the recent experiences of Ghanaian women regarding the pursuit of higher education and attainment of professional careers? In the year 2001, Otieno interviewed seven female African students who were attempting to pursue higher education in their home countries and in the United States. Of the seven women interviewed, only one was from Ghana; however, it appeared that all seven women had similar experiences in higher education, and their recommendations for change were also similar. Each woman interviewed had progressed in higher education because she possessed

a spirit of independence, motivation and resiliency. “I learned to be patient—that has been my weapon for fighting obstacles. When one door is shut in my face, I have learned to wait patiently behind it, until I get another opening to the same place” (Otieno, 2001, p. 13).

There was unanimous agreement among the women in the Otieno (2001) study that education in most African countries does not promote upward mobility for women. The women noted that African education severely limited choices by emphasizing home economics as the best career for African women. All of the women interviewed were the products of elite family backgrounds; some came from families with several generations of education in their past.

How, then, does a matriarchal tradition and the tradition of an African queenmothership, impact of the ability of African women to advance in political, educational, and economic spheres in their countries? First Lady Rawlings, Ocloo, and Queen Mother Asantewaa are three women whose experiences may offer some answers. First, Lady Rawlings is an educated woman who is a member of the Ashanti matriarchy and who is entitled by heredity to be called a queen mother. Her elite status, her wealth relative to the Ghanaian population, her education, her position in the Ashanti matriarchy, and her position as first lady when her husband was in office all appeared to provide her with the social, political, and economic means to increase her power and influence. In her case, Rawlings’ female power structure, although it was said to exist for the advancement of ordinary women, in fact did not have that as a priority. Rawlings “exploit[ed] the commitment of the international movement towards gender equality in the interests of a small female elite [and thus] end[ed] up reinforcing patriarchal social systems” (Ibrahim, 2004, p. 4). Rawlings used her power and influence to further her husband’s and her own political aspirations. Several of her opponents even accused her of maneuvering to take over the Ghanaian presidency after her husband was no longer in office (Ibrahim, 2004).

Ocloo was apparently not a member of the Ashanti tribe. Accounts of her life suggest that although her parents were poor, they were very

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supportive of her educational advancement. She was intelligent and was able to advance her education through scholarships. Even as a young girl, she was aware of the value of economic empowerment in her life as well as in the lives of other women. Ocloo seemed to be a visionary who was able to advance her human causes despite the social and cultural obstacles she encountered. Although the concept of matriarchal tradition did not appear to have an impact on her life accomplishments, it is possible that she took inspiration from her knowledge of past and present queen mothers, women who demonstrated leadership and determination by their actions for their country. Asantewaa was likely to have been a positive example for Ocloo.

Although Asantewaa lived in precolonial and colonial times, the fact that Ghanaians celebrated her achievements and her leadership in the year 2000, 100 years after she led 4,000 men into battle, is a testimony to the impact her life has had on the tradition and history of the Ghanaian people. The matriarchal tradition—her position as Queen Mother of Ejisu—gave her power as well as access to male chiefs, so she could influence their decision to fight against British rule. In Asantewaa's case, the fact that she could neither read nor write was not a deterrent to exercising her power and influence. Her power resided in her position as a matriarch.

A matriarchal culture can contribute in significant ways to the advancement of women. The examples of individual women described in this essay suggest that the power ascribed to women because of the matriarchal tradition, and their access to political and economic structures because of queenmotherhood status have both been major factors that have helped women, and Ghanaian society as a whole to advance. Otieno's (2001) research on seven women pursuing higher education suggested that membership in the higher socioeconomic strata (which may for some women go hand in hand with matriarchal membership) was another factor that could be used as a positive means to help women gain greater access in society. Otieno also listed several personality traits that helped women overcome obstacles: a spirit of motivation, independence, and resiliency. The attainment

of higher education for the seven women interviewed by Otieno, as well as for First Lady Rawlings and Ocloo, especially in light of the cultural norm that suggests that education for women should be restricted to domestic activities, is a major factor that can contribute to the improvement of the lives of women in Ghana.

Statistical data collection indicates that in 2003, women accounted for only 9% of the Ghanaian legislature. According to the United Nations Development Programme Report for 2003, (p. 33), 44.8% of Ghanaians fell below the established poverty line of \$1 a day, and 35.5% of women were illiterate, compared to 18.9% of men. The percentage of women using modern methods of family planning only rose from 4.2% in 1988 to 13.3% in 1998. In the year 2000, women's work accounted for 70% of the food security in Ghana and in the rest of Africa. Women in rural areas in Ghana continue to have enormously arduous labor conditions; there continues to be traditional male dominance. Rape, domestic violence, and female genital mutilation continue to be serious problems. An estimated 30% of women in Ghana undergo female genital mutilation. Women can still be banished to penal villages in the northern region of Ghana because of teenage pregnancy or suspected witchcraft. A form of slavery for girls still exists among the Ewe ethnic group in Ghana.

These data show that the answers to the advancement of women in Ghana and in other African countries are complex and are tied to the culture, government, geography, climate, and economic stability of the country. The matriarchal tradition among the Ashanti in Ghana is only one of a many other factors that influence advancement, but it is an important one (Afrol News, 2004; Profiles in the Contemporary African database, 2004).

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Quest for Equality

Marta Frias Morales

Abstract

Mexican Americans/Chicanos have been on a historical quest for equality in the United States. This essay outlines important Mexican American Chicanos' roles in the development of the United States, especially in the Southwest. It addresses issues and patterns of migration as well as the important forces for colonization and the environment. In addition, it reveals the importance of Mexican American women in education and employment.

Introduction

The quest for equality is a daily struggle for Mexican Americans living in the United States. The journey toward higher education is a precarious path that only students with high-resiliency factors survive (Benard, 2004). In the 21st century, educational attainment continues to be a challenge for Mexican immigrants and United States citizens of Mexican heritage (Hill, 2004). Mexican-heritage women seemingly struggle on two fronts; they struggle for ethnic status and gender equality. To describe this phenomenon, I use a historical lens to highlight some of the struggles Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans have endured to achieve professional status in higher education. To understand the present status of Mexican-heritage women in higher education, it is necessary to trace historical moments and events that created obstacles to achievement for its people.

Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans/Chicanos hold an important historical role in the development of the country, particularly in the Southwest. The Mexican American War of 1848 and the rapid development of the Southwest are perhaps the two most significant factors contributing to the socialization of the Mexican in the United States. The 1848 War and the booming development of the Southwest

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are the primary factors accounting for the social reconstruction of citizenry of Mexican heritage. These factors, forgotten by many citizens, contribute to the derailment of students on educational tracks. The relations established during the postwar years are evident in current public educational institutions across the nation.

Historical and Social Context

Migration patterns: Historical overview. An advantage of historical research is that it enables the observer to trace and identify historical moments, movements, and patterns. It enables researchers to observe how migrations rise, stabilize, and decline. Shortly after the great encounter between the Old and New Worlds, European migrants streamed westward, populating regions of the Western Hemisphere. A review of contemporary migratory patterns reveals steady migration streams from southern to northern countries of the globe (Castles, 2004). Current forced migrations are caused primarily by war, violence, chaos, and violation of human rights. Castles (2004), of the Refugee Studies Centre at the University of Oxford, claimed that it is difficult to distinguish asylum seekers from economic migrants, “Yet in many conflict situations it is difficult to distinguish between flight because of persecution and departure caused by the destruction of the economic and social infrastructure needed for survival” (p. 3). Based on United Nations estimates, 175 million people live outside their countries of birth, accounting for 3% of the world’s population (Castles, 2004).

In Africa, Asia, and Latin America, colonialism and globalization have had a dramatic impact, resulting in human migratory patterns. A sampling of the impact of globalization can be observed in the increase of Malay female factory workers. Economic migration data tracked women into the manufacturing labor force. The multinational company that hired them exploited them and used tactics to assimilate the women into a consumer mentality (Buang, 1995). Through weekend parties and beauty contests, they were also encouraged to see themselves as sex objects (Buang, 1995). The women deviated so

much from their cultural norms that their family and friends rejected them. The women's lifestyles were altered by what Freire (1970/2002) identified as *cultural invaders*. In African countries, colonization and decolonization are root causes for displacement and forced migrations. Civil unrest forces families to take refuge in secure areas.

Globalization has had a dramatic impact on recent Mexican people. Economic immigrants have been displaced by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Bilateral negotiations between the United States and Mexico established free trade between the two countries. NAFTA went into effect January 1, 1994. Ten years later, the benefits of NAFTA appeared to be more unilateral than a "partnership for prosperity" (Alba, 2004). The Institute for Policy Studies (Anderson, Cavanagh, & Lee, 2000) reported that farmers who were once able to feed their families were uprooted and forced to leave their land. This statement was confirmed by a professor of government at Harvard in a recent article published in the *New York Times* "Mr. Kapur notes that one reason so many Mexicans flee to the Untied [*sic*] States is that the North American Free Trade Agreement subjected them to low-price American agricultural competition that is subsidized by the government" (Madrick, 2004, p. C2). This economic structure forces thousands of Mexican families to flee to the United States seeking employment.

In retrospect, significant to this study are the migratory patterns of settlers in the Western Hemisphere, particularly migrants who settled along the eastern seaboard and the southwestern regions of the country. The early American colonists' migrations were motivated by the desire to have freedom of cultural and religious expression. With the exception of the Irish immigrants who suffered famine in their native land at the turn of the century, European immigrants came primarily seeking the "American Dream" (Min, 2002). The United States is, as many have acknowledged, a nation comprised of immigrants.

Like the United States, Mexico experienced heavy streams of migrations from the Iberian Peninsula. In an in-depth investigation, Elizondo (1978) revealed striking differences between the two migra-

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tion groups. The migrants who settled along the eastern coast of the United States were primarily Anglo-Saxon Protestants, were a self-governing group and prized their cultural traditions. Miscegenation or mixed marriages was as unacceptable in the founding years (Elizondo, 1978) as it was in the late 19th century (Randolph, 2001). Conservation of White Anglo-Saxon Protestant values was and continues to be a priority. In contrast, the migrants who settled in Mexico were Iberian peninsular Catholics, loyal to the Spanish Crown. Although they prized their cultural heritage, they intermarried with the natives, giving birth to a new human race; *mestizaje* (descendent of European and Mexican parents; Elizondo, 1978).

Spanish conquest encourages migrations to Mexico. In the mid-16th century, Spain was one of the most powerful European countries. Expansion and colonization were encouraged and sponsored by the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabela. Consequently, Cortes received the military support needed to conquer Mexico, and in 1521, overtook the Aztec Empire under the auspices of the Spanish Crown. The political, social, and cultural order enjoyed by the Aztec Empire was displaced by the Spanish monarchy.

Spanish colonialism caused radical political, socioeconomic, and cultural changes in Mexico. A society that prior to the conquest prospered from compulsory education (Leon-Portilla & Davis, 1963/1990) received not even basic instruction for its people, except for evangelical purposes (Ricard, 1933/1966). The postconquest era was a period of confusion and instability. Amidst the turmoil, the new rulers left imprints that radically changed the country. Vigil (1984) described four significant changes: (a) intermarriage between Spanish, Indian, and African migrants, giving birth to a new biological race, (b) integrated racist practices affecting social class and mobility, (c) promotion of a program of Spanish racial and cultural superiority, and (d) instituted racial and cultural marginality. Vigil claimed the new political order, “brought economic and sociocultural problems” (p. 53). The indigenous people, who enjoyed respectable social status prior to the conquest, now became subjugated to Spanish rulers. The

natives were fixed at the lowest rung of the new social ladder whereas the Spaniards reigned at the highest. The new rulers prospered and benefited from the natives through forced, inexpensive manual labor. With the native defeat, the conquistadores deemed themselves superior to the native populations, and race was used as an instrument to maintain the natives in a subservient position. The seeds of prejudice and discrimination were planted by the victors.

Mexico continued to experience political and social instability, as evidenced by numerous major wars. In 1810 people fought for their independence from Spain. Approximately 38 years later, the country was invaded by the U.S. military, initiating the Mexican American War. Shortly after the invasion, people fought against the French invasion in 1862, and then in the Mexican Revolution of 1910. Education was neglected. At the onset of the Mexican Revolution, approximately 80% of the population could not read or write. Democracy, land rights, and education were the demands of the poor and common people. The revised constitution guaranteed compulsory education up to the sixth grade (Staples, 1985). Today, education is compulsory up to the ninth grade.

The 1910 Mexican Revolution caused streams of migrations as people sought refuge along the border towns of the Southwest. Most Mexican refugees arrived with just their cultural heritage and their historical roots. Ironically, upon arriving in their adopted country, they became immersed in the historical development of the Southwest. The Mexican immigrants who experienced colonial adaptation in their native land, arrived in their former territory governed by a new group of colonists.

1848 Mexican American War. In the mid-1800s, the U.S. government desired territorial expansion. The eastern seaboard was heavily populated by European immigrants. They were quite industrious and eager to possess their own land. The government encouraged families to establish settlements in what is now the Southwest. Disputes between Mexicans and the new settlers were common. Undeniably, the underlying thrust of the westward movement was land possession.

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To facilitate territorial claims, negative journalism about the Mexican people was employed in the East. Negative sentiments coupled with strong notions of manifest destiny prompted citizens to create a united force, overcoming the sparsely populated regions of the Southwest (Acuna, 1988; Balderrama & Rodriguez, 1995; Bean & Tienda, 1990; Elizondo, 1978; Vigil, 1984).

In 1846, President Polk declared war on Mexico and ordered the military to overtake the Mexican capital. On February 2, 1848, peace treaty negotiations ensued and Mexico ceded more than half its territory to the United States (Elizondo, 1978). Researchers (Massey, Durand, & Malone, 2003) delineated that Mexico ended the U.S. occupation with a payment of “\$18.3 million, Mexico surrendered the present-day states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas, along with parts of Colorado, Nevada, and Utah” (p. 24). The 1848 Peace Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo officially ended the Mexican American War. People who enjoyed respectable social status prior to the war were now subjected to a new political system, new social order, and new cultural heritage. Mexican Americans living in the Southwest carried not only the history of the 1521 conquest, but were now immersed in the history that resulted from the 1848 Peace Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

The relations that developed during the postconquest era are still evident 166 years later, as evidenced by the poor treatment of Mexican immigrants and Mexican Americans/Chicanos in the workforce and in educational institutions (Balderrama & Rodriguez, 1995; Bean & Tienda, 1990). The expansionist movement, grounded in manifest destiny, motivated European immigrants to settle in the Southwest. The discovery of gold in California in 1849 prompted new waves of European migrations, accelerating the development of the Southwest.

Two tendencies were apparent in the social reconstruction of the Southwest. First, the Mexican people were subjugated through enforcement of new laws. Domination over the Mexican people immediately placed the Mexicans in permanent subservient positions. Second, the Mexicans who were used to making their livelihood from

family farming were now forced to take jobs for wages. In contrast, the Mexicans who had been displaced and devalued struggled to maintain their self-respect and identity. In observing the conquered or colonized status of many indigenous minorities, the educational anthropologist Ogbu (as cited in Larson & Ovando, 2001) argues “that such groups tend to maintain such differences over time as a natural response in defense of their identity, which continually subjected [them] to unequal treatment by the dominant society” (p. 17).

The rapid expansion of the Southwest placed heavy demands for cheap labor. Researchers (Bean & Tienda, 1990) stated, “racism was employed to pursue economic interests (all racial minorities in the areas were subjected to similar treatment); although Mexicans are white, their brown skin and indigenous features encouraged racism and discrimination by the Anglo majority” (p. 18).

When the American railroad industry, agribusiness, and construction industries were short on manual laborers, recruiters were sent to Mexico to recruit from the States of Guanajuato Jalisco, Michoacan, San Luis Potosi, and Zacatecas (Massey et al., 2003). Furthermore, “Recruiters arrived in towns and villages throughout this region with tales of high wages and untold riches to be had by working in the north” (p. 27). This covert recruitment method evolved into the *coyote* (border crossers) business. Covert and overt recruitment arrangements of workers are recorded in historical accounts (Bean & Tienda, 1990; Massey et al., 2003).

The World War II era created another shortage of workers. The 1942 Bracero Program, an overt labor-recruitment program, was negotiated in a bilateral agreement between Mexico and the United States to supply Mexican workers. The exploitation of these contracted workers became so widespread over time that the program was discontinued in 1964.

Although Mexicans had a reputation as efficient and responsible workers, they were not welcomed in mainstream society. In 1933 women working in the canneries and the garment factories in the Los Angeles area experienced ongoing exploitation. A survey revealed

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that approximately 40% of the women in the garment industry earned less than \$5 a week for 60 hours of work; in contrast, women earning minimum wage earned \$16 to \$17 per week for the same labor (Balderrama & Rodriguez, 1995). Unfair labor practices were still evident in the 1960s and 1970s. In an interview, a college professor revealed her mother earned the family's livelihood working in a garment factory. The single mother earned meager wages in a manufacturing sweatshop. She was paid a penny for each piece of material sewn onto a garment. Seeing her mother painfully labor every workday for a small income convinced the daughter that formal education was the only certain route out of poverty (Morales, personal communication, October 18, 2004).

Approximately 5 million Mexicans were contracted for manual labor during the *Bracero* era (Estrada, Garcia, Macias, & Maldonado, 1988, p. 48). The researchers claimed that once the government established its labor pool of hard workers, it took measures to deport the surplus workers. In 1954, the Immigration and Naturalization Service created "Operation Wetback." As a result, "An astonishing 3.8 million Mexican aliens (and citizens) were apprehended and expelled in the next five years" (Estrada et al., 1988, p. 49). Mexican workers no longer needed in the workforce were gathered in groups, put on boxcars, and returned to Mexico (Balderrama & Rodriguez, 1995).

Winds of change. World War I and World War II created a strong sense of patriotism. These sentiments were channeled through a variety of venues in schools and communities. Mainstream Americans accepted English as the language that unified the country. Cultural expressions outside of mainstream Anglo traditions were considered to oppose the spirit of that time. Goldberg (as cited in Min, 2002, p. 146) found that in the country's push for "Anglo conformity," a countermovement for cultural pluralism developed. Pluralism and multiculturalism gained momentum in the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s. The change in policy was influenced by ethnic groups and minority movements: the Black national movements, the Chicano student movements, the Third World student movements, and

the women's movement (Min, 2002). Traditional views of education were challenged by minority groups.

One hundred twenty-six years of documented oppression. A 1974 report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights entitled, *Toward Quality Education for Mexican Americans: Report VI: Mexican American Education Study* unveiled educational practices for Mexican-heritage students in Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. The series of reports revealed 126 years of educational neglect for Mexican American students. The U.S. Commission documented ways in which public education had silenced and suppressed the voice of Mexican-heritage people in the classroom, in the curriculum, and in policymaking decisions (U.S. Commission, 1974, p. 71). The report also reported that (a) Mexican-heritage students had higher grade-repetition rates; (b) were tracked in lower ability groups; (c) had higher placement of educable mentally retarded classes; and (d) had underrepresentation of Spanish-speaking teachers in schools with high Latino enrollment.

The U.S. Commission found that in Texas and California, Chicanos “are more than twice as likely as Anglos to be placed in these educable mentally retarded” classes (U.S. Commission, 1974, p. 72). Based on the U.S. Commission's findings, a series of recommendations for relevant curriculum instruction and materials were suggested. The recommendations included such areas as prohibited unnecessary grade retention, prohibited long-term ability grouping, and provisions for strict placement guidelines in educable mentally retarded classes. Recommendations and guidelines were issued to increase the number of Latino teachers. Finally, the U.S. Commission recommended bilingual and bicultural education supported by federal guidelines. The Civil Rights Movement was the first serious attempt to incorporate Mexican Americans in the educational process and to include Mexican-heritage families in mainstream America. One hundred twenty-six years passed before the welcome mat was placed at the foot of educational institutions for students of Latino and Mexican heritage. In 1995, a progressive change occurred for

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California's minority children when all American history textbooks submitted for adoption were expected to give fair representation to minorities (Hendrick, 1980, p. 76).

Chicano Leadership Opened Doors to Self-Awareness and Higher Education

The Civil Rights Movement was a historical moment for Mexican immigrants and their descendants. Chicano university students undertook leadership roles demanding ethnic studies and bilingual education. This was an educational advancement for Latinos and Latinas. Their strength was in their shared goals and was evidenced in their accomplishments. Living in a bicultural society can be a complex reality for the immigrant student. At home, children's identity is clearly defined, but outside the home, students struggle to assert themselves in a world that does not accept their values and cultural heritage. For the child raised in a home with strong spiritual values, strong concepts of family, and a strong sense of respect and fellowship, and when those values are contradicted in school or the community, internal struggles result (National Alliance for Hispanic Health, 2000). Mexican immigrant families are preoccupied with adaptations and survival and are concerned with competition, individualism, and materialism. Gonzales (1972), a popular poet during the early years of the Chicano movement, echoed sentiments of conflict and confusion brought about by living in two opposing cultures. The poet spoke on behalf of many Mexican immigrants in the epic poem, *I am Joaquin*. The stylistic arrangement of the partial poem gives the impression of someone who is seeking and searching for the self. The poet speaks of the cultural tensions and contradictions of two worlds, their paradoxes, their ironies, and their ambiguities.

Chicano-Movement Affirmation of a New Image and Actualization

During the mid 1960s, the name Chicano became a symbol for reaffirmation of oneself, validation of historical roots, and of cultural heritage. Hurtado (1995) found that although assimilation is the path

some immigrants chose, many descendants of Latino heritage opted for acculturation. Unlike the turn-of-the-century immigrants from Eastern Europe who assimilated into American society (Min, 2002), third- and fourth-generation Latinos chose to preserve their cultural heritage (Hurtado, 1995). The Civil Rights Movement gave minority students a platform to have a voice on social issues. Students demanded ethnic studies and multicultural education. Change, equality, and justice were slogans of Chicano social reformers.

Change was apparent in the judicial system and in education. The 1974 Supreme Court decision, *Lau v. Nichols* declared that students with limited English proficiency be given supported services in their primary language. The court determined that English instructional programs denied equal access to education to students who spoke languages other than English (Escamilla, 1989). The court decision hinged on the Bilingual Education Act of 1974 (Crawford, 1991).

Cuban Refugees Institutionalize Bilingual Education

Escamilla (1989) found that as early as 1959, Spanish bilingual-education programs were implemented in Florida for Cuban refugees with remarkable success. Citing research by Gonzalez, Escamilla (1989) indicated that the instructional practice drew national attention for its effectiveness. At the same time successful outcomes of bilingual education were discussed, educators in the Southwest and in Washington DC were discussing the escalating dropout rates among Hispanic populations. Bilingual education was perceived as a solution for Hispanic students living in the Southwest. Educators, legislators, and policymakers were aware that they had to find solutions “about the schools’ negligence toward children with limited English skills” (Crawford, 1991, p. 12). Thus, the 1968 Title VII Bilingual Education Act was passed as a new provision of the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965. Crawford (1991) contended that in the early years, bilingual education was a leap of faith; 20 years later, it had supported a richer knowledge base, and was reflecting current

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research on linguistics and cognitive psychology. Crawford (1991) asserted, bilingual education

brought enormous advances in curricula, methodologies, materials, and teacher training. No longer stigmatized as slow learners, language-minority children are achieving at or near grade level by the time they leave well-designed bilingual programs, even in urban schools where failure was once the norm. (p. 12)

Opposition to Bilingual Education

By 1986, California public opinion shifted in support of English-only policies. Opponents of multiculturalism and bilingual education organized in a concerted effort to challenge liberal policies. According to Crawford (1991), the U.S. English national organization, “spent more than \$700,000 to get Proposition 63 passed, [and] had carefully timed the campaign to coincide with the expiration of California’s bilingual education statute” (p. 53). The English-only organization succeeded in making English the official language in California. In the fall of 1986, proposed legislation for bilingual education, AB 2813, passed in the State Assembly but was vetoed by Governor Deukmejian (Crawford, 1991). The bill, presented for renewal, was forced to sunset by the conservative governor. By the 1990s, conservative views were gaining popularity as promoters were now aggressively campaigning to oppose liberal policies.

Deconstruction of Bilingual Education

A scholarly review (Ryan, 2002) in the *Boston College Law Review* outlined the provisions of the Unz Initiative. In 1998, Unz, a Silicon Valley millionaire, proposed dismantling bilingual education in public schools. Proposition 227 was authored by Unz and passed by California voters. The passage of the proposition was a clear vote against bilingual education as a method for teaching English. The new provisions of the English language law stipulated

- the student best learns English through instruction conducted entirely in English
- schools must place English learners of different ages and of different native language in the same classroom when their level of English proficiency is similar
- parents have the right to sue teachers who do not engage in English-only instruction
- waivers from inclusion in the immersion program can be granted in special circumstances where parents grant permission and students fall within certain categories. (p. 5)

Bilingual Education Suppressed

Bilingual education was attacked at the state and national levels. The G. W. Bush administration openly expressed opposition to bilingual education and the preservation of minority languages. The Bush administration replaced the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 with the English Language Acquisition Act of 2001 (Spring, 2004). The act makes newcomers vulnerable to the conditions that existed prior to bilingual education, when students were experiencing high dropout rates and were subjected to a policy of unsupported effort.

Racism as Instrument of Exclusion

I suggest that racism can be described as prejudice and discrimination founded on assumed superiority by one ethnic group over another; that is, one race is pitted against another. It is face-to-face aggression and a divisive instrument used not just on Mexican-heritage students, but on ethnic groups along the periphery of the mainstream.

It is often disguised in subtle ways. Research by Larson and Ovando (2001) revealed how unfounded assumptions made by a White school community can alienate racial groups. In the Jefferson Heights case study, federal legislation mandated the desegregation of city schools forcing some Black students to be bussed to an overwhelmingly White school. Black students who reported grievances were dismissed and ignored. They literally had no venue for voicing their issues and complaints. Racial tensions built and exploded in a confrontation

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between Black and White students in which the Black students were dismissed. Before and after the explosive incident, students lacked a platform to express their grievances, and when they tried to express them, they were ignored. The parents who could have helped resolve the clash lived outside the school community. The researchers commented, “The miles separating the Jefferson Heights township from the Black community meant that the forms of networking and informal, interpersonal, connections that could have helped Black leaders influence the administrators or school board members, did not exist” (Larson & Ovando, 2001, p. 50). Regardless of ethnicity, the of impact racism and alienation on all children is devastating. In a separate study, Varma-Joshi, Baker, and Tanaka (2004) reported, “Rather than school providing an opportunity for participants to experience the joys of childhood friendships, racial harassment catapulted many of the victims into a shell of isolation” (p. 195). Clearly, institutionalized racism is a violent gesture of exclusion.

In contrast are White female allies who, out of respect for themselves and the dignity of others, fought for justice. Historically, White women have sacrificed their lives and jobs to ensure justice for Blacks. In 1831, one antislavery advocate was Quaker Crandall, who “admitted a black girl to her school in order to prepare her to become a teacher. When the community forced Crandall to close the school, she attempted to open a black teacher-training school” (Solomon, 1985). Women of color and White female advocates for equality, continue to work united for justice, demanding civil and human rights. Solomon pointed out that “experiences in the anti-slavery cause finally sparked a small group of activists into furious awareness of their unfair and unequal treatment” (p. 41). The era of the Civil Rights Movement was characterized by pluralism and diversity. Again, “women’s consciousness was catapulted to a new level by black people’s demands for equality” (Solomon, 1985, p. 201). A milestone was achieved for people of color in the passage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, “making sexual, racial, and religious discrimination illegal” (Solomon, 1985, p. 201).

Current Barriers for Hispanic Women in Educational Attainment

In spite of the investigations and recommendations by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1974), Latinos continue to lag in educational attainment. Harvey (2003) reported Hispanics showed the largest growth in business degrees—298%—but Whites still make up 71.6% of all bachelor's degrees given in business. Atwell (2003) offered reasons for the lagging trend, suggesting that some colleges are not providing minority students support services such as tutoring, mentoring, and advising. The scholarships once accessible to minority students are limited or nonexistent, and the increase in tuition fees in public institutions are beyond the financial capabilities of many minority students. The merit-aid program has made enrollment more competitive: Priority is granted to students with the highest grades and highest test scores. Furthermore, the attack on affirmative action has weakened colleges' responsibility for hiring minority personnel. These factors impact the number of students enrolled in doctoral programs. Finally, Atwell asserted, "It is clearly the case that higher education competition on the basis of the test scores of entering students works against low-income and minority students" (p. 2).

Melendez (2003) attributed the low rate growth of Hispanics in the workforce primarily to the decline in financial-aid assistance to needy families, stressing,

Hispanics also represent a significant and disproportionately increasing segment of the labor force, at a time when jobs require higher levels of literacy, numerical ability, and computer literacy. There are more workers in Hispanic homes, and they work more hours than any other group, but they are, on the whole, the lowest earners. (p. 6)

Melendez was astonished by the low representation of full-time Black and Hispanic faculty. Hispanics account for 2.9%, whereas Blacks comprise 5.1% of college faculty. Few are represented in higher education administration with 3.2% for Hispanics and 8.9% for Black Americans. Wilson (2003) offered still other reasons for the disparity

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between Whites and Hispanics in higher education, “These trends represent the stubborn persistence in our society of poverty, racism, inferior schools, and limited life opportunities” (p. 13).

Vargas (2002), a leading voice for women of color in higher education, suggested that the disparity in minority women in academia is more a sociopolitical problem than it is a personal technical deficiency. There is a growing body of research supporting and substantiating Vargas’ claim (Larson & Ovando, 2001; Luthra, 2002; Mabokela & Green, 2001; Solomon, 1985; Vargas, 2002; Wilson, 2003).

Summary

Migrations are inevitable and are an integral part of the human experience. People and groups migrate for a variety of reasons. For the colonized individual and group, identity is crucial for one’s self-concept and actualization. Both the conquerors and the conquered tend to cling to their heritage roots. The most destructive migration trends have been motivated by colonialism and invasions. Perhaps nothing is more devastating and destructive to human life than wars and invasions. Recent proof of human devastation is offered in 11,170 testimonies by people who witnessed the September 11, 2001, attack on New York’s Twin Towers as reported in the 9/11 Commission Report (“September 11 Digital Archive,” n.d.). A single attack has impacted thousands, perhaps millions of lives around the world. Wars affect families in fundamental ways: deaths, destroyed means for survival, loss of homes, dysfunctional lives, uprooted families, deconstruction of the social order, shell shock, starvation, neglect, violence, underdevelopment, and the destruction of family life. Some of the long-term consequences are annihilation, disempowerment, and indefinite devaluation of the conquered and colonized people. The seeds of prejudice and discrimination planted in the 1848 Southwest invasion are pervasive in first-, second-, and third-generation citizens. Violence and aggression are threatening to human life and when prolonged, infuse internalized feelings of inferiority. Inferiority becomes deeply engrained in the colonized people. Larson and

Ovando (2001) summed this pervasive view: “Oppression creates a psychic cage that imprisons us in a partial, distorted, way of being” (p. 78). Prejudice and discrimination, prevalent in mainstream society, permeate the classroom, textbooks, and the curriculum. What chance does a child of oppression have in such an environment? Who sets up these structures and who is blamed for students’ failures? The child of color is the product of double victimization.

From Despair to Hope

Some educators believe conciliation is a viable option that can and must take place between opposing groups in the school community. In the Jefferson Heights community, a platform for discussing racism and inequalities was established allowing both sides of the controversy to heal. Speak-outs gave a voice to Blacks and Whites and began to dissolve the stereotypes assumed by White parents (Larson & Ovando, 2001). Literature units and video presentations on issues of race and color can also promote human understanding (Larson & Ovando, 2001).

Another team of researchers, Varma-Joshi et al. (2004), shared recommendations offered by parents: School personnel must condemn racist name-calling and threats because “minimizing or ignoring racial slurs implies a covert endorsement of racism to young victims” (p. 200). Other recommendations were to offer school staff training to enable members to recognize and address racism. A final recommendation was to teach educators and students to value diversity through the use of multicultural materials.

In institutions of higher education, Vargas (1999) recommended sensitivity sessions on race and gender issues through workshops, teaching circles, and support groups. Women of color can be instrumental in raising awareness in White faculty and administrations through active voice. More importantly educators should, “envision ways of helping all students to experience their encounters with Other Teachers and transformative learning” (Vargas, 1999, p. 379).

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Varma-Joshi et al. (2004) advocated transformative and conciliatory efforts and asserted that educators and professionals who fail to train staff to address racism commit an act of violence. Freire's (1970/2002) professional career was devoted to greater awareness of human life. Freire's words resonate well in a world where human destruction is a commodity, "But while both humanization and dehumanization are real alternatives, only the first is the people's vocation" (p. 44).

Luthra (2002) has found reflection a powerful strategy for coping with gender and race issues in the classroom. The author offered a fresh view on coping with controversial issues. Luthra thrives on challenges and sees them as opportunities to foster change, "The class burns with energy at such moments. It is these moments that sustain me" (2002, p. 121). In seizing such opportunities, teacher and students reconstruct schemas of hegemonic tendencies. For the Hispanic/Latina, professional actualization and emancipation is a collective struggle with family and community to seek justice and equality.

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Colonialism and Resistance: The Filipino American and Pacific Islander Women Professorship Experience

Ingrid Mariano Gonzales

Abstract

Racist stereotypes such as the Asian American model-minority myth falsely depict the Asian American community as homogenous and devoid of any educational equity problems. Consequently not many scholars consider the lack of representation of Asian American women faculty members in higher education. Pilipina American and Hawaiian female professors are the minority within the minority in institutions of higher education. Pilipina American and Hawaiian women professors are leading the struggle through academic and nonacademic fronts to advance the equity and social-justice movement in the United States and the world. Pilipina American and Hawaiian women professors use the process of decolonization as a tool for liberatory education and creating change; they begin this process by (a) deconstructing their history of colonial experience and (b) identifying modes of colonial resistance for their classrooms and their consciousness.

Musings from a Filipina

By Dr. Leny Strobel

Journal Entry 1994—an email correspondence

I am a Filipina in the United States	Of many different worlds.
But sometimes I am a Filipino American Sometimes I am Asian or Asian American Sometimes a woman with no affixes.	To be a Filipina is to struggle to define my identity and space Amidst the confusion arising from being colonized
I endure many labels I have not chosen for myself	And being split into pieces
I live in many spaces, but mostly in the in-between	To be a Filipina is to speak with my own voice even when

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I am afraid there is no one else
who will hear it

It is to allow myself to be angry
over the injustice of the past

And the tyranny of the present

It is to mourn with others who
have awakened

To grieve for the past that I have
never known

To call back the memories of my
ancestors And beg them to im-
pact their soul

In this barren landscape where my
self is constantly stripped away.

I resist the myths and categories

I reject boundaries

I invade spaces where before I
was excluded The margins do
not hold me captive.

To be a Filipina is to remember
The other Filipino women scat-
tered around the world

Caring for other people's babies,
cleaning other people's houses

But not their own

Displaced, disheartened

But full of courage, holding on to
shreds of dignity left

If any

To be Filipina is to recreate myself

To dream of a space where I am
not alone To imagine healing
not only of myself But of the

culture that has been ravished
By centuries of othering

It is to gather the pieces and weave
them into a beautiful tapestry

Glued together by the song I have
always heard in the

Silence, in the remote corner of
my heart Where the ancient
never died.

To be a Filipina is to rejoice that
I am a woman

And I have many sisters and broth-
ers They who also remember
their roots Traditions, the values
from the old world The secrets of
their mothers and their ancestors

Holding things together.

To be a Filipina is to be on a jour-
ney That never arrives, never
ends

A fork in the road divides and splits
Always aching to be made whole

I live by forgiving even as I fight
daily

I live by claiming power, reclaim-
ing the lost voice

By calling the wandering soul
home

To the bosom of those I love and
those who love me

Because of my color, in spite of
my color Because of my gender,
in spite of my gender Because of
my creed, in spite of my creed
Because of who I am, in spite
of who I am

Introduction

The Asian American model-minority myth has been used as a tool to perpetuate a false image of classless, color blind, and gender-blind American institutions of higher education (Escueta & O'Brien, 1991; Wang, 1988). The Asian American model-minority myth depicts Asian Americans as a high-achieving, heterogeneous, middle-class community. This misleading social construct fails to consider the diversity of the Asian American experience, leading many civic leaders, educators, and scholars to assume that the Asian American community does not need academic support or social services (Lau, 2003; President's Advisory Commission on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, 2001; Suzuki, 1990; Yang, 2002). The truth, however, is that Asian Americans have encountered educational-equity issues, including the need to improve reading, writing, and speaking skills in English; underrepresentation in the fields of humanities and education; racial bias and discrimination on campus; and the underrepresentation of American-born Asian American college faculty (Suzuki, 1990). Another pertinent educational equity issue that is neglected and swept under the model-minority-myth rug is the lack of Asian American women professors in higher education (Suzuki, 1990).

If Asian American women professors are the minorities of the faculty members in higher education, then Pilipina American (U.S. citizens or immigrants who trace their ancestry to the Philippines) and Hawaiian (people who trace their ancestry to the Hawaiian islands) women professors are the minorities within a minority. Pilipina Americans and the Pacific Islander community have been "relegated to a footnote or asterisk in discussion regarding Asian Americans" (President's Advisory Commission, 2001). Few studies and narratives have been written on the Pilipina American and Hawaiian women-professor experience. The analysis of the intersections of race, class, and gender dynamics in American institutions of higher education must be regarded as incomplete without the inclusion of these marginalized voices.

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Pilipina American and Hawaiian women professors, as women-of-color professors, are seen as the “other.” They are constantly being compared to the status quo’s definition of the “normal” professor—a definition of authority and power based on the historical privileges of Whiteness, heterosexuality, maleness, and higher social class (Vargas, 1999). Pilipina American and Hawaiian women professors, like all women professors of color, must navigate through hostile working environments and deconstruct the systemic power relations based on race, class, and gender in their classrooms, schools, and communities (Akindes, 2002; Avalos-C’deBaca, 2002; Luthra, 2002; Vargas, 2002).

To resist hegemony and inequities in higher education and the greater society, Pilipina American and Hawaiian women professors use their colonial consciousness as a tool for liberatory education and self-determination (Akindes, 2002; Meyer, 2004b; Strobel, 2000; Trask, 2002). Pilipina American and Hawaiian women professors hold the key to unlocking the answers to improving the dire conditions of their students and other marginalized students and their respective communities. By (a) deconstructing their history of colonial experience and (b) identifying modes of colonial resistance for their classrooms and their consciousness, Pilipina American and Hawaiian women professors are advancing the equity and social-justice movement in the United States and throughout the globe.

The Colonial Experience: Miseducation and Oppression

The Pilipino colonial experience has vastly shaped the language and culture of the Pilipino people. The Pilipino colonial experience has been described as spending 400 years in a convent and 50 years in Hollywood, alluding to the 400 years of Spanish occupation and 50 years of American occupation of the Philippines. During Spanish colonization, the Catholic religion was the primary tool of colonization and occupation. During the American occupation, education was the tool used to subjugate the minds of Pilipino people. This is the beginning of what Constantino (1982) called the “miseducation” of the Pilipino. The Pilipino had to “be educated as a good colonial” (p.

3) and the indigenous cultures and languages in the Philippines were threatened to extinction.

In the book *Philippines*, Elliott described the militancy and great scope of the American-imposed educational system in the Philippines at that time (as cited in Constantino, 1982):

The immediate adoption of English in the Philippine schools subjected America to the charge of forcing the language of the conquerors upon a defenseless people. ... Of course such a system of education could only be successful under the direction of American teachers. ... Arrangements were promptly made for enlisting a small army of teachers in the United States. At first they came in battalions. The transport Thomas was fitted up for their accommodations and in July, 1901, it sailed from San Francisco with six hundred teachers—a second army of occupation—surely the most remarkable cargo ever carried to an Oriental colony. (p. 3)

The teachers were not in the Philippines to educate; they were there as weapons of mental and cultural mass destruction. The American-based educational system in the Philippines taught the Pilipinos that they were subservient and unequal to their Western colonial master. An American-based education meant the suppression of the nationalist fervor in the Philippines. English was the only language used for instruction and Pilipinos were exposed to Western literature and Western thought. Constantino (1982) explained that the miseducation of the Pilipinos caused the people to have distorted views of themselves. According to Constantino, it is the role of education to “correct this distortion” (p. 19), reverse this internal oppression and reclaim people’s consciousness.

The “miseducated” Pilipino, according to Strobel (2000), was the post-1965 Pilipino American immigrant. The post-1965 Pilipino American immigrant was part of the third wave of Pilipino American immigration to the United States—they were a part of the *brain-drain* diaspora in which professionals, such as nurses and engineers

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from Asian countries became the largest American exports of their respective countries. Strobel (2000), like many post-1965 Pilipino American immigrants, brought suitcases and a colonial-based education to the United States. She was conscious that this colonial training and education has reappeared at different times in her academic, professional, and personal life. The majority of Strobel's students, the children of the brain-drain generation, are now, in her classroom, largely unconscious of their colonial histories and internalized oppressions. Pilipino American students were blinded by the Asian American model-minority myth.

The people from Hawaii and parts of the Pacific Basin share similar colonial experience and educational struggles with Pilipino Americans. Trask, a professor from the University of Hawaii, has been one of the most controversial and vocal female professors working for the Hawaiian sovereignty movement. According to Trask (2002), Hawaii remains a colony of the United States ever since the forced annexation of the islands in 1898. With its overthrow, all things *haole* (the Hawaiian term for White, Western, and foreign) were imposed and all things indigenously Hawaiian were suppressed. In a speech written for an ethnic Hawaiian political rally, Trask (2002) passionately declared,

If we go back in time of contact with the syphilitic Captain Cook, what we realize is that the first thing that was a gill of Western civilization was disease. The second thing that was a gift of Western civilization was violence. ... In 1848 the missionaries ... they came here to colonize us because we didn't have the right gods. Who were they to say we didn't have the right gods? ... The foreigners came. They conquered. They took our lands. They imprisoned our queen. And THEY divided us by blood quantum. (Trask, 2002, para. 4)

Because of the Hawaiian Islands' key geographic importance as a military stronghold, native Hawaiians are being displaced from their homeland and have the least access to higher education and social

mobility. The majority of students attending the University of Hawaii are *haole*, or Asian Americans from the Pacific Rim. Trask and other academics supporting the Hawaiian-sovereignty movement have to navigate through a hostile college environment. When they speak against the status quo and threaten to disrupt the hegemonic structures of society or their schools, *haole* professors and *haole* students deem Hawaiian women professors as racists with “anti-American and anti-white attitudes” (Trask, 2002).

The Hawaiian education movement, in relation to the Hawaiian-sovereignty movement has many barriers to overcome as well (Meyer, 2004a). According to Meyer (2004a), most academic research done on Hawaiian students has been framed under the cultural-deficit theory (i.e., that it is the deficiency of the Hawaiian language and culture that leads to the poor academic achievement of Hawaiian students). In the literature, Hawaiians are depicted as disempowered involuntary minorities, who are incapable of self-determination and resisting the colonial pressures of the Western world. Meyer (2004a) also stated that their learned colonial mentality and internalized oppression has direct real-world implications for the Hawaiian people:

Post-colonial is not a physical place, it is a mental one. ... We have learned to eat poorly. We die early. We are un-healed in our own families. ... We are the most in prisons. We kill ourselves with self-doubt, nihilism, and our hands. Half of us don't even live here anymore. (p. 1)

The narratives and writings of Pilipina American and Hawaiian women professors illustrate the depth and severity of the pangs felt from the miseducation and the oppression that faces them and their people due to their colonial histories and experiences with American imperialism. Although the institutions of higher education have historically been used as a tool to perpetuate the colonial masters' agenda, today's Pilipina American and Hawaiian women professors have used their classrooms as an alternative space to resist and deconstruct their colonial consciousness. Pilipina American and Hawaiian

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women professors study and teach about the past to find answers for a liberated future.

The Colonial Resistance: Voice, Spirit, and Activism

In the Filipino American and Hawaiian scholarship, the struggle lies in creating a new discourse, an alternative discourse that will better align with their indigenous ways of knowing and living. Pilipina American and Hawaiian women professors are taking on the social responsibility to resist colonial pressures for the sake of their community's educational experiences and transformation. The struggle for liberation for Pilipina American and Hawaiian women professors lies in the classrooms, the land, the written word, the body, the mind, and the spirit.

Strobel (2000) used the method of journaling and reflection to deconstruct her internal oppression. Armed with Freire's (1970) problem-posing education, she began to read texts critically. Strobel never felt alone as she read empowering texts from other "third world" writers and women of color in academe. In this process of what she calls "coming full circle," her decolonization work is based on regaining her voice and silencing the "subversive voice that undermines [her]" knowledge. In the journal entry below, Strobel struggled to understand how she could better grasp her historical consciousness:

[Journal entry, June 12, 1995]: Yesterday I may have finally resolved the meaning of my recurring dream about divorce. I have been reading bell hook's *Black Looks* where she talks about decolonization and dealing with "white terror." Of course, I thought, my dream is about divorcing "white terror" and its control of my life. The dream is about learning to rise above the fear, to think beyond fear, to leave it behind. Leave the system behind. The "voice" said to me yesterday: in order to decolonize, you must recognize the white terror, examine how your life revolves around this terror. How can you remove its fangs? (Strobel, 2000, p. 7)

As a Pilipina American woman in higher education, Strobel (2000) realized that her culture and her people's indigenous imaginations can bring her the answers books and politics cannot provide. She is a whole being in the classroom with a soul, not just a series of credentials. Reclaiming her voice and her native tongue while seeing herself as a holistic, spiritual, and indigenous being was the process she used to remove the fangs of internalized oppression and colonized mentality.

Strobel (2000) promoted the mobilization and the organization of Pilipino American students to learn more about their language and culture and to actively seek avenues to increase their voice and participation in the larger American society. Strobel also recognized her responsibility as an important mentor figure to foster the consciousness building of her Pilipino American students. Unfortunately, for the children of post-1965 Pilipino American immigrants, their first exposure to Pilipino history and culture is in college.

A study performed by Maldonado, Rhoads, and Buenavista (2004) on student-initiated retention projects supported Strobel's (2000) findings. The authors found that belonging to a student-run organization can be a vehicle for decolonization and student empowerment. According to a Pilipino American student participant in the Maldonado et al. study,

I think PASS [the Pilipino American student-initiated retention project] kind of allows students to explore what it means to be a Filipino student here on campus, whether you're Filipino-American, a recent immigrant, or someone who is Filipino, but has never grown up around Filipinos. As part of our retention efforts, we always try to put on programs, events, or workshops that allow students to explore for themselves and kind of define for themselves what it means to be Filipino. (p. 28)

Another study of Pilipino American student retention in higher education also supported Strobel's (2000) advocacy for having Pilipino American professor mentors for Pilipino American students in higher education. Gonzales (2004) found that the lack of academic

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support from peers, the lack of relevant classes, and the lack of academic support from college staff all contributed to Pilipino American college students' dropout and academic difficulty. To combat this negative influence, Gonzales also found that access to academic mentors was one of the factors that contributed to the successful retention of Pilipino American college students. Pilipina American women professors sharing their narratives and their scholarship is a boon, enriching Pilipino American students' college experiences and improving their retention rates of in higher education.

For Meyer (2004b), the process of decolonization is a matter of promoting Hawaiian epistemology or ways of knowing that will provide new possibilities and positive transformations in her students. To Meyer, Hawaiian epistemology is "an idea that holds up all others. ... It questions what [people] value with regard to intelligence, and it shapes how we view teaching and learning" (p. 1). Central to the Hawaiian epistemology is putting the Hawaiians at the center of the discourse and out of their marginalized colonial position. Hawaiian epistemology is not easily distinguished from the fabric of Hawaiian culture because it is "sewn into" it (Meyer, 2004b, p. 3).

With guidance from Meyer's (2004b) 20 mentors, the factors that comprise the Hawaiian experience of knowing include using spirituality as a source for a cultural context of knowing; having physical space as a cultural context of knowing; expanding the idea of empiricism to include the cultural nature of sense; seeing the self through the other; addressing utility as knowledge; seeing the causality of language and thought; and having no separation of mind, body, and spirit. These seven epistemological categories are critical to her profession in teacher education and advancing the Hawaiian education movement. These seven categories can "serve as a way to critique the current colonial system in Hawaiian language immersion, spotlight the oppression embedded in well-meaning content and performance standards, and highlight the hidden curriculum of assimilation and acultural assumptions in pedagogy" (Meyer, 2004b, p. 20).

Trask (2002) also used student and community activism as a tool to decolonize and further the Hawaiian sovereignty movement. As an outspoken activist, she has advocated against environmental colonialism, racism, sexism, American imperialism, and Asian imperialism. She has written letters to the editors, spoken in various arenas, and used her position of privilege as a professor to increase the visibility of the Hawaiian sovereignty movement. Her tool for liberation and decolonization is speaking truth and acting based on that truth. She explained,

We need to have an analysis of the current situation and understand that. And once we understand that we will not be afraid to speak the truth. Malcolm X used to always say “Speak the truth brother, speak the truth.” What’s wrong with the truth? It’s the truth. That’s why nobody wants us to speak the truth. And that’s what we need to do. And that’s what the purpose of this rally today. To speak the truth. (Trask, 2002, para. 26)

The truth according to Maori scholar Smith (2002) is that American, Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand academics, regardless of their marginalized backgrounds, have privileges and contradictions based on their first-world education. Smith wrote,

Despite the very powerful *issues* which locate many First World indigenous peoples in Third World social conditions, we still ... occupy a place of privilege within the world of indigenous peoples. That does not mean that indigenous peoples from the First World have better ideas or know anything more. ... One of the many criticisms that get leveled at indigenous intellectuals or activists is that our Western education precludes us from writing or speaking from a “real” and authentic indigenous position. (p. 14)

By acknowledging her positionality as a first-world indigenous woman scholar, Smith is a humanized researcher who is able to con-

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tinue her decolonizing efforts by serving her community. Founded on her work with indigenous communities in the Pacific Basin, Smith has proposed a decolonizing methodology for research based on respect for people, humility, face-to-face presentation, listening, generosity, being cautious, and not trampling over the *mana* (Maori for their standing in their own eyes) of the people.

Smith's first-world educational background and the research done in indigenous research methodology illustrated that the decolonization process cannot be essentialized. The decolonization process is continuous and part of a dynamic, sweeping, and larger global indigenous movement—a movement courageously continued by Pilipina American and Hawaiian women professors.

Conclusion and Summary

It is an act of courage by Pilipina American and Hawaiian women professors to use the process of decolonization to debunk the Asian American model-minority myth and the deficit model of education imposed by the status quo and Eurocentric research. There is real emotional pain not solely from interactions with their students' internalized oppression, but also from the interactions with their colleagues (Akindes, 2002). Pilipina American and Hawaiian women professors working on the process of decolonization must also distinguish themselves from other women-of-color professors who perpetuate colonial mentality-based scholarship and Eurocentric paradigms.

It is important to critically understand the cultural lens and framework of the research problem being posed by women of color. In an article written by Pilipina American professor Fulgado (1991) about the conditions being faced by Pilipino Americans in higher education, for example, the author perpetuated the deficit model by arguing,

It is almost a common knowledge that Filipinos tend to be followers of American standards and ideology. If it is "US made" it must be good! Furthermore, some may follow the saying "when in Rome, do as the Romans do." Is it possible that the Filipino youth's non-pursuance of higher education

is American influenced? Is it possible that our Filipino youths are not pursuing higher education because there is no motivation coming from the parents? (p. 17)

Colonial mentality manifests itself in numerous ways and in higher education the liberation of the mind is central to students' learning and academic scholarship. To combat miseducation and colonial oppression, Pilipina American and Hawaiian women professors are working diligently to diversify the discourse and present an empowering educational model and way of life for all marginalized and indigenous students and their respective communities. By (a) deconstructing their history of colonial experience and (b) identifying modes of colonial resistance for their classrooms and their consciousness, Pilipina American and Hawaiian women professors are leading the struggle in various fronts (in and out of the American institutions of higher education) for the liberation of our collective minds, bodies, and spirits.

Editor's Note

The subtle distinction between Pilipino/a and Filipino/a stems from the complex influences of Spanish, English and Tagalog and the evolution of the sounds and spellings available in those languages. Pilipino/a is often the term used by people when referring to their own ethnicity and tracing their ancestry to the Philippines. Filipino is the common global term used by some individuals to identify the ethnicity of the peoples of the Philippines.

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Supporting the Success of Female Asian American College Students

Gregory V. Wolcott

Abstract

This essay outlines important research on female Asian American college students as they weave through the shared experiences of college campus life, and through the multidimensional complexities of identity development. In it, I suggest that colleges should develop programs outside of so-called traditional developmental models and celebrate the history, traditions, and contributions of all student groups through relevant programs and support. In particular, a more formalized theory of development needs to be developed in regard to female Asian American students. The aforementioned point of view is supported in the research literature.

Introduction

Research on college students' psychosocial development began to emerge in the 1960s and since then has informed college administrators how to better work with the population. Erikson (1959) was one of the first theorists to apply psychosocial theory to the development of adults. Theorists such as Chickering (1969) helped a generation of professionals better understand college students' development. Chickering and Reisser (1993) examined how Erikson's research could be applied to college students, creating what they called "seven vectors of development." These vectors examined a wide range of abilities including developing identity, becoming interdependent, and managing emotions. Although Chickering's theory of college-student development provided administrators with a useful framework for working with students, it soon became clear that not all students could be sewed in the same way due to gender and cultural differences. Chickering and Reisser's theory was developed based

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on research with White American male, traditional-aged participants at predominantly private institutions. This research excluded much of the college population, namely women and “students of color” (McEwen & Roper, 1994; Pope, 1993).

Studies by Cross (1995) and Gilligan (1982) expanded the view of these earlier theories to include minorities and women. Researchers examined how African American students perceived their world, and in doing so developed the racial-identity-development model for Black students (cited in Tatum, 1997, p. 53). Gilligan focused studies solely on women, arguing that women’s development is “better understood by such concepts as connectedness, responsibility to others, and care” (cited in Dannells & Wilson, 1993, p. 14). Female college students have also been the focus of recent research. Among student affairs administrators, Gilligan (1982) is the recognized authority on the key differences in the psychosocial development between male and female college students. Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) stressed the importance of “voice” and level of satisfaction among female college students. More recently, Salter (2003) explored the concept of the “chilly classroom” and studied how female college students interacted with their environment. In a related study, scholars described the factors that encourage college classroom participation among women (Salter & Persaud, 2003).

Asian American college students have received considerable attention from researchers in the past decade. Kim (2001) developed the Asian American identity-development model, outlining how Asian American student development differs from that of their White counterparts. Many researchers have looked at factors that affect Asian American college students, such as coping strategies (Yeh & Wang, 2000), pan ethnicity (Rhoads, Lee, & Yamada, 2002), collective action (Inkelas, 2003), and ethnic awareness (Inkelas, 2004).

Administrators often apply development theories to work more effectively with college students. These theories can help administrators and students make sense of their experiences and develop strategies for dealing with challenges. Problems arise, however,

when traditional developmental models are applied to all college students. Because Asian American college students make up a significant percentage of today's college population (Rhoads et al., 2002), more critical research is needed to establish how these students' experiences compare to traditional developmental theories. Furthermore, Asian American women are an important subgroup in this population that deserves more critical attention and support. New research that compares past theories with current research on this population will assist college administrators in their work with Asian American female college students and, in turn, provide these students with better services and experiences in college. This essay will examine the development of Asian American female college students through this lens and offer implications for faculty and staff to help these students be successful.

Theoretical Base

Psychosocial theories by Chickering (1969) and Gilligan (1982) are the foundation to better understand how college students develop. These studies were chosen due to their extensive use in graduation-preparation programs and by student-affairs practitioners. The comparison of these two theories outlines the key differences in how male and female college students develop. A second theoretical framework is Kim's (2001) model of Asian American identity development. This theory provides a framework for understanding the specific development of Asian American college students and how their development differs from that of White students.

Empirical research studies that focus on Asian Americans and female college students are outlined here to help inform readers about how this population interfaces with the theories presented. The theories and empirical studies will form the basis for a synthesis that will provide a better understanding of how Asian American female college students develop. Implications for faculty and student-affairs administrators will be offered, based on the synthesis of the research.

Chickering's Vectors of Development

Several theories have been developed that discuss how college students develop. One of the most recognized theories is Chickering's (1969) seven vectors of development: developing competence, managing emotions, moving through autonomy toward interdependence, developing mature interpersonal relationships, establishing identity, developing purpose, and developing integrity (p. 3). "Chickering's vectors are not a step-by-step or linear maturation but rather a process whereby growth comes as a result of stimulation throughout the college years" (Elleven & Spaulding, 1997, p. 6). Researchers showed, however, that the first three vectors generally occur simultaneously and before the last four vectors begin (Hood, n.d., p. 2).

The first vector, developing competence, has three key components: intellectual competence, physical and manual skills, and interpersonal competence. The second vector is managing emotions. The college years are a time of transition, when new and challenging emotions evolve. Two primary emotions that students must learn to manage are aggression and sex (Hood, n.d., p. 2). While in college, students learn how to handle different feelings and try new modes of expression (University of Texas, Dallas, 2004). In the third vector, developing autonomy, college students need less reassurance and approval from others because students begins to trust their feelings and abilities as valid sources of information (University of Texas, Dallas, 2004, p. 3). This vector is critical for college students and the university. College freshmen experience a sense of autonomy as they begin college. The university plays a critical role in helping educate families about how this vector plays out and the emotional strain it may cause for students and their parents. While this vector is developing, the peer group becomes the main reference group (Hood, n.d., p. 2). This third vector was later revised and named "moving through autonomy toward interdependence" (Chickering & Reisser, 1993, p. 117). This revision reflects the completion of the vector, when students have achieved a sense of autonomy and moved toward more interdependent strategies.

The fourth vector, developing mature relationships, consists of more friendly and respectful relationships with others. It is also at this time that a respect for different cultures becomes apparent. Establishing identity, the key vector in this last group,

refers to the self or the person one feels oneself to be. The development of identity depends in part upon the development of the three previous vectors and once a student achieves a solid sense of identity, changes then occur in the remaining three vectors. (Hood, n.d., p. 3)

Identity development also entails negotiating a “realistic and stable self image” (University of Texas, Dallas, 2004, p. 3). Developing purpose has a strong vocational tone, indicating that college students typically develop career goals and aspirations during the final years of college. According to Chickering, this vector is different for men and women.

For males this vector receives its primary thrust from the relationships of increased stability and deepening interests to vocational plans and aspirations. For females, the salience of vocational plans is often complicated by marriage plans or by uncertainties regarding marriage. (Hood, n.d., p. 3)

Developing integrity is the most elusive of the seven vectors and varies greatly among students. This vector involves values clarification and establishing beliefs that guide behavior.

Gilligan’s Theory of Female-College-Student Development

Gilligan is a psychologist best known for the book, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women’s Development* (1982), in which the author challenged Kohlberg’s (1972) research on the moral development of children. Gilligan criticized Kohlberg for being biased toward male tendencies such as a principled way of reasoning, in contrast to a moral way of reasoning that is more widespread among women. Gilligan summarized this point by saying that men

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have a “justice orientation,” whereas women have a “responsibility orientation” (Cypher, 2004, p. 1). This work became the basis for a different theory about how college women develop, in contrast to Chickering’s (1969) and Chickering and Reisser’s (1993) research that focused solely on men.

Gilligan (1982) outlined three stages of moral development in women. The first stage is the selfish phase in which the focus is on taking care of oneself when one feels alone. This stage is characterized by feelings of “powerlessness to affect the world, disappointment with relationships, and a feeling of disconnection from others” (Gosselin, 2003, p. 313). This stage is concerned primarily with self-preservation against these external threats.

Soon women begin to feel badly about being in this selfish stage. Gilligan goes as far as to say it is viewed as doing violence toward others (as cited in Gosselin, 2003, p. 314). These feelings cause a woman to “feel it is wrong to act in [her] own interests, and that [she] should value instead the interests of others. Women equate concern for themselves with selfishness” (Cypher, 2004, p. 1). Therefore, women move into the selflessness stage, which is also called the social or conventional phase. By caring for others, they believe they will be cared for in turn.

Eventually, women discover that the self can no longer be neglected. Women feel caught between selfishness and selflessness. It is at this time—in the third stage called postconventional—that women begin to evaluate what it means to be a good person, search for honesty in themselves, and develop feelings of self-worth (Gosselin, 2003, p. 314). They also develop a strong desire to be connected to others (Cypher, 2004, p. 1) and become capable of discovering themselves and others.

Gilligan (1982) identified two “languages” that emerge from women. The first is a language of autonomy that involves interdependence and is most closely related to Chickering’s (1969) “moving through autonomy toward interdependence” vector. This language is concerned with equal treatment of all subjects and one’s moral duty

to care for oneself (Gosselin, 2003, p. 315). The second language is one of responsibility that involves accountability to oneself and responsibility for others. Gilligan's three stages and two languages formed the basis for what has become known as the "ethics of care," which contrasts with the male viewpoint of ethics based on justice.

Kim's Asian American Identity-Development Model

First developed in the 1980s, the Asian American identity-development model has been updated to reflect the needs and experiences of current college students (Kim, 2001). Kim developed this model after noticing differences in how college students developed, compared with their White peers. One cultural trait that Americans of Asian heritage share is the "group orientation through which they learn to be sensitive to the expectations of the group and their social environment" (Kim, 2001, p. 67). Somewhat different from other minority groups, Asian American students face positive and negative generalizations or stereotypes. Positive generalizations include that Asians work hard, are technologically adept, are good at mathematics, and focus on education. Negative stereotypes include that Asians are sly, ruthless, untrustworthy, submissive, quiet, foreigners, poor communicators, and not leaders (Kim, 2001, p. 69). Because of these stereotypes, Asian American students experience identity conflict, especially in college, when identity development is most evident (Chickering, 1969).

An Asian American may experience identity conflict as a belief in one's own inferiority and may have feelings of self-hatred and alienation.

A painful expression of this identity conflict among Asian American women is the practice of creating double folded eyelids (many Asians have single-folded eyelids) either through surgery or by using scotch tape in a vain attempt to meet the beauty standards of the White society. (Kim, 2001, p. 70)

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According to Sue and Sue (1999), “such experiences of denial and/or rejection of their Asian heritage contribute toward Asian Americans’ negative self-concept and low self-esteem, both hallmarks of negative identity” (as cited in Kim, 2001, p. 70). These signs of identity conflict point to the need to use a different model of identity development in working with Asian American students.

The Asian American identity-development model has five conceptually distinct, sequential, and progressive stages including ethnic awareness, White identification, awakening to social political consciousness, redirection to Asian American consciousness, and incorporation (Kim, 2001, p. 67). Kim (2001) claimed the five stages are sequential in nature, but do not necessarily happen automatically.

Whether Asian Americans move on to the next stage in their racial identity development is dependent primarily on their social environment, and various factors in this environment determine both the length and the quality of experience in a given stage. (p. 72)

Stage 1, ethnic awareness, takes place prior to Asian Americans entering the school system. Their awareness of their identity is made up of interactions with amity. “Greater. exposure to Asian ethnic experiences at this stage leads to a positive self-concept ... while less exposure is related to a neutral self-concept and confused ego identity” (Kim, 2001, p. 73). In this sense, it can be seen how stereotypes and internalized oppression can be handed down from generation to generation. In a personal interview, Yi-Baker, Director of MOSAIC Cross-Cultural Center, corroborated by Kim (2001), stated that many Asian American children are protected by their parents, who do not allow them to speak their native language for fear of discrimination.

Movement into the White-identification stage is caused by the awareness that Asian Americans are different from their peers. Kim (2001) offered an explanation of how this stage is influenced by Asian cultural values:

Given the Asian cultural values of quiet suffering and avoiding public shame, most Asian parents are not able to help their children other than telling them to ignore these slights and hurts. ... The Asian cultural tendency toward group or collective orientation has taught them to attend to the reactions of others in their social circle and to try to fit in rather than stick out. In addition to group orientation, the significance of shame in Asian cultures may influence Asian Americans to try at all costs to fit into White society in order to avoid publicly embarrassing themselves. (pp. 73–74)

Awakening to social and political consciousness in the next stage, Asian Americans begin to realize they are not personally responsible for their experiences with racism. Usually, there is an impetus for movement into this phase, such as a personal experience with racism. One major construct of this phase is a reaction against White people, or in the very least, seeing White people as those they do not want to be like (Kim, 2001, p. 77).

Identification with Asian Americans is a key component of the fourth stage, with redirection to an Asian American consciousness. With support and encouragement from friends, Asian Americans begin to feel secure enough in themselves to see their own experiences as valid. A critical step taken by Asian Americans during this stage is immersion in the Asian American experience (Kim, 2001, p. 79).

The key factor in Stage 5, incorporation, is confidence in one's own Asian American identity. "This confidence allows Asian Americans to relate to many different groups of people without losing their own identity as Asian American" (Kim, 2001, p. 80). For Asian Americans, however, this stage is muddled by intergroup differences in the Asian American cultural community. Asian American students may have confidence in some facets of their racial Asian American identity, but little confidence in their specific ethnic identity, such as being a Chinese American.

Empirical Studies

Yeh and Wang (2000) studied the coping strategies of Asian American students. Coping strategies are the “beliefs, attitudes and feelings associating with various strategies of managing mental health concerns” (p. 94). The researchers argued that theories of help-seeking preferences for this population must include indigenous patterns of coping. These patterns include placing importance on relationships and familial commitments and not seeking professional counselors because of the stigma associated with emotional expression and mental illness. Another pattern is to hide personal problems and put the needs of the group ahead of the individual, also known as “collective action” (Rhoads et al., 2002). Yet another characteristic is a strong interdependent emphasis in Asian culture (Yeh & Wang, 2000, p. 99). Finally, self-disclosure is culturally dissonant with Asian values of self-restraint (Yeh & Wang, 2000, p. 101).

Researchers have found that Asian Americans were most likely to seek help from friends, family members, significant others, church members, and student organizations, rather than professional counselors (Yeh & Wang, 2000, p. 98). Furthermore, women had more open attitudes toward counseling than men. The researchers suggested that university counselors perform outreach to familial, church, and student organizations to expand their base of strategies for working with Asian American college students.

Rhoads et al. (2002) studied collective action among Asian American college students. According to the researchers, Asian Americans now account for more than 6% of the overall student enrollment in the United States (p. 876). Because of this increase in representation, there is a need to better understand their experiences and how pan ethnicity and organizing contribute to their development. Asian American students have faced persistent racism at the university level, including being perceived as problem-free and not well-rounded, and being turned away due to unfair admission policies (Rhoads et al., 2002, p. 877). As Omatsu (1994) noted, the model-minority myth pits Asian Americans against African Americans and other minori-

ties and serves to mask the barriers they face (as cited in Rhoads et al., 2002, p. 877). Asian American students face stereotypes linked to overachieving, having strong mathematics and science skills, and leading antisocial lives (Rhoads et al., 2002, p. 883). Women face the additional stereotypes of being labeled exotic or hypersexual. Pan ethnic identity development can help students combat these issues, and, in areas where there are not significant numbers, can serve as a cultural bridge among different members of this large and diverse population.

Authors have defined Asian American pan ethnic identity as “a collective identity organized around broad commonalities rooted in a variety of particular ethnicities traceable to points in Asia (i.e., Chinese American, Japanese American, Indian American, Taiwanese American, Vietnamese American, etc.)” (Rhoads et al., 2002, p. 877). Researchers have found that involvement in ethnic student organizations promotes this sense of identity. Furthermore, “identification with ethnic or racial identity contributes positively to the construction of diverse cultural settings in which democratic forms of higher education are most likely to take root” (Rhoads et al., 2002, p. 878). Involvement in these organizations also provides members with developmental advantages over those who are not involved. University administrators should support multicultural student centers, ethnic student organizations, and activities that promote social interaction within the Asian American community (Rhoads et al., 2002, p. 887). They should also use more precise ethnic categories on their admission forms, which will help to identify the specific ethnic background of students. In doing so, universities can help support collective action among Asian American students as a method of empowerment and strategy to combat discrimination.

Inkelas (2003) conducted a study on Asian Americans’ perspectives on affirmative action using Blumer’s group position theory as a theoretical framework. Inkelas claimed that affirmative action influences how individuals view others from different racial groups, but also these views can become internalized by the recipients of

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the generalizations (p. 625). The students in the study felt that Asian American college applicants, on the whole, were more qualified than other applicants. “These students tended to partly subscribe to the belief that Asian Pacific Americans (APA) are academically superior in some respects” (Inkelas, 2003, p. 632). This belief suggests these students have internalized the myth of the model minority. Inkelas also found that responses of peers were equally influential to factual information when forming opinions about other races. This finding supports the construct that the peer group in Asian American communities is of critical importance.

Asian American students’ perspectives on affirmative-action policies vary. According to Bobo (1999), more oppressed groups are more likely to perceive other racial groups as threats (as cited in Inkelas, 2004, p. 629). Students in Inkelas’ study were not necessarily threatened by affirmative action, but did express frustration because Asian Americans usually do not benefit from such policies because they are not generally considered to be underrepresented in higher education and, therefore, are ineligible under affirmative action policies. Inkelas also noted that “the lack of knowledge about MA history tends to cause [students] to marginalize themselves and their group’s role in the fight for racial equity and justice in the U.S.” (Inkelas, 2004, p. 639).

In a follow-up study, Inkelas (2004) investigated how ethnic cocurricular activities facilitate a sense of ethnic awareness and understanding among APA undergraduate students. Inkelas found that participation in these clubs deepen Asian American students’ commitments to their racial community and supports their racial-identity development. In APA families, “parents’ backgrounds have a considerable impact on APA students’ sense of cultural emphasis and commitment” (Inkelas, 2004, p. 287). This concept includes parental education and professional attainment. Inkelas found that “peer influences and cocurricular activities have also been associated with students’ heightened sense of intercultural understanding” (Inkelas, 2004, p. 288). MA students’ perceptions about campus climate have

an effect on their attitudes about race and ethnicity. Participation in universitywide diversity activities and community service can help promote a positive racial climate.

Samuel (2004) studied the impact of racism in peer-group interactions among south Asian students at a Canadian university and found that Asian Americans face more racism than their White counterparts, which negatively impacts their academic performance. Essed (1991) noted that racism is “a system of structural inequalities and a historical process both created and recreated through routine practices” (as cited in Samuel, 2004, p. 409). According to Feagin et al. (1996), “overt racism is associated with enhanced feelings of isolation, alienation, segregation and concomitant stress” (as cited in Samuel, 2004, p. 407). All 40 respondents in Samuel’s study claimed they had experienced racism.

Many first-generation respondents expressed doubts about their status and abilities based on English-language proficiency, cultural differences, accent, and gender (Samuel, 2004, p. 412). Ridiculing comments by faculty and peers, along with being the only minority in a group, exacerbated these feelings. One female respondent felt she had to do better than others and continually prove herself because she was a woman. Due to not speaking a great deal in class, the student felt that her grades were negatively affected. The student expressed frustration because she was socialized differently—to be more nonverbal and quiet than her White peers. Another female expressed frustration because of covert racism, defined as White students and faculty behaving “in an aloof detached, and unfriendly manner towards minority students” (Samuel, 2004, p. 415). Some women felt discouraged because they constantly had to “represent” people of color and share their perspectives in class. In this context, they constantly had to explain why south Asian girls do not date as frequently or engage in the other activities in which their White peers engage (Samuel, 2004, p. 418).

Salter (2003) examined factors that encourage classroom participation. The “chilly classroom” concept is used to explain when women

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experience the classroom as unsupportive, which impacts their academic performance (Salter, 2003, p. 110). “Female students employ learning strategies that are inconsistent with a historical, male-oriented approach to teaching” (Salter & Persaud, 2003, p. 111). Based on Jung’s (1921, 1971) theory of psychological types, many women are of the thinking–feeling type, which would be a better fit in classrooms that are warm, involving, discussion oriented, and group based (Salter & Persaud, 2003, p. 112). Persaud (1999) found that female students participated more in feeling-oriented classrooms (as cited in Salter & Persaud, 2003, p. 113). In fact, extraverted classrooms tend to be a better fit for both introverted and extraverted women.

Salter and Persaud (2003) studied classroom participation and campus “fit” among college women. Among those who scored as “thinking” on the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator scale (Myers et al., 1998), only 31% were women (as cited in Salter & Persaud, 2003, p. 832). This study found that “feeling” women reported lack of participation in “thinking” classrooms. Given that most university classrooms are based on a historical, male-oriented approach (i.e., “thinking” approach), it can be concluded that women do not participate as much in class as their male counterparts. The main reason that women in this study claimed they did not participate was fear of being criticized by their professors and peers, fear of failure, and fear of disrespect.

Implications for Practice

The U.S. college population is becoming more ethnically and culturally diverse, a trend projected to continue over the next several years. As more students of color populate college campuses, it is important for college administrators to have a solid foundation in these students’ background, enabling them to provide appropriate services and activities. A population that deserves considerable attention is the Asian American community. In this community, however, there is an invisible component that has yet to be fully examined in relation to existing theory and research: female Asian American college students’ development and practices that lead to their success.

Theory

Considerable research has been conducted with college students, and theories about their development have been formulated, such as Chickering's (1969) seven vectors of development. Research on female college students has also been explored (Gilligan, 1982), as has research on Asian American identity development (Kim, 2001). In addition, empirical studies have been considered that illustrate how women's experiences in college differ from those of their male counterparts. Despite considerable research, however, a formal theory about female Asian American college students has yet to be developed. A synthesis of these works may help guide future researchers to develop a formalized theory about the development of female Asian American college students.

Chickering's (1969) vectors of developing competence and moving through autonomy toward interdependence are common among college students. Gilligan (1982) noted, however, that women differ in that they develop competence and autonomy through collaborative effort, due to their ethic of care for others. Kim (2001) and others helped frame these vectors in the context of the Asian American community. Because of Asian American values of collective action and group orientation, female Asian American students may elevate the importance of interdependence in contrast to complete autonomy.

Chickering (1969) noted that the first three vectors usually occur simultaneously, but are completed before the remaining four vectors begin. Clearly the Asian American community experiences these vectors differently. Managing emotions, for example, may be much more difficult for female Asian American students because they face discrimination and experience the classroom as a chilly climate. If they struggle in this second vector, it seems logical that this would prevent them from moving on to higher levels of development. They may be more advanced, however, in developing mature relationships because of their collective orientation (Kim, 2001) and what Gilligan (1982) identifies as a woman's judgment of themselves as caring individuals (p. 17).

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Chickering's (1969) central vector of development is developing identity. Kim (2001) illustrated that racism and stereotypes hinder identity development among Asian American students because they see themselves as inferior. It can be concluded, then, that Asian American female students take longer to develop identity, and may never fully develop a separate identity outside of their referent groups—family and peers. Establishing identity also has to do with developing confidence in oneself. Kim noted that often Asian American students in the White-identification stage have low self-esteem and even self-hatred, which conflicts with having confidence.

Developing mature interpersonal relationships is a higher level vector. It seems that Asian American students develop these relationships in college, but they are more common in their cultural group because of shared experiences. Researchers have noted that participation in ethnic student organizations promotes these relationships. Kim (2001) also noted that in one stage of development, Asian American students refer to Whites as the antireferent group.

Chickering's (1969) last two vectors are developing purpose and developing integrity. These stages are related to Kim's (2001) incorporation stage, in which Asian Americans are able to appreciate the difference in others, while maintaining their sense of self. For women, these ideals are most closely related to Gilligan's (1982) language of responsibility, which involves accountability to oneself and responsibility for others. Asian American students may develop more quickly through these stages because they are forced to have a strong sense of purpose, due to unfair practices in college, the chilly climate for women, and discrimination. These factors lead them to develop integrity, because they are successful despite these obstacles.

Training

Training programs for college administrators vary in scope, but most programs have only one course that focuses on issues of multiculturalism. The literature in this area is markedly lacking as it relates to female Asian American college students. Students in higher education graduate programs should be encouraged to explore

this area of study. Current professionals at institutions with high concentrations of Asian American students should be encouraged to conduct research in this area as well. This type of research can be a very effective training tool.

Faculty need to be trained on the learning styles that students bring to the classroom. Notably they should know that a majority of women are thinking–feeling learners. The curriculum and classroom structure should be adjusted to equalize classroom participation among men and women. It is even more challenging for female Asian American students to participate due to Asian cultural values. It is difficult for them to speak out about the classroom injustices they face because of their collective orientation and concern for the group rather than the individual. Faculty who teach history courses on civil rights need to include how Asian Americans struggle in classes that are not oriented toward thinking–feeling learners. Faculty should use diverse teaching and grading techniques to provide more opportunities for female Asian Americans who may not perform well in existing classroom structures.

Activities and Support

Because students' racial attitudes are influenced by interaction with peers, peer trainers should be used to help educate the student body about multicultural issues. Asian American students' perceptions about racial harmony and campus fit are influenced by the efforts the university makes to talk openly about these issues. Therefore, administrators need to include conversations about race and ethnicity during key programs such as orientation, freshman seminars, general education classes, the president's address, and graduation. Being clear about admissions and affirmative-action policies would help prevent assumptions about the qualifications of minority students. Similarly, admitting a diverse student population would relieve the burden of Asian American students feeling as though they are the "token" student and expert on all aspects of Asian American matters.

Programs should be developed that celebrate the history, traditions, and contributions of all groups, including Asian Americans. Because

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the classroom environment is sometimes “chilly” to women, especially Asian American women, administrators need to continue to augment the cocurricular experience with relevant programs and support for organizations. Support, financial and spacial, should be given to ethnic-student organizations because these groups have been shown to promote identity development among Asian American students. Students should be encouraged to participate in these groups as well.

Conclusion

Research on female Asian American college students is important for those who consider themselves allies of this population and all students of color. Faculty and staff may experience challenges in working with this population because they do not fit into a traditional developmental model. Critical pedagogues should strategize ways to work with and view students as individual beings who have shared developmental experiences with many populations: men, women, Asian Americans, minorities, internationals, nationals. They weave their own framework in the complexities of being all at once and yet themselves. Because they are multidimensional, so too must be the methods of understanding and helping promote the success of female Asian American college students.

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Campus Climate and Coalition Building for Faculty of Color

Stephanie H. Carlos

I look at everyday classroom events as capable of revealing the subtle mechanisms by which larger society's systems of inequality (e.g., racism, sexism, classism, ableism, etc.) reproduce themselves.

—Vargas

Introduction

It is common practice for colleges and universities to tout the diversity of their faculty, staff, and students in marketing materials and mission statements, but one must look beyond the shiny veneer of websites and brochures to understand the daily challenges faculty of color face in academia. In 2000, people of color comprised only 12.9% of full-time faculty (Diggs, Garrison-Wade, Estrada, & Galindo, 2009). The texts *Faculty of Color: Teaching in Predominantly White Colleges and Universities*, edited by Stanley, and *Women of Color in the White Classroom*, edited by Vargas, are collections of reflections by faculty members of color on their experiences in academia. Although the Vargas (2002) text focuses specifically on women faculty of color and the Stanley (2006) text on both male and female faculty of color, there are two main themes that surfaced time and time again: the impact of campus climate on faculty of color and the impact of coalition building, which is critical to the success of faculty of color. The consideration of these two common themes allows a better understanding of how campus climates can be modified to improve the experience of faculty of color and which coalitions are most effective in supporting faculty of color in higher education.

Originally this analysis was to be focused primarily on the experiences of women of color, but in analyzing both texts, there were similar recurring themes in the reflections of both male and female faculty of color. These same themes appeared repeatedly, whether

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the faculty participants identified as male, female, African American, Latino, Asian, Native American, gay, or straight. The themes of alienation and marginalization were so evident among faculty of color, that one must wonder how this could be such a profound problem when the concept of diversity is pervasive in academia. In comparing the two texts, it is incredibly profound to see that so many of the faculty reported similar stories. These recurring similarities are evidence that the isolation of faculty of color is not simply anecdotal, but rather a systemic problem that cannot be addressed simply by holding diversity workshops and reaching a certain percentage of “diversity” faculty, students, and staff on a college campus.

Campus Climate

As mentioned previously, some of the common themes that presents itself in these two texts are the “campus climate” or how welcome faculty of color felt in their particular academic setting; how inclusive and diverse their campuses are; the quality and tenor of their interactions with faculty, staff, and students; the level of support and mentoring they feel as faculty of color; and the available opportunities to publish, serve, and eventually become tenured. Under the auspices of “campus climate,” faculty members reported many recurring themes as significant to how welcome they feel in an academic environment. Faculty in both anthologies were from a multitude of social, cultural, geographic, and linguistic backgrounds and were employed in a variety of academic settings. These settings ranged from rural to urban, small liberal arts colleges to leading research institutions. Some faculty reported high diversity among faculty and students at their institutions, whereas others reported being one of the few people of color on the faculty with a fairly homogenous student population. Although the demographics of the faculty and the institutions represented in these texts are quite diverse, the problematic experiences of the faculty of color are not.

Campus climates offer a variety of recurring themes. These include the sentiment of alienation faculty of color feel from majority faculty,

illustrated by a female faculty member reflecting on her transition from Howard University to Texas A&M University:

Having just left Howard University I was accustomed to an atmosphere where people spoke to and acknowledged each other's presence. This was not, however, the atmosphere in my department, which made me often feel as if I were invisible. I longed for opportunities to go to lunch with my colleagues and discuss the department and research. (Stanley, 2006, p. 118)

Widespread tokenism was also reported by many faculty members. Such tokenism manifests itself in a variety of ways. From not being noticed at all, to becoming "celebrity faculty" and being "showcased," this tokenism seems to be prescribed for faculty of color. Many essayists suggested that faculty of color should be oriented to understand the nature of tokenism, expect this kind of treatment, and be guided on how best to handle it. One faculty member of color gives this advice for others like her:

You should expect to be called upon to be the spokesperson or token for the group to which you belong. Decide from day one how you will handle the situation. In my case, I never took on the role of spokesperson for my entire race. (Stanley, 2006, p. 38)

With only a handful of minority faculty members on campus, faculty of color reported being called on to mentor, serve on minority-specific committees, and serve as minority-student-group advisors more often than their majority counterparts. Although faculty of color recognized the importance of service, they also felt that too much service could hurt them in their quest to attain tenure (Baez, 2000).

One of the most troubling recurring observations was the general lack of respect shown by majority faculty, students, and staff toward faculty of color. Signs of lack of respect were illustrated in microaggressions such as being referred to as *Ms.* instead of *Dr.* or *professor*;

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being kicked out of a classroom late at night by a security guard who did not believe a person of color might be a faculty member, being issued campus identification cards that listed them as staff instead of faculty, and students questioning their lack of objectivity because of their personal backgrounds. The Stanley (2006) text noted that “students can be hostile toward our goals and identities” (2006, p. 102); it can be inferred that this may be true of some majority faculty as well. This general lack of respect reported by faculty of color was also manifested in the feeling that they were constantly forced to prove their intellectual capabilities and credentials:

For many faculty of color, the constant need to list their scholarly accomplishments just to establish some sense of agency and authority as an academic is an unfair but necessary means of survival. ... What I view as one of the distinct differences is that somewhat like their African American colleagues, white faculty members do have experiences in which their authority is questioned. Yet, unlike their African American counterparts, white faculty members do not have experiences (i.e., to the degree of faculty of color) in which their competence is questioned. (Stanley, 2006, p. 85)

Similar stories of a generally weak trust of credentials of faculty of color by majority students, faculty, and staff were repeated time and again throughout both texts and in numerous narratives. From parents of students calling a faculty member to question their qualifications to grade their child, to students questioning the ability of an Indian woman with a heavy accent to teach English, faculty of color in both texts were continually subjected to microaggressions that caused undue stress and uneasiness in their respective academic settings.

One interesting contrast between faculty members of color who contributed to these two texts is between faculty who felt it was their obligation to educate students about racism and those who felt it was their job to educate students about the subjects they taught, but chose not to directly address the racist attitudes some of their students

hold. The contrast is illustrated in the following two statements from faculty of color:

Referring to my own experience and to the work of others writing about teaching and identity, I argue that Other teachers must teach our students about White identity and privilege before we can continue with a larger discussion of race. (Vargas, 2002, p. 73)

Scholars and teachers of color have been asserting for some time now that it is not our responsibility to educate whites about their personal racism. It is also not necessarily our responsibility to teach them about institutional, societal and civilizational forms of racism. ... As people of color discussing race and racism with our students, asking them to examine their privilege we are in a position where we need to convince them that the racist institutionalized practices that have benefitted them ... (and to which they are oblivious) need to be overturned. It is the equivalent of asking the victors of wars past to return the bounty to which they have laid claim. (Stanley, 2006, p. 106)

Faculty of color who choose to address racism and privilege with their majority students must tread carefully, as research has shown that majority students may have adverse reactions to being introduced to concepts such as White privilege and racial differences (Ford, 2011).

Coalition Building

There are also many recurring themes in the texts that center around the subject of coalition building. Coalition building is mentioned as a key tool to navigate the hostile campus climates discussed in the previous section. Although the role of coalition building was noted by many faculty members as being critical to their sense of inclusion and engagement, there are very few formal institutionally supported programs to promote coalition building and mentoring. Most coalition building and mentoring takes place in informal settings and

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is often instigated or sought out by the faculty member in need of guidance. Coalition building occurs not only among faculty of color in particular university departments, but also across the university, interinstitutionally, and among students as well.

Faculty of color described themselves as having to make an extra effort to engage majority faculty, when trying to establish themselves in a new academic setting.

To strengthen these relationships, I often asked colleagues to tag along if I saw them going to lunch. When the lunchtime bridge group met, I asked them to teach me how to play and joined right in. . . . From these seemingly inconsequential social encounters, I was eventually able to create more meaningful and sustained relationships with colleagues. (Vargas, 2002, p. 35)

Additionally, many faculty members mentioned diversity in the student body as meaningful to them as faculty of color. These faculty of color many times see students of color as allies who would “get” them and understand their point of view as a person of color (Vargas, 2002, p. 197). Some faculty members cite their attempts to also build coalitions with White students they taught by providing a “safe” environment in which they could express their feelings about race. One of the techniques the essayists mentioned to facilitate this understanding was to ask students to think about a time when they felt helpless, or like an outsider.

This exercise transcends the classroom. After completing the exercise, most students are able to realize the following: We can all be powerless at some time or another; we are not always responsible for this condition: being powerless in one situation is not being helpless in all situations. (Vargas, 2002, p. 285)

Faculty also suggest that the general student population should be shareholders in ensuring the university understands the importance of recruiting and retaining a diverse faculty. Although faculty of color

are the focus of both texts, contributors also suggested that a natural group of faculty to build coalitions would be female faculty. Faculty of color who find themselves one of the few women of color at their universities often partner with White faculty members who are familiar with navigating a male-dominated faculty culture (Stanley, 2006, p. 118).

Last, faculty members suggest that mentoring opportunities should be sought outside of particular academic departments and at other universities. Faculty members recommended that faculty take advantage of service opportunities to become further integrated into the university environment. One faculty member described her interdepartmental relationships with,

It also helped that I had a support structure outside the small circle of the department. Having worked previously for the Academic Computing Services department in the institution certainly helped cultivate friendships outside the department. I could rely on these friends and colleagues for moral support whenever the going got rough. (Vargas, 2002, p. 155)

Another professor noted the importance of having a strong university-wide coalition of faculty of color in a similar fashion.

The black faculty at UNL have a strong sense of community—a world of our own beyond the university. We support each other both professionally and personally, providing social outlets with people that we recognize physically and culturally. ... We interface with both undergraduate and graduate students of color so they too have a network of faculty of color that they can rely on. (Stanley, 2006, p. 37)

Recommendations

The vast majority of faculty who contributed to the texts offered recommendations for improving the experience of faculty of color in higher education. These recommendations varied quite widely as

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they pointed out that there is no “one size fits all approach” to ensuring that faculty of color are recruited, supported, and retained at the university level. Faculty acknowledged that although many faculty of color face similar challenges at the schools where they teach, pressing issues may vary widely, depending on the individual. What is most salient for a particular faculty member may depend on that particular person’s race, gender, class, sexual orientation, nationality, or even religion. In some cases, faculty of color, while counted as a minority, may not even see themselves as part of the minority faculty group (this is especially true of international faculty members of color; Stanley, 2006, p. 185). In spite of these differences, some recommendations offer ways to improve the experience of faculty of color that were mentioned by multiple contributors. The most common recommendations follow.

- Coteaching controversial courses by a majority faculty member and a faculty member of color
- Recognizing there may be conflict between different faculty-of-color groups and working to bring these groups together (coalition building)
- Creating formal mentoring programs for faculty of color. One recommendation was to hire well-respected or senior faculty of color to guide and support newly hired faculty through the tenure process
- Creating a critical mass of faculty of color to combat isolation, which will eventually lead to changing perceptions of majority faculty and students
- Hiring faculty of color in groups to prevent this isolation and create communities
- Continuing diversity training as it is helpful in ensuring that the importance of diversity is not overlooked
- Placing the onus of ensuring a campus climate that supports and promotes diversity ultimately on the university
- Preparing faculty of color to handle the loneliness, isolation, and hostility they may face.

Although these recommendations are helpful and would likely work toward improving the experience of faculty of color through these texts, it is clear that universities must take a holistic view of diversity. It is not enough that universities focus their efforts on hiring faculty of color; they must also be equally committed to the retention of faculty, staff, and students of color. Administrators cannot assume that faculty of color who are true stars will be hired away and want to leave as soon as they establish themselves. Universities should strive to create a supportive environment that will focus on maintaining an inclusive campus culture. To aide that process, the university should provide monetary incentives for faculty of color to pursue tenure-track positions and allocate resources for faculty of color to conduct their research. Universities must understand that recruitment of faculty of color is just the first step to ensuring a diverse faculty. A more holistic approach that also addresses mentoring, retention, promotion, and tenure is critical to ensuring that they are successful in sustaining that diversity (Thompson, 2008).

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Women of Color in Higher Education: Challenges in the Hiring Process for Prospective Administrators

Demerris Brooks-Immel

Abstract

Women of color face unique challenges and barriers in higher education due to longstanding bias that directly impacts how objectivity, meritocracy, individuality, and experiential knowledge are viewed and assessed. In *Women Faculty of Color in the White Classroom*, Vargas discussed the challenges women of color face in pursuit of faculty positions in higher education. This essay highlights similarities to, and provides examples of, comparable challenges for women of color in pursuit of management and executive positions in institutions of higher education. It also makes specific recommendations regarding current practices in the hiring process of one state university.

In the time I have worked at my current institution, to which I will refer as State University, I have served on a number of hiring committees; I observed that candidates of color are afforded more consideration when competing for jobs at the staff level than when pursuing management and executive-level positions. In the past month, the university has made great strides, hiring two women of color in executive-level positions, but not before first demonstrating on many occasions the ways in which administrators struggle in affording female candidates of color equitable opportunities for consideration based on professional experience, knowledge, and research accomplishments. University hiring practices will remain inherently biased until such time as administrators recognize that the goal of diversity cannot be met without first acknowledging personal and institutional biases.

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In “The Failure of Social Education in the United States,” Chandler and McKnight stated, “As long as socially constructed notions of race and whiteness continue to define ‘normal’ in our institutions, they will also perpetuate privilege” (2009, p. 224). In many instances, the manner by which one determines position qualifications emphasizes academic achievement over transferable skills or experiential knowledge. Executive-level administrative positions often require a doctorate degree, evidence of depth of knowledge in a particular subject area and significant academic achievement that is not always relevant to the position. In *Whitewashing Race: The Myth of a Color-Blind Society*, Brown wrote that race permeates institutions to an extent that members are unable to recognize the degree to which it is “lodged in the structure of society” (2003, p. 35). I believe this can also be said of gender, and both play a role in one’s assessment of candidates. For example, when the Vice President for Student Affairs (VPSA) position at State University was vacated due to the firing of an African American woman, the position was advertised as one requiring a doctorate. Vargas demonstrated, through the use of statistical data, that “minority women are still severely underrepresented in the academy” (2002, p. 23). The author connected the slow progress of women of color in higher education to some of the same factors that impact undergraduate student matriculation, retention, and graduation: the need for financial assistance, lack of mentors, and exclusion from influential networks (Vargas, 2002).

The same support networks and relationships that are critical to the success of undergraduate students of color are also critical to the success of White and minority women as graduate students, as new faculty, and, I would argue, as administrators. Therefore, by requiring a doctoral degree, the likelihood is increased that the candidate pool will consist of White men. This is not a decision based on conscious exclusion, but rather one that results from who one deems “experts” and the criteria one uses to make those distinctions. In *Teaching Community: A Pedagogy of Hope*, hooks described the ways race

“determines who we listen to” and “who we accept as authorities” (2003, p. 31). In the first of the searches for this position, a White male with a PhD in mathematics was hired as the VPSA over candidates with accomplished careers in Student Affairs who did not have doctoral degrees. It can be concluded that transferable skills and experiential knowledge of Student Affairs professionals were deemed inferior to the knowledge and skills of candidates who held doctoral degrees in unrelated fields and with little or no experience in Student Affairs. In a meeting with managers at State University, author Time Wise (personal communication, 2009), advised that if one were truly committed to the diversification of staff at all levels, they should strongly reconsider requirements that value doctoral degrees, often in an unrelated field, over experience or transferable skills. Chesler and Crowfoot (1989) offered such practices as examples of “subtle racism in organizational operations ... because of their lack of *appropriate* or traditional credentials ... or because they lack some attributes of white males that are assumed to be relevant for certain positions” (p. 442).

Several years later, the VPSA position was vacant again and the pool consisted of three candidates: two White men and one African American woman. This vacancy came at a time when state institutions were reeling from enacted and projected budget cuts. Therefore, the fact that the African American woman was VPSA at another state university was a benefit, in that she understood the complexities and challenges of the state university systems. Part of the interview process at State University is the “open forum,” in which candidates are asked to either deliver a brief presentation on a topic they are provided in advance or deliver a short overview of their experience and qualifications relevant to the position. After the presentation or summary statement, the candidate then fields questions from the audience for 30 to 40 minutes. For the VPSA position, there is a similar forum open only to managers in the Division of Student Affairs. During the hiring process for this position, I attended two of the three Division and campuswide open forums.

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The first candidate I observed was the African American woman. In her Division forum with Student Affairs managers, she spoke eloquently about her journey through higher education and a career in Student Affairs. She was the daughter of African American migrant farmworkers, the only of her siblings to go to college, and the first in her extended family to earn a degree. She discussed her challenges and difficulties as a student and the individuals employed at her institution who made her journey possible and supported her each time she wanted to quit. She also discussed the topic of her dissertation research, the recruitment, retention, and graduation of African American and Latino men in 4-year institutions. Her story and work resonated with me, as her background and experience were reflective of the State University student population, and the topic of her research was the specific challenge that State University had been both struggling with for over 10 years and will be accountable for in 2015 under the Chancellor's Retention and Graduation Initiative, which is focused on closing the achievement gap for underrepresented minority students.

The candidate seemed to be a good match for the Division, given her ability to relate to students and their challenges, her long experience in Student Affairs, her knowledge of the challenges of California institutions, and her research. However, as I left the Division forum, I was stunned by my colleagues' reaction. Their assessment of her presentation was that she talked too much, talked about herself and her accomplishments to the point of sounding arrogant and out of touch, and did not have enough experience to lead the Division. Hooks (2003) examined the "myriad ways White supremacist thinking shapes daily perceptions and how race determines who we listen to and who we accept as authorities" (p. 30) and explained that many, if not most, White people have rarely been in a position where they have had to listen to a Black person for an extended period of time. The likelihood is even less, hooks asserted, that that Black person was a Black *woman* (2003, p. 31).

Vargas (2002) identified the issues that faculty of color in higher education are forced to address, such as professional status, campus climate, and lack of recognition, which I believe are also relevant concerns for women of color in administrative positions. As Vargas asserted, the perception of a woman of color as “other,” not only by students, but also by her peers, has a dramatic impact on perceived effectiveness (2002, p. 30). Vargas’s study was supported by the research of Bernal and Villalpando (2002), who applied critical race theory to evaluate the way knowledge and culture are assessed and valued by the dominant culture in a society. In “An Apartheid of Knowledge in Academia: The Struggle Over the ‘Legitimate’ Knowledge of Faculty of Color”, they discussed the themes of objectivity, meritocracy, individuality, and experiential knowledge, and evaluated how higher education institutions often fail to recognize the value of cultural resources rather than “welcome, engage, and encourage” these perspectives and scholarship (Bernal & Villalpando, 2002, p. 177). Vargas (2002) addressed how systems of societal inequality reproduce themselves in a predominately White classroom in which the authority or expert is a woman of color, and analyzed the ways student resistance to diversity impacts the process of teaching and learning. I contend that these same systems of inequality reproduce themselves in the hiring process when the expert is a woman of color.

Later that same day, as a part of the on-campus interview process, the African American VPSA candidate presented to the community in her campuswide open forum. It is not often that a woman of color is a candidate for a high-level administrative position and people of color already employed on the campus came out in full force to observe, and one might assume, support. The first three questions were asked by African American male faculty members, all of which related to her research about the academic challenges faced by young men of color at State University; one question in particular made reference to her research and asked that she address the issue of State University’s diversity efforts in the context of student achievement. I felt that she

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handled the questions thoroughly and completely and was effective in connecting her responses to her research and to practice.

Vargas (2002) discussed the difficulties that a woman of color encounters when attempting to teach or discuss social-justice issues. When instructors of color push the limits of “cultural comfort zones” (Vargas, 2002, p. 41), they are perceived as lacking objectivity, requisite knowledge, and professionalism, and their “otherness” is perceived as a barrier instead of a resource (Vargas, 2002, p. 42). In the open forum, the candidate was then asked, as the fourth question, to “elaborate on her definition of diversity.” Each time she tried, the person asking the question, a White woman, interrupted and asked her to begin again, claiming that she was not answering the question she had been asked. What the questioner was trying to elicit from the candidate was acknowledgement that “diversity” included more than African American and Latino. It was clear that the candidate understood this and when, after several attempts, she finally decoded the question, she acknowledged that when speaking of diversity, she meant ethnic background, religion, disability, sexual orientation, and other perceived differences. She clarified however, that she understood the question about diversity to be in reference to her research and responded in kind. The questioner cut her off and said both forcefully and with absolute condescension, “I don’t think you want to pick a fight with me on this, not here.”

Chandler and McKnight stated that “race shapes the classroom as a cultural space in which whiteness is privileged” (2009, p. 223), but I believe this also applies to spaces and processes outside of the classroom. This candidate, and her audience, received the message that her expertise was not particularly valuable and she was not above being belittled in a public forum when perceived as feeling a bit too confident and knowledgeable. She, as Vargas stated, pushed the limits of some “cultural comfort zones” (2002, p. 41) and was, therefore, treated as lacking objectivity, requisite knowledge, and professionalism; her “otherness” became a barrier instead of a resource (Vargas, 2002, p. 42).

After this incident, a modification was made to the question and answer part of the open forums. It was determined by the Office for Equal Opportunity that all questions asked in any forum would be written down, given to the member of the hiring committee facilitating the question and answer session, and asked only if deemed appropriate by that individual. That practice was in place for a short time, and has since been abandoned. Chandler and McKnight asserted that colorblindness hampers the ability to develop as critical, socially conscious citizens by never addressing institutional racism, structural inequality, and power (2009, p. 221) and, furthermore, contended that the “national narrative” of meritocracy “fails to make explicit the contradictions” between words and deeds (Chandler & McKnight, 2009, p. 233). Because the university tried to put a rule in place to avoid future instances of what this candidate experienced, without addressing the attitudes and assumptions that made it acceptable, the probability of future occurrences remained high.

Most recently, State University hosted campuswide open forums for Provost candidates. The first two candidates were White men, one external candidate and one internal candidate. The third was an Asian woman, currently the Vice Provost of another state university campus. I attended all three open forums and, again, witnessed a very unsettling incident as the female candidate detailed her professional experience and research, and fielded questions from the audience. Near the end of her question-and-answer period, a male faculty member asked her a question that was unintelligible to the entire audience. She patiently asked for clarification and he repeated the question, which no one could understand. She finally stated that she was having great difficulty understanding him and was not sure she would be able to answer his question, at which point he stated, “I am asking it in Mandarin.” The candidate paused for a moment and stated, “I don’t speak Mandarin—I’m Korean.” He began to apologize profusely but the damage was done and the stage was set. The candidate did a remarkable job of maintaining her composure, but, in an attempt to dissipate the discomfort in the room, she began

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to chronicle the times in her past when such misunderstandings had occurred. She explained that she grew up in the Midwest and that, although, she did not speak any language other than English, was frequently complimented on her ability to speak so clearly, without a hint of an accent. The equity concern in this instance is that she was asked a question that would not have been, and was not, asked of the other candidates. In doing so, she was put in a position where she was forced to unpack past experiences, many of which were likely painful, frustrating, and maddening, to put the audience at ease and maintain contention for the position. I am pleased to say that she was named the new Provost of State University beginning January 2012, but I know that she will remain cognizant of how this leg of her journey began.

In “An Organizational Analysis of Racism in Higher Education,” Chesler and Crowfoot (1989) provided a framework to examine the extent to which the organizational elements of a university contribute to supporting institutional racism. This framework examines practices involving the mission, culture, power, structure, and resources of an institution and how these elements have been used to maintain the status quo. As a result of these two experiences with the hiring process, I have made two specific recommendations to the State University Assistant Vice President of Human Resources. First, I suggested that any participant in an open forum be required to read and acknowledge the same nondiscrimination policy that is required of every participant on a search committee, detailing the types of questions that are permissible and delineating topics that violate a candidate’s equal-opportunity rights. I also suggested that, in the event that a member of that audience speaks or behaves inappropriately, the search-committee member moderating the forum is charged with intervening. I have been assured that these suggestions will be discussed with both the Human Resources staff and the coordinating council charged with providing representation of the various State University divisions.

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Native American Women in Academia

Edward Miamee Salce

Native American women in academia, and even those working to become academics, have had to endure a history of neglect, limited opportunities, difficulties in finding stability and support, and struggles discovering their identities and ultimately their role in this space (Strong, 1998, p. 3). Some issues relate to the time in their lives, when the average student in higher education questions how to address the new realm of time management. However, Native women also need to address the weight of a unique issue: being a member of the most historically persecuted group in the country and one that comprises the smallest ethnic group. They must also spar with gender discrimination, which serves to impede their academic growth on a myriad of levels. American Indian women (this essay will include references to indigenous North American women as Native, Indian, Native American, and American Indian) greatly desire their dilemmas to be addressed and solved for the benefit of their ethnicity. Additionally, their background of academic impediments must be met to open the gates to another wave of Native women scholars.

Some Native women have carved out their mark in the collegiate environment. A thorough examination of the experiences of Native women and what they have brooked has been my goal since visiting the Warm Springs Indian Reservation in Oregon, where I hoped to delve into issues concerning the well-being of education on reservations and understand those who bear psychological or emotional ties to it as well. Therefore, here I provide a glimpse of Native women and formal education during the 1800s in the dreaded Indian schools, the subsequent forced relocation to reservations, effects of the racist media that perpetuated stereotypes, and what effect these occurrences have had on Native women. Successful Native women have risen up from this backdrop and newer genera-

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tions have defended their right to gain an education, using this as a method of empowerment.

Furthermore, this essay is meant as a guide to help Indian women understand aspects of the race- and gender-based educational and social problems created by the American system to subdue their ascension. I present real-life examples of women who have flourished, despite the intentional obstacles laid before them. I hope to do justice for the women of my ethnicity who have contributed to my life in ways they may not have known affected me, including as matriarchs of the family, scholastic mentors, inspirational figures, and supporters of my past attempts to understand gender differences while retaining the fact that they were my equal. I came upon this idea during research of Native views of men and women and how they have had roles conferred upon them—some the same, others not—by the Great Spirit and must work in unison, relying on one another to achieve aspirations; only when the European colonizer disrupted this time-honored cycle did Native people refrain from the natural ways of humane treatment.

Indians and Westernized Education

The history of formal education for Indians was engendered by Anglo-Saxons in missionary schools that functioned until the time that the United States acquired land from another country, filching land from Indians, in Mexico, and eventually pillaged the grasslands, forest-covered mountains, and deserts of what later became U.S. western states. It was at this time that a system of boarding schools was actuated to assimilate American Indians and “civilize” them according to the canons instigated by the American government. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was a main player in this cowardly scheme to “Kill the Indian, Save the man” (Almeida, 1997), as efforts were executed to destroy the most pivotal aspects of the Indian community and their survival—the children. Indian families were destroyed by the strategy of removal and enforcement in adopting the ways of the White man. It was at these same locations of Anglo learning that they would face the racism, sexual and physical abuse, and psychologi-

cal colonization that marred their first schooling experience in the outside world. This would lead to students returning home to their tribes disenchanting, grappling, for their life's duration, rendering them unable to adjust to the domestic landscape because they had been thoroughly brainwashed, suffering from a radically altered view of tribal life (Wright, 1996, p. 93).

These Indian schools, which were imputable for the tragedies inflicted on Red people, included Carlisle and Stewart, with the grim slogan of power: "To civilize the Indian, get him into civilization. To keep him civilized, let him stay" (Pratt, 1983). This saturation of the human mind was a period when Indian children were kidnapped from their family's protective control. They became malnourished, underserved, and positioned in close contact with pedophiles (who held powerful positions in the Christian religion) and physical diseases, perpetrated by these European "hosts" (DeJong & Holder, 2007, p. 256).

With this background, students attempted to run away from this living hell and struggled to cope with this climate of horrifying tactics implemented by administrators to restrain children, paling the cultural differences between Whites and Indians in comparison. Though more details are emerging from scholars embarking on ways to unearth this chapter of American history now that the most visible of Indians schools have shut down, it is not common knowledge that Indian boarding schools still exist:

Possibly too few people are aware that assimilation of American Indians continues in our country today in multitudinous forms, including Indians boarding schools [and] school residential environments. ... Currently there are 22 Indian boarding schools funded by the Bureau of Indians Affairs, Serving over 10, 000 students ... many Indian boarding schools have and do engage in assimilating students into mainstream culture. (Robbins et al., 2006, p. 70)

Indian Women on the Reservation and the Results of Historical Injustices

Just prior to the years of forced removal from their tribes, American Indian women would join men in the land set aside by the U.S. government. for purpose of reservation. These plots of barren land were designated to quell the “Indian problem” (and the first “Red Scare” the Americans faced years before the U.S.S.R. became a superpower) and to monitor unruly Indians; the last of the Indian wars was fought at this time. With this changing of the guard, Americans could freely initiate attempts to expand into the desert states of the West, and construct metropolitan and railroad projects: major ingredients in the Manifest Destiny concept preached by politicians with trite rhetoric justifying their efforts to massacre whole populations.

Thereafter, Indians began new lives in sequestered land after their dismay in boarding schools. Some were relegated to totally different states such as the Kickapoo, Cherokee, and Oneida people. It was at these locations of terror where a shell of a human “existed” in a community rife with hysteria and hopelessness:

Native children, young adults, and, in some cases, entire families were transported from their communities to boarding schools. ... This formal education system contributed enormously to the breakdown of Native families, including women’s traditional roles, and led to the development of many of the social ills that still affect Native nations, such as dysfunctional families and substance abuse (Almeida, 1997, p. 262).

Indian women on reservations underwent cultural challenges, attempting to see eye to eye with their reservation kin, and bore the harsh reality of comporting themselves in a non-Native fashion; an incapacitating past had affected their everyday living. This destructive ideology of following what the White man considered Native women to be has been further buttressed through the generations with a chain of Native women feeling disempowered, unmotivated

toward educational achievement, and involved in the same vices that have entrapped former generations of their gender. Native women have historically battled in the realm of procuring an education on a reservation and continue to do so:

Considering nearly three times as many American Indian females begin childbearing during adolescence, and bear twice as many children while teenagers as the general U.S. population, increasing use of meth among American Indian adolescents pose significant lifetime risks for American Indian mothers and thus children, families and communities. (Barlow, 2009, p. 2)

The reservation, even with its splendid beauty of natural landscapes, unadulterated in some cases, contains a familial network among all members in place, and a sovereign nation that has separated itself from the United States, yet still faces visible problems, impinging on the means by which women seek an education; for example, in patriarchal society, men are favored over women specifically in education, whereas women are relied on to fill archaic roles of domesticity. Women do not gain the proper emotional support from those closest to them, and must deal with issues related to isolation and finding their niche in college, if they are fortunate enough to receive the rare opportunity to attend a university. Moreover, Native women fall victim every day to the same inurements following all Natives on a reservation—battling with the remnants of colonization such as alcoholism, drug abuse, sparse numbers of role models, poverty, a dwindling local economy, poor health, and viewing themselves as inferior to the members of the pasty-colored knaves who desecrated *Turtle Island*.

Racism Circulated With Media Images of American Indians

The malicious White man was not satisfied with his collusive methods to annihilate the Indian women's chances of gaining an education after hundreds of years of rape, usurping Indian land, murder, disbanding communities, and imposing diabolical doctrines of

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patriarchy on this land, which was his signature segue to more recent hardships for Native women. He then formally infringed on the Native way of learning by (a) hauling children off to boarding schools; (b) constructing parameters of enclosure for them to reside (usually to die) in, so as not to interfere with his takeover of the world, to spread these thoughts of ill will on future populations; and (c) completing the trifecta by moving into the latter part of the 20th century with the media's distortions of Native women (Krumm, 2006, p. 213). This is where Hollywood ornately displayed American Indian women as damsels in distress awaiting some uncoordinated, dull White man to rescue them in Western films, or interpreting the language of her tribe so that he could lead his cohort to the promised land. Women were also portrayed as loyal "squaws" who would risk life and limb for the men she served in *Pocahontas* (1995) or, worst of all, in *Dances with Wolves* (1990), where a White woman adopted into the Lakota tribe played the hackneyed role whose every decision in life hung on the very whim of the male figures in her life—a milksop White man and an indolent and passive medicine man—although, ironically, she is named "Stands with a Fist" (Berkhofer, 1979).

The media has had a marked impact since World War II on societal expectations and misconceptions, especially toward the original "people of color" in America—Blacks and Indians. In particular, in cinema studies, Natives were portrayed in blockbusters as a *cause celebre* of Native women. Popular TV shows such as the Lone Ranger have been cited for how people, Native and non-Native alike, view Indian women. However, this is not the dourest of consequences; it is that Native women are victimized based on how they see their racial group exhibited. They have become ashamed of their cultural and racial identity and in turn have lost their sense of identity; key facets accompanying academic achievement among women (Moon Bird Woman interview, 2011).

Native women feel the need to fulfill a precise definition of themselves: devalued by men who they invest their time in pleasing, feeling unequal to those of the male gender, developing a consciousness

that only White people and those that follow their ways can survive in the academy. Native women suffer from thoughts of alienation and presumably make the haphazard attempt to allay this through substance abuse. In addition, Native women and their depictions in Hollywood work to make Indian women feel exoticized as “the other,” with physical characteristics that are unlike the norm in America. This setup acts to mentally conquer women by the ploy set forth and administered by the White man and his lackeys. Therefore, the Native girl finds herself entrenched in an acutely orchestrated scheme to make her believe, upon entering adulthood, no opportunities for scholastic contentment exist. Her only role, then, is to wallow in the same emotional slough to which many of her maternal influences have been sadly relegated. This is a picture I have witnessed all too often.

In the final section of this essay, I will rupture this concept by pointing out the successful testimonials of Native women that can inspire even a timid generation to believe they can achieve. They must begin to realize they are as competent, capable, and intelligent as their male counterparts. They should understand that the race of people that has persecuted them will one day pay the ultimate price of being reunited with their wicked ancestors in an unearthly dimension reserved for their ilk.

Successful Native Women Deserve Merit

Even as the White race represses the success of Native women, there have been numerous instances whereby women have excelled in academia and are prime models of inspiration for a new era. Many Native women have been involved in political activism, primarily during the height of a Native movement in the 1970s: “Minority racial forces were gaining strength across the country, and their voices were heard loud and clear in California. They were on a quest for a better housing, more jobs, and an end to discrimination” (Mankiller & Wallis, 1999, p. 187).

There have been Native women who have been moved to change the conditions in which Indians quailed and have fostered a political voice and inner strength from grassroots organizations geared toward

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Native women and their concerns; but, undeniably the first major flurry of activity that spurred their political consciousness was the American Indian Movement (AIM).

The American Indian Movement hit the reservation like a tornado, like a new wind blowing out of nowhere, a drum beat from afar getting louder and louder. It was almost like the Ghost Dance Movement that hit the tribes in 1890. (Crow Dog, 2011, p. 73)

“After I joined AIM I stopped drinking. Other put away roach clips and airplane glue bottles ... What was important was getting it on. We kids became AIM’s spearheads and the Sioux set the style” (Crow Dog, 2011, p. 76).

American Indian women belonging to this movement were then endowed with a political voice and mental stability that helped usher in their educational prowess as they began to comprehend the value of knowledge and that eloquent leaders in this group, composed of firebrands, were just as ruddy-complexioned as them:

A new era of Indian militancy had begun in 1968 with the inception of the American Indian movement. ... Other chapters soon appeared on reservations and in cities across the country. AIM members staged demonstrations and sit-ins to protest the loss of tribal property and resources. (Mankiller & Wallis, 1999, p. 162).

“We did freak out the hankies. We were feared throughout the Dakotas. We made Mr. White Man realize that there were other Indians besides the poor human wrecks who posed for them on a quarter” (Brave Bird, 1997, para. 21).

Native women have emerged in all disciplines from college professors and writers to politicians and even the unthinkable position: Wilma Mankiller becoming the first woman to head the long-established Cherokee Nation. What began with a Chippewa Indian

in Minnesota, frustrated with the American government disregarding his tribe, evolved to Native women locating an outlet for their years of aggression and realizing the advantages to attaining an education, first by being inspired through political involvement by other Natives, then succeeding in the White man's world of institutions of higher learning. This was a newfound fortitude that helped them come full circle. In the same vein, their giving nature showcased itself through contributions made to the reservations when they returned with the skills learned on the outside in the White man's land to help others in need on the inside in the Red man's/woman's land.

Native Women Experience Quandaries as College Professors

Though female Native American professors have faced challenges on campus, due to being women and Indian, they have been able to overcome these barriers by concentrating on the benefits of informing a wholly new generation of what it is to be Indian: "Non-Indian people sometimes do not recognize me as Indian. I do not exhibit the stereotypical physical attributes associated with the Western idea of what Indians look like. ... I do not look like the guy on the nickel" (Black-Connor Clearly, 2002, p. 183). Native women have had to withstand the scorn, rancor, and mitigation by not only colleagues but White students, yet they recognize the privilege they carry as representatives of their communities by revealing to the classroom the correct idea of Indians who have advanced in this constituency of teachers: "In a state where Native people represent the largest minority group, and where relations between Native and white are strained, my appearance was—for one—already a problem" (Chavez, 2002, p. 75).

Many Native women have gone into teaching at all levels with the intention to be an inspirational figure for other Native students and non-Whites, to demonstrate that there is someone teaching that empathizes with them and is genuinely supportive of their endeavors and academic potential (Moon Bird Woman interview, 2011). This is commendable on their part, making a point to recognize the internal issues in a child; this foresight can be traced to their own burden of lacking a substantial support network. Impressionable students look

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for guidance and approval to those viewed as dignified elders with the much-revered gift of knowledge to bestow upon them. Thus, it is all the more macabre when the teacher does not deliver on this cultural assumption.

Concentrated in high economic needs schools, I observed that many American Indian students experienced instruction by indifferent teachers in schools led by disengaged administrators. The educational needs of these students were enormous, yet the opportunities afforded to them were few. . . . I began to explore graduate schools which would fulfill my need to find meaning behind and explanations for decisions and actions that limited life chances for students. (Cockrell, 2006, p. 123)

Conclusion

It is because of the sacrifices made by previous Native women enrolled in Indian schools, where they faced a life of turmoil, that the successes of Native women were permitted to come into fruition. The famous Native American women included in the supplementary film to this essay and the anonymous, common women who teach at universities across the nation, have benefited from the women that have shouldered their exposure to early Anglo education. However, these same women returned to their hometowns or reservations, and although carrying the burdens of emotional anguish of their past, membership in a reviled ethnic group, and rampant destitution, they are the mothers, grandmothers, and great-grandmothers of the women in academia who have proliferated or are on the verge of academic accomplishment.

The new class of young Native women has realized that it is their responsibility to seize the opportunity to get an education. At no time before has there been this relative easing into academia, considering the past difficulties of Native women reaching this point. The multitude of role models of their ethnicity and gender having already

received an education and are presently in the sphere of professor or mentor to them.

I basically made myself believe that I was fully capable in getting straight As in my classes, to do that, to put all my energy and confidence into my classes and the projects I had to do, and in my student teaching. (Moon Bird Woman interview, 2011)

The *nouveau arrivés* can move forward with their academic undertakings and no longer lack the confidence to attend universities. Now they can develop a nexus of their own ethnicity and express themselves:

They discovered that it is possible to be Indian in the heart of the non-Indian world. ... The confidence, self-worth, and sense of purpose displayed by the transaculturated students were not in spite of being American Indian; it was because they were American Indian. (Huffman, 2001, p. 27)

Young Native women are in command of their own destiny but have now appropriated the necessary package for success: pride in their identity, self-assurance, awareness of the many advantages of education, and the conviction of the Red woman to view herself as equal to men.

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Women of Color in Higher Education

Kristin Conner

Abstract

This essay examines Vargas's (2002) and Stanley's (2006) primary and secondary theses. I examine the primary thesis of each text as the experience of women faculty of color in the classroom, namely their relationship and interactions with predominately White classrooms. I then examine the secondary thesis of each text, which focuses on the limited support faculty of color receive in contrast to White faculty, specifically through such means as mentoring.

Introduction

The books by Vargas (2002) and Stanley (2006) provided a glimpse into the world of female faculty of color. This world is presented through the narratives of the women themselves, describing their journey through the doctoral process, being hired as professors, striving to reach tenure, and interactions with students. Through these stories, readers learn more about the experience of "recruitment, research, mentoring, institutional climate, and relationships with colleagues and students" (Stanley, 2006, p. xiii). The setting of these narratives is predominately White colleges and universities to highlight the struggles faculty of color face overall, then narrowing to the unique experience of female faculty of color.

Although many experiences are examined for women faculty of color, the relationships built and described through their own voices leave the greatest impression. The interactions with White students provide the primary thesis and guiding message throughout the books. The women described the challenges and highlights of this work environment. These women faculty of color were hired for research and teaching, but their stories speak to their work as much more than just a job.

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In addition to relationships with students, other relationships these women discuss are the connections or lack thereof with faculty. New professionals in a career area need support and these women faculty of color are no different in that desire. What they often found was lack of guidance in how to teach and manage classroom dynamics, especially in regard to racial and gender discrimination. The secondary thesis of the Vargas (2002) and Stanley (2006) books spoke to this desire to connect with peers, specifically through a mentoring relationship. The following text provides a reflective analysis of the primary and secondary theses of the Vargas and Stanley books, highlighting the importance of the narrative voice and recommendations for future research.

Interactions with Students in the Classroom

Throughout the stories in the Vargas (2002) and Stanley (2006) anthologies, a key recurring theme is interactions with students in predominately White classrooms. The women in these stories fought through gender and racial oppression to gain positions as professors only to be faced with this same resistance from the students they are trying to teach. First-person recollections of the challenges faced in the classroom include not being referenced by the title of “Dr.” whereas male faculty were addressed by that title, being told that their “accent” was too hard to understand and therefore they were not a proper instructor, and being aggressively questioned about their knowledge of a subject (Perry, Moore, Edwards, Acosta, & Frey, 2009; Pittman, 2010b; Vargas, 2002). Pittman (2010b) noted additional research that found themes such as lack of respect, challenging authority, and teaching effectiveness as the challenging experiences of female faculty of color.

The stress of teaching in any classroom is high, especially for new academics. There is never a perfect environment, as any learning situation should encourage discourse, but when race and gender tensions are a consistent stressor in classroom dynamics, the ability to teach and learn is affected. As one professor noted, “you feel like you are putting on armor” (Perry et al., 2009, p. 89). This stressful

work environment and the reactions of students to women faculty of color are, in many ways, hidden stories only brought to light through the qualitative research that emphasizes the experience of women faculty of color (Perry et al., 2009; Pittman, 2010b; Stanley, 2006; Vargas, 2002). Their work in the classroom, although challenging, should be acknowledged, as should their accomplishments for the change in society that occurs through teaching.

Although the majority of stories recounted the struggle for women faculty of color, some mentioned successes in reaching White students. In the effort to bring greater racial understanding to the classroom and keep the dialogue open between the students, some faculty of color would act as “translators” for White students struggling to convey their thoughts on race (Pittman, 2010a). As a result of this advocacy, White students were more open to learning a new perspective and did not feel shut down as they would in other classrooms. Additionally, some narratives included comments about student feedback that acknowledged a greater perspective and understanding of the world. Through the classes taught by female faculty of color, students learned more (Stanley, 2006; Vargas, 2002). Seen here are glimmers of the ultimate goals that these professors were trying to accomplish by staying in these oppressive situations.

Mentoring

In addition to interactions with students that women faculty of color described in the Vargas (2002) and Stanley (2006) texts, a second theme regarding their interactions with other faculty was also mentioned frequently. Specifically, this theme was the lack of support and mentoring new faculty of color received in comparison to their White colleagues. Comments in the narratives ranged from subtle desires for more guidance as a new professional, to the missteps taken when trying to following the guidance of well-meaning but misdirected White professors, to outright calls to action from other faculty of color to seek out and be mentors to others (Stanley, 2006; Vargas, 2002). One academic specifically noted, “mentoring that emphasizes the value of teaching and the significance of expos-

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ing students to ideas that challenge stereotypes is essential” (Stanley, 2006, p. 172).

The evidence for a mentoring gap is not only presented through personal stories in the Vargas (2002) and Stanley (2006) anthologies, but through additional research by Holmes, Land, and Hinton-Hudson (2007). Their work began by noting that African American women are the least represented group among tenured professors. Among the findings chronicled through the narratives collected by Holmes et al. were that mentored women had a better sense of the process of achieving in the academic job market and becoming tenured; they felt better prepared to succeed. The point at which mentoring is established does not seem to matter, as long as the mentoring occurs, and although having a mentor of the same race/ethnicity and same gender did have positive effects from the mentoring relationship, cross-cultural and cross-gender mentoring was also beneficial (Holmes et al., 2007).

Although the mentoring offered to women faculty of color may be far behind that of their White counterparts, resources are emerging to address the needs these women are requesting. Websites such as *Refuse the Silence* act as a support mechanism for women of color in academia (Richardson, 2011). Although no formal mentoring is offered, blogs, shared stories, and experiences offer insight for women of color. A more formal mentoring opportunity is offered through Sistermentors, a group of women of color who support each other through the doctoral-dissertation process (Lewis, 2010).

Importance of Narrative Voice

Quantitative research can provide concrete and absolute “proof” supporting or refuting almost any topic. However, when it comes to personal experience, numbers seem shallow and incomplete. The narrative voice in research is important, as evidenced by the Vargas (2002) and Stanley (2006) texts. A third party stating that women faculty of color face discrimination and challenge in the classroom does not begin to capture the impact of a statements such as “I wouldn’t describe the climate around [colleges and universities] as ‘chilly,’ I would describe them as ‘subzero’” (Stanley, 2006, p. 95).

The women in both anthologies provided descriptions of vulnerability inherent to being a female faculty of color that statistics cannot. The stories are singular and individual, yet carry many of the same messages of oppression, struggle, and accomplishment. Here, qualitative research can provide the greatest gains. It connects the public with the individual through the story, but provides repeated messages that help others understand the ultimate messages with greater clarity than would numbers on a page.

These stories are especially important because of who wrote them. Women of color are doubly oppressed. Their voices and stories have been rarely heard throughout history and are often silenced today. The gathering of these stories provides power to women of color. Their voices can be heard. Their struggles can be noted, and hopefully change will come for future female faculty of color.

Recommendations for Further Study

The most obvious recommendation for further study would simply be for more study of all kinds in relation to women faculty of color. The Vargas (2002) and Stanley (2006) anthologies, along with the growing number of journal articles on the experiences of faculty of color, are a start, but more needs to be done.

One area in which I would especially like to see specific programs created and research enacted is mentoring programs for PhD students of color and new faculty of color. What would their experiences be throughout their academic tenure if there was more support? Additionally, research of the experiences of faculty of color in historical Black colleges and universities or any university with a majority student population of color would be an interesting contrast to the experiences of faculty of color in predominately White colleges and universities. How are the experiences different or similar?

What are the expectations of the faculty of color? How can these universities learn from each other to support faculty of color? Recommendations throughout the Vargas (2002) and Stanley (2006) texts mentioned recruitment factors, not only in hiring new faculty, but in retaining faculty of color. Lack of creativity and outreach in hiring,

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lack of support, which leads to isolation, and lack of equal resource distribution were all cited as reasons there were few faculty of color at predominately White colleges and universities (Stanley, 2006; Vargas, 2002). I have heard many myths and stories about the academic hiring process, none of it appealing. It may be time to put a critical lens to the hiring process for all faculty, but especially faculty of color.

Conclusion

Throughout the struggles women faculty of color face, they persevere and stay on to change the lives of the students they teach, probably in ways the students could never fully understand. When these women have opportunities equal to other faculty, they make great strides to change the world. Brayboy and Estrada (as cited in Stanley, 2006) addressed the question of why faculty of color stay in oppressive teaching environments by noting that through their teaching they can help White students understand their privilege on an individual and societal level. They can retain the hopes that their students will have a new view of their world and ideally work to change the current oppressive systems.

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Mentorship and Women of Color in Higher Education: The Stronger Our Voice, the Greater Impact We Might Forge

Victoria Duran

Abstract

This essay examines the experience of women faculty of color in institutions of higher education, specifically focusing on the lived experiences of Latinas and the role of mentorship. Mentorship for women of color in higher education is essential to increasing tenure rates, overall success in academia, and the retention and recruitment of Latina and African American female students, particularly in predominately White institutions, to break through the glass ceiling. This essay explores historical accounts of the formation of the education system, the history of mentorship, and the different forms of mentorship for Latinas.

Introduction

With the development of the United States came the creation of “a new system of higher education that was exclusively for the benefit of White males. No Blacks or women needed to apply because none would be admitted” (Jenifer, 2005, p. 4). The context in which college and university systems were developed in the United States, had lasting implications on the individuals who were excluded. Researchers have shown that women of color have been excluded and underrepresented as tenured professors and presidents of institutions of higher education. Investigations also reveal the vital function of mentorship and support networks for women of color as they navigate the ladder of academia.

This research includes selected focuses on the experiences of Latinas in higher education as they are underrepresented in tenured

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positions, mentorship, and historically in education. Challenges Latinas encounter include having to be “twice as good to get half the recognition” (Evans, 2007, pp. 133–134). In addition, women of color must combat institutionalized and covert racism in a field where there is limited or no “mirroring” of other Latinas in higher education. As women of color encounter such setbacks, the need for support and mentorship is vital to sustaining their presence in colleges and universities. The development of mentorship programs for people of color stems from the mission of historically Black colleges in supporting students who were the first generation to navigate through institutions of higher education (Jenifer, 2005, p. 9). Latina graduate students established support and mentorship programs in community circles to share personal *testimonios* as a means to give voice to lived experiences of women of color navigating predominately White institutions (Flores & Garcia, 2009, p. 155). The following research demonstrates the importance of challenging the historical functions of the higher education system to provide access to women of color, particularly Latinas, and suggests ways they can develop mentors and support systems to achieve tenured positions and access the office of presidency of colleges and universities.

History of Women in Education

As the new system of education was established in the United States, the mission was to educate White males for their advancement. The institutions were not inclusive of women and African Americans (Jenifer, 2005, p. 4). “The history of African-Americans and women in higher education is one of our nation’s most shameful stories. It is a story of a nation’s struggle to overcome overt and institutional racism and sexism” (Jenifer, 2005, p. 5). The institution of education opened its doors to women for its economic interest, as women were admitted to fill the shortage of men during the Civil War (Jenifer, 2005, p. 6). In 1844, Oberlin College became the first coeducational school, and in 1862, Patterson became the first African American woman to receive a college bachelor’s degree from the institution (Jenifer,

2005, p. 4). Jenifer described the founding of the first institution for African American women, Spellman College in 1881 (2005, p. 7).

The development of historically Black colleges played a significant role in the mentorship and support of African American students; however resources and the prestige of Black institutions were not held at a “collegiate level” or funded to the same standard as White institutions (Jenifer, 2005, p. 8). Historically Black colleges, however, did “mirror” and model success to assist educated African Americans in academia, thereby creating aspirational capital, an ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future. Historically Black colleges assumed the role of introducing African American students to the college experience, providing understanding about how to develop skills, social behaviors, and cultural norms in education and employment. Mentorships offered through historically Black colleges “prepared them to compete in a world where, because of their race, they did not have the luxury of being just as good as their White counterparts but that they had to be better” (Jenifer, 2005, p. 9).

Jenifer (2005) described a significant turning point in the enrollment of women and people of color with the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which “required schools to affirmatively recruit women and minorities to all schools receiving public assistance” (p. 7). During the course of the 1970s, the representation of African Americans and Latinos in predominately White institutions began to increase as a result of the pressure from affirmative-action programs until the attacks on those programs during President Clinton’s tenure. Policies of “mend it, don’t end it” caused more difficulty for women and minorities accessing higher education (Jenifer, 2005, pp. 10–12). Jenifer (2005) suggested the United States must recognize that without education and proper skills to navigate society, people will be “disenfranchised” in the ability to “participate fully in national life.” Therefore, minority and women faculty, staff, and students must be included in the communities of credible institutions of higher education, particularly in the fields of mathematics, science, medicine, business, and engineering (p. 12).

Mentoring

Traditional mentoring is defined as “a person in a position of power that can teach, encourage, and facilitate the advancement of a protégé” (Mendez-Morse, 2004, pp. 562–563). Mendez-Morse (2004) explained that mentorship programs can be formally sanctioned by institutions or can be informal relationships mentees have made through casual connections (pp. 562–563). Jenifer (2005) suggested that in successful mentorship for women and minorities, both groups need to be reflected as mentors and mentees (p. 28). Women have a more successful experience with mentors in supporting the “early stages of their professional careers and continued to assist them in obtaining their current position” (Jenifer, 2005, p. 28).

Jenifer (2005) described this mentoring selection of protégés as “thoughtful, formal, intentional, and often intensive,” and a process in which “responsibilities in the training of the next generation of leaders-men and women” includes a commitment to diversity and “extraordinary competence” (Jenifer, 2005, p. 35). Although there are options for protégés to be selected by mentors, there are also many instances in which protégés select their own mentors. Mendez-Morse (2004) described the multiple mentors Latinas have sought support from; mothers, school leaders, and influential women in “college and career experiences” (p. 582). The experience in mentorship differs from that of White women because there are few sponsored mentors of color; those who do exist are faculty in “predominately White institutions” and carry a “double burden of ethnic or racial and gender stereotyping” (Mendez-Morse, 2004, p. 562). For Latinas, mentorship includes communal methods of support through *testimonios*, or testimonies that recognize “the power and empowerment of sharing our *papelitos guardados* [literally, guarded papers] in and out of academia with others” (Flores & Garcia, 2009, p. 161).

Testimonios and Voice

Through the use of *testimonios*, Latinas were able to establish a sense of community on predominately White campuses where they experienced alienation and lacked a sense of belonging. Graduate

students have established a system of sharing their stories through the use of *papelitos guardados* (tucked away pieces of paper) that are the memories and lived experiences through which Latinas shared their personal voice with others (Flores & Garcia, 2009, p. 157). This was also done in an attempt to *desahogarse*, “to let out a painful experience, to no longer suffocate” from the institutional constraints of predominately White institutions of higher education (Flores & Garcia, 2009, p. 168). This formation of mentorship and support was developed to “take a holistic approach to self that includes spirit and emotion, and recognizes our individual/communal struggles and efforts to name ourselves, record our history and choose our own destiny” (Flores & Garcia, 2009, p. 156). The formation of *testimonios* is empowering for women as they declared, “we become the subjects and objects of our own inquiry and voice” (Flores & Garcia, 2009, p. 156). Issues that surfaced with developing a space for support included not criticizing, testing, or evaluating another Latina’s authenticity based on her Spanish abilities, place of birth, citizenship, or overall identity. Latinas should not have to “legitimize themselves as belonging in and among the Latino diaspora” (Flores & Garcia, 2009, p. 156).

Theoretical Approaches

Flores and Garcia (2009) explored the impact of a “Latina space” in predominately White institutions through Latinas giving *testimonios*, spaces where Latinas were able to develop discourse and support systems. Women of color suffer a vast range of subordination and need complex narratives to bring voice to their experiences. In the course of study, researchers used critical-race feminism, Latina/o critical theory, and U.S. third-world feminism as frameworks to explore “Latina space.” The function of critical-race feminism is to resist essentialism. Racial essentialism aims to support “the belief that there is a monolithic Latina experience” (Flores & Garcia, 2009, p. 162). The notion of racial essentialism minimizes the ways diversity and complexities of Latina identities are perceived by the greater society (Flores & Garcia, 2009).

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Latina/o critical theory, a cousin to critical-race theory, explores how “oppression affects Latinos and the intersectionality across race, class, gender and other forms of subordination” (Flores & Garcia, 2009, p. 162). Latina/o critical theory also distinguishes the “multiple diversities of Latinos,” which include the differences in nationality, race, immigration experience, class, sexual orientation, and many other aspects of Latino identity.

An additional framework is U.S. third-world feminism. This theory gives political, social, racial, and transnational voice to feminists in developing countries (Flores & Garcia, 2009, p. 163). U.S. third-world feminism rejects a “unified, essentialist definition of women” set by White middle-class Western feminists (Flores & Garcia, 2009, p. 162). This framework developed as an attempt to initiate solidarity and bonds with women, despite national borders and politics. This additional dimension of Latinas telling *testimonios* made the process more complex (Flores & Garcia, 2009, p. 163). Challenges arose as the notion of what defines Latina/o varies across regions, languages, nationalities, ethnicities, and racial identities.

Conclusion

Have You Experienced This, by Torres (2010), calls for a united effort to combat racism and stereotypes by joining forces in the name of justice.

Whether you have or you haven't experienced this
You need to become aware of how often it happens
This call is to denounce it
And unite in the struggle
For just and equal treatment
Regardless of, race, ethnicity
First language, and country of origin
The stronger our voice
The greater impact we might forge
And assure that justice we'll eventually enjoy.

Torres (2010) identified the need for inclusivity to challenge the status quo.

If we wish to create a truly excellent system of higher education in this nation, it must be inclusive. To accomplish this, colleges and universities must recruit diverse students and faculty members to advance scholarship, that employs a range of experiences, theories, frameworks and epistemologies. (Evans, 2007, p. 136)

Institutions that have integrated and developed fields of studies and programs of diversity, and reflect a campus community and culture of diversity, are enhancing “intellectual quality for everyone” (Evans, 2007, pp. 136).

Flores and Garcia (2009) suggested that in the application of the theoretical frameworks, the diversity of Latino/a identities must be considered and factored to combat the notion of the “essentialized” Latina and what it means to belong (p. 169). With such efforts, students encounter support networks on predominately White institutions and eliminate the measuring of what it means to be Latina in a predominately White space. In sharing narratives and voicing experiences, students will be an instrument of support and mentorship.

Mentorship is imperative to the success of women faculty of color and the access to tenure-track positions women seek to acquire. The process of supporting women of color in higher education does not end in women filling positions. To move institutions into spaces that value and support the advancement of women faculty of color, colleges and universities must implement resources and support systems such as mentorship, and spaces that validate voice and experiences of women of color. As Torres (2010) proclaimed, “the stronger our voice, the greater impact we might forge and assure that justice we’ll eventually enjoy” (p. 2).

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Listen to This Silence: Women in Higher Education in Pakistan

Anniqua Rana

A Bit of Advice

If
in the course of a conversation
gaps of silence begin
to occur,
spoken words turn silent;
therefore, my eloquent
friend,
let's carefully listen
to this silence.

—Parveen Shakir (Pakistani poet)

Abstract

Pakistan has a fairly short history of just over 50 years, becoming independent from British colonial rule in 1947. It shares a much older history with India; however their recent relationship has been turbulent because of disputes over the territory of Kashmir. Despite this, the country has made some economic progress. The education system, however, has not reflected this progress. This is obvious not only in the overall educational indicators, but also in the education of women. Because of religious and cultural practices, women have not been involved in mainstream activities outside of home life. This essay traces the historical background of the feminist movement among Muslims in India, which influenced the women of Pakistan, a nation created for the Muslim majority of India. This is followed by a brief background of higher education in Pakistan, concluding with recommendations about the need for women to become influential in the system, to effect change in the education system by encouraging the

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involvement of women in positions of authority and policy-making in higher education. The inspiration for this essay, “A Bit of Advice” by Shakir, a Pakistani female poet, refers to the silence of women of Pakistan in higher education due to the lack of opportunities available to them and the need for their inclusion in the dialogue for change.

At a 2-day training workshop entitled Women in Higher Education Management at Bahauddin Zakaria University, Multan, in April 2003, attendees included 10 women from Bahauddin Zakaria University, five from Islamia University, and four from Agriculture University. Three areas in higher education management were addressed during this workshop, designed to provide fundamental concepts to support women developing management skills in the Pakistani higher education system. To analyze their personal experiences in the cultural context, the women discussed balancing personal and professional roles. In another workshop focusing on academic leadership in higher education, Najam, the only woman Vice Chancellor of Fatima Jinnah University for women, discussed leadership styles in higher education organizations from the perspective of women’s experiences in their changing social realities. Examining the language and metaphors of leadership, Najam demonstrated that our leadership metaphors are steeped in stereotypical gender roles and need to be modified. Dr. Najam highlighted the extraordinary drive and ability of female leaders to communicate in the university community, stressing that a person is both changed by, and importantly, able to change the social context within which she works. This kind of workshop is fairly new in the field of higher education in Pakistan and even more impressive in advocating for the advancement of women in this country.

Considering Article 34 of the Constitution of Pakistan, which states “Steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life,” it would seem that Pakistan is making marked progress to ensure the full participation of women in every sphere of life: The first democratically elected woman leader of the Muslim world was Bhutto, and currently Jalal, a female appointee,

is the Federal Minister of Education. In contrast, only 29.7% of adult women are literate compared to 53% of men. There is only one female vice chancellor of the 23 public universities in the country. For most of the country's short history, the disparity between the education of girls and boys at the primary level in Pakistan has been and still is discouraging. Even though efforts have been made on the international, national, and grassroots levels through nongovernmental organizations to ensure equity, little progress has been made in the quantity and the quality of girls' education at the primary level. This disparity is unreasonable because education for all has been stressed since Pakistan's inception in 1947. Later the commission on national education in 1959 called for universal and compulsory education, with an emphasis on the education of women because of the positive impact it would have on the country. This stress on universal education has had little success. As Easterly (2001) wrote, "there have been many education 'reforms and commissions on reform' (by one account there were 11 national education commissions between 1947 and 1993), but education has remained 'unabashedly elitist'" (pp. 18–19).

Beginning with a historical and sociocultural investigation of women and education, followed by an in-depth study of reforms to implement equality and equity for women in education and the processes by which they have been carried out, and concluding with an assessment of the of these reforms would reveal why the numbers of women in Pakistani education do not add up after more than 50 years. A comparative assessment of women's success in education in other regions could lead to suggestions about how needs could and should be met.

To understand the situation of women in Pakistan, I provide a macrovision of the disparity between the economic indicators of the country, contrasted with the investment in human capital. Pakistan underperforms "on most social and political indicators—education, health, sanitation, fertility, gender equality, corruption, political instability and violence and democracy—for its level of income" (Easterly, 2001, p. 1). Easterly referenced this underperformance as

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“growth without development.” The two political-economy models used to explain this disparity are “the incentives of the elite under high inequality to under-invest in the human capital of the majority” and the “ethnic divisions” that intensify this disparity. This essay focuses on the former of the two models:

A variant of “the elite keeping the masses uneducated so as to keep power” hypothesis is that the male elite in a highly patriarchal society are reluctant to invest in women’s education, since that is likely to lead to demand by women for increased power and equality. (Easterly, 2001, p. 24)

Considering financial assistance from foreign organizations and governments and the various government development programs, one could speculate on the factors that can effect change. Can outside models prove to be influential, or does change depend on internal transformation? Also, why would those in power want to jeopardize their position by empowering the majority by educating them to demand democratic equity in health and education? As indicated by Easterly’s (2001, p. 1, para. 1) study, the ethnic divisions identified as intensifiers of disparity can only be eradicated from within. This would only be possible if drastic measures are initiated from the various ethnicities. Similarly, because the women of Pakistan have a culture, history, and identity that is inherent to their lives, the change needs to come from them.

If the patriarchal society elite have no incentive to invest in women’s human capital, effective change will not arrive until women work to end the silence of inequality; and the major contributor to end this silence should be the women of Pakistan. Ironically, to be able to effectively contribute to the changes needed in the education of women, and to speak out for a change in power, one needs the language of the elite. Women have to be involved in policymaking to transform the system. Because the system does not work for women, it has to be transformed to allow the success of women. They have to speak out and become contributors in the dialogue of policy and

decision making. This can only be possible if women are empowered in academies of higher education.

An Overview of Higher Education in Pakistan

According to Rahman (2004), the foundation for the current system of higher education in Pakistan can be traced back to 1857, when the Directors of the East India Company decided to set up universities in India. They were deliberately established as not too challenging so as not to discourage the students. One major reason was to educate local citizens who would be able to work in the bureaucracy at lower-level government jobs. There was a need to Westernize and educate Indians sufficiently to fulfill these minor responsibilities. These institutions were not supposed to equal the academics of Oxford or Cambridge, which were autonomous institutions. It was necessary, for British colonialists, that the University of Calcutta not be governed by academics; so the governor general was the chancellor and the chief justice of the supreme court was the vice chancellor. The whole was mainly a concern of men; women were not involved. The mentality of subordination, however, imbued South Asian higher education institutions because of this colonial mentality. Although institutions like Aligarh University were created by native Indians, they were fashioned in the Western model to ensure success of students in the British colonial system.

Universities in the subcontinent, for the most part, retained their colonial characteristics (Rahman, 2004). Even after 1947, with the partition of India and the departure of the British, institutions of higher education retained their nonautonomous characteristics. The chancellor and vice chancellor for provincial universities are both appointees of the governor of the province. Finances are controlled through the University Grants Commission, established in 1974. "The powerlessness of the academic, which the colonial bureaucracy had ensured, has only increased in the half century of Pakistan's existence" (Rahman, 2004, p. 111).

The number of universities has been increasing, despite of the lack of funding and autonomy. In 1947, there was only one university,

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University of the Punjab in Lahore, but by 2003 there were 53 public universities. Many private universities were established after 1987. The only two that have achieved international status are Lahore University of Management Sciences and Agha Khan University of Karachi. Both receive large subsidies from the government.

Not much has been written about the role of women in institutions of higher education in the region. In this extremely restrained academic environment and considering the county's patriarchal cultural setup, the response of female academicians would be extremely revealing. Rahman (2004) mentioned the shortcomings of his own analysis of institutions of higher education in Pakistan when discussing gender issues:

Females are represented in very low numbers. They are more reluctant to complete questionnaires and also more difficult to access than their male colleagues. Another problem is that women do not work as faculty of private universities; most of them are employed by the public sector and deliver lectures at private universities. (p. 143)

This apparently intentional silence of the women is noteworthy. Why do they not speak out? Do they feel they might jeopardize their positions or do they feel that their contribution will go unheard?

Comparative Data

In 1998, when the United Nations report was compiled, there was only one woman vice chancellor in Pakistan (of the newly established Fatimah Jinnah Women's University). Recently, changes have been made and other women's institutions, such as Lahore College for Women, have been given university status, but the disparity of women in decision-making positions in higher education is unmitigated. Again according to the 1998 report by the United Nations, women lecturers were also underrepresented in Pakistani institutions. In this area, Pakistan (16%) joins countries like Uganda (18%), Nigeria (17.0%),

Zimbabwe (10.8%), Tanzania (10.7%) and Zambia (10.2%) with a lower percentage of women lecturers compared to other newly emerging countries like Malaysia which had 34.5%, South Pacific 33.9%, Sri Lanka 35.5%, and India 36.8%. Researchers should investigate if this situation has changed in the last 15 years.

At the lower rungs of education, the situation is also not encouraging for the women of Pakistan. The decline in the literacy level of women with respect to the growing GDP of the country reflects a decline in the quality of life for women, despite economic growth (Easterly, 2001). Also, considering the correlation between the education of the mother and the life expectancy and education of the child, the decline in the literacy level is likely to have an overall negative effect on the women and children in Pakistan. To quote Easterly:

Pakistan already had higher female illiteracy at the same initial income level as the control group (the starting point for this data is 1970). Over the next three decades, income grew more in Pakistan, but female illiteracy improved less. ... The moderate growth control group achieved a reduction of female illiteracy of about 60 percent, while the same amount of growth in Pakistan yielded a decline in female illiteracy of about 20 percent. The gap between female and male illiteracy actually increased with rising per capita income in Pakistan, while it declined sharply in other comparably growing countries. (2001, p. 14)

These statistics indicate a need for a complete societal transformation.

Even though ideas can be imported, they cannot be implemented without being adjusted to the society. It is the individuals in the society who can effectively identify the areas that need transformation. More women need to be involved in decision making and policymaking to ensure the failures of the last 50 years do not repeat themselves. The failures are “consistent with one of an educated elite who do not wish to invest in the human capital of the majority” (Easterly, 2001, p. 12).

Economics of Education

Some landmarks in Pakistani educational policy are the Education Conference, 1947; The Commission on National Education, 1959; The New Education Policy, 1970; The Education Policy, 1972; The National Education Policy, 1979; The National Educational Policy, 1992; The National Education Policy, 1998–2010; and Education Sector Reforms: Strategic Plan 2001–2004. All these reforms stressed literacy levels and primary education, and did not focus on tertiary education. A more recent study compiled by the National Institution of Policy and Administration affirmed, “there should be equitable representation of women in the corridors of power and policy making in the higher educational institutions” (Malik, 2003, p. 52).

Appointing women to posts of power and policymaking is one way to accomplish this goal, but it is not the most effective means. In the context of left feminist recommendations, curriculum and pedagogy supporting a capitalist society and reinforcing roles of dominance and subordination need to be changed. The Freirian concept of “banking” information and education needs to be transformed so that women can be empowered to become agents of change. The “dialogic” model (Freirian concept) encourages less authoritarianism and more interaction, advocating student experience as content and as a basis for problem solving. For women to effect change in higher education, and education in general, there need to be, “models of liberators, strugglers for social justice and women engaged in collective (as opposed to individual) action” (Perreault, 1993, p. 290).

An internal Pakistani government study focused on the relationship between the country’s economy and higher education, compiled through the auspices of its National Institution of Policy and Administration. It emphasized the correlation between “economy of the country and higher education.” No doubt, the connection between education and the economy is indisputable, but, as Easterly noted, economic progress does not necessarily correlate with human capital, leading to a system wherein Pakistan may underperform on many sociological and political indicators as previously noted of Easterly’s work earlier

in this essay. If the privatization of higher education continues on an international level and states continue to assume higher education as a “private good” rather than “public good,” chances for women and ethnic minorities to succeed in higher education in Pakistan will be even more scarce. Also, if private institutions receive higher autonomy and thus reduced state support, economic competition will increase. The fear remains that the growing number of private institutions of higher education might adversely affect the political economy of institutions worldwide, especially if the aim of these institutions is to increase economic gains rather than the public good. This researcher suggests that more information is needed to ascertain the voices of women in higher education from a global perspective.

Granting autonomy to educational institutions and giving them academic freedom is of the utmost importance to the success of relevant curricula, and even though private institutions may improve the finances of the country, to what extent will there be an incentive to decrease the “inequality ... [of] human capital of the majority” (Easterly, 2001, p. 12).

Conclusion

Will the landscape change for Pakistani women in higher education? Will they be the main agents of change? If they speak out and end the silence, it will be a promising beginning.

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Asian American Women Faculty: Stereotypes and Triumphs

Celeste Fowles Nguyen

Asian American women are a small but growing population of higher education faculty in the United States. In 1980–81, there were 252 female Asian full professors in the United States, which increased to 1,267 in 1999–2000 (Hune, 2006, p. 28). Of all Asian Pacific American faculty, 19% were female in 1979–80, and 30% were female in 1999–2000. Asian American women faculty work primarily at the junior level, and are less likely than Asian Pacific American men to hold tenure (Hune, 2006, p. 28). The statistics give a general overview of Asian American women in the academy, but the individual narratives of these women reveal the distinct challenges, strategies, and triumphs of working in the traditionally White male academy.

Each Asian American female faculty has unique personal experiences, including family histories, immigration stories, and professional paths. *Asian American* encompasses a wide variety of ethnicities, distinct by geography, culture, language, economics, and history. Chinese, Malay, South Indian Asian, Vietnamese, Japanese, and Hmong are just a few examples of the variety of backgrounds that constitute Asian Pacific American. Additionally, the identities of the individual people varies widely. Some define themselves by their ethnicity, or as Asian, Asian American, or Asian Pacific Asian Islander.

Struggles with identity are just one of the common challenges of Asian women faculty in universities. In their narratives, some women express surprise at how others define them as compared to how they define themselves. Jing Lin (2006) recounts that when she joined a U.S. university, “overnight my identity changed ... [suddenly] I was a Chinese representing China’s 1.3 billion people ... for the first time I was defined by my race” (p. 295). Stereotypes are another challenge common to many narratives, most often as

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a “model minority” or “lotus flower” (Shrake, 2006, p. 183). The model minority stereotypes Asians as hard workers who quietly achieve high results. The lotus flower, or geisha stereotype, defines Asian females as feminine and passive. Immigrant Asian faculty face additional challenges about their credibility due to their accents. These three stereotypes, of model minority, geisha girl, and nonnative speaker, present challenges to many Asian female faculty. This essay explores the stereotypes Asian women faculty face and these women’s coping strategies and unique triumphs.

Model Minority

One prevalent stereotype of Asian Americans is the model minority. The perception is of “uncomplaining perseverance and submissiveness to authority” (Shrake, 2006, p. 184). The model-minority myth “assumes feminine qualities of passivity, submissiveness, self-effacement and reticence to speak out” (Shrake, 2006, p. 184). The stereotype ignores Asian Americans’ wide variety of ethnicities and socioeconomic backgrounds. It also mistakenly labels Asians as overly successful and overly represented in higher education (Hune, 2006). The model-minority stereotype groups all Asians together, and ignores the unique needs of subgroups and individuals (Hune, 2006).

These dynamics play out in Asian American female faculty classrooms, where the teacher is expected to be nonconfrontational and uncritical of mainstream America. Akindes (2002) unpacks the model-minority myth with students, exploring it in relation to her role as a teacher. Shrake (2006) found that when she addressed societal inequities, students responded in a negative and intimidating way. They questioned her in class and confronted her style in course evaluations as “too aggressive and outspoken” (p. 185). She was “supposed to conform to, and not challenge, the model minority stereotype” (Shrake, 2006, p. 185). For Shrake (2006), the powerful force of the model-minority stereotype led her to initially accept the role cast upon her: “conforming to acceptable stereotypes is the most convenient strategy to avoid unpleasant and stressful situations, I took

on the model minority traits of compliance and quiet accommodation” (p. 187). Masquerading as a model minority was her way of handling stereotyped expectations.

Geisha

Asian women are also stereotyped as a “geisha” or “lotus flower,” in which they are objectified as exotic women for men. The lotus flower stereotype is “based on western male sexual fantasy, a product of colonial and military powers interwoven with sexual domination” (Shrake, 2006, p. 188). The portrayal is evident in mainstream Hollywood movies like *Memoirs of a Geisha* (2005). In the movie, geisha status is the highest honor for the most beautiful, disciplined young women, who are sculpted to meet men’s vision of an ideal woman. The geisha is an art object for men’s enjoyment.

In the classroom, the sexualized objectification of Asian women causes challenges for the faculty. Shrake (2006) finds that being considered delicate and feminine devalues authority. She explains, “being perceived persistently as exotic, subservient, passive, and nonassertive, I internalized these stereotypes and thus behaved in accordance with these stereotypes expectations” (Shrake, 2006, p. 188). Shrake (2006) put on the mask of the “lotus blossom” to meet the expectations of the dominant group in her university. Additionally, the geisha myth feeds mainstream thinking, especially White males’ belief of Asian American women as “sexual objects par excellence” (Shrake, 2006, p. 188). The objectification of Asian women leads to sexual harassment and derogatory behavior towards Asian American female faculty.

Nonnative Speakers

In the narratives of immigrant Asian women faculty, professional conflicts also arise is due to the expectations based on their accents Linguistic and cultural conflicts occur, which Liang (2006) refers to as “nonnative linguistic peripheralization” (p. 85). Students and colleagues challenge nonnative English speakers’ credibility. Cindu

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Thomas-George, a South Asian professor in Illinois, recounts when she mispronounced “pseudo” for three years:

I am very aware there are times I look like I am not credible. I address that. I say we need diversity and we need to accept all people. I show my students you don't have to be perfect and you don't have to be elite to be a professor. I defy that stereotype in being. [personal communication, October 15, 2011]

Her mispronunciations impacted the climate of her classroom. Thomas-George utilized these moments as teaching opportunities.

Other Asian females recount similar challenges. For three native Chinese-speaking female professors, the classroom was a “minefield of student resistance and negative attitudes” (Liang, 2006, p. 85). The professors experienced “internalized peripheralization of linguistic self and socioculturally marginalized professional identities” (Liang, 2006, p. 86). Students challenged their authority in the classroom and their credibility in their fields. Some resistant students confronted the teachers during class, while others expressed hostility in course evaluations.

Strategies

Many of the women faculty address the challenges of straddling two cultures, and not feeling completely a part of either (Lin, 2006). One common thread in the narratives was finding one's own unique voice in the classroom and institution. Shrake (2006) experienced “unmasking” to shed away the layers of other people's stereotyped expectations of her. This involved changing her teaching style to adopt more authority. Akindes (2002) struggled with “imposter syndrome,” and sought to “decolonize” herself after her experience as a colonized person in Hawaii. The Chinese immigrant faculty interviewed by Liang (2006) recounted how they turned their ability to speak multiple languages into an asset: “They turned their linguistic disadvantage and their experiences with it into a resource for their own teaching and for

their students' learning" (p. 99). For all these women faculty, finding their own unique voice was critical to succeeding in the academy.

Finding one's voice is complimented by enlisting mentors. The support of mentors was a significant theme across many of the narratives. One Chinese immigrant faculty explained her relationship with a department chair: "She listened to me, gave me suggestions and backed me up ... I felt really fortunate to have her as my mentor" (Liang, 2006, p. 96). Thomas-George recounts an Asian, gay, male faculty member who mentored her: "I credit that for my career ... He taught me to realize that I'm worth something. He showed me with how to deal with being a faculty of color" (personal communication, October 15, 2011). Rong (2002) recommends that other faculty join her in the "multiple-mentor experience" (p. 238). Different mentors can advise in different areas, such as teaching or politics. Finding the support of mentors made a meaningful difference for these Asian women faculty of color.

Many of the narratives address turning difficult situations with students into teaching moments. As uncomfortable as confrontations can be in the classroom, they opened up opportunities for learning. Faculty also described changing their learning style to a more student-centered approach. Immigrant faculty, for example, utilized visual teaching methods to compliment their speaking (Liang, 2006). A South Asian professor recounted the story of a student who assumed she had bad grammar since she was not originally from the United States, even though she was raised speaking English in a former British colony (Asher, 2006). Her response was at first emotional, but then she told the class, "I will answer the question. But first let's discuss where the question is coming from" (Asher, 2006, p. 163). She shifted the tension in the question into a pedagogical opportunity.

Triumphs

Asian women's presence in the classroom brings unfamiliar perspectives for students at predominantly White institutions. For example, Akindes (2002) taught her students to relearn the history of Japanese internment camps through the perspective of

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the Japanese. One student researched the local camps and rewrote a local newspaper article about the camps from a new historical perspective. Through exposure to new viewpoints, the student was able to expand her horizons and reappropriate history. For Rong (2002), the dominant culture of the university was clearly exclusionary to faculty of color. She challenged the administration to alter policies around curriculum and tenure, and succeeded in making gradual changes to the institutional practices.

Asian women faculty persevere through many challenges and stereotypes to bring unique contributions to the academy. Asian female faculty serve as mentors to students of color and junior faculty of color. Thomas-George explained, "I have Mexican students, Indian students, Black students who say I want to be just like you. Just my presence in the classroom is positive and can make a positive impact on students" (personal communication, October 15, 2011). Asian female faculty bring unique perspectives to institutions, and in some cases bring about social and institutional change. Rong (2002) shares her experiences with others to encourage women of color in higher education: "If I can do it, then you can do it. And you can do it with a sense of humor and forgiveness" (p. 137). Each of the individual narratives draws attention to the unique challenges of Asian women faculty. By sharing their stories, these faculty educate and inspire others to learn from their strategies and triumphs.

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Roles of Black Women and Girls in Education: A Historical Reflection

Brian Arao

As I reflect upon the wide range of course content we have read, written about, and discussed as a class over the past several weeks, a clear and consistent thread runs through it all: the central importance of African American self-agency and persistence in the struggle for access to quality education in the face of equally persistent and constantly changing barriers erected by racism. From the days of slavery, though decades of *de jure* and *de facto* segregation that continued to constrain educational opportunities for Black Americans even after emancipation, to contemporary times in which Black children are still poorly served and underperforming relative to their peers of other racial groups in public schooling, African American commitment to education has remained strong. As Williams (2005) asserts, this unwavering dedication likely springs from the clear equation of education and freedom, originating in the days of slavery and continuing still today, for “the ability to read and write, they knew, could provide them with access to centers of power and could enable them to both shape and gain access to rights for the freedpeople” (p. 47).

I brought to this course my own academic interests in the intersectionality of identity. I value narrowing the scope to focus on particular social identity groups—hence, my enthusiasm for the topic of this course—but I also recognize that no single aspect of our identities exists in isolation from the others. Rather, I believe our identities are overlapping and connected; our experience of one identity can profoundly impact our experience of another, particularly when we account for privilege and oppression. Sometimes, the privileges we receive due to our agent-group identities can mitigate the challenges we experience due to our target-group identities (Jones, 2009). I am particularly interested in the intersections between race and gender. As such, I have paid particular attention throughout this course to

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the roles Black women and girls have played in African American education in the United States, as both teachers and students.

During slavery and the time shortly after its abolition, the salience of gender with respect to education seemed comparatively small by today's standards. Perhaps because of the overwhelming inhumanity and injustice of race-based slavery, race overrode other identity considerations amongst African Americans when it came to education. As a result, Black women and men worked together in unique ways to gain access to education for community members of all genders, despite the fact that antiliteracy statutes in many states made such action punishable by violence and even death (Williams, 2005, pp. 203–210). Often, the gendered division of labor amongst slaves shaped the roles played by Black women in educational efforts. Women who worked in the Master's house were privy to news and other information that they could then share with other enslaved people. For example, Williams (2005) recounts tales of illiterate Black women who memorized the letters in notes and newspapers found in the master's home, and shared them with literate slaves who could then make meaning of the messages and share them with the entire community. These same women also had greater access to literate Whites, including the children of the slave masters, who assisted (sometimes unknowingly) in efforts to advance Black literacy:

Women who worked inside the owner's household could entice their young white charges to pass on what they learned in school. Alice Green recalled that her mother had learned to read by keeping a schoolbook in her bosom all the time and asking the white children to tell her everything they had learned in school each day. In this way she learned enough to teach school once slavery ended. Likewise, Allen Allensworth's mother encouraged him to "play school" with his young master who attended school every day. (Williams, 2005, p. 20)

Following the end of slavery, freedwomen participated in African American education as both teachers and students. For a time, in

fact, women and men alike were believed to have “important roles to play in building black communities” (Williams, 2005, p. 111). This belief was attended by roughly equal enrollment of Black girls and boys in the schools available to their communities, and similar numbers of Black women and men in service as teachers. This phenomenon stood in contrast to schooling trends amongst White Americans, who valued education for boys more than for girls and, paradoxically, amongst whom most teachers were women. Over time, however, sexism, division of domestic labor, and school segregation arrayed particular challenges against Black women and girls in the educational realm. For example, it was challenging for women with children to gain education, although many did so at schools where it was permissible to bring their children along; however, those freedwomen who pursued schooling generally did not have to work full-time outside the home (Williams, 2005, p. 170). In this manner, while there was a philosophical commitment to education for Black women and men alike, the realities created by the sexist expectation that women would maintain the home and raise children made it more difficult for them to access education in the same manner that men could.

African American women and girls were also impacted by school segregation, which maintained that Black and White children must be schooled separately. The court-decision matrix activity we completed in class illuminated the decades of legal struggles against what the Supreme Court would eventually describe in their unanimous decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* as “inherently unequal” (Franklin & Moss, 2000, p. 453) schooling conditions for African American children. After the ruling in the 1899 *Cumming v. School Board of Richmond County, GA* case edified *de jure* segregation within the relevant case law (p. 445), it would be 55 years before the *Brown* decision finally outlawed it. In the interim, smaller but important victories were attained, such as a legal precedent for assuring that Black teachers received salaries equitable to those earned by their White colleagues (p. 447), as well as a Supreme Court ruling that

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states must provide education for all citizens within the state, without regard to race (p. 451).

It bears mentioning here that, though the importance of *Brown v Board of Education* and its positive impact on African American education should never be diminished, little attention has been paid to the myriad ways that White resistance has hamstrung its full implementation. As we learned during Lori's presentation on the film *With All Deliberate Speed* (2004), the Supreme Court's phrasing in its decision allowed for more than two decades of delay in its implementation. Lipsitz (2006) also details this long delay and describes how it "encouraged whites to view the inconvenience of busing as worse than the systematic practices of discrimination that provoked it . . . as if whites were innocent victims of remedies for a disease that did not even exist" (p. 35). These attitudes towards efforts for educational justice persist today in the form of resistance to affirmative action and support for school reforms such as No Child Left Behind which, while demonstrating a degree of positive impact, still fail to bring the achievement of educational outcomes for African American children to par with that of students from other racial groups (Center on Education Policy, 2010).

What, then, is the status of contemporary African American girls and women in the United States' educational system? In reading Thomas and Jackson's (2007) summary of several decades' worth of scholarship about Black women in education, we see that this population has achieved much and provided significant leadership in the field. I enjoyed learning about Lucy Diggs Slowe, a pioneer in the field of student affairs who was one of the first deans of women, and also amongst the first education scholars to articulate the importance of Black female self-authorship in college as an essential component of their preparation for leadership in their communities following graduation (p. 363). Also of significant interest in the article is that, in almost every way, Black girls and women have been found to achieve more academically than Black boys and men. African American girls earn higher grades and test scores than African American boys in

primary and secondary schooling, and graduate at higher rates (p. 366); Black women enter and graduate from college at higher rates, for both undergraduate and graduate degrees (p. 367); and they are more widely represented in the professoriate and postsecondary administration (p. 367). Thomas and Jackson take care to point out that these accomplishments cannot be understood as evidence that Black girls and women do not face unique struggles in American education. For example, they point out that Black girls are much more likely than White children of any gender to feel “too unsafe” to attend school (p. 367). The authors exhort us to conduct more research to explain why Black girls and women have fared better educationally without obscuring ways that they are marginalized in the academy, and while also seeking ways to close the gender achievement gap amongst African American children.

In summary, African American girls and women have persisted since the days of slavery in the United States to become exceptionally accomplished scholars. Moreover, they have done so despite the many obstacles that have threatened, over the course of hundreds of years, to curtail such achievements. As stated by Thomas and Jackson (2007), “the educational advancements of African American women have clearly afforded them opportunities to play a critical role in the empowerment of African American communities and ‘uplift’ of the African American race” (p. 368). In many ways, their shared stories illustrate the veracity of the belief shared by enslaved Africans in the United States that education would be the key to true and enduring freedom. Still, as the scholars cited in this essay agree, we must be careful not to presume that the struggle for equity for African American girls and women is over. Freedom, after all, is a process, not an endpoint; there are still questions to explore as we continue along the journey.

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Epilogue: Why Women of Color Matter in Higher Education

Mary Wardell-Ghirarduzzi

As a practitioner scholar who has made it my life's purpose to create pathways to success by advancing and facilitating the growth, development, and genius of others toward their highest and fullest potential, I can think of no better platform to enhance and shape individual greatness than higher education. Our students, faculty, staff, alumni, and external communities need us to be here and to thrive. Women of color truly matter for higher education.

As I think over the 20 years I have worked in academe, the many students, faculty, and staff who have taught me so much about being a good leader encourage me. Much has changed over the course of time that has informed and shaped my development and experience as an African American executive woman in higher education. Yet one thing I know and am sure of: We need more women of color in higher education today, working across all areas of our campus than ever before. My lens is that of a higher education leader who has been engaged in student development, access, equity, retention, and community engagement for students and faculty for over 20 years in a California higher education context.

In 1993, I worked at a mission-centered public university with a system charged to provide access and support for the enrollment and graduation of a diverse population of residents. State-level resources were allocated to academic-student affirmative-action programs that gave educational access in the form of advisement, aid, and other support for children, youth, and adults who had been left out of the promise of higher education and who were also some of the most marginalized and underresourced members of our community. My work took shape through the following engagement:

(a) Addressing the needs of the children and youth of migrant workers primarily from Mexico or Central America who experienced

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frequent education disruptions due to their families' migratory labor demands and who had little or no engagement from others who would prepare them for college; (b) working with tribal communities and their leaders and parents to reduce student attrition and drop out among Native American teens, finding ways to keep them in school and improve their secondary outcomes and achievement; (c) developing outreach and advisement opportunities for Pacific Islanders, specifically Samoan teens, who had some of the poorest college-going rates among all Asian Pacific Islander groups, and finding ways to promote their college enrollment; (d) finding educational pathways for the alarming number of young teen mothers in the community who were nearly all girls and young women of color and poor, encouraging high school degree-completion programs and moving them into the local community college; and (e) improving the overall enrollment, retention, and graduation rate of college-ready African American and Latino students who were prepared for college entrance yet needed ongoing institutional support in the form of financial aid, and campus life and advising programs to flourish at the university.

We were not focused on student success alone. There were programs in place to support the educational and professional opportunity for scholars of color and women with tuition benefits that would encourage their enrollment in doctorate programs and, upon their completion, opportunities for placement into a university tenure-track appointment. There was an understanding among higher education leaders, even more than 20 years ago, of the importance of investing resources in scholars and women of color, and knowing the return included their important intellectual scholarship, and whose presence, through lived experience and cultural and other identities, was critical to the university community.

Since that time, support for higher education has shifted, as public policy and legislation eliminated targeted support (such as Proposition 209's banning the use of race in student-access programs). As the current model of higher education continues to shift, with public divestment and financial responsibility shifted to students and their

families as well as individual universities, a commitment to mission by leadership is what keeps current diversity efforts in place for students, faculty, and community-engagement initiatives.

The good news is that we here in the academy, women of color, are leading and serving every day to advance our campus missions; in the professorship we are focused on teaching, research, and service; in student development, we serve through student-affairs leadership. Also, we are leading in administrative areas such as business, finance, technology, fundraising, human resources, alumni relations, and legal affairs. I have been fortunate to work with many talented women of color in academe across all areas that literally make a university run, and I know the important contributions and difference we make to our campuses.

Our (women of color) presence and voice is critical and necessary for the 21st-century mission-centered university, as we have historically moved our institutions forward on issues of equity, diversity, and inclusion, and we continue to remind our institutions that a commitment to excellence involves an engagement of diverse individuals who bring new ways of thinking and knowing.

It is through our collective lived experience and combined history that women of color promote an understanding of inclusion that goes beyond current practice or popular rhetoric, and it is our shared narrative of enduring an often life-long engagement with systemic bias and challenges, yet thriving in spite, that can and does advance our campuses toward extraordinary excellence and goodness. We risk rank, position, and reputation to advocate for campus environments that are more just for all. Thus, we lead our institutions—through our presence, performance, and productivity—to more kind, fair, and whole places for teaching, learning, service and social justice.

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Women of Color
Higher Education Resources

Amy Gilgan, Reference Librarian

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Dr. Betty Taylor, former Academic Dean and Executive Officer is a professor in the Department of International and Multicultural Education and teaches courses in Emotional Intelligence and Cultural Competency, Women of Color in Higher Education, RE Conceptualizing Multiculturalism in A Global World, History of the African American Educational Experience, and Dissertation Writing Development.

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