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VOICES AGAINST DISCRIMINATION AND EXCLUSION: LATINO SCHOOL
LEADERS' NARRATIVES FOR CHANGE

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

Doctorate in Educational Leadership

University of San Diego

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Voices Against Discrimination and Exclusion: Latino
School Leaders' Narratives for Change

Dissertation Committee Chair: Dr. Mary Abascal-
Hildebrand, Ed. D.

Many scholars, practitioners, and policy makers know very little about individual Latino administrators' cultural and professional experiences, responses to discrimination, and patterns or institutional conditions which relate to K-12 ethnic minority administrators' success. Moreover, many are also unaware that as ethnic diversity increases, the relative proportion of minority administrators, many of whom could be role models, shrinks. Once we can recognize this as seeds for inequity in society, we might be able to consider the ways in which our educational institution reinforces or counters societal inequities. By specifically exploring Latino administrators' experiences, because of the large Latino California presence, we may gain insight into the larger societal or organizational context. That

data may, in turn, help scholars, practitioners and policy makers become more equitable and democratic. This study is important because, in a heightened way, educators and other public officials are charged with drawing forth and making real what we represent: the democratic ideal.

Through a qualitative multiple-case study approach, I carried out a series of in-depth interviews for exploring Latino administrators' experiences and understandings related to white privilege, inequities and the challenges to democracy in K-12 education. The data suggests that the participants work in educational settings which are often characterized by blunt and persistent exclusion. Nonetheless, in spite of many obstacles, participants appear to have achieved both cultural integrity and professional advancement without remaining limited by the isolation created by white privilege. In many cases, subjects are educational or professional pioneers, carving their own paths and building their own support networks for other Latinos' benefit.

Researcher's Note	v
Dedication	vi
CHAPTER 1: THE PROBLEM.....	1
Statement of the Problem	1
Background of the Problem	2
Importance and Purpose of the Study.....	7
Research Questions.....	9
Assumptions Related to the Study.....	9
Delimitations of the Study.....	10
Specific Terminology.....	10
CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.....	13
Introduction.....	13
Historical Perspective on the Problem.....	14
Exclusion	17
Overt Exclusion	18
Covert Exclusion	20
Sociological Analysis	23
Interrelated Literature Topics	29
Individual Perspective	29
Group Perspective	36
Institutional Perspective	41
Integrative Review.....	49
Summary.....	52

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY.....	57
Introduction.....	57
Methodological Overview.....	58
Validity and Reliability.....	60
Data Collection.....	60
Entry to the Population.....	61
Selection of Subjects.....	62
Protection of Subjects.....	65
Interview Process	66
Data Analysis.....	67
Researcher Background	69
Summary.....	71
CHAPTER IV: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA...74	
Introduction	74
Participation Profiles	78
Rudy Castruita	78
Christine Aranda-Smith	79
Maida Torres-Stanovic	81
Martin Jacquez	82
Jess Martinez	84
Luis Maestre	85
Olivia Leschick	87
George Cameron	88
Manuel Paul	90

Joe Brosz	92
Libby Gil	93
Irma Castro	95
Julian Lopez	96
Tony Alfaro	98
Data Presentation	99
Introduction	99
Pride in Cultural Identity	101
Heritage	101
Exclusion	103
Allies	108
Biculturalization	111
Meaning of Being a Latino Administrator ..	119
Exclusion	119
Individual Response	124
Isolation	131
Insiders	135
Organizational Transformation	141
Latino Administrative Efforts	141
Obstacles	146
Preliminary Signs of Transformation...	148
Theorizing About Organizational Transformation.....	149
Dialogical Data Analysis	153
Final Reflections.....	165

CHAPTER V: CONCLUSION.....	170
Overview	171
Study Questions	172
What is Latino culture worth in U.S. society?.....	172
What does it mean to be a Latino K-12 administrator in San Diego County?	173
How can school leaders revise their practices so that greater democracy undergirds institutional administrative practices?	176
Further Reflections on Biculturalization	178
Supplemental Model Analysis.....	182
Theoretical Model Presentation	189
Pioneer Development Model.....	192
Organizational Transformation Model	195
Conclusions	200
Recommendations	202
References	204
Appendices	

Researcher's Note

I must acknowledge how much more respect and admiration I, as a researcher, have developed for these subjects. I heard stories of adaptability, perseverance through hardships, higher moral/ethical ground, dedication to democracy, various dealings with white privilege/ dominant culture, and extreme hard work. I believe that these are people, who effectively move our educational systems forward toward democracy and integrity, and without whom we would see educational regression towards great exclusion and inequality for many students, particularly Latinos. I am honored to have been a part of this exploration.

In addition, I would like to thank the participants for their honesty in sharing so many painful reflections, which added to the clarity of the study. As I noted how significant small acts of kindness were to them in their development, I found myself celebrating what may seem to be small signs of organizational transformation in their stories. Without a doubt, their stories have encouraged me to continue in this dissertation and in my own career development process. Thank you.

Dedication

I dedicate this work primarily to God, Philomena and my wonderful children for their unending love and support. I also wish to honor my parents for their example of self-sacrifice and perseverance and all who work for peace and justice.

CHAPTER 1: THE PROBLEM

Statement of the Problem

The number of minority students in San Diego County has grown 78% in the past 15 years, while minority administrative numbers have shrunk to 10% relative to the ethnic population (SDCOE, 1995). One common explanation for the proportional divergence is that there are not enough qualified minorities to fill the needed role model seats. Another more substantial explanation, however, is that the individual, group and institutional factors (Rudolfo Acuna, 1988; Ronald Takaki, 1993; James Scheurich, 1993) that make up a racially intolerant society affect both minority students and professionals through indirect or second generational discrimination (Antonia Darder, 1995; Luis Fraga, 1986; Kenneth Meier and Joseph Stewart, 1991; Ricardo Stanton-Salazar, 1997).

As the Latino population in San Diego County increases, the availability of Latino administrators decreases. Why is this second generational discrimination significant for educational and societal democracy? Some quantitative research literature adds to our

understanding that there is a positive relationship between minorities in policy making roles and minority students' academic success (Fraga, 1986; Minerva Gorena, 1996; Meier and Stewart, 1991; Elizabeth Vallance, 1980). However, this study proposes an in depth dialogic approach for examining Latino administrators' personal and professional experiences regarding Latino leaders' apparent limited professional success. As a result of this examination, readers and participants in this study may have a greater understanding of how to implement renewed educational equity practices at individual, group and institutional levels.

Background of the Problem

San Diego County carries many signs of a social climate that is hostile towards Latinos and other groups that are perceived by dominant socio-cultural members as outsiders. In California, Proposition 163 (Official English), Proposition 187 (Anti-immigrant rights) and Proposition 209 (Anti-Affirmative Action Initiative) were passed by a solid voting majority. Particular to schools, Governors Deukmejian and Wilson and the current State Board of Education members have dismantled

statewide bilingual education mandates, leaving local school boards to evaluate and implement bilingual education programs as they wish. At this writing, a petition known as the Unz Initiative has gained enough signatures to place it on the June, 1998 statewide ballot. If passed, this initiative would officially strike down bilingual education in California in its entirety.

While many obviously believe these political initiatives are appropriate, many others see such legislation as undermining democracy. Perhaps the adage, "Where one stands on an issue depends on where one sits," relates to such divergent beliefs and political decision-making. Specifically, white privilege relates to the cultural, political, professional, and other advantages that Euro-Americans, or White people, regardless of class, can generally enjoy and take for granted. This concept will be fully developed in chapter two.

In a society based on white privilege, people of color do not generally experience the privilege of being accepted or supported readily by the dominant culture within society (Michael Apple, 1992; Darder, 1991; Darder, 1995; Mary Romero,

1997; Stanton-Salazar, 1997). Yet for dominant culture members, this acceptance and support is automatic and develops, in theory, as a stone dropped in water which produces concentric circles, (Appendix A). Individual beliefs and actions influence, shape, and are reinforced by group beliefs and actions, which, in turn, produce institutional policies and practices.

Consequently, those whose beliefs are reflected in policy, such as the abovementioned initiatives, would relate consistently to U.S. dominant culture; likewise, those who identify with dominant culture group beliefs and practices (Don Locke, 1992) are those most likely to experience privilege, albeit unconsciously (Paolo Freire, 1985; Peggy McIntosh, 1989; James Scheurich, 1993).

In the broader context of oppression, Freire (1985) would say that, because of privilege, dominant culture members actually resist change toward equity. Privilege, therefore, is the gatekeeper of consciousness which underlies inequity and the implicit hostility in symbolic violence. Richard Delgado (1995) extends Freire's discussion of privilege and suggests that in our

dominant culture, those who experience privilege are metaphorically infected with a white supremacist consciousness so that even liberal, privileged, social reformers cannot effectively move beyond self serving and inequitable de jure (e.g., political referenda) and de facto social structures (Darder, 1994; Scheurich, 1993; Kenwyn Smith, 1990).

The current hostility that many Latinos experience is not new. Since colonial times, Euro-Americans who enjoyed dominant social status have benefited from individual, group, and institutional racism (Robert Bellah, 1992; Shadow of Hate, 1994; Anti Defamation League, 1993). More relevant to this study, a recent report by the Anti-Defamation League Hate Crimes Commission revealed a 17% rise in local hate crimes since 1995 (see Appendix B for the relationship between individual prejudice and hate crimes). The documentation of white supremacy groups in forty-seven of the fifty states and the increasing attacks on gays/lesbians and people of color illustrate the pervasiveness of our current societal intolerance problem (ADL, 1996a).

Symbolic violence, prejudice and dominant group intolerance, the predecessors to hate crimes, also affect minority individuals and minority groups. For instance, Finns in Sweden, Maori in New Zealand, Buraku caste and students of Korean decent in Japan, and Irish Catholics in Belfast, show poor self-esteem, socio-economic and academic success. But these same group members prosper when they move to countries whose dominant culture members do not attach a marginality stigma to them (Sonia Nieto, 1996; James Crawford, 1995).

Relative to this study, Latino administrators analogously live and work in an often hostile climate in which they face a particular challenge: to advocate for culturally responsive instructional and curricular practices, as well as policy changes which enhance all students', including minority students', success; and to maintain professional and political support in the dominant culture for advancement in the profession in the face of such hostility. Given such a challenge, it seems unlikely that Latino administrators can experience both cultural integrity and professional advancement without

experiencing and becoming limited by the isolation created by white privilege.

Importance and Purpose of the Study

Race theory and journalism have often focused on African-American experiences in educational and societal arenas (David Coursen, 1989; Dinesh D'Souza, 1995; Andrew Hacker, 1992; Studs Terkel, 1992), rather than extending attention to the Latino population. Even research related to Latino educators (Raymond Castro and Yolanda Rodriguez Ingle, 1993; Darder, 1995) offers little understanding or agreement about Latino administrative leaders.

The purpose of this particular study is threefold: to bring many theoretical analyses to life by examining the details of Latino administrators' lived experiences (D. Jean Clandinin, 1988; Elliot Mishler, 1986, Vallance, 1980); to give voice to many Latino leaders as they examine their own experiences of privilege and its relationship to equity, as well as education and its relationship to democratic ideals (Clandinin, 1993; Friere, 1985; Smith, 1990; John Stanfield, 1994); and finally, to better understand the hidden dynamics related to

exclusion in the recruitment and retention of school leaders (Apple, 1980; Mario Barrera, 1979; Judith Katz, 1989; Romero, 1997; Stanton-Salazar, 1997).

My hopes are: that this study will help readers understand the context and meaning of Latino culture in public education; that the format of the study will create a group dialogue that will expand participants' understanding of their own experiences and engender support for one another; and that this study will help readers to recognize the dynamics of exclusion and inequities related to white privilege in society so that they might be able to look at the ways that educational institutions reinforce or counter societal inequities (see Chapter 5). In short, as participants and readers can recognize inequities in one part of the educational community, they might be able to find ways to influence the educational community as a whole, and even larger segments of society, toward responsible organizational change.

Research Questions

I began this dissertation proposal with the following guiding research questions: "What is Latino culture worth in U.S. society? How is Latino culture manifested particularly in school leadership contexts? How can school leaders revise their practices so that greater democracy undergirds institutional administrative practices?"

However, through the open-ended dialogical data gathering process, a more probing second question developed: Given current social, political, and educational turmoil, what does it mean to be a Latino K-12 administrator in San Diego County? The analysis of the data will focus on the participants' critique of such experiences as Latino administrators.

Assumptions Related to the Study

I bring two major assumptions to this study. The first is that white privilege and its manifestations, discrimination and exclusion, are widespread and embedded in our educational system.

The second is related. As a result of white privilege, Latino administrators in predominantly

white, middle class contexts are less likely to experience professional success unless they manifest dominant culture characteristics.

Delimitations of the Study

This study demanded a particular focus. As a study which highlights participants' narratives, I did not discuss the Chicano movement's rich social and political history in the Southwest per se. Likewise, I did not deal with many other ethnic experiences at the analysis level they deserve.

In addition, this study does not presume to have captured a monolithic Latino voice. Rather, it is a mosaic of Latino/a administrators whose voices and experiences of both strength and constraint are framed by their experience with a common dominant culture, and social and political climate.

Specific Terminology

American: Relating to popular usage and referring to dominant culture (i.e., Euro-American).

Bicultural competency: The ability to advocate for, speak as a member of and be accepted

as a member of two cultural groups. This comes after developing awareness, sensitivity and internalized appreciation for both groups.

Cultural democracy: The institutional support for all cultural voices to be heard and integrated within the changing culture and history of the institution. Such a transformation includes the redistribution of material and nonmaterial benefits within the academy as well as the transformation of ideological tenets which systematically marginalize the participation of people of color, women, gays and lesbians, and the working class. (Darder, 1994, p.21)

Culture: The ever-changing values, traditions, social and political relationships, and worldview created and shared by a group of people bound together by a combination of factors (which can include a common history, geographic location, language, social class, and/ or religion), and how these are transformed by those who share them. (Nieto, 1996, p.390)

Discrimination: The behavior that can follow prejudicial thinking, often seen as the denial of justice and fair treatment. (ADL, 1996b)

Equity: Fairness which promotes the real possibility of equality of outcomes for a broader range of societal members. (Nieto, 1996, p.390)

Latino: People of Latin American and Caribbean heritage. Unlike its predecessor, Hispanic, which highlighted an identification with European conquistadors, the term Latino focuses on a positive identification with indigenous culture. Latino may be used with other terms such as Chicano or Mexican-American, Guatemalan, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Panamanian, etc..

Symbolic violence: The way in which the power relations of the dominant society are maintained in the school or larger society primarily through interpersonal relations, curriculum or other institutionalized, non-physical means to limit access to power, prestige or goods. (Nieto, 1996, p. 392)

White privilege: The cultural, political, professional, etc. advantages that Euro-Americans or White people can generally enjoy and take for granted in a dominant culture setting.

CHAPTER II: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

There is a natural prejudice which prompts men to despise whomsoever has been their inferior long after he is become their equal; and the real inequality which is produced by fortune or by law is always succeeded by an imaginary inequality which is implanted in the manners of the people (Alexis de Tocqueville, 1875 vol. 1, pp. 362-363).

Introduction

In a 1996 Texaco scandal, African American workers were categorically overlooked for recognition or promotion; this was documented by taped, racist discussions among Texaco administrators. This documentation of racism appears unusual in that we do not have many blatant examples regarding the retention and promotion of leaders of color. Likewise, we have little documentation which clearly connects patterns of inequity related to Latino administrators and how this might constrain their contributions to educational policy or the social good.

Richard Delgado (1995) and Roberto Haro (1990) examine more subtle practices than Texaco, wherein, after considering both minority and dominant societal members, search committees

choose the Euro-American (male) candidate (Sari Biklen, 1980; Yolanda Moses, 1989; David Wilson, 1992). In this context, I ask, "What is Latino culture worth in this society and in its educational contexts? Given current social, political, and educational turmoil, what does it mean to be a Latino K-12 administrator in San Diego County? How can schools revise their practices so that greater democracy undergirds institutional practices?" Learning about equity related to Latinos is especially significant in the U.S. Southwest, where demographics point to significant shifts towards Latinos becoming the majority racial group (Gorena, 1996; Alberto Ochoa, 1997; Quality Education For Minorities Research Project, 1990; San Diego County Office of Education, 1995; Takaki, 1993).

Historical Perspective on the Problem

Our national history is rife with examples of individuals and groups being discriminated against based on their "difference" from the majority group members (Acuna, 1988; Barrera, 1979; Fraga, 1986; Meier and Stewart, 1991; Michael Olivas,

1995; Takaki, 1993). Furthermore, Bellah (1992) describes how our national dominant culture identity is based upon the myth of meritocracy and fairness. As our history reveals horrible incongruities between myth and reality, our current social experiences reveal racial and cultural inequity and conflicting belief systems.

For example, national Anti-Defamation League studies reveal the following: 83% of Blacks vs. 47% of Whites believe that a White person is more likely than an equally qualified Black person to be hired for any given job. 71% of Blacks believe that, compared with Whites, African Americans do not receive equal pay for equal work. 63% percent of Whites believe that Blacks receive equal pay for equal work (ADL, 1993, p.2-3).

Consistent with dominant culture perspective, Dinesh D'souza asserts (1996) that race relations in the United States have improved in the last generation. However, various other writers (Delgado, 1995; Hacker, 1992; Terkel, 1992) concur with a major Anti-Defamation League survey on racial attitudes in the United States that found 77% of Americans believe that race relations are either not as good, or poor; 60% feel that racial

tensions have increased in recent years; 58% feel that the U.S. is facing a long-term period of increasing racial and ethnic tensions (ADL, 1992).

What does this mean for Latino administrators in Southern California? Latino administrative numbers remain at a current 10% while 53.9% of all K-12 school children are minorities and 33.2% of all students are Latino (SDCOE, 1995). It would appear that fewer bicultural role models and community representatives are in positions to serve an increasingly diverse population. According to Judith Katz (1989), individual, group and institutional shifts from overt discrimination or exclusion to covert or passive monocultural dominance (Romero, 1997; Stanton-Salazar, 1997) may explain how few Latinos are represented in these historically dominant culture filled roles (see Appendix D).

The following literature review represents a detailed look at exclusion and other substantive issues related to this study in the following order: exclusion, white privilege, Latino experience, democracy and education, and organizational change. Given a thorough examination of various contributing factors to

educational inequities regarding Latino K-12 administrative experiences, the literature suggests that this study is significant in order to better understand and transform the institutionalization of exclusion in recruiting and retaining school leaders.

Exclusion

Part of what this study explores is exclusion relative to Latino K-12 administrators. While the literature review helps clarify various aspects of this phenomenon in general, it is also important to examine this particular aspect of the study. However, one of the difficulties in this discussion is that the majority of documentation regarding minority exclusion in education and/or educational administration relates to women in general or African-Americans.

In the literature on school administrators, "minority" is virtually synonymous with "black." This fact alone defines the status of Hispanics, Native Americans, and all other racial minority groups, who are denied even a token consideration. . . There is an urgent need for studies that will correct this imbalance and for more timely and comprehensive data collection efforts. (Coursen, 1989, 6.)

Although, to my knowledge, no formal literature exists to document the exclusion of

Latino K-12 administrators, conventional wisdom tells us that the practices exist. Nonetheless, the following literature illuminates overt and covert aspects of exclusion related to Latino administrators (and consequences for school children and society at large). In the following section, I present examples of overt and covert exclusion relative to African Americans, women and Latinos in educational administration. This summary is followed by a sociological analysis relative to Latino exclusion.

Overt Exclusion

An early example of African-American leadership dates to the 1802, when the Quaker-sponsored Institute of Colored Youth in Philadelphia retained black principals (Jones, E. & Montenegro, X.P., 1983). In addition, for many years, the Jim Crow laws both restricted African-American students to segregated and inferior schools and helped African-American administrators obtain leadership positions in those same schools. It took the fourteenth amendment to formally assert and protect African-Americans' civil rights.

Women, in a similar manner, held 97% of the teaching positions and 61% of the principalships at the elementary level, but 64% of the teaching positions and only 6% of the principalships at the high school level in 1905 (Shakeshaft, C., 1989). Biklen (1980) identifies nineteenth century group and institutional sentiments about women, which have remained institutionalized in academia to some degree today (Carol Gilligan, 1982). For example:

Edward Clarke's *Sex in Education*, published in 1874, predicted that women who went to college would become insane or sterile because protracted study would take energy from the ovaries and give it to the brain. . . The Springfield Republican, for example, noted in 1835 the founding of a new "female college" in Kentucky. . . The editor then suggested other possible degrees: M.P.M. (Mistress of Pudding Making), M.D.N. (Mistress of the Darning Needle), M.S.B. (Mistress of the Scrubbing Brush), M.C.S. (Mistress of Common Sense).
(Bilken, 1980, 1)

As outrageous as the previous quote may appear today about women, Latinos in the United States have experienced similar treatment. De jure segregation was commonly practiced against Latinos after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 (Acuna, 1988; Crawford, 1995; Ochoa, 1997). A significant change came in what has been

documented by Paul Espinoza in "The Lemon Grove Incident." In 1931, in Lemon Grove, California, the parents of 75 Chicano children refused to send their children to an all-Mexican school built for them by the school board.

The parents sued the Lemon Grove Schools and won (ironically supported by the legal construct that Latinos were Caucasian). This case contributed to the end of educational segregation against Latinos and provided a precedent for the 1954 landmark case, *Brown vs. Board of Education* (Acuna, 1988).

Covert Exclusion

Covert exclusion is a complex and often intangible and/or misunderstood phenomenon, which both leads to and persists in the absence of de jure racial exclusivity. Covert exclusion occurs more at group/ informal and individual level of the concentric circles diagram (Appendix A). For example, in 1954, the Supreme Court outlawed *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, which had allowed for racial segregation. However, as a result of southern compliance with the *Brown* decision, the number of African-American K-12 school principals in thirteen southern and border states dropped more

than 90%. Indeed, Coursen (1989) states that it is almost as rare for an African-American to be appointed superintendent in a "white" district today as it was prior to the Brown decision.

The history of women as educational leaders reflects a similar exclusionary pattern in the absence of overt policies excluding women from opportunities to lead (Apple, 1980; Apple, 1992; Biklen, 1980; Coursen, 1989). According to the National Education Association in 1973, women comprised 67% of all teachers, but held only 14% of all principalships. On the other hand, men, who comprised only 16% of elementary school teachers, held 80% of the elementary school principalships. Finally, whereas half of secondary school teachers were women, men held 97% of the junior high principalships and 99% of the high school principalships (Biklen, 1980).

Moreover, outside of the educational workforce, the average full-time working man, with only a high school diploma, has been found to earn more than the average full-time working woman with a college diploma. For African American, Asian American and Latina women, the pay inequity situation is even worse (Gorena, 1996). In

addition, Wilson, in his review of business practices, highlights significant gender equity patterns, such as the following:

Finally, image, language and symbolic behaviour in organizations (again the very stuff of organizational culture) have an impact upon the question of gender in organizational change. For women who do break through the glass ceiling, the decisions they make are far more open to questioning of their judgment by male staff than if the decisions had been made by a man. . . . that even when women adopt roles and exhibit behaviour normatively encouraged in male managers, their behaviour is viewed as suspicious and open to question. (1992, 64)

Lastly, the Latino community experience of covert educational exclusion is perhaps the most dramatic and dangerous in current U.S. experience. To emphasize the colossal significance of the Latino communities' educational crisis, I compare national and local demographics. Between 1980-1990, the Latino population in the United States increased by 53% from 14.6 million to 22.4 million. Demographic projections indicate that the Latino population in the United states will increase to approximately 64.2 million by the year 2040 (Gorena, 1996). Locally, Latino administrative numbers remain at a current 10% while 53.9% of all K-12 school children are

minorities and 33.2% of all students are Latino (SDCOE, 1995). A statement from a recent Latino Summit 2000 report illustrates some of the conditions which affect both Latino students and administrators:

Schools have a dismal track record in providing Latino/ Chicano and low income youth with the necessary skills to have access to the world of work. Over 40% of our Latino/ Chicano youth drop out of school, while another 30% receive a high school diploma with academic deficiencies that make them underskilled and underemployed. Of the remaining 30%, only 15% enter college, and about 5% eventually receive a B.A. Degree (Ochoa, 1997).

Sociological Analysis

Before exploring both the "what" and the "how" of exclusion specifically against Latino K-12 educational administrators, it may be instructive to examine, from a sociological approach, what seems to maintain a de facto manifestation of exclusion for "minorities", or people who are perceived as outsiders (Apple, 1992; Darder, 1995; Gorena, 1996; Romero, 1997; Stanton-Salazar, 1997) in general.

While some authors (Jonathan Kozol, 1991; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1964) understand this invisible dynamic as rooted in economics or class,

others identify it as a hidden academic and social curriculum more problematically related to education (Darder, 1995; Lisa Delpit, 1988; Romero, 1997; Vallance, 1980). In either case, a common sociological construct, correspondence theory, posits that there is a mirror image relationship between the norms and values taught in school and those required in the economy (Apple, 1990). In other words,

A "society" needs docile workers; schools, through their social relations and covert teaching, roughly guarantee the production of such docility. Obedient workers in the labor market are mirrored in the "marketplace of ideas" in the school. (Apple, 1990)

In addition, Apple (1980) and Romero (1992) note that many argue that this hidden curriculum is in fact differentiated: lower-class students are taught punctuality, neatness, respect for authority, and other elements of habit formation. Advanced class students are taught intellectual open-mindedness, problem solving, flexibility, etc.. However, Apple specifically dismisses this correspondence theory as simplistic, arguing that students or labor subordinates are not passive when treated demeaningly. (In addition, this interpretation represents an industrial paradigm

or dominant culture analysis, which tends to utilize a more individualistic than interpersonal or holistic perspective.)

Stanton-Salazar (1997) would basically agree with Apple that pure correspondence theory is simplistic. On the other hand, he and others (Darder, 1991; Delgado, 1995; Delpit, 1988; Romero, 1997; and Scheurich, 1993) would emphatically assert that cultural and racial differences between the institutional gatekeeper and the student/subordinate are significant. These cultural differences relate to the gatekeepers' willingness to include the student/ subordinate in the networks that develop social capital necessary for success in the dominant culture. In other words, the stronger the cultural similarities between the mentor and mentee, the more likely the mentee will be successful (See Appendix F).

Specifically, Stanton-Salazar examines the role that relationships play between youth and institutional agents, such as teachers and counselors, in the process of developing social capital and institutional support.

[T]he potential for institutional promotion and individual mobility is elevated on the basis of the student's early (homespun) attitudes, abilities, and behaviors, and on the congruence of these traits with "universalistic" institutional standards. The greater this congruence, the greater the probability that the student will internalize the proper academic norms and values and exhibit the proper motivational dispositions, which in turn heighten the probability that teachers and academically oriented peers, acting as significant others, will identify the individual as having "talent" and communicate high expectations while providing moral support and encouragement. (1997, 2)

A substantial commonality among various authors is that a great deal depends on the role of the institutional gatekeepers: those who influence evaluation, recognition and reward students and future official leaders. Romero (1997) noted that in graduate schools, this socialization process is typically called "professionalization."

Furthermore, Apple (1992) contributes the idea that class transcends socio-economic status and can itself be considered as culture. This would help explain how some apparent "outsiders" would more readily access the network of social capital which Stanton-Salazar describes.

One of the seminal characteristics of many dominant culture members is individualism (Don Locke, 1992). Therefore, we need to examine the ways individualism may influence the various social and educational mentor and mentee relationships. For this purpose, and perhaps most importantly, we must acknowledge the power and role of individualism as a central, dominant, U.S., cultural ideology. An individualistic orientation is a crucial aspect of modern or industrial paradigms, which many identify in military practices (Allison, 1971; Schattschneider, 1975), in business practices (Hofstede, 1994; Wilson, 1992), in education (James Cummins, 1996; Delpit, 1988; Romero, 1997) and in society at large (Acuna, 1988; Barrera, 1979; Bellah, 1991; Fraga, 1986; Phillip Hwang, 1995; John Locke, 1986; Don Locke, 1992; Meier & Stewart, 1991; Olivas, 1995; Takaki, 1993).

An individualistic ideology relates to ethic of justice applications, which do not account for a heterogeneous culture or organization (Gilligan, 1982; Starratt, 1996). In addition, many writers warn about and/or highlight individualism running rampant and undermining our social interdependence

and democratic fabric (Bellah, 1991; de Tocqueville, 1875; Hwang, 1995; Weisbord, 1992).

Furthermore, with individualism as a dominant culture characteristic (Bellah, 1991; Delgado, 1995; Locke, 1992) it is understandable that many dominant culture members do not see the connection between individualism, dominant culture and societal discrimination (Hwang, 1995; Beverly Tatum, 1992). In fact, an individualistic belief system itself seems to hide the existence of dominant culture groups. Scheurich, however, makes the connection between individualism and white privilege clear:

The problem with individualism, though is that it hides the inequities in our social structures, especially racial inequities. It also hides the fact that "prejudice, discrimination, and racism do not require [individual] intention". (1993, 7).

Scheurich's insight helps explain how racism, in particular, has been inflicted upon minorities and maintained through inaction almost subconsciously (Acuna, 1988; Barrera, 1979; Fraga, 1986; Meier & Stewart, 1991; Olivas, 1995; Takaki, 1993).

Therefore, an unchecked U.S. individualism-based future, in light of growing diversity (SDCOE, 1995) seems linked to anti-democratic behavior: inequity, oppression, exclusion and lack of solicitude or justice (Bellah, 1985; Bellah, 1992; Hwang, 1995; Ricoeur, 1992).

Interrelated Literature Topics

The following literature review represents a detailed look at other substantive issues related to this study: white privilege, Latino experience, democracy and education, and organizational change. I have organized the readings by individual, group and institutional applications of the topics (Appendix A), except for Democracy and Education, which is only discussed at the institutional level. I also provide an integrative review of the three levels in order to highlight the complexity and interaction among each issue.

Individual Perspective

According to Stephanie Wildman and Adrienne Davis (1995), Euro-Americans do not look at the world through a filter of racial awareness. This ability to ignore race, when white is the dominant race, is a privilege, a societal advantage. Nonetheless, Euro-Americans, spend a lot of time

trying to convince themselves and each other that they are not racist. Peggy McIntosh (1989) likewise asserts that white privilege puts white people at an advantage. The concept of white privilege extends other writers' discussions of privilege, wherein those who most closely resemble those in positions of power are insiders who then benefit from support, acceptance, normalcy and information (Delpit, 1988; Freire, 1985; Scheurich, 1993; Christine Sleeter, 1994).

At an individual level, white privilege is a person's perception that whiteness "is natural and standard" (Citron, 1971). After incorporating individualism as a dominant cultural lens (Locke, 1992; Bellah, 1991) it is understandable that many dominant culture members do not see the connection to societal discrimination (Hwang, 1995; Tatum, 1992).

In a similar line of thinking, Albert Einstein is attributed to have said, "Few people are capable of expressing with equanimity opinions which differ from the prejudices of their social environment. Most people are even incapable of forming such opinions." Henry Gireaux (1992), however, challenges this notion of a self-

reflective limitation and urges his fellow white, middle-class educators to recognize their own "politics of . . . location" and address issues of racism, sexism and class issues. In other words, it is possible and necessary for dominant culture members to advocate effectively for equity once they recognize their own privilege.

This lack of awareness of being privileged fits Janet Helms' description of a Euro-American in a Contact stage, wherein a person is not aware of being white or does not identify as such. In addition, such a person assumes that racism is not systemic, but rather individual acts of meanness. Helms describes six stages in which white people from predominantly Euro-American dominant culture backgrounds come to recognize and take responsibility for white privilege and societal inequities: Contact, Disintegration, Reintegration, Pseudo-Independent, Immersion/Emersion, and Autonomy (Appendix C; Tatum, 1992).

Equity in the context of Helm's first two stages focuses on the individual level. These individuals may rationalize discrimination as treating individuals according to individual situations or as intelligence based on statistics

(D'Souza, 1995). In other words, an African-American taxi driver makes an intelligent decision (self-preservation) by not picking up an African-American in a poor urban area.

However, at the latter stages in the Helm's model (Tatum, 1992), it is more likely for a Euro-American to recognize Andrew Hacker's (1992) conclusion that white skin was worth approximately one million dollars a year to white students who faced the hypothetical experience of becoming African-American overnight.

A snapshot of white privilege has been captured in a 1991 ABC Prime Time Live broadcast, True Colors. In the experiment, two men, identical in age, socio-economic status, college education, dress, and goals, etc. tried to accomplish a list of tasks: buy a car, get information or change, get service in a restaurant, etc. One participant was Euro-American, the other African-American. The African-American consistently got charged more, waited longer and received less positive attention than his counterpart.

At the individual perception level, the differentiated outcomes could be interpreted as different treatment based on individual

situations. In other words, people at Helm's first stages of racial identity development (or from an individualistic perspective) do not see racism patterns in group or institutional levels; they might believe that individuals caused their own poor outcomes.

On the other hand, how do Latinos experience white privilege? By turning to Latino experiences, I hope to enable the reader to identify both the separateness and interrelationship among Latino experiences and the dominant culture.

There is no monolithic Latino experience. Yet, in the context of white privilege, Latinos and other people of color experience a similar racial or ethnic identity development process as Euro-Americans (Tatum, 1992). Cross' identity development stages for people of color (Tatum, 1992) parallels Solis' four-step process (Darder, 1991; Solis, 1981) which I explain using modified transactional analysis terminology: "I'm OK, you're OK/ cultural security; I'm not OK, you're OK/ assimilation; I'm OK, you're not OK/ ethnocentrism; How can we work together?/biculturalization" (See Appendix E).

Richard Rodriguez, for many dominant culture members, has long exemplified proof of assimilation success. For many Latinos, Rodriguez represents a dominant culture assimilated, anti-bilingual education/ affirmative action Latino proponent. Luis Rodriguez' life, on the other hand, offers us a dramatic example of cultural identity development which resists assimilation in the context of white supremacy (1993). Both successful writers are rare examples of cultural survivors in an anti-Latino environment.

Gloria Anzaldua (1996) and Linda Chavez (1991) offer us two Latina perspectives of racial or ethnic identity development. Chavez, like Richard Rodriguez, has identified closely with dominant culture and has been an outspoken proponent of English only and anti-Affirmative Action policies. Rodriguez and Chavez exemplify Cross' Pre-encounter stage (Tatum, 1992), or stage 2 of Solis' model (Solis, 1981; Appendix E). Anzaldua and Luis Rodriguez, by contrast, show many signs of being bicultural: advocating for less privileged members of their community, effectively functioning in both cultures, seeing themselves and being seen by community members as

part of the community. These two authors reflect Cross' Internalization stage, or Solis' biculturalization stage 4.

In short, Rodriguez and Chavez support or maintain a monoculturalism; Anzaldua and Luis Rodriguez, by being biculturally competent, would advocate for organizational transformation and/or cultural pluralism. At an individual level, they serve as examples of how organizational transformation operates.

A more theoretical discussion of organizational change at the individual level begins with a look at individual leadership in various interpretations. I find it striking that, in the context of organizational change, most highly lauded leadership writers (Burns, 1978; DePree, 1992; Joseph Rost, 1991) speak of leadership with no mention of race or ethnic culture.

In summary, the century began with the great man theory (Joseph Rost, 1992). After that, attribute theory (Bennis, 1985; Calder, 1977) and facilitation theory (Morgan, 1982) came to be understood as leadership. In short, leadership studies (Max DePree 1992; James MacGregor Burns,

1978) reinforce the idea that leadership is often understood as very good or very nice management done or initiated by an individual. This management descriptor list is instructive as it represents dominant culture, maintains monocultural practices and conflicts with cultural pluralism and with Latino leadership values and/or style.

Group Perspective

Privilege at a group level recalls the "good old boys club" (Barrera, 1979; Delgado, 1995; Haro, 1990; Katz, 1989, Appendix D: the Club; Romero, 1997; Scheurich, 1993; Takaki, 1993). In schools, minorities may experience an incongruity between home or individual culture and school culture and come to internalize inadequacy (Cummins, 1996; Delpit, 1988; Rodriguez, 1993). Dominant culture members, on the other hand, are more likely to experience the privilege of internalizing normalcy, trustworthiness, credibility, competency (McIntosh, 1989) and, most importantly, promotion (Apple, 1990; Delgado, 1995; Haro, 1990; Stanton-Salazar, 1997).

While Latino experiences encompass various Latino groups, the overall educational carnage and subsequent lack of professional success for Latinos generally fits what some writers refer to as an "involuntary immigrant's" experience, i.e., one who has been conquered or colonized (Acuna, 1988; Crawford, 1995; C. F. Leyba, 1986; Nieto, 1996). In the Southwest, Latinos primarily include individuals of Mexican descent, although other Central and South Americans identify as Latinos as well.

The following represent some commonalties, which relate to the involuntary immigrant experience among Latinos: a two-generation pattern of language loss (in all parts of the United states except the Rio Grande Valley) (Crawford, 1995; Hilda Hernandez, 1997); an 85% urban upbringing; a 70% segregated educational K-12 experience; a 40% rate of leaving school before graduation (Hernandez, 1997).

What are some of the Latino culture traditional values that may be lost in organizations where Latinos experience so much segregation and so many do not continue in the academic process? Latino culture traditionally

includes respeto, a heightened deference toward elders, and family, community, ethnic group and extended family identification. Care for these others may supersede maintaining externally imposed values, such as time commitments.

In addition, many traditional cultural values may conflict with U.S. dominant cultural values: work as a necessity for survival vs. work as a value in itself; responsibility as attending to needs of others vs. responsibility as punctuality; goals as they relate to helping all people vs. goals which accumulate material goods; indirect communication, which maintains harmony vs. directness or argument (Locke, 1992).

The immigration flow between the United States has been constant, thereby maintaining varied group identities for Mexican Americans. Acuna (1988) and Meier & Stewart, (1991) would agree with Marilyn Davis (1990), when she says,

When U.S. industry or agriculture, in peace or war, needs labor they open a door to the south. Be it wide or slightly ajar, even at the side, back, or cellar, secretly or with flags and whistles, Americans always make sure an opening is there when needed. (67-68)

This ongoing migration pattern raises two significant issues. First, cultural maintenance is actually promoted through group and institutional policies which encourage first generation community members into society on a regular basis. Secondly, these greater Latino numbers promote both the need for organizational leadership diversification, including those who will effectively serve as linguistic, cultural and operational liaisons and role models/ mentors, and the subsequent cultural conflicts which arise in an industrial paradigm (with increasing ethnic numbers, the dominant organizational culture tends to change) (Katz, 1989).

Given the pervasive anti-immigrant sentiment in society, which promotes racist beliefs and behaviors toward Latinos, it is understandable that some Latinos assimilate and lose many aspects of their traditional ethnic identities as a part of their journey toward dominant culture success or inclusion.

On the other hand, an explanation for Latino academic and socio-cultural success patterns is still not yet clearly documented. However, my discussions with Latino professors from across the

country indicate that Hacker's suggestion (1992, p.144) is accurate: for lack of a better term, a "middle class attitude" (Apple, 1990) correlates highly to socio-cultural and economic success. In other words, the more resources, skills or appearance comparable to a white, middle-class experience that an individual manifests, the more likely it is that the individual will be academically and professionally validated by dominant culture members and will consequently be successful (Apple, 1980; Romero, 1997; Stanton-Salazar, 1997).

Again, I find it striking that, in the context of organizational change, most highly lauded leadership writers (Burns, 1978; DePree, 1992; Rost, 1991) speak of leadership with no mention of race or ethnic culture. Barrera (1979) and [H]ooks (1994), however, speak to leadership issues in the context of racial bias and discrimination. To both of these authors, race prejudice is part of the social makeup that leaders of color must overcome in many settings. By viewing these disparate perspectives together, readers can infer that effective Latino administrators combine both their internalized

commitment to Latino community and external dominant culture form or style in their administrative practices.

Institutional Perspective

Institutionalized privilege takes many forms: alumni children (legacies) and student athletic scholarships; veteran G.I. Bill; agricultural subsidy programs; Medicare; business tax breaks and subsidies; homeowner tax deductions (Times, 1995, A25). It is noteworthy that Proposition 209 proponents point to gender or racial preferences for women and minorities while disregarding current and historic preferences in favor of Euro-American males. Such inequitable maintenance of dominant culture privilege is exactly how white privilege operates (Apple, 1992; McItosh, 1989; Scheurich, 1993).

On official levels, federal economic policies directing funds away from public education (which serve the majority of minority students) to Defense expenditures, the discrepancies in dealing with undocumented European and Latin American immigrants, and economic problems described politically as racial problems are all examples of

institutional white privilege (Takaki, 1993). In school settings, de facto program segregation, higher drop out and suspension rates for students of color, and disproportionate placements in Special Education for students of color are considered second generation institutional discrimination (Fraga, 1985; Meier and Stewart, 1991) and examples of institutional hidden curriculum (Apple, 1992; Bilken, 1980; Delpit, 1988; Romero, 1997; Vallance, 1980).

As advantage is related to disadvantage, dominant culture is related to minority experiences from courtrooms to schools. Acuna (1988) chronicles the U.S. institutional actions against Latinos, from the taking of the Southwest through war and legal means to police brutality against community leaders and inequitable court rulings. The following example, taken from a context of social and political unrest in the Southwest as Chicanos protested inequitable social, educational, and employment practices, is one of many which illustrates institutional inequities toward Latinos.

Frustrations increased throughout the 1970s. In 1972, Ricardo Chavez Ortiz, 36, an immigrant father of eight children, skyjacked [sic] a Frontier Airlines plane over New Mexico with an unloaded .22. His only demand was to talk to the media. to voice the frustrations of a man who feared the world would not listen to his problems, and those of his people, under any circumstances. .Chavez Ortiz spoke for 35 minutes in Spanish over radio station KWKW and KMEX-TV. Chavez Ortiz received a life sentence. He remained in jail until 1978, when he apologized and left for Mexico. Chavez Ortiz served twice the time of a rapist or armed robber, three times the sentence of a Watergate conspirator, and more time than the murder [sic] of Santos Rodriguez. (399-400)

From an educational perspective, the current debate over bilingual and other official general support programs for Latino and other ethnically or linguistically different students also has many historical parallels. The 1931 Lemon Grove desegregation ruling defeated de jure supposed linguistic segregation aimed at Mexican-American children and their families, who were classified as Caucasians. In the Lemon Grove Incident, Mexican families fought against segregation (Acuna, 1988).

According to many Unz Initiative supporters, bilingual education segregates non-English speaking students today as the Lemon Grove School

Board did over sixty years ago. However, many researchers (Crawford, 1995; Cummins, 1996; Hernandez, 1997; Leyba, 1986) note the substantive academic and linguistic value of promoting bilingual literacy through effective bilingual education. In current cases related to the dismantling of bilingual education at large, the link between language exclusion (linguicism) and racism is difficult to define.

Some have identified more socially embedded exclusion practices, which are often difficult to see and thus transform. For example, Mary Romero (1992) documents how schools have maintained segregated curricula for Mexican American women, especially in the Southwest. Crawford (1995) and Nieto (1996) discuss the correlation between individuals and groups treated as scapegoats and those individuals' and groups' academic success.

At times, however, the links between institutionalized racism and linguicism are clear. Two years ago, after the California anti-immigrant legislation (Propositions 63 and 137) and prior to California anti-minority legislation (Proposition 209), a Texas State District Judge Samuel Kiser

told a bilingual Mexican American involved in a child custody dispute:

If she starts first grade with other children and cannot even speak the language that the teachers and others speak, and she's a full-blooded American citizen, you're abusing that child and you're relegating her to the position of housemaid. Now, get this straight: you start speaking English to that child, because if she doesn't do good [sic] in school, then I can remove her because it's not in her best interest to be ignorant. (Cummins, 1996, 21).

Latino experiences of institutional, informal, and individual exclusion and discrimination in society, education and the workplace are not new (Acuna, 1988; Crawford, 1995; Cummins, 1996; Fraga, 1986; Haro, 1990; Ronald Takaki, 1993). Takaki, however, extends the reporting to present the remediation of Latinos' academic success as crucial to the common good:

Hispanics, with a high school dropout rate of 60 percent, lagged behind with only 10.4 years. Hayes-Bautista calculated that if the 1980 differentials remained the same, the increase of Hispanics in the work force would decrease the overall educational level of the working population to only 12.1 years. . . . Clearly, the educational level of Hispanics should be raised to meet the needs of the future California economy. (p.421)

Takaki calls for all people to recognize and value our diversity as our common destiny and identity (Gorena, 1996; Ochoa, 1997).

Despite the pervasiveness of negative experiences reported about Latinos, it is in the educational arena which our highest responsibility lies regarding the application of liberty and justice. Duane Campbell (1996), furthermore, extends Bellah's discussion of responsible interaction in describing democracy under the following criteria:

1. Equal votes
2. Effective participation
3. Enlightened understanding
4. Final control of the agenda by the people, and
5. Inclusiveness (15-16)

In addition, Campbell describes the idea of cultural democracy, wherein schools play an important role in social reconstruction. Cultural democracy relates to the institutional support for all cultural voices to be heard and integrated within the changing culture and history of the institution. Such a transformation includes the redistribution of material and nonmaterial benefits within the academy as well as the transformation of ideological tenets which

systematically marginalize the participation of people of color, women, gays and lesbians, and the working class (Carl Grant and Mary Louse Gomez, 1996; Darder, 1995). Therefore, by empowering all students to participate meaningfully in education, i.e., challenging the current dominant paradigm practices, we may save our political fabric.

Gloria Anzaldua (1996) likewise deals with cultural democracy and the relationship among institutions, group culture and individuals through her metaphor of border crossings: language, gender, and cultural borders. She presents a personal case study of the tragedy of lost human potential due to dominant culture and individualism, whether encountered in economic, political or personal forums. Campbell (1996) and Giroux (1992) would certainly agree with Anzaldua regarding educators' need to understand and develop multiculturally; inclusive pedagogical practices.

Anzaldua and other biculturally competent individuals embody what may be described as a both/and, rather than an either/or approach to culture. In other words, bicultural competency may be seen as individual cultural democracy.

William Bergquist (1993), on the other hand, provides a theoretical framework, which relates to cultural democracy for an organizational post-modern paradigm. Some characteristics of a post-modern paradigm are an organizational shift from dominance to partnership (Crislip and Larson, 1994; Lappe and Du Boise, 1994; Takaki, 1993), from departmentalization to intersection (Weisbord, 1992; Whyte, 1991); I add from segregation to pluralism and from exclusion to cultural democracy. In post-modern organizations, a small and seemingly valueless part of an organization can be valued for its importance and influence on the whole organization.

As colonization relates to a modernist paradigm, the post-modern paradigm offers hope to those group members who have experienced primarily marginal success. Accordingly, Astin and Leland (1991) describe a process of group empowerment; J.M Burns (1988) and William Foster (1989) speak of transformative leadership which brings justice.

Katz (1989), in contradistinction to the previous dominant culture organizational theory writers, offers a succinct developmental map of how individuals in organizations (and thus

organizational cultures and policies) move from promoting a dominant culture to cultural pluralism (See Appendix D). She and Darder (1994) describe a hopeful model of organizational change from traditional, to liberal, to multicultural to culturally democratic.

Their implicit hope is that after more "minorities" enter an organization, it is possible for a more substantive organizational culture change toward cultural democracy which may be experienced at individual, group and institutional levels. In addition, Acuna (1988) and others advocate for institutional transformation through political, church and community economic partnership (Crislip and Larson, 1994; Lappe and Du Boise, 1994; Weisbord, 1992; Whyte, 1991).

Integrative Review

In the previous section of the literature review, I used an artificial device (individual, group and institutional levels) in order to highlight the complexity and interrelatedness of issues related to exclusion. In order to connect these concepts to reality, I offer the following examples of how the three levels work together.

Jose Antonio Burciaga (1995) describes a dramatic historical California case known as the so called Zoot Suit Riots of 1941. (He questions the official title, referring to the event as the Government Riots.) Burciaga describes an individual event: eleven sailors were confronted by a larger group of Latino youth, which was translated to a group myth, (a story of an ambush which called for revenge).

Subsequently, this belief and negative sentiment led to hate crimes supported informally by various groups: taxi brigades, sailors and civilians. The attacks were, in turn, supported by institutional forces: newspapers reported the cleansing effect of the mob actions and police officers, declaring the riots as a matter for military police, did not intervene.

The same interplay among the three mutually influential levels characterizes a more recent and local example of anti-Latino sentiment: the Orange Unified School Board has voted to seek a waiver from the State Board of Education to phase out instruction in Spanish. Given dominant culture members' anti-immigrant beliefs and feelings (group level), propositions 163, 187 and 209 were

passed handily (institutional level).

Independently, members of the State Board of Education voted to turn bilingual education policy and practices over to local school boards (institutional level).

On Saturday, January 25, 1997, the Los Angeles Times reported that the 1,300 Spanish speaking students instead will receive English language tutoring and attend language classes after school and during the summer. The Magnolia School District in Anaheim and the Westminster School District were among the first to receive waivers from the state to enact similar programs. One parent (individual/ group level) in support of the proposal said: "We have PTA meetings in just Spanish...It's so divisive at our school; everybody has their own language, and I think it's like forced segregation."

The previous quote from a monolingual, English speaker illustrates a monocultural, monolingual perspective. Yet, many authors, (Acuna, 1988; Anzaldua, 1987; Burciaga, 1995; Cummins, 1996; Morgan, 1986; Takaki, 1993; Tatum, 1992; Weisbord, 1992) identify how identity, educational equity and organizational change can

be seen from more perspectives than the dominant culture lens of individualism and monoculturalism would indicate. Furthermore, individual efforts alone do not bring about societal or institutional solutions. Rather, the interplay among individual, group and institutional efforts better explain the conditions which I have described related to exclusion, as well as the solutions related to educational equity and democracy (Bergquist, 1993; Chrislip and Larson, 1994; Darder, 1995; Hwang, 1995; Katz, 1989; Lappe and Du Bois, 1994; Morgan, 1986; Ricoeur, 1992; Romero, 1997; Stanton-Salazar, 1997).

Summary

A critical summary of this literature review indicates the following: Our problems related to exclusion (Apple, 1992; Barrera, 1979; Bellah, 1992; Darder, 1995; Delpit, 1988; Romero, 1977; Shakeshaft, 1989; Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Vallance, 1980; Wilson, 1992), white privilege (Delgado, 1995; Hacker, 1992; McIntosh, 1989; Scheurich, 1993; Tatum, 1992), Latino experiences (Acuna, 1988; Anzaldua, 1992; Barrera, 1979; Chavez, 1992; Rodriguez, 1992; Rodriguez, 1993), educational

equity (Barrera, 1979; Campbell, 1996; Darder, 1992; Freire, 1985; Garcia, 1994; Nieto, 1996; West, 1993) organizational diversification (Bergquist, 1993; Darder, 1994; Katz, 1989; Takaki, 1993) are complex; to better understand these topics and respond effectively, we must examine them at individual, group and institutional levels (Katz, 1989; Takaki, 1993; West, 1993).

Overall, exclusionary practices in society in general and in educational leadership in particular appear to have shifted from overt to covert manifestations, as societal norms seem to have been shifted from 'the club' to 'passive' organizational culture (Katz, 1989). Although it may be difficult to believe, based on a preponderance of negative examples, perhaps such a shift can be considered a form of progress towards cultural democracy.

It may also be difficult to clearly see progress in educational equity for Latinos for a different reason: a person's ability to critique an inequitable social order is rooted in the concept of privilege, which is invisible to those who have it (McIntosh, 1989; Sleeter, 1994; Tatum,

1992; Wildman and Davis, 1995). Regarding Latinos, an additional difficulty for many people to critique an inequitable social order has been that racial discussions have often highlighted assimilationist Latinos (Rodriguez, 1992; Chavez, 1992) and have discounted a mosaic of less assimilationist Latino experiences and perspectives (Acuna, 1988; Anzaldua, 1992; Barrera, 1979; Darder, 1991; Delgado, 1995; Rodriguez, 1994).

Latinos represent varied educational, political, ethnic and economic experiences. Latino authors, likewise, reflect their individual racial/ ethnic identity developmental stages (Solis, 1981; Tatum, 1992) in their writings (Acuna, 1988; Anzaldua, 1992; Barrera, 1979 [stages 3/4]; Chavez, 1991; Rodriguez, 1993 [stage 2]), which sometimes leads to dissonant perspectives. This is especially significant, given the current Southern California demographic shift and pervasive anti-Latino sentiment which would treat Latinos as members of a monolithic, subordinate culture.

Furthermore, schools operate in what appear to be cultural wars, incorporating both reform

ideology (Campbell, 1996; Delpit, 1988, Freire, 1985; Takaki, 1993) and status quo belief systems (Chavez, 1991; D'Souza, 1995).

Regarding organizational change and leadership, non-Latino leadership theoreticians (Burns, 1978; Depree, 1992; Foster, 1989; Rost, 1992) generally write about organizational culture from a dominant culture perspective, rarely including cultural diversity as an aspect of organizational change. Some (Campbell, 1996; Darder, 1994; Katz, 1989) write of organizational cultural democracy, but do not address leadership per se. Others address organizational transformation or post-modern organizations, but do not deal with white privilege and its corollaries (Crislip and Larson, 1994; Lappe and Du Boise, 1994; Weisbord, 1992; Whyte, 1991).

In short, what the literature suggests is that, in a post-modern paradigm, it is appropriate to re-evaluate and foreground alternative styles so that they can be valued and not seen as deficient compared to dominant culture norms and/or white supremacist/ privilege evaluation.

Finally, the original questions, "What is Latino culture worth in U.S. society? How is

Latino culture manifested particularly in school leadership contexts? How can schools revise their practices so that greater democracy undergirds institutional practices?" remain prominent. Given this outcome, it is clearly necessary that Latino leaders themselves answer these questions relative to their lived experiences and understandings regarding their roles and culture (Darder, 1994; Freire, 1985; Vallance, 1980; see Chapter 5 regarding guiding study question responses).

CHAPTER III: METHODOLOGY

[W]hen we notice that our social institutions are driven by the larger political contexts in which they are embedded, we are forced to acknowledge that the content of our research and the methods we use are likewise subject to the prevailing political forces. (Kenwyn Smith, 1990, 121)

Introduction

Traditional research has not adequately addressed the problem of Latino administrative educational equity (Irene Blea, 1995; Darder, 1994; Vallance, 1980). Qualitative methodology tends to be better for generating understanding, description, discovery and hypothesis generating; quantitative methodology tends to be better at prediction, control, description, confirmation and hypothesis testing (Merriam, 1988). Furthermore, as Freire (1985) explains, members of the dominant culture can only truly understand and reform a system by hearing from those who are oppressed by the system. Therefore, I have used a qualitative research methodology to investigate these participants' experiences and patterns of discrimination as well as their responses to these experiences.

In this chapter, I provide the reader with a methodological overview, the data collection process, and a data analysis overview. I then include a sketch of my background to help the reader better understand my own experiences and how they might have influenced my perspectives about and my approach to this qualitative research. Finally, I end with a summary.

Methodological Overview

Multiple methods might be appropriate (Seidman, 1991) to understand the lived structures of meanings (Valerie Janesick, 1994; Van Manen, 1990; Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, 1994). In fact, some authors warn qualitative researchers of "methodology," being preoccupied "with selecting and defending methods to the exclusion of the actual substance of the story being told." (Janesick, 1994, p. 235). With that in mind, I chose the interview process to gain a greater cultural and professional understanding from the "inside" of Latino administrators' everyday experiences (J. Clifford, 1986). In other words, I sought to better understand what Latino administrators experience and the contexts

surrounding their experiences, rather than to simply report what they do (F. Michael Connelly and D. Jean Clandinin, 1988). The open ended dialogues allowed the participants to tell their own stories, "[W]hy they are where they are, do what they do and are headed where they have chosen," therefore making the study and process more meaningful (Clandinin, 1993, p.15).

Furthermore, as the participants heard each others' stories in written form and in the group dialogue, they may made more sense of their own personal and professional practices (Friere, 1985; Smith, 1990; Van Manen, 1990) which led to new possibilities for their future collaboration (Clandinin, 1993). James Holstein and Jaher Gubrium refer to this as communicating and understanding "intersubjectively." (1994, p. 263). This proved to be a particularly powerful dynamic, as I detail at the end of chapter four. Similarly, I hope that as the reader of this study better understands the many dynamics of exclusion and inequity in education, s/he may also gain new insights regarding its interruption and the promotion of democracy.

Validity and Reliability

There is no such thing as "value-free" research; moreover, traditional research tends to reinforce dominant culture views while negating the views of others (Darder, 1994; Stanfield, 1994; Vallance, 1980). In addition, Mary Romero (1997) makes an argument for the researcher being a member of the same group being studied in order to more accurately interpret and perhaps construct new realities and contexts related to the study (Stanfield, 1994).

In addition, by my inviting Latino administrators to have nominated subjects from among their peers, I assert that the study was more valid and representative of the subjects' own narrative and meaning (Mishler, 1986) than if I alone had selected the subjects. The study's reliability rests in three layers of interviews and the participants' opportunity to review transcripts and comment on their accuracy.

Data Collection

I used interviews based on a constructivist philosophy as the primary data collection tool for this study (Michael Patton, 1990). In other words,

the meanings developed over time as a product of collaborative reflection and analysis (Merriam, 1988; Van Manen, 1990). After transcribing the first interviews, I sent a copy with my preliminary assumptions to the respective interviewees for their review.

Following their review, I conducted a second interview using the preliminary assumptions as a beginning point, and followed the same process for confirming participants' perspectives. I taped and transcribed each interview. In the third meeting, I filmed (so I could track participants' responses) and transcribed the September 30 group dialogue.

Entry to the Population

This study was, in a sense, about, by and for Latino administrators. I decided, therefore, that Latino administrators themselves would determine who would be considered for the study (Romero 1997; Smith, 1990; Stanfield, 1994). Inasmuch as I had served as an administrator in the Sweetwater Union High School District (employing nearly one third of Latino K-12 administrators in San Diego County), I enjoyed the support of Dr. Maida Torres-Stanovic, Associate Superintendent of

Personnel, who arranged a meeting of Sweetwater Latino administrators. This group of Latino administrators then nominated most of the subjects for the study.

Selection of Subjects

I selected administrators currently working in geographically and demographically distinct areas of San Diego County. By working with a group of Latino administrators in the South Bay and contacts in other areas, I received nominations of participants who represented all parts of the county and who represented various roles, years of service and experiences.

Once I had a list of prospective subjects, I selected the five Latino superintendents represented in the county: Dr. Rudy Castruita, from the San Diego County Office of Education; Dr. Libby Gil, Chula Vista Elementary District; Dr. George Cameron, National Elementary District; Dr. Julian Lopez, San Ysidro Elementary District; and Ms. Olivia Leschick, Pauma Valley Elementary District. I selected two district office administrators: Dr. Maida Torres-Stanovik, Associate Superintendent, SUHSD; and Ms. Irma

Castro, director of Latinos and Latinas Advancing More Academically (LLAMA), SDUSD.

I chose five principals, four of whom received the most nominations and one from east county: Dr. Christine Aranda-Smith, Southwest High, SUHSD; Mr. Tony Alfaro, San Diego High, SDUSD; Dr. Martin Jacquez, Cajon Valley Middle, CVESD; Mr. Manuel Paul, San Ysidro Middle, SYESD; and Mr. Luis Maestre, Montgomery Middle, SUHSD. Finally, I selected two relatively new assistant principals: Mr. Jess Martinez, Vista USD; Jose Brosz, Southwest High, SUHSD.

I attempted to include an equal number of men and women, but three of my first choice candidates declined: two San Diego City School administrators who stated that they could not make time and one North County principal, who expressed concern that her participation might be politically harmful for her. The participants, nine men and five women, represented first, second, and third generation U.S. residency and geographically distinct regions of the county proportionate to the concentration of Latino administrators in the regions.

I worked to establish a relationship of trust with each Latino administrator before discussing

their participation (Blea, 1995; G. Marin and V. Marin, 1991). In one case where I had no prior contact or familiarity with the potential participant, I had a colleague who knew the administrator contact him in advance; afterwards, I spoke with him informally before presenting the human subjects letter (Appendix C), which met with the guidelines established by the University through the Protection of Human Subjects Committee.

In another case where I had no prior contact with a potential participant, I was granted a meeting time, but the administrator would not sign the consent form. It was only after considerable relationship building (notes, a letter and various phone conversations) that I gained his trust, signature and cooperation. Moreover, I believe that the participants' trust and engagement with me in very open dialogues (Van Manen, 1990) was aided by my identity and experience as a Latino K-12 administrator (Romero, 1997).

The subjects met the following criteria: they identified as a Latino/a; they were serving in a K-12 administrative role in San Diego County; they were willing to use their actual names in the

study; they were willing to be audiotaped and videotaped during research sessions. The participants seemed confident enough to be forthright with their personal and professional experiences, even though some shared some very sad and painful memories. In fact, at the end of the group dialogue, the subjects expressed interest in further participation in future projects, including documentaries, articles, or a book.

Protection of Subjects

I developed a consent letter that met the federal requirements according to the University of San Diego's Committee on Protection of Human Subjects. During my initial conversation with the participants, and in the letter, I told the participants that their participation was completely open and that they were free to terminate participation in the study at any time, with no jeopardy or coercion whatsoever.

Furthermore, each participant had the opportunity to review interview transcripts and my preliminary and final analysis for error or clarification. For example, after the two interviews, one participant shared a concern that

some of his comments might be read negatively by particular board members and in turn hurt him politically. As a result, the participant and I agreed on how that example might be reworded.

Interview Process

I was mindful of the danger of dominating an interview (Mishler, 1986), and I set the topic for the first interview as their life histories through their current work experiences. The second interview focused on the participants' reflections on the meaning of their experiences, and on their future orientation (Seidman, 1991). The first two interviews took place between May 15 and July 8 in the subjects' offices, with the exception of one. When one subject canceled an appointment, he insisted on meeting in an elegant setting of his choice, overlooking Mission Bay.

After transcribing the first interviews, I sent a copy with my preliminary assumptions to the respective interviewees for their review (Holstein and Gubrium, 1994; Stanfield, 1994). Following their review, I conducted a second interview using the preliminary assumptions as a beginning point and followed the same process for again confirming

participants' perspectives. After all the interviews were conducted, I sent a preliminary presentation of the data to all participants for their review one week prior to the final group dialogue.

Finally, the third interview took place on September 30 at the University of San Diego. The meeting included a combination of group building introductions, dialogue guidelines and a guided dialogue based on their reflections from reading the collective data. The subjects examined their ideal future for Latino administrators and engaged in a focused dialogue about solutions for the equity problems in education and ways to realize their collective vision.

Data Analysis

Researchers have often interpreted and constructed studies according to their own bias (Friere, 1985; Smith, 1990; Stanfield, 1994). Therefore, I have proceeded with the premise that it is most consistent with transformational leadership and post-modern research to include subjects as research partners, collaborators and leaders (Mishler, 1986).

In addition, the usefulness of this body of inquiry will not be merely in its recording of any empirical data, such as interview data. This process, on the contrary, has been descriptive and analytical in naming and interpreting something, such as exclusion or white privilege in the context of educational institutions. The naming process developed over time and through interaction between myself and the subjects (Van Manen, 1990).

The participants created their narratives about their experiences in cultural, social and institutional contexts. To form the analysis, I followed Janesick's guide:

1. Locate within the personal experience, or self-story, key phrases and statements that speak directly to the phenomenon in question.
2. Interpret the meanings of these phrases as an informed reader.
3. Obtain the participants' interpretation of these findings, if possible.
4. Inspect these meanings for what they reveal about the essential, recurring features of the phenomenon being studied.
5. Offer a tentative statement or definition of the phenomenon in terms of the essential recurring features identified in Step 4 (1994, 215).

As a result, the subjects and I gained "a deeper understanding of the nature or meaning of our

everyday experiences," such as exclusion, white privilege, Latino experience, educational equity and organizational change (Van Manen, 1990) and recognized connections among experiences and future actions (Friere, 1985; Smith, 1990; Stanfield, 1994).

Researcher Background

I was born into a poor, violent, alcoholism-infected home environment, the third of six children. My father completed the second grade as his formal education and grew up in Leon, Guanajuato, Mexico; my mother grew up in Los Angeles, California, and completed her high school education.

My parents essentially believed that assimilating and attending private schools were the keys to academic success. To some degree, I temporarily internalized and excelled at these beliefs. Nonetheless, I have always been aware of my racial and cultural differences from my dominant culture peers and supervisors at Stanford (1981, B.A. History), St. John's Theologate (1981-84), Mt. St. Mary's College (1986, Ryan Clear Credential), UCLA (1988, M.Ed., Administrative

Services Credential), or at the University of San Diego throughout my doctoral studies.

In retrospect, I identify with the process of biculturalization described in the literature review (Solis, 1981; Appendix E) and see this biculturalization process as a significant influence on my professional development and experiences. I interject the following example to identify my own theoretical sensitivity as researcher in this study.

Seven years ago, during my final assistant principal interview with then Superintendent of Sweetwater Union High School District, Tony Trujillo, I was surprised when he asked me, "What are you going to say to the teacher who says, 'The reason you got this job is because you are Latino and the superintendent is Latino'?" We engaged in a role play discussing my qualifications. He then said to me, "Are you willing to work longer hours than everybody else, work harder and do a better job than anyone else? If you are, then the job is yours."

I was surprised, not by his questions, but by his openness regarding his Latino experience in

the context of white privilege (Peggy McIntosh, 1989; Scheurich, 1993; Sleeter, 1994).

His comments resonated with my own experiences of having felt welcomed and supported as a special member, a kind of outlier, of a minority group. On the other hand, I have often felt alienated, invisible, avoided or targeted as an unwelcome outsider.

I experienced this also as a bilingual education teacher in LAUSD (1985-88), a bilingual education teacher in Vista USD (1988-90), and as an assistant principal and summer school principal at National City Middle School (1990- 93), but especially as an assistant principal at Vista High School (1993-95). The more I share my experiences with other Latino educators, the more I hear common experiences, feelings, and struggles for equity and justice. This common ground has motivated me to produce this study.

Summary

Traditional research has not adequately addressed the problem of Latino administrative educational equity (Blea, 1995; Coursen, 1989;

Darder, 1994; Smith, 1990; Stanfield, 1994; Vallance, 1980). One major reason is that privilege, reflected in traditional research, has reinforced the dominant culture values while negating the views of others (Apple, 1980; Darder, 1994; Friere, 1985; Smith, 1990). Therefore, to understand the meaning of everyday Latino K-12 administrators' lived experiences, I relied on subjects' stories and the co-creation of meaning with myself, as researcher, about their stories (Clandinin, 1988; Mishler, 1986; Romero, 1997; Siedman, 1991; Van Manen, 1990).

The interpretive process regarding the meaning of the subjects' experiences developed over time between each subject and myself and among subjects with the researcher to form insights (Patton, 1990; Van Manen, 1990). These insights into exclusion, white privilege, Latino experiences, educational equity and organizational change may lead participants to new possibilities for their future stories (Clandinin, 1993; Friere, 1985; Merriem, 1988; Smith, 1990; Stanfield, 1994).

In the next chapter, I present the summary of my interviews, in keeping with the abovementioned

methodology. The chapter begins with a poem, which represents the struggle and hope characteristic of the participants' narratives. On a more analytical note, the chapter ends with a summary of the data as it relates to the literature review in Chapter 2.

CHAPTER IV: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Well, son, I'll tell you:
Life for me ain't been no crystal stair.
It's had tacks in it,
And splinters,
And boards torn up,
And places with no carpet on the floor—
Bare.
But all the time
I've been a-climbin' on,
And reachin' landin's
And turnin' corners,
And sometimes goin' in the dark
Where there ain't been no light.
So, boy, don't you turn back,
Don't you set down on the steps
'Cause you finds it's kinder hard.
Don't you fall now—
I've still climbin'
And life for me ain't been no crystal stair.
Langston Hughes
(J. Canfield & M. Hansen, 1993)

Introduction

Whether these participants entered the administrative ranks in pursuit of higher salaries, as a way to transform painful family and/ or educational experiences or for the extension of positive educational experiences, the participants seem to be driven by common internalized values or mission: serving the community by serving in schools; mentoring and supporting other Latinos; transforming the

educational settings in which they are employed in order to promote social justice; maintaining connections to the Latino community; and opposing racism.

Consistent with findings about minority students (Cummins, 1997; Eugene Garcia, 1994; Nieto, 1996), the participants described three consistently important influences on their academic success: a tenacious, although at times conflicted, pride in and maintenance of language and culture; participation in extracurricular activities not related to academics; nurturance from and commitment to (a) significant family member(s), community members and teachers.

The study participants demonstrated variations of a standardized biculturalization processes (Solis, 1981; Darder, 1995). These variations highlighted differences in socio-economic backgrounds, levels of experienced exclusion, and apparent levels of individualistic response to exclusion. In addition, most participants found individual or institutional support from dominant culture representatives. The level of support which subjects experienced from

dominant culture members seemed to influence their identification with the K-12 educational process.

Nonetheless, most reported current working conditions for Latino administrators which include: isolation from other Latinos administrators; heightened scrutiny by both dominant and Latino community members; and varied and pervasive anti-Latino public sentiment manifested among school faculty, supervisors and community members. In most cases, participants can be described as educational or professional pioneers, carving their own paths and consciously establishing support for the benefit of other Latinos.

Finally, the participants embody tremendous hope for a more equitable educational future, both for students and school leaders. Study participants might be described as both survivors and victors in the K-12 educational arena. Despite many obstacles, they have contributed to educational transformation on individual, group and institutional levels.

As a result of two open ended, in-depth interviews with each of the fourteen participants, one large group dialogue including eight

participants, and follow-up conversations with the remaining six participants, I have gathered volumes of rich and significant data. However, at this time, I offer a composite presentation of the data as it clusters around three central themes: pride in cultural identity; the meaning of being a Latino administrator; and organizational transformation. Together, these data clusters illuminate the experiences and meaning of being a contemporary educational pioneer.

This chapter begins with a summary presentation of the participants, using their own words to describe their personal and professional identities and experiences. Each participant edited or agreed with her/ his own summary. Following the introduction of the participants, I present the data. Next, I offer a conceptual data analysis by relating the data to the literature review in chapter two. Lastly, I present preliminary concluding data observations.

Participant Profiles

Dr. Rudy Castruita: Work ethic and ability

I mean, I had a 3.7 grade point average, I was student body president, full rides to go to school, academic scholarships. And she told me that I was stupid. "Don't -- you know, people like you don't go to college. Why don't you get a job working with your grandfather for a year or two and then maybe you can go to Mt. San Antonio Junior College.

To say that Rudy Castruita, San Diego County Office of Education Superintendent, is outstanding is an understatement. A third generation Mexican-American who battled his way out of gangs and into the sports and academic arenas, Castruita returned as a teacher to the same high school where he recalled his experiences with the abovementioned counselor.

Rudy has been recognized as the California Superintendent of the Year in 1992 and National Superintendent of the Year in 1996. His meteoric rise in administrative ranks has matched his work ethic and ability to transform schools and serve students.

How did that happen? It happened because, as strange as it may seem, I believe that that is my burden. I have to be the example. Nobody is going to outwork me. I mean, I'll be here before

anybody, at this office. And I did that in Santa Ana, I did that when I was a principal, I did that because I was taught early on in, by my grandfather, that you're the first one there and you're the last one to leave. And you'll never see anybody tell you that they see me walking around with a cup of coffee in my hand. You don't do that. You work.

Rudy plans to finish his work in San Diego County helping to bring resource and educational equity to all students. He serves as a role model for students and peers. "But one thing that I learned early on in is that I never, ever wanted to be embarrassed at who I am and where I came from. And I've never, ever let that get in my way."

Dr. Christine Aranda-Smith: Service

And I believe the reason that I'm here and the reason that I've been given the opportunities that I have, I've been given many opportunities, is so that I can leave something better for those whom I serve: the children, the families that I serve.

Christine Aranda-Smith, a third generation Chicana, is currently principal of Southwest High School in the Sweetwater Union High School District. She speaks with calm commitment.

I feel very -- very centered and very sure of my purpose: if I can't make a difference in the long term, in the positions that I hold and in what I'm doing, I'm not interested in continuing.

Rising from poverty and violence, Christine began teaching high school Spanish after her children began school. In her fifteen years in the Oxnard area, she moved quickly from classroom to Camarillo Unified Student Services Director. She moved to Sweetwater three years ago as an Assistant Superintendent and chose to return to the school site in order to more effectively serve students.

The system that I came from (I think because it was smaller also because I had been there for a long time and I had, I believe, a lot of credibility) I think I was able to make the changes more easily there than here. This is much more difficult. The alliances here go back for many years, many people here have grown up together. I've found them quite accepting. I haven't found it a closed society, but still I'm in the process of earning their trust.

She looks forward to serving as a superintendent in her near future: "I'd like to be at that position because I want to be involved in policy-making decisions. I think I have the experience and the background to contribute in an important way to those decisions."

Dr. Maida Torres-Stanovic: Employment denial

And then the other thing-- then once we got in, we started working to get other people prepared. We started encouraging people. At about that time, Al Merino came into San Diego State, and so he was a real good connection for us because we'd connect with Al and say, "So and so's going to come and see you. They want to work on their administrative credential. And let us know what we can do to help them."

Maida Torres-Stanovic is the Associate Superintendent for Human Resources in the Sweetwater Union High School District, where she was once denied honest employment information.

"Do you have an application?" And I said, "No. I couldn't even get one." So she said, "Oh, they're always telling us that, and they always tell us they can't find qualified bilingual counselors and teachers. And yet we hear these kinds of things all the time."

Maida grew up in a predominantly Hispanic community in New Mexico, where she and other Latinos filled leadership roles. A few years after being politicized in a summer graduate internship, Maida became one of a handful of Latino administrators in Sweetwater. Her peers credit her with having a great influence in the changing

complexion and organizational culture of SUHSD
over the past three decades.

I know that I have a lot of support in the Latino community for the work that I'm doing. I know people recognize that-- that I work at it and that I do it-- and so that makes it-- that makes it okay. I can put up with the other things as long as that's there.

She also acknowledges her connectedness to others
preceded her and those who will follow.

I think the people who paved the way, like Manuel, like Maria Medrano, are people who really suffered 'cause they either were outcasts or they had to buy into the system and become one of them. . . I think the rest of us came in right behind them and we were able to do what we needed to do and continue to be ourselves. And I think the group that follows us, I think will-- things will be even more positive for them.

Dr. Martin Jaquez: Solitude

To me it's real simple. And maybe it's tied into basically being a loner, you know? Finding my own way and doing that.

Martin Jaquez is a second generation Mexican-American Los Angelino. Moving and studying between Chihuahua, Mexico and Los Angeles, he developed his adaptability skills. "The influences that I had [growing up] are not necessarily the influences I am using." His training is, he says, the best indicator of who he is. "I've been, since

I was eleven years old, in martial arts and one of the things it shows you is discipline, patience and the more important one that I use here at school is that I'm a server."

Now in his twenty fifth year in education, Martin began as a reading specialist in New Mexico, then moved to La Mesa Spring Valley as a kindergarten teacher and then taught all grades. He has earned a law degree as well as his educational degrees and moved from a district curriculum directorship to a principalship in the Cajon Valley School District.

As he did in his first teaching assignment, he has won the hearts and respect of his colleagues.

Little did I know I was entering a hostile situation. All these veteran teachers who wanted that position and here I am, new kid on the block. And I sensed the tension, I sensed the anger, like, "Who is this guy?" Within about three weeks it was all past because they got to know me. I was supportive of them, but I wasn't fake. I was real supportive of the school; I did a lot. After that it worked out real well, there was no animosity, nothing. I've never felt that I've had barriers, limitations.

Mr. Jess Martinez: A Calling

I want to give back to my people something because they've done for me. ..And I went into teaching hoping that someday I could be around Latinos, Latino youth and people, help them.

Jess Martinez is in his third assistant principal assignment in six years. In his last two districts, El Centro and Vista Unified, he experienced isolation and the extra responsibilities of being a sole bilingual/bicultural administrator at his site.

And sometimes, I've thought, "I just want to leave this place. I want to leave Vista. I want to leave education totally. I want to get out of it. I want to go and sell insurance or something." I really know that I wouldn't want to do that, but sometimes I get really discouraged because of the injustices I see. And it's mostly the injustices, not the imperfections.

A second generation San Franciscan, Mr. Martinez, now in the San Marcos Unified School District, is looking forward to a productive, successful career leading to principalship. "The assistant superintendent said, 'How did they let you go?'" After gaining more experience and after completing his doctoral studies, Mr. Martinez

hopes to be an integral part of university teacher and leadership education.

I feel the calling, the yearning, to get my doctorate so then I can become a teacher and do the things you want to do. And influence people who are going to go out and run districts-- and teach them things that they are lacking. And in that way, I expect to become a very influential individual by teaching people who are directors. But to get there, I have to be an administrator and I have to walk the walk and -- so that's what I envision myself doing.

Mr. Luis Maestre: Traditional values

I need to be that support that pick up people and say, "Well, you tried it that way. Now, what did you learn, and what else can you do? And is there a different way around this?" You know, there's more than one way to skin a cat.

Luis Maestre moved to San Ysidro from Tijuana as a teenager with his middle class, extended family. His professional and personal lives have taken him full circle as he serves as third year principal at Montgomery Middle School, a California Distinguished School in 1996 in the Sweetwater Union High School District. While Luis began his U.S. schooling negatively via gang involvement, he serves as a role model for all students today.

The mainstream culture values preparation, values drive, values organizational skills, values long hours, values hard work. You know, I value that, too (laugh). I had a colleague of mine reflect that I was the first Hispanic who espoused the Protestant ethic of hard work, long hours and all that. And I said to myself, "I'm neither Anglo nor Protestant."

But it was a good feeling for me to be recognized for that: the fact that in some ways I reflect the mainstream population, but I haven't lost my ethnicity. And I haven't compromised my own belief system. And I haven't compromised much of the culture that I have. So, yeah, that's a good feeling and that's what we try to promote in kids: you don't need to compromise your belief system. You have to adjust what you do about it, but that doesn't mean you compromise what you believe.

Luis has moved in order to better realize his administrative aspirations: from a classroom teacher in SUHSD to a middle school assistant principal and then elementary principal in the Desert Sands Unified School District to an elementary principal in Vista Unified to Montgomery Middle serving San Ysidro students and families. He consciously models determination and hard work.

It's important for me to let people know that we can be successful, we can achieve. And I'm a perfect example of that. I have people come to school that reflect that attitude: We can be successful; we can overcome odds. But we need to prepare ourselves.

Ms. Olivia Leschick: Integrity

I find that what has helped a lot is-- and I took a lot of philosophy classes, too-- that, you know, Gandhi did a lot of things and it wasn't through anger. And Martin Luther King. You know, there are a lot of ways and going out and committing terrorist activities-- it may change for a while and get people's attention, but it doesn't accomplish your goal.

Olivia Leschick is currently in her second year as principal/ superintendent in the Pauma Valley Elementary School District. Nurtured in El Paso among many family and prominent, civic, Latino role models, she works with local support to promote all students' success.

And so, being non-threatening you find people that help you. I think if you find people with integrity and they feel like 'this person's goals are-- that also have honor,' then you can help each other. And it's always seeking those people because those people are out there-- it's just hooking up with those right ones. And a lot of times it's timing.

Three years after moving to San Diego, Ms. Leschick found support in Bilingual Education staff and her teaching and administrative career blossomed. She taught and coordinated Special Projects in Pauma for six years and then directed Categorical Programs in Valley Center. "Well, after my year at Valley Center, Pauma had an opening for Superintendent/ Principal. Well, I didn't have to interview-- they asked me to take the position and I've been here-- this is my second year; I start my third."

Her path to the role of superintendent has been relatively smooth and is marked by carino for students. "But I wanted to make sure that every child that wanted to go into higher education had that opportunity and I would give everything that I could to make it happen. You know, I love those kids- - I do, I adore the children."

Dr. George Cameron: Local Product

I grew up in National City... And when I share that, a lot of people say, "You know, I've never met too many people that are superintendent of the school system where they went to school."

George Cameron first became a principal in National City at twenty-six. Now in his sixth year as superintendent, he has served for all but one year of his professional life in National City.

And I think as a result of that, it makes me a better superintendent. It helps me lead with a greater passion for the community. It helps me, in some respects, engage other educational leaders in National City-- the directors, the principals-- to go the extra mile because they recognize that I know the pulse of the community fairly well.

Although not always from peers, Dr. Cameron's non-confrontational approach has earned the long-standing support of supervisors, board members and community members throughout his career.

I don't like to approach situations in that manner because if I go into a situation and I tick off the mayor on this issue, and it may be a subject like bilingual ed that is not going to change matters anyway, why get into a war, a battle, on that issue? I'd rather be more conciliatory, try to understand where he's coming from, interject some points of view from my side that may cause him to rethink that, and then feel like we're leaving, at least, respecting each other's point of view. And then the next time that I need him for something, I'm going to be able to count on his support for something. Instead of him saying, the next time I pick up the phone, "You know, George, you're a real jerk." I think in the long run, that doesn't help us at all. And I think that as Latinos, we have to go almost a step further sometimes to establish our level

of credibility with the dominant white culture.

His future plans at the superintendent level are to continue transforming the organization; this vision is rooted in his family and his community identity.

And I go back to a student at Ira Harbisson Elementary here. Little Mexicano, family just moved to this community. I was shy, I was unassuming, I was a quiet kid. I was the last person that a teacher would have selected for any kind of leadership position. And as I go to the classrooms today as superintendent, I sometimes think about that.

Mr. Manuel Paul: Perseverance

The director of personnel then told me, "We don't want you here. Matter of fact," he said, "I can help you get a job at Sweetwater. I'd rather -- we'd rather have our teachers come in, teach and go home. Not like you who goes out in the community and meets with parents and students and thinks that you're a player in this district. 'Cause you're not and you will never be."

Manuel Paul has lived and worked in San Ysidro for most of his life. Although he was excluded for many years from teaching and administrative responsibilities, he takes great pride in bringing his community identity and experiences to the principalship.

Then again, who -- I didn't think -- and maybe I was wrong, but I used to think that nobody was better qualified to work in this community, this district than I was. Nobody else had more heart invested on doing good in this community than I was. But that wasn't enough -- somehow, that wasn't enough.

One benefit of his involvement in San Ysidro has been the development of intergenerational relationships with many families.

And now they bring their kids and they tell me, "I want you-- I don't want you to treat them any less than the way you treated me, 'cause I want these kids to -- to learn-- to LEARN. And if you taught me, you can make sure these kids learn."

In 1997-98, Mr. Paul will serve as principal at the same elementary school where he first served as principal. He looks forward to many years of transforming the system from the inside.

[M]aybe I'm crazy, but I like San Ysidro. This is where I want to be. This is where I think I can make-- have influence and make positive changes. Where I can actually go out and knock on doors, go to home visits and be accepted as one of them-- where I'm not an outsider.

Jose Brosz: Transformation

And one of the best things that's ever happened to me was coming back to this district after being, as we say, washed out, expelled, exiled. "Oh, this guy'll never come back. This guy-- let's throw the key away." And one of the greatest feelings I've ever had was to come back to this district as a professional. Because that proves the naysayers wrong and it breaks-- for many, it broke the stereotype that "we" couldn't make it, the homeys. You know? Because not very many people believed that they could make it. So, yeah, that's been really good for me.

Joe Brosz grew up in San Ysidro and went to Sweetwater Union High School District schools, where he currently serves as an assistant principal at Southwest High School and where he was most recently a summer school principal. After years of high school gang and self-destructive activities, Joe decided to rebuild his life. Although colleagues recognize his individual hard work and success with students, he sees his success intertwined with others.

[T]he help that I received from all those people, not only within the district but within the struggle, that paved the road for me. Because I have no illusions. I know I'm not the greatest educator that ever existed. I'm here because some battles were fought -- many battles were fought-- and not only by Latinos but by many minorities. Many struggles that opened these doors for me. And the only way I can do those

people justice is to open doors for others.

Joe uses his own life experiences to guide him as a change agent in schools by helping create equity for all students in schools. As a result, he hopes to see a societal transformation.

I think it would mean the greatest educational Mecca or jackpot for our people in all the years that they've been educated here in this country. I think if the people are there, the movement is there, the resources are there, you will not only see a tremendous turnaround in incidences of crime and poverty and drug use and all that, I think you will actually see a, like they say, a sleeping giant who has now been totally awakened to its full potential, you know?

Dr. Libia Gil: Self-definition

But that's typical of my experience when I got a new role. It was rarely defined for me; I made my own definition. I took charge. I mean, I didn't know what else to do.

Libby Gil is currently serving in her fifth year as Superintendent of the Chula Vista Elementary School District. Born in China, of Costa Rican and Chinese descent, Libby has shattered gender, racial and linguistic boundaries as a teacher in Los Angeles Unified, a district administrator in Seattle Public Schools system, Washington, and in her current position. Her

ability to both challenge systematic exclusion and rebuild for the future is guided by a sophisticated belief and vision, reflected in her district's mission statement: "We value and find strength in diversity. Learning is meaningful and relevant, connected with each child's individual needs, ethics, culture, and experiences, and is linked with the world outside the classroom."

The way Libby models collaboration and effective instructional leadership is best exemplified when, as a second year teacher, she and two other teachers started a K-12 alternative school.

And we worked hard; we practically lived together, you know, with our families and everything, seven days a week. But we developed a school that was designed to meet the needs of students, not the other way around.

Libby has grown accustomed to being the first woman, the first minority in her many roles and seeks to find new ways to continue to transform the educational system.

But you don't give up on your values and you don't give up on your goals, even though how I used to behave ten or twenty years ago would be very different, how I reacted. Compromise on strategies, not goals!

Ms. Irma Castro: Community Advocacy

So for the next few years I spent time from cleaning up what the organization was and setting it into order to doing new program development, to doing lots of public policy stuff: advocacy, filing lawsuits-- I mean, all kinds of things. Developing relationships with the entire community, because that was part of it. I mean, you have to be able to defend yourself, whether it was with, you know, the federal courts or whether you were battling with the guy who was the senior vice-president of the whatever bank or, you know-- and that was part of it. So over that period of time, over those thirteen years, that's how it was spent: raising a family, being involved in the community.

Irma Castro, a liaison within and outside the K-12 institution, brings a lifetime of community activism to the San Diego Unified School District as Director of Latinos and Latinas Advancing More Academically (LLAMA). Irma was born and raised in Logan Heights and was schooled early among politically active relatives.

And as little kids, we were on the picket lines. Well, you-- there are no such things as baby-sitters. I mean, your parents are going to picket, you go with them. I mean, there's just no choice. So off we went to the picket lines-- it was, oh, four blocks away from the house.

And so I had grown up with that whole union piece and-- you know how people talk about contradictions. Well, I never

saw it as a contradiction. I just found it interesting. People like Fred Ross-- who were really the mentors for people like Cesar Chavez-- I met in my grandfather's kitchen. I was a kid. You know, and I remembered him-- 'cause I met him again-- and he was there talking with my aunt about who knows what, right?

After teaching in the late 1960s in early Chicano Studies programs, she completed her Masters in Urban Development and became a founding member of and 1979 director of the Chicano Federation. Her current work involves working within the educational system with the passion she has shown in community based agencies.

I'll probably continue here doing things that will, hopefully, continue to bring a different perspective, so that the institution gets a chance to see itself differently. And I know many times that the superintendent uses me to do that, to say how to-- and I tend to be real clear about how the world views the institution. . . I hope I don't lose that edge.

Dr. Julian Lopez: Community Identification

Then knowing that the kids are doing well. And I see all the kids as being my own. Because as I look at my kids in the districts that I've worked and as I visit their homes and I walk through the streets where they are-- and as I look at their faces and -- you know who I see? I see me.

Julian Lopez has completed his second year as Superintendent of the San Ysidro Elementary School

District. Although he excelled in high school and beyond, he persevered through his elementary experiences primarily out of respect for his parents.

My elementary education was very painful. It was a very painful experience. It was horrible-- like I didn't want to go to school. I couldn't speak English, so I was punished for speaking Spanish. Punished to the point where recess was withdrawn from me. I was not allowed to go to the bathrooms and I soiled in my britches quite often on my way home, simply because they wouldn't allow me to use the bathroom. So, you know, school was something I didn't want to go to.

Dr. Lopez coordinated the first Bilingual Education conference in the state and has taught and served administratively from elementary to university levels.

And I made it very early in my life that I'm going to get all the credit cards-- I'm gonna get 'em all. So they can't say to me, whomever they may be, "You need this type of credential." or "Why don't you have this type of degree on it?" I said, "There they are."

One of Dr. Lopez' recent successes is bringing together San Ysidro voters to pass a two hundred and fifty million dollar bond election. He looks forward to continuing to improve the system and mentor others.

I look back at each one of the positions I've had and the districts I've been in and I do-- my beliefs are as strong-- they haven't changed. How I go about them has been modified, you know? And maybe because of-- I've experienced what I experienced in one district in another district. But it's just as strong. There's no question about it.

Mr. Tony Alfaro: Warrior Spirit

So again, those are avenues that have to happen that are different. You're reaching out, you're doing just different, different types of things. Because the "normal" stuff is not going to work if you want to change things. It's just not going to work.

Tony Alfaro, born in San Luis Potosi and raised in Chicago, is the principal at San Diego High. A self described street fighter, he confronts educational mediocrity in order to make schools work for students and parents. He opened the ninety-sixth charter school in California, Memorial Academy, and has a reputation for taking underachieving, urban minority schools and turning them around.

So I feel that as a change agent you need to be a warrior. You've got to be battling 'cause at every turn, somebody's going to slam the door right in your face. And there's just so many doors that are always slammed continuously. And so the key is to keep trying to open them and if not, kick them down. And that's basically what is a continual struggle.

He began as an English teacher, served as a counselor and entered into the administrative role through a one year district office administrative assistant program. Tony has been an administrator for eighteen years in San Diego Unified, thirteen as principal. Tony was appointed to a principalship at San Diego High beginning the 1997- 98 academic year.

I tell people, 'Hey, I don't want to be an assistant superintendent. I don't really care. I'm not shooting for anybody's job.' I'm going to do the very best I can where I am right now. And so I think when you work with them and then they see results, that's important.

Most of all, he is focused on being an effective change agent.

Yeah, I -- I definitely do. I think I am a change agent, without a doubt. I kind of detest being a bureaucrat. That word is like something that I -- it doesn't sit well with me.

Data Presentation

Introduction

As a result of leading two open-ended, in-depth interviews with each of the fourteen subjects and one large group dialogue of twelve subjects, I have gathered volumes of rich and significant data. However, at this time, I offer a

composite presentation of the data as it clusters around three central themes: pride in cultural identity; the meaning of being a Latino administrator; organizational transformation. Together, these data clusters describe the experience and illuminate the meaning of being a contemporary educational pioneer.

I attempted to present the following data in the subjects' own words and as if it were being reported by one person, or as if it were a story mosaic. In that mosaic, many responses clustered together as if they were one voice (Janice Morse, 1994); others were included in the entire picture as background or minority voices. The subjects validated this data presentation as accurately interpreted, in a large group dialogue on September 30, 1997.

When referring to a gender specific observation, I present a composite of male participant experiences under the corporate name, Al, separate from the composite female experiences as Ella.

Pride in Cultural Identity.

Subjects' responses revealed their tremendous pride in their cultural identities. Being raised primarily by Spanish-speaking grandparents, intact Spanish-speaking parents or in a primarily Latino community nurtured our composite Latino administrator's (Al and Ella's) internalization and positive outlook on his/ her heritage.

Heritage

Furthermore, the data illuminate their biculturalization process, beginning with their internalized home values, skills and experiences and including key early socialization experiences.

I brought my roots, my culture, my food, my religion, my customs. And I've been allowed to pass those on to my child. I think that's beautiful. For me, that's something that will extend my spiritual life. (Joe Brosz)

And that, even as we speak and I talk about my uniqueness as something that I'm real proud of, I realize that everybody else has their unique situations, too, and they may not, obviously, be the same. (Libby Gil)

I think, at our best, we contribute loyalty, sensitivity, a tremendous capacity for hard work, and it's just a shame that the dominant culture in the school setting doesn't realize that. I don't think we're perceived as being consistent, stable, principle-centered, hard-working individuals by the ordinary teacher out there. But, at the heart of

our culture, that is what we are.
(Christine Aranda-Smith)

Al and Ella also reflected upon some heritage values and skills s/he developed, such as Respeto, family identity, work ethic, high value of education, and Spanish literacy.

Yes, I saw it at home in the family quite a bit. Growing up in Mexico, the respect. . . and I had respect based on fear. But not till I got a little older did I see the respect based on courtesy and giving, the idea of being a servant.
(Martin Jaquez)

My family-- my family has always been number one. . . They're very supportive and they always challenge you. There's never-- nobody lets you get away with nothing. But there's a lot of caring and support, and that always is there and -- so we make a few mistakes, you know? Big deal. You know, they go right on. And so, it's something that continually for me has been a part of that nurturing. And it continues to be, to this day. And so they're always real important in things that we do. (Irma Castro)

And my grandmother and grandfather . . . taught me that if you're going to get anything that's of value, you got to work for it. And nobody is gonna give you anything. (Rudy Castruita)

And my whole family, my grandparents, my father, they've always valued education and that was always a priority for us. We were very poor, there were a lot of needs, but education came first. (Manuel Paul)

And I'm also a person of color and I can speak the language without an accent. And I can even add a little accent; I can make myself sound like a Norteno, you know, like someone from the border. I can speak Spanish that way. . . if I'm joking around I do because there's a little twist to the way I say it that adds a little humor to it. (Jess Martinez)

Exclusion.

Despite developing a positive ethnic identity, Al and Ella experienced various forms of exclusion, which influenced their personal and professional development. Race and ethnicity, separately or together, were the most common characteristics linked to this exclusionary or discriminatory treatment in youth, early adulthood and in their professional careers.

Al tended to suffer through early educational experiences:

You know, and she grabbed me by my little brown hand, walked me in the classroom, stuck me in a corner. Not where all the rest of the kids are, but stuck me in a corner. (Rudy Castruita)

It was real interesting, I learned to be independent, because when we were in Mexico, I was a gringo, a gabacho, you know, somewhat ostracized, had to learn to cope. And I can't tell you how that happened, how I learned to cope, it just was. And then when I came to the United

States, it was the opposite: I was a Mexican, a beaner, you know, all the derogatory comments. I wasn't always in fights, I just managed, I just coped. I just looked at the system and went into it. (Martin Jaquez)

And my dad didn't speak much English either. So I don't know how much that impacted my education. In retrospect, now as an educator, as I look back and I look at myself, well, I was eight years old before I found out that I needed glasses. And, I mean, I really needed glasses bad. And I don't know how proficient my English was. I know it was difficult sometimes to understand what the teacher wanted us to do, but I was so afraid to ask because I was afraid of sounding stupid. (Jess Martinez)

And school was hard for me. I mean, you know, when somebody tells you you're stupid, you're never going to amount to anything, why don't you go back where you came from? . . . Oh, these were my teachers. You know, I'm talking first grade through seventh grade. (Rudy Castruita)

My elementary education was very painful. It was a very painful experience. It was horrible-- like, I didn't want to go to school. I couldn't speak English, so I was punished for speaking Spanish. Punished to the point where recess was withdrawn from me; I was not allowed to go to the bathrooms and I soiled in my britches quite often on my way home, simply because they wouldn't allow me to use the bathroom. So, you know, school was something I didn't want to go to. (Julian Lopez)

I experienced the same kinds of things that many immigrants experience: that sense of disenfranchisement, this alienation that, you know, we came into a culture that didn't really value our, our own culture. And, you know, I

experienced a lot of bigotry and a lot of racism. And it was very overt in the early '60s. I mean, you know, people didn't, people, Anglos and others didn't hesitate to call you names openly: beaner, greaser-- you know, those kinds of things. So that created some alienation. (Luis Maestre)

Ella, on the other hand, seemed to do better in school overall, but sometimes experiencing gender related challenges from home:

And I remember there being a big family meeting, and I remember several of my uncles who felt that they needed to guide my future, being there and saying, "That's nonsense, what does she want to do that for? She's just going to go get married and have kids." And that old story. (Christine Aranda-Smith)

But I never officially could have any kind of social interactions with boys until-- really, till college, and that's when I left home. But-- very traditional, both my parents were-- about my role as a woman. And the gender role is very, very clearly defined. (Libby Gil)

At some point, Al and Ella connected to school activities and a particular teacher who advocated for their success. Nonetheless, as young adults, they continued to experience discrimination or exclusion:

And so it was time for me to go away to college. And at that time I had a chance to sign with the Dodgers or go to four or five major universities. And I went to my counselor; I told my counselor, I said, "Mrs. Ryan, which one of these

scholarships." And for what? I mean, I had a 3.7 grade point average, I was student body president, full rides to go to school, academic scholarships. And she told me that I was stupid. "Don't-- you know, people like you don't go to college. Why don't you get a job working with your grandfather for a year or two and then maybe you can go to Mt. San Antonio Junior College." (Rudy Castruita)

[W]ent to high school and wanted to be a teacher. And Mr. Pichucci said, "I don't think you want to be a teacher. There's too many teachers." And every time I'd talk to somebody, they'd say, "There's teachers washing dishes, sweeping floors because we've got a glut of teachers." So, OK, I changed my mind, but I didn't know what I wanted to be. If I couldn't be a teacher, I had no idea what I wanted to be. (Jess Martinez)

I went to Southwestern College right out of high school 'cause I wanted to stay home. And I got that kind of treatment from some professors. You know, I have an accent now as I speak and I had it even more then. And professors were looking down at me and saying, "You may-- you may need to go to adult school and take some more English before you may want to consider continuing here in college. " and that kind of attitude. But I was getting good grades, passing his classes, getting that kind of attitude. (Manuel Paul)

Obstacles. Sure. I asked one of my teachers to write me a letter of recommendation for San Diego State and, although the teacher wrote the letter, he put in a disclaimer saying although he felt that it was in my heart, he didn't think I could make it. (Joe Brosz)

I was a chemistry major. That was so interesting. I really liked it. I really liked it. But in the whole (I went to San Diego State) in the whole place, there might have been maybe a hundred Latinos out of that whole student body. Maybe a hundred. And so to feel isolation is the first time I really came across people who, you know, I guess we had had a lot of it before and- - but who openly just were real racist. (Irma Castro)

A couple of things that I remember in experiencing that, that also have a lot to do with who I am, was that I remember finding out that if you were a minority, you didn't apply to get into a fraternity or sorority because they just didn't take minorities. And I-- first I didn't even know what a fraternity or sorority was. But once I got to the university and heard people talking about them, and asked questions about them, that's one of the first things I remember finding out. And, and it was a real-- I felt, not that I wanted to be in one, but I was upset that that was the only, the deciding factor about whether you could or couldn't be in a sorority. (Maida Torres-Stanovic)

Allies.

At significant crossroads, Al and Ella have found allies to help them stay on course educationally and professionally. Some allies have been family members.

I think that's what's more important than anything else is they were always there. It didn't make any difference what we did wrong-- not that they would condone it-- but they never withdrew love from us, you know? The support was always there. (Julian Lopez)

But again, you know, I had so many different choices. I mean, there's all kinds of stories, you know, but so many choices. And lots of support, which is-- I can't ever talk enough about the support, either that our parents gave us, and-- I mean, here they were, you know, parents who basically-- my father had what, an eighth grade education. But then they read a newspaper. Every day they would, my parents, read a newspaper. But they didn't really have, like, a real comprehension for a lot of -- but you know what? They made us feel okay about who we were. (Irma Castro)

So my, I guess, metamorphic change from criminal, gang member, drug addict to a productive member of society was no less miraculous than a caterpillar to a butterfly. Yeah. Because that's what I feel has occurred. And one of the saving facets of my life has been my wife and my family. You know, and her believing in me, sticking with me, encouraging me to be someone else. And the thing about her is that she's always supported me, from the time I met her, you know, as a janitor-- humble, honest work. But the money was not dirty, you know? And her encouragement to continue forward and to continue forward and her support-- without it, I wouldn't be here. (Joe Brosz)

Al and Ella also found allies in teachers, both Latino and Euro-American.

And I think it was a, I think it has to have been a turning point of sorts in fifth grade. I had a teacher, and her name was Grace Caster. And Grace Caster had been teaching a long time by the time I came along. And she said something that really made me feel good the first day of school. She said, "I am like your mother when you are not with your mother." And somehow, that really

made a difference to me. It felt safe. But Grace Caster was a great teacher-- for me anyway. I don't know how she compared, really, in methodology, you know. I don't know how she compared there; maybe she was not a very good teacher that way, but I learned my multiplication tables, I could identify every state by looking at its shape, and that was the year that I went from Group Three reading to Group One reading. (Jess Martinez)

But I remember a Nun pulling me aside when I was about a sophomore in high school, and I had turned in a sloppy assignment, and I remember her saying, "How dare you, this isn't worthy of you. You're not going to get into UCLA if you don't do better." And I thought to myself, "Hmm, I never thought to go to UCLA, interesting idea." So I went home and said something like, "Sister said I might go to UCLA." (Christine Aranda-Smith)

The other person that I think was influential in my life was Don Langdon, who taught for thirty-five years in the Sweetwater district. And his influence came mainly from making me realize that I did have the ability. I still remember several of his worked when he spoke with me one summer when I was taking U.S. History from him, and he said, "What are you doing hanging around with those guys? You're a bright kid; you've got a lot of opportunity; don't screw it up for yourself." And he was that direct. And that's always remained with me. And it was shortly thereafter that I finally realized-- one, I'd met my wife by then and secondly, I realized that I had to get my butt in gear to be able to graduate from high school. So, I then had Don again for Civics and I had Mr. Brady also for Spanish. So they kind of carried me through the eleventh grade, which was a critical point for me, and also through the twelfth grade, to

continue to support me and get me to where I needed to be. (Luis Maestre)

And he came over to me and he says, "You know, Rudy," he says, "you've got potential, man." I didn't know what potential meant, so I thought he was putting me down. And so I kind of shrugged it off and I went home and told my grandfather this guy said I had potential. . . .So for the first time in my career-- and I was twelve or thirteen years old-- a teacher validated that I had some kind of potential. Man, I was this teacher's buddy, man. I guarded his car-- nobody messed with his car. I took care of the guy. He invited me to go to the show with him because he used to work in the theater. I used to sweep up his movie theater 'cause I liked the guy. I mean, the guy liked me and I liked him. (Rudy Castruita)

One of my counselors was Mr. Llera. I'm sure you've probably worked with him, Manuel Llera. And I remember him as a senior in Mar Vista High School, going to Mr. Llera and telling him,, saying, "Yeah, I'd like to change my classes to -- to these other ones." And he says, "Why?" Well, 'cause my friends are there and it's -- it'd be easier for me to maintain my A." He said, "Manuel, I'll never change you to those classes. Those classes are easy classes. They're not college bound. And if you're getting an A now, where you are now, the worst you can do is drop to a B. And no. You just want to go over there to goof around and still get an easy A." He says, "No. You're going to college; your parents want you to go to college and you have the right classes. You're doing well. That's the end of it. You're not going anywhere." He said more, but the point was made. "You know, if you want me to help you, I'm going to help you by not letting you get out of those classes." (Manuel Paul)

Biculturalization

Following heritage of origin, the biculturalization process describes ongoing cultural identity development. Overall, subjects demonstrated variations of a standardized biculturalization processes which consists of a predominantly monocultural Latino identity acquisition period, some type of incorporating dominant culture characteristics (sometimes at the cost of home culture characteristics) period, some anti-status quo/ heightened ethnic period and, finally, bicultural wisdom: integration of dominant and minority culture skills, values and commitment to cultural pluralism. In Chapter 5, I will discuss the differences in socio-economic backgrounds, levels of exclusion, and levels of individualistic response to exclusion.

Al and Ella appear to have begun their personal and professional identity development in a stage of predominantly monocultural Latino culture acquisition.

And so here Rudy Castruita goes to the front door of school, and I see this teacher-- Anglo-- white teacher. I mean, you know, I really thought she was sick. I'd never seen anybody that white in my life, you know? And she had blond hair, blue eyes, and - and you know, she said something to me in a language I'd never

heard in my life. And I said to her, you know, "Puedes hablar español? Porque no?" (Rudy Castruita)

So, I've often thought that, for all intents and purposes, I might as well have grown up in Mexico because I was only in that kind of, our associations were mainly with Latinos. In fact, it was so predominantly Latino, that, whenever we had any kind of an association with Anglos, it felt different. And I use that word deliberately. When an Anglo person, when someone who didn't speak Spanish, came to our house, it was a big deal. Not a negative big deal, but it was different. It was a different experience. There was something; there was almost an electricity in the air that-- I don't know if it was some tension or stress, and not necessarily negative tension or stress-- but just, maybe it was my parents feeling challenged that they were going to have to try to understand this individual. (Jess Martinez)

I don't remember where I learned to speak English. At home it was Spanish and French was the second language, you know, like little books and a little vocabulary, that kind of stuff. But the language of communication was Spanish. (Christine Aranda-Smith)

I worked, when I was going to the University of Texas at El Paso-- the dean and the assistant dean were Hispanic: Dr. Gomez and Dr. Rivera. Dr. Rivera ended up being the vice-president of the University. Everywhere I looked, there were role models: very intelligent men and women in positions of power, very well educated. (Olivia Leschick)

We lived in Tijuana until 1962, at which time my father, having been a citizen of the United States and having served in the army during World War II, decided that it would be best for us to come to

the States and be educated. Which we did-- we all immigrated to just across the border to San Ysidro and we were there for about four years. (Luis Maestre)

And I think that growing up in that kind of an atmosphere, I didn't hear-- I didn't go to school with other than Hispanic kids till I was in high school. And then there were a couple of Indian kids and a couple of Anglo kids in my high school-- we'd moved to a town a little further away. And so, growing up as a Hispanic in a very Hispanic atmosphere, I grew up knowing, one, that I was an American, and two, but that I wasn't an Anglo. And that made me different. And that I was of Mexican background and that that was different and it was important. (Maida Torres-Stanovic)

I think there are a lot of meaningful things that I think my folks inculcated in me or in my brothers and sisters. One of those, I think, was humility. And sometimes that can work against you a little bit in this position, especially when you talk about organizations that are typically focused on Anglo-Saxons and whites. (George Cameron)

At some points, Ella and Al seem to have incorporated some dominant culture characteristics in their development as well:

My grandmother also had been very interested in the arts. I frequently would be pulled out of school because we would go to the philharmonic or we would go to the ballet or she would take me to see Faust and all those kinds of things. (Christine Aranda-Smith)

Basically, I was born and raised in El Paso, Texas and my dad was a real estate broker and my mother was a teacher. Unlike a lot of first generation Latinos, my family, they didn't come from migrant workers. My grandfather was the mayor of Juarez, my mother came from an affluent family from Mexico. (Olivia Leschick)

I grew up very white in high school. In elementary, the real young years, I was very Hispanic, very Latino. But for a time, there, it seemed as if most of my friends were very white. And, but yet, there was always a longing. (Jess Martinez)

So I started forcing myself to say, "You know, when I go to class today, I'm going to make sure that I participate, I speak up." You know, precipitate the dialogue, or whatever the case is. I started figuring that out a little bit better. (George Cameron)

I'll be real honest with you. And this is-- people (laughs) who talk with me are very taken aback about my political views (laughs). For whatever reasons-- I know MEChA has contributed a tremendous amount to a tremendous amount of kids. And my problem with MEChA has been the left-wing influence. (Joe Brosz)

But during that time, I've gone through some interesting changes. I was finishing college about the time that the political activity started with Latinos in-- all over the country-- New Mexico, California, all over. And I was very bothered by it at first. Reyes Lopez Tijerina was a New Mexico product and I thought he was crazy, at first. I did not understand what the issues were. And my feeling-- I remember making statements like, "Why are they doing that? If they really want to get ahead, why don't they settle down and go to school and get to work?!" And that was

my feeling at the time, was that there was-- you know, if you want to make something of yourself, you can. (Maida Torres-Stanovic)

And actually, it was almost an overnight experience. I can't go back and pinpoint when it happened, but to reject the church, to reject the family values about staying at home taking care of family, and really standing up for oneself was a very, very significant break, if you will, from -- from my past and its culture. (Libby Gil)

Ella and Al also reported the development of some anti-status quo or heightened ethnic consciousness:

This was about the time, I was still taking classes at Cal State Northridge, and the Chicano movement was really in full force-- at that point the beginning years of the Mexican-American Studies courses and Chicano Studies Departments and all the campus unrest and all of that. I got involved in that a little bit as far as being part of the student groups that were advocating for these programs. (Christine Aranda-Smith)

As the summer went on, Octavio Romano came to be with us for a couple of weeks. He taught one of the classes that we took. And one of the requirements for his class was that we had to go as a group to picket Safeway. And I remember my friend, Eddie-- he was from El Paso-- we're still friends, by the way. Here it is, twenty-seven years later, we're still friends. And we both, well, we complained all the way: "This is ridiculous. Why do we have to do all this radical stuff, just to get credit for our class?"

And, oh, we complained and complained. But we did it. And going through that-- by the end of summer, we were doing it voluntarily. (Laughs) And by the end of summer, we were totally different persons. But-- not only Eddie and I but other people-- most of the other people who hadn't already made that change. (Maida Torres-Stanovic)

I've never identified with a Martin, especially when you look at Disneyland-- Spin and Marty, that kind of thing I never identified. When I was in La Mesa/Spring Valley, people were always confused: MarTIN, Martin, then there was Juaquin. Then I thought, no, no, I have to define myself. So, when I came to Cajon Valley, I just said from now on I am MarTIN. And from now on since that point, I've been MarTIN and I'm only known as MarTIN. (Martin Jaquez)

And so when I went to Imperial Valley, it was really to help them without knowing where they were. I know who they were, but I didn't know where they lived. But, I went down there, and that part of it, I enjoyed in Imperial Valley. But it was a little bit of an eye opener because I realized that my people have a lot of problems and that they're not all saints. There's a lot of bad people among our people. (laugh) (Jess Martinez)

I'm thinking of my secondary experience and I disliked school with a passion. I disliked everyone in it. I disliked the teachers; I disliked the kids. And you know what it was? If I can just flash back a little-- I think it was the fact that I didn't have it within me to be a good kid, even though it was in my heart. I had already established myself as a thug. And as much as I wanted to be a good kid, I didn't have it in me to do it, you know? (Joe Brosz)

My gang involvement, it was like anything else. You don't start at the top. You start at the bottom. Start with, you know, I guess entry level: Gang 101 (laughs). All of us, we went into it not knowing where we were going and not realizing that the road, although we were told many times, was a dead end-- wouldn't believe it, you know? So I was, I was fixated on being a tough guy, which, to tell you the truth, I never felt I ever really realized, you know? I think the perception was there, but. . . (Joe Brosz)

And finally I got to eighth grade. And-- I mean, I used to do a lot of stupid things. And I used to be kind of the guy-- the vato loco, you know, with the Pendleton khakis and -- I mean, I played the role. I mean, I was a real chingon, you know-- I used to pilfer money from kids, I mean, you name it. (Rudy Castruita)

And I had a period of rebelliousness that I-- also had an impact on my life. I was an angry young man; I got involved with gangs and-- although at the time, from 1962 to 1965, which is the period of time in which I was involved, was not as-- in other words, the streets were not as mean as they were later on. I think what it did for me is it gave me an opportunity to kind of "walk on the wild side" a little bit, and sow my oats and do some things that, you know, typically would deprive people of opportunities later on in life.

I was very fortunate. I think the difference between myself and most of my fellow members was that I didn't get caught. And I think that that probably was a key element in my ability to then continue to refocus my energies in education. (Luis Maestre)

Finally, Al and Ella also reflected integration of dominant and minority culture skills, values and commitment to cultural pluralism: bicultural wisdom.

And you know, some of us even changed our names, you know. You know, instead of called Jaime, we're called Jamies, you know. And some (laughs), you know. But see, I don't feel-- I don't blame them. I really don't. Because in order for us to be able to survive in this society, in the culture, in order to be able to survive and benefit some of the richness of it, they, the society, took away from us, you know, part of us. They took part of our culture, they took part of our language. And just simply to be able to survive, okay? And now as we get older and more mature and a little bit more experienced, many of us are trying to go back and recoup what they took away from us. (Julian Lopez)

I'd say ten years ago, twenty years ago, I definitely would have not tolerated. I would have reacted and not accepted anybody's difference. So that's part of my own growing and development. The ability for me to respond to that businessman, for example, without attacking him, although I had every urge to (laughs) is a new skill I'm learning. (Libby Gil)

And not for the last ten years had I ever had a discussion with a Latina or Latino who was against bilingual ed; and I had one here, like, two months ago at my brother's house. Had it been ten years ago, I probably would have become the ax murderer of the world and buried an ax in her head and walked away (laughs)! But because I'm older now and because experience has taught me that you're not going to change people

through violence; you're going to change them through education. (Joe Brosz)

And so, I'm comfortable. I mean, I'm comfortable with whatever I do. And part of it is that I'm comfortable being who I am and I know where I'm headed. So that even though I have to work at it every day and I always have to remain pretty clear about what my own philosophical trains are, I like it. So, I probably will not change dramatically. (Irma Castro)

The mainstream culture values preparation, values drive, values organizational skills, values long hours, values hard work. You know, I value that, too (laugh). I had a colleague of mine reflect that I was the first Hispanic who espoused the Protestant ethic of hard work, long hours and all that. And I said to myself, "I'm neither Anglo nor Protestant." But it was a good feeling for me to be recognized for that: the fact that in some ways I reflect the mainstream population, but I haven't lost my ethnicity. (Luis Maestre)

Meaning of Being a Latino Administrator

Being a Latino administrator means many things: experiencing overt and covert exclusion and white privilege; responding to exclusion; finding allies in people and policies; experiencing isolation, and understanding the dynamics of being an insider.

Exclusion.

Continuing on in their professional lives, Al and Ella experienced both direct and indirect

forms of professional exclusion. Although at this level, exclusion was usually discreet, Al and Ella occasionally experienced exclusion.

And why I'm here is important to me because when I decided to move to San Diego and started applying for jobs in different districts, I came to the Sweetwater School District and I couldn't even get an application. They told me they weren't hiring any teachers or counselors.

And I was interviewed for a job up in North County somewhere. And the guys who interviewed me said, "The lady who just walked out of here is from the Sweetwater School District. And they just received a bug Title VII grant, and they're going to be hiring bilingual teachers and counselors." And I said, "Gee, that's interesting. I had just been there a couple of days before and couldn't even get an application."
(Maida Torres-Stanovic)

I don't remember a principal calling me to say, 'Hey, congratulations, you're welcome.' Nothing at all. In fact, I even felt a little taken aback because I can remember an incident when I became principal of Kimball, Jaime Mercado became principal of National City Jr. High, I believe, about the same time... Anyway, they were going to introduce the new National City principals. And at that time, it was being coordinated by a National City board and some board members of the Sweetwater board. And they didn't invite me. I didn't even get an invitation. I remember thinking about that saying, 'You know what, that's kind of shitty.' You know? (George Cameron)

And it was very... I think that they weren't prepared for Hispanics in administrative roles. And second because they told me up front. They said, "We" and they told me this, you know, behind closed doors. The director of personnel then told me, "We don't want you here. Matter of fact," he said, "I can help you get a job at Sweetwater. I'd rather-- we'd rather have our teachers come in, teach and go home. Not like you who goes out in the community and meets with parents and students and thinks that you're a player in this district-- 'cause you're not and you will never be." (Manuel Paul)

'Cause there's people in this community, there's people here at this office who want me to fail. And I know that. I mean, you know that going in: that people want you to fail. Just a matter of life. I mean, they may say to your face, "Hey, you're doing a great job." But it makes them ill when they see a Latino running the show." (Rudy Castruita)

And to try as much as possible, to achieve perfection because I have felt very strongly that these are large, complex human institutions with a lot of personal dynamics. Given that, everybody makes mistakes. I've seen it; I've seen people make mistakes. When one is part of the system, there is support for correction and improvement; when one is not part of the system, those mistakes are used to isolate and disempower and remove. That's just a reality; that's just how you work constantly. (Christine Aranda-Smith)

As far as racism being alive and well; yes, it is alive and well. . . .If you can say it's racism with politeness (laughs). But I don't see the meanness, or it's not shown to my face. And I've been in this district for about-- going on ten years now. (Martin Jaquez)

But the racism-- it is there, and you feel it in different ways. You feel it in-- and I'll tell you. Ruth Chapman used to like me a lot. Ruth Chapman liked me, you know, till I was a principal. Ruth stopped liking me when I came to work in Personnel. Same person, I don't do anything different, except in her mind, I am here to hire Mexicans. And so, therefore, I'm a problem. (Maida Torres-Stanovic)

But at times, I feel that my contribution is overlooked and that people are more concerned about if I dotted the i's and crossed the t's and forget that the reason I might not have dotted the i's and crossed the t's is because I was giving time to an individual or family or a teacher and a student to help bridge a gap or resolve a problem and I will often times postpone administrative type of paperwork to take care of a situation where I can help resolve an issue and so it's very difficult. (Jess Martinez)

I think in Vista, when I moved to Vista, I encountered some of the same kinds of things, some of the same attitudes. There was a move afoot in the district to become more ethnically diverse. I think you and I have had conversations, having worked in the same place, about some of the-- I don't know whether it's a different standard or whether it's a-- a more stringent standard for Hispanics. I recall you and I sharing, my first or second year I think it was, in Vista, where I was given what I considered to be an unjustified evaluation that reflected a "Needs to Improve." And, you know, I found myself in a very uncomfortable position. And I found-- my experience had been that others who were mainstream culture, who were Anglo, had not been held to the same strict accounting and the same standard that I had been held. (Luis Maestre)

I spend a lot of time on the phone and most people are shocked when they meet me. And since my last name is my husband's name, and it's a European name, they-- almost everyone says, "You're not what I expected." (laughs)
(Olivia Leschick)

I think that. . . I bring a so-called image that people don't expect there to be-- how would you say-- abilities? [So they're not taken for granted?] Exactly. I think a lot of people see me and don't look at me and say, "Well, this guy's curricularly wise." They may think, "Well, he knows how to work custodians and facilities, but probably knows nothing about SDAIE training (laughs), you know? Probably doesn't know anything about bilingual ed; he's more of a muscle man." (Joe Brosz)

I attended my first meeting at San Diego County Office of Education-- superintendent's meeting. . . And they had chairs in the back for the-- what I call the peanut gallery. So, naturally, being late to the meeting, I accepted that without any-- and no one introduced me, no one said, "Welcome, Julian," or "This is a new superintendent." Nothing. You know, I sat there and the meeting went on. And that was the only brown face in the whole meeting. Another superintendent walked in, fifteen, twenty minutes after I did. And-- Anglo-- and Terry Ryan gets up from the front of the table, jumps up and says, "Oh, so and so, welcome." And he goes and grabs a chair from the back where I was sitting, takes it all the way to the front and puts it right next to him. So he does make a place for him. And, you know, it's-- but I've had those type of rebuffs all my life, you know? (Julian Lopez)

Individual Response.

Given the many levels of exclusion, hostility and oversight that Al and Ella experienced, they generally responded by overcompensating in their personal and professional knowledge, work production, and determination to be included, thereby becoming effective individuals and professionals in an often negative societal and educational context. In a few cases, a gang lifestyle preceded the professional achievement. Most often, the subjects internalized a high standard for both personal and professional accomplishment.

So I was always beginning to start feeling, it was real important to feel in control emotionally. Because one of the things I hated was to feel a loss or feel out of control or feel that I was missing something. So that in many ways permeated itself during my life. (Martin Jaquez)

And I was not going to let that happen to me again. So every job I've gone out for, I am so well prepared, and I make it so difficult for that committee to say that, hey, no we can't hire this guy. And that's been part of my success - is being overly prepared, being on top of things and being sensitive to the issues and staying one step ahead of the crowd. 'Cause if I don't, I'm going to get swallowed up. (Rudy Castruita)

I almost feel that I can't just be a good Latino superintendent in National City. I've got to be a very good one to be able, to sometimes coalesce our support on something. (George Cameron)

I think we have to be very skillful consumers of research; we have to be readers; we have to be very serious about our profession and bringing in new programs. We have to be excellent-- I think-- psychologists because we need to understand our staffs well; we need to understand when they are at the instructional level and when they're at the stress level. (Christine Aranda-Smith)

Oh, yeah. I went to every workshop that was out there. I participated in district committees. Oh, I mean, you tell me, I was there-- trying to always better myself. I think, to a point, I felt like I was overqualified. (Manuel Paul)

One of the things that I did-- and that's why I have all these degrees and credentials-- is I didn't want people to say to me, which they did, he says, "Well, if one of you had this degree, if you had that credential." And I made it very early in my life that I'm going to get all the credit cards-- I'm gonna get 'em all. So they can't say to me, whomever 'they' may be, "You need this type of credential." or "Why don't you have this type of degree on it?" I said, "There they are." (Julian Lopez)

All subjects developed high work ethic standards, so high that they would effectively be beyond reproach.

Well, I think that part of that is, again, back to the Selena movie-- the line that's very universal, where he tells her that she's going to have to be twice as good. And I think that that's going to be something that most people have to live with. You gotta understand that. You have to make sure-- I think if you're Latino, you have to be squeaky clean. TA

I've been able to obtain quite a few grants here in Pauma when I was a substitute teacher-- and then Special projects Coordinator-- I was able to obtain a half a million dollars worth of grants here, Valley Center (1.5 million) and know it was out of my work. It had nothing to do with whether-- who I was. (Olivia Leschick)

Furthermore, all subjects demonstrated high levels of perseverance and determination to be included in an administrative position.

I believe that although racism exists more for some than for others, that we determine how much that gets us down, you know? And for some of us, it devastates us, and it's a real feeling. For others, it makes us more determined. And one of the best things that's ever happened to me was coming back to this district after being-- as we say-- washed out, expelled, exiled. "Oh, this guy'll never come back. This guy-- let's throw the key away." And one of the greatest feelings I've ever had was to come back to this district as a professional. Because that proves the naysayers wrong and it breaks, for many, it broke the stereotype that 'we' couldn't make-- the homies. You know? (Joe Brosz)

What's happened with me is that I have persevered and when I don't find the opportunities within the same district, my option has been to move and to look for those opportunities in other districts. (Luis Maestre)

That's all I needed, for somebody to tell me that I will never be an administrator because at that point, you know, I said, "Well, I'll prove you wrong. OK?" (Libby Gil)

I'll be damned if you're gonna drive me out of here on a rail. You know, I guess once you've made your mark and once people have been shown that, in fact, you do have the ability the skills, the knowledge, the experience to be a successful administrator-- and that's what we're referring to-- that's what I'm referring to in terms of the experience I've related-- that they're more willing and more accepting of the fact that you're there to stay. (Luis Maestre)

In addition to their individual efforts, skills and stamina, professionally, the subjects found colleagues, community members and superintendents who acted on their behalf as allies.

Sometimes there has been support from Anglo administrators and in my experience, they've been the strongest advocates. When you can find those individuals that have really internalized the need and really want to make some changes and so on, my experience is that they are Anglo and they are very strong supporters. (Christine Aranda-Smith)

I had a superintendent that didn't know anything about high schools. He said, "That's your bag; you do it. You have carte blanche; just keep me informed."
(Rudy Castruita)

I think in terms of people who supported me, I had a board member who took a special interest in me. He happened to know my family and -- I don't necessarily feel that I owe him the position because I -- he was a sponsor, but I think I made my mark and I was able to establish myself and so the subsequent opportunities came as a result of my hard work. (Luis Maestre)

And the superintendent/ principal came to me. He said, "Julian," he says, "I understand you have a master's degree in school administration." he said. "How would you like to be an AP?" I said, "Oh. I'll try it." And I cleaned up that school and saved the principal's job (laughs) at the same time. And so that's how I was able to do that on it. (Julian Lopez)

I don't know what that was, but there was that old guard, that instead of coming out and reaching out and saying, "Hey," I got it from the superintendent, Rick Reyappel, who appointed me to that position; I got it from the assistant supe. And, had it not been for those two people, I think I would have said, "You know, I can't do this." (George Cameron)

When I came in this district, Sef Torres, Joseph /Torres, was principal at Montgomery High-- had been since it had opened. And Manuel Llera worked at the district office as something or other. Those were the only two Hispanic administrators in the entire district. . . .And then Maria (Medrano) worked with the rest of us in-- "These are the kinds of questions they might ask in an interview."-- 'cause she's the only one who'd even BEEN through an interview! .

. . And so that's-- we sort of mentored each other, 'cause we didn't have anybody. We didn't-- and then we were considered a bunch of radicals, anyway. (laughs) (Maida Torres-Stanovic)

Maybe it's different for me in that I've found that some of the people that have helped me the most have been the white males. In fact, I feel that white males have been some of my main supporters. Even moreso than, maybe, other Latinos. I happened to be married to a white male. I never feel out of place, and maybe that's it, too, and maybe that's from my background in that I always look for people that can help. (Olivia Leschick)

People who saw some value in my leadership ability actually were white males who wanted to mentor, who wanted - - and I rejected all of them. And let me give you a very powerful example. I was a second-year teacher in this district and I got a call from the personnel director one day to ask if I would have a meeting with him. And I thought "Gee, I wonder what's going on you know?" So I met. And basically what he said to me was, you know, what would you like to do five years from now? And have you ever thought about administration? What about being a principal? And I was so offended I told him so. I said, "How dare you think (laughs) that I would become one of them!" (Libby Gil)

Allies, to me, would be community, teachers--- it's always going to be at least fifty percent of the teachers. I've never really been in a site where the teachers, at least over half, are not in favor, but there's always going to be the vocal people that are-- they oppose everything. But that's fine; that's good for bouncing things off. And my kids are always in favor of me. I mean, kids can see right away. (Tony Alfaro)

Occasionally, although infrequently, entree to a new role or district came in the form of legally mandated programs or other outside influence, such as special funding or community pressure.

But then what happened was-- what helped us a lot was that this district was found out of compliance by the State in serving the needs of the LEP kids, back in, like, 1977- 78, around there. And so they had to come up with a compliance agreement with the State. And part of their agreement-- they committed themselves to hiring more bilingual teachers. (Maida Torres-Stanovic)

It was not something that came easy. I remember being given the opportunity to work as a summer school coordinator for the Migrant Program. And that was something that was initially going to be assigned to somebody else; but because of the issue of my ethnicity, my ability to-- my cultural background and also my ability to speak a second language, which the other individual did not, I was given the opportunity to do that. (Luis Maestre)

And in order to be able to receive federal moneys, what helped in the application, if the director and the person that wrote that was Hispanic. And, so, the district was interested in getting federal moneys; I don't think they were interested in helping kids-- but interested in getting federal moneys. And the way they get federal moneys is by having a Hispanic director. And I think that opened an avenue for many of us. Bilingual education opened many avenues for many of us that otherwise would not have been opened. (Julian Lopez)

Back then-- I don't know if you were familiar with the Aesop Program, which is a federal desegregation program. Lots of funding to help districts desegregate schools. Was kind of an open door, you know, whatever, however you want to do it. (Libby Gil)

Did it make a lot of difference? And it was happening in this district, and how long has it been out of compliance? Still do what they want-- till somebody takes their money away. The minute they take their money away, then that's when people change. . . Oh, yeah, absolutely. You know, if you don't have people on the outside holding institutions accountable, it just will not happen. It will not happen. (Irma Castro)

I said, "Well, I came out of the Teacher Corps and I have a master's in reading and a master's in bilingual education and ready for teaching." They guy says, "You're kidding." . . . He said, "Wait a minute, just wait; tell you what, we're waiting on a Federal grant." and that's when they started the Federal grants, Title VII, for bilingual education. And they said, "We'll give you a call." . . . So I got back in my Volkswagen, started driving away. He caught up and he said that just as I started stepping out of the door and got into my Volkswagen that Washington called-- they got funded Title VII and it was a reading type program to assist kids who are English learners to learn these programs. He says, "Do you want the job?" (Martin Jaquez)

Isolation

Al's reflection revealed a sad and consistent theme. All too often, in the dominant culture, individualism and exclusion work against Latino

administrators, resulting in isolation. Sometimes the fact that this group worked in a pioneering mode, being the first or one of a minority of minorities, led to this isolation. Other times, the nature of the role itself led to this isolation. In any case, the experience was always personally and professionally difficult.

I felt that way because you still didn't see too many Chicanos, you know. And it wasn't that long ago-- the early 'seventies! You know, I graduated from high school in 1970. So in the early seventies, mid-seventies, still there wasn't that many people in JC or at state. Now you see a lot of brown faces because there's a lot of us now in the classrooms trying to push these kids to continue. But back then, heck, at San Diego, at Mar Vista High School, there was only one Chicano teacher-- and he wasn't even Chicano-- he was an American Indian! But we identified with this guy, you know. Ben Linares. He barely spoke a couple of words in Spanish, and gosh, we thought, you know-- we have someone here! (Manuel Paul)

Well, I think one of the most difficult things is there was nobody to emulate. There was nobody before me. There's nobody before me that looks like me, that thought like me, that -- there's no support here. You're out there, you know? Like a pathfinder, you know? And a lot of times you don't even know where in the hell you're going. Will I be going the right way or not? And there's no one to guide you; there's no one to assist you on it. Many times, you're just flying by the seat of the pants on it. (Julian Lopez)

And the other one is family. Just the value of closeness to family. . . And that's helped me through some pretty tough times, too, as well. Having that person that you can share-- because it does tend to be a little lonely-- the job. You know, I can call another superintendent here and there about something, but by and large what happens is very infrequently does one superintendent call another one about a problem that they're having, or whatever, because there's almost a sense of gosh, how is that person gonna interpret that, perhaps. And you don't want to come across as a whiner-- so, lo que haces es, you know, se lo tragas. (George Cameron)

Sometimes I feel like a hyphen because I make decisions sometimes that are contrary to the Hispanic community. And I make a decision contrary to the Anglo community, and they think that I'm just doing it for the Hispanics. And I really feel like I'm a hyphen sometimes. (Rudy Castruita)

So, you know, we work in isolation. Maybe people who we are and what we become as far as administrators, we got here because we were in isolation! (laughs) Yea. I've never been to a meeting of Latinos to promote Latinos. I've been part of CAFE. But even then, sometimes I don't agree with the issues, you know? And so-- it's interesting. I mean, wow. (Martin Jaquez)

Yeah. I think one of the things that would be nice-- if those of us in positions that we're in now: superintendents, assistant superintendents-- if we could just spend some time just rapping: getting to know each other and knowing our-- see, one of the things we don't want to expose is our weaknesses. And all of us have weaknesses. My God, you know, we don't

want to show that side on it. (Julian Lopez)

Ella, on the other hand, experienced a more collaborative response to exclusion and individualism.

So anyway, Maria was-- was Manuel's assistant principal, and Maria said, "Well, you know, Maida is finishing her credential. How about her?" And Manuel said, "Oh, I don't think so. Maida's too radical." . . . And Maria said, "Well, you know"-- 'cause she was working on her credential at the same time that I was, so we'd gotten to know each other. We'd also gotten to know each other through AMAE. Oh, we started AMAE and AMAE was-- I'll tell you, AMAE was political. (Maida Torres-Stanovic)

Well, I think-- I think there's a couple of things, and something I encourage people to do. One is always be willing to share with others information about how the system works, in a way that is kind. I mean, not a way that puts people down, but in a way that encourages people to be a part of it and at least understanding and having a good sense of-- of what that part is. And that's real important. (Irma Castro)

We have several Latinas right now who are being mentored in many different ways-- and I will personally encourage them. Last year, sent two of our aspiring administrators, who were teachers at that time, to an ACSA training for three days to become principals. (Libby Gil)

And I know that the common wisdom - and I think it's true-that women are probably more open and more sharing and everything. But it's a time issue. Most professional women and most Latinas, professional Latinas, are still doing a lot of the traditional Latina homemaker kind of things. They're still great cooks and running great homes and family-and being great grandmas, yes!
(Christine Aranda-Smith)

Insiders

Only two of the fourteen participants considered themselves as institutional insiders; it seems no coincidence that these two people have perhaps the longest standing relationship and identification with the particular communities and constituencies they serve. For the most part, the participants were consistent in their views of themselves as outsiders:

I don't think a Latino can ever be an insider-- or a minority superintendent. I mean, take a look at the surroundings here. I mean, if you were to tell me that I'd be in an office like this, in a position like this, twenty-five years ago, I would have told you you're crazy. And you can never let your guard down. I mean, I-- but that's me. You know, you will never, ever see me, in any position I've had, walking around with a cup of coffee in my hand. You'll never see me sitting in the lunchroom just BSing with the folks. That's not my make up. (Rudy Castruita)

Errors will be made. But I think I said when we met before, my experience has been that everybody makes mistakes, but when certain individuals make those, the system is supportive and when other individuals make mistakes, you're hung out to dry. (Christine Aranda-Smith)

And so I know that those people are there and they will do whatever they can to keep from ever letting us feel like insiders. And especially if you're the kind of person who's known for doing those kinds of things. You know, if you-- if you're a Latino-- probably any other ethnic group-- and you come in and you play the game and you're quiet and you don't raise any issues and you go along, they'll let you in. They'll let you-- and I'll tell you that-- And Manuel will admit (laughs) that when for the first ten, fifteen years that he was an administrator in this district, that's who he was. He went along, he was one of the guys, he was -- and the minute that he started changing and people-- all of a sudden-- I don't think he feels as much like an insider as he had before. So, do I feel like an insider? Probably I will never feel completely like an insider. (Maida Torres-Stanovic)

I know that I am respected here. But I don't consider-- personally I don't consider myself on the inner circles. I don't hang around with the superintendent; professionally, we're amicable. The assistant superintendent, the same thing; there's a respect back and forth. But it's not-- yeah, I don't consider myself an insider. Or is it important to me. I know that I'm involved when there are decisions to be made in certain areas. But, yeah I-- that's a hard one. (Martin Jaquez)

Do I feel like an insider? Personally, no, because no one comes to me and asks me whether these moves should be made or not. That's not my position. Do I feel like an insider in terms of receiving information? Sure, I do. (Joe Brosz)

No. I still see myself as an outsider. If you go to a superintendents' meeting right now, statewide or nationally, if you walk in that room you would definitely feel like the outsider. 'Cause your typical superintendent is white male, probably in late forties, early fifties, balding head, kind of paunchy (laughs). And I can't tell you, you know -- I -- I've gone to -- and I -- it just blurts out.

I mean, I remember my first county meeting; I went with one of my colleagues; we were carpooling. And it's Larry Acheatel from South Bay, who is a white male, right? And I'm driving up to this place and I see all these people. I said: Larry, why do they all look alike? And then I looked at him; I said: yeah, they look like you. (Libby Gil)

So to me that shows that I'm not an insider, you see. I don't consider myself-- and so people look at me like, well, yeah-- because I-- a lot of times I have to tell people what-- where I really feel we are. And that doesn't happen-- I think when you're an insider, then you become more of a yes-man. Yeah, yeah, yeah, that's it-- this is the company line. And I see my-- I see the assistant superintendents always do that. . . But it's not-- I would say I'm kind of, now, an old-timer. I've been here twenty-three years. But that doesn't make me an insider. See, that's the whole thing. (Tony Alfaro)

However, some participants found that they were valued for their background and were promoted within some organizations.

What I found here is a different attitude. They value the experience that was brought; they value the training; they value the kinds of-- you know, whether the -- intangible things: the fact that I'm bilingual, the fact that I'm bicultural, the fact that I'm a local kid. You know, they've really valued those things. And they felt that would be an asset, as opposed to a liability. So I think those are --- those are some significant differences between -- in terms of the attitude toward the individual candidate. (Luis Maestre)

Well, after my year at Valley Center, Pauma had an opening for Superintendent/Principal. Well, I didn't have to interview-- they asked me to take the position.... I never consider myself an insider or an outsider. I mostly consider myself a loner, to be perfectly honest. (Olivia Leschick)

Look around the table and they're all white. They kind of kept me in the corner of their eye, kept their eye on me a little bit and when I came to the assistant superintendent one time, I said, "Dr. Reappel, I got my administrative credential. I'd really like it, if I could, I'd really like to be a summer school principal." Well, he's the one that knocked on my door later on and said, "No, you're not going to be summer school principal; you're going to be principal of the school." (George Cameron)

I don't know if insider is the word I would use. I see myself more as being part of. And now, what I mean by that is that in any community, there's a -- several factions, or cliques, or political groups, you might say. And there's several of them. And to me, an insider would be part of either one of those. And I am not. I'm not a -- I am a part of all of them, but not total in any one of them. And I think as a superintendent, that's a position that we need to take on. (Julian Lopez)

Surprisingly, two participants described themselves as insiders.

So, yeah, I'm on the inside, but it's also--they don't give a shit whether I'm here or not. So, I have loyalty to this institution because of the kids. I have loyalty to it because it IS where we need to be, whether we like it or not. It may not be where everybody needs to be. I don't believe in this thing about, "Oh, you need to be an insider to make change." I don't believe in that. I think you need both desperately if you're going to make something happen. (Irma Castro)

If I'm going to be an agent of change, then I must have the support of parents and support of my staff. Now, what's more important--to have support of my staff or have support of the community? In my case, it's more important to have support of the community because they are the ones we are serving. I've seen many administrators come and go because they haven't danced to the tune of the staff. And I'm--I shouldn't say this, but I feel that I'm immune to that simply because I do enjoy the support of the community, the support of parents--because I'm one of them: I work for them, I can understand them, they can understand me, I know what they want, I

know what they need and it's an open communication.
(Manuel Paul)

In addition, Irma's reflection links her professional and cultural development.

Any maybe part of it is age, maybe part of it is that I have finally come to terms with this notion that I'm a piece of all of it: I'm not the purist and I'm not the leftist and I'm not that radical. I probably never was. And I would probably call myself a vendida if I was twenty years old. I mean, that's the truth. That's what would happen. But the reality is that I'm much more comfortable with it than I was before. There's a lot of things I don't like about it and maybe one day I'll pay the price. But I think I still bring in enough questions wherever I'm at to say, "This is not right and this is right."

In summary, Julian Lopez' example of not being offered a seat serves as a metaphor for many of our administrators' experience: participants bring themselves to administrative roles despite overt and covert exclusion.

On one hand, in addition to extraordinary individual skills and perseverance, some support from dominant culture supervisors appears to be a necessary part of advancing in administrative roles. On the other hand, the data indicates that when a Latino administrator identifies with and is

supported by a solid core of parents and community members in a predominantly Latino community, s/he may rely less on the support of dominant culture members and, in fact, experience being an insider by role and informal recognition.

Most troubling, the data suggests that isolation threatens personal and professional development. On a personal level, it seemed more difficult to even reflect upon the experience of isolation than many other areas that dealt with exclusion. Participants indicated that collaborating may be the next action to take for Latinos in administration to continue being recruited and retained in the context of an anti-Latino educational and social setting.

Organizational Transformation

In this final data cluster, the subjects described their conscious efforts as Latino administrators to promote equity, obstacles they encountered, success stories and theories of organizational transformation.

Latino administrative efforts.

Given their experiences, Al and Ella concurred that being a Latino administrator meant

bringing sensitivity to action in various ways:
being a role model, conscientious staffing,
mentoring and advocating for and showing
commitment to the Latino community.

But that's okay. You know, I don't--
again, I-- those kinds of achievements
that I have are, I hope, are paving the
way for other Latinos to say, "Hey, si
se puede. You know, you can do it." And
the door is open-- if it isn't open, you
gotta kick it in. (Rudy Castruita)

And that as a teacher, I felt I was a
role model; I felt other teachers didn't
feel I was, within my own ranks. But
once again, they weren't the customer--
the kid was, you know? I had a certain
standard, as a-- and still do for those
kids-- expectations. I think most of
all, I think I felt what does it mean?
It means that kids who now didn't have a
voice, now had me to utilize as that
voice, within the climate of the school
atmosphere. And within the
administration, because I could take
concerns to the administration, you
know, that they may be afraid to take.
And I could stand up for them-- and I
would. (Joe Brosz)

It's very intrinsically satisfying to be
of service to Hispanic people, to Latino
people. They're my brethren and that's a
very personal description, but that's
how I feel towards them. I like all
people, but there's obviously something
very special for them because I can
identify with them personally: their
circumstances, their challenges, the way
they perceive this country and their
challenges at school or at work or in
the community. (Jess Martinez)

Besides being a positive role model, participants also used their influence through their administrative position to formally promote organizational change through staffing.

I guess, and I don't know if this answers your question, but I make no bones about the fact that I'm Mexican. And I make no bones about the fact that I'm very interested in supporting my kids and also to promote individuals with opportunities that kind of reflect my way of thinking or that are representative of my own ethnicitybut I've founded my belief system on the fact that my own experiences dictate to me that you have to have people that support and promote you. And I don't just mean in the educational arena; I mean in all aspects of life. (Luis Maestre)

But I knew all along that someday I was going to work in Personnel because I thought there was a lot of work that needed to be done and I felt kind of a mission to do that. (laughs) (Maida Torres-Stanovic)

Well, I definitely recognize the imbalances that we have in staffing patterns and the inconsistency of this school district to remedy this in the past. And because I know superintendents have a short life span in a school district, I do make it a point to help staff, the leadership of a school district, empathize with some of those discrepancies. So, I've made it a point, since I've been here over the last six years, to ensure that we hire native bilingual speakers to go into classrooms, not those people that consider themselves bilingual, but are not very good in Spanish. I've made it a

point to make sure that we have bilingual principals at schools and working toward that, bilingual psychologists because that's representative of the clientele in National City. (George Cameron)

Both individually and as a group, participants recognized the importance of mentoring other Latino administrators, even though they generally did not experience the benefits of such support.

From the county perspective, I mean, I talked to you about the superintendents' academy, the principals' academy-- looking at now, an inclusion program for teachers to understand and give them more cultural sensitivity to Latino kids. And all these things are moving forward without a lot of fanfare, which I like. (Rudy Castruita)

See, my two v.p.'s here, you can talk to them yourself. They were totally disempowered as v.p.'s. . . . [T]hese are their words, "I've taught them more in the time, Dr. Martinez, in the four years she's been with two principals." 'Cuz they didn't teach her anything--- 'cuz to me, that's how you hurt a person. All the things we say-- Latinos, that's how we get hurt 'cuz nobody teaches you. (Tony Alfaro)

We have several Latinas right now who are being mentored in many different ways; I will personally encourage them. Last year I sent two of our aspiring administrators, who were teachers at that time, to an ACSA training for three days to become principals. (Libby Gil)

I think the other part is how do we develop good mentoring? . . . So that there's always somebody, or a few somebodies ready to take your place. (Irma Castro)

Participants identified particularly with Latino students and parents and carried a special commitment to advocate for their inclusion and success.

Another issue is feeling very heavily the responsibility of being the advocate for the student because I know that many of our parents cannot advocate for their children in the way that middle-class parents do. So I feel that we have a greater responsibility here. (Christine Aranda-Smith)

And maybe I am more sensitive because I am Latino. And I see many people out there who are afraid to come to school, or don't understand the system; and what's happening is their child is suffering by that because then they're relegated to a second-class because they don't-- they're not getting themselves involved. Their kids are seeing that and so the child is living in kind of a -- two different worlds. And that's not good. That's not good. So maybe in some respect, being Latino, I'm more sensitive to that. (Martin Jaquez)

But the intentional injustices that I see that make me just say, "I've had enough. I can't tolerate these people any more." And yet, in my heart, I think, "Who will stay with these people? Who will, I mean, what will happen to these people?" I'm sure that someone could replace me, but wouldn't we do a better job together, if I waited for that other person to come and together we -- I don't know, it's kind of a commitment, I guess, in my heart. (Jess Martinez)

Yeah, I-- again it's -- a lot of people have asked me that. Why don't you just go to another district? I said, "I-- maybe I'm crazy, but I like San Ysidro. This is where I want to be. This is where I think I can have influence and make positive changes-- where I can actually go out and knock on doors, go to home visits and be accepted as one of them, where I'm not an outsider. (Manuel Paul)

Obstacles

As 'bottom lines' go, some participants seemed to describe opening up the current educational system to be more equitable for Latinos, while others described a deeper organizational transformation. Playing a leading role in an organizational transformation from monocultural to multicultural or culturally democratic is no simple feat. Al and Ella identified some of the obstacles embedded in the San Diego County K-12 social context:

But I-- you know, I-- yeah, I concur with you. I think that those people in south county are --always look to the model (Poway). But they should create their own model. And they have the wherewithal to do it, but there's a lot of-- if you take a look at the boards out there, there's a lot of political infighting and-- again, Latino versus Latino. (Rudy Castruita)

Most don't even understand, I think their prejudices. The best intentioned don't understand. And then there are some who are just very subtle about what

they do. They subtly undermine kids. And, you know, you can confront those individuals and so on, but they will eyeball you and say, "I've been here before you; I'll be here after you." You know, it's a very insidious, very difficult system to change. (Christine Aranda-Smith)

And I mean, I recall having a conversation with XXX XXX about the very issue of ethnic diversity in terms of their administrative staff and in terms of their teaching staff. He was very plain and very up front about it. He said to me in an interview situation with-- it was a WASC report. He mentioned to me, he said, "We brought on some ethnic, some minority administrators and what they did then is they began to bring some others that look like them. And we had to put a kibosh on that because in XXX, we're very conservative; we have a very conservative attitude." And what that said to me is 'We wanted to preserve the status quo. We wanted to maintain a balance between the ethnic population and the majority population-- and that percentage was going to be small.' And so they directed their administrators to stop doing that-- which is a baffling admission. I mean, it's an incredible admission (laugh) from a superintendent that they were going to maintain the status quo in terms of the minority population ratio and they had been very direct in maintaining this attitude. (Luis Maestre)

And I don't care what people tell you, you have some segments of the county here that are-- may talk a good game about minorities, and what they do for minority kids, "children of color," but deep in their heart, they -- they're hoping that they'll go away. (Rudy Castruita)

And that's why things wouldn't move. That's why things stayed status quo. And the new administrator came in now and she doesn't owe anybody anything. So she can go about and not be too, overly concerned about hurting people's feelings. (Jess Martinez)

Preliminary Signs of Transformation

The study participants also described some isolated or preliminary signs of organizational transformation:

But it's been and what's -- it's changed a lot, but it's changed from being an all-Anglo, male group to being an almost all-Anglo, female group. But it's still Anglo. (Maida Torres-Stanovic)

Well, I think for me, that means that sometimes the old guard is no different from the new guard. I think it's always a perpetuation of the same types of things. Like right now in our district, I know when there was, when I first came into the district, there was . . . the good old boy network. But to me now, it's the good old girl network. I mean, so what's really the difference. (Tony Alfaro)

In this district, we're starting to be there because we've had the good fortune of having two Latinos elected to our board, but you know, district policy-- politics being what they are, that could change tomorrow. Again, that isn't an institutionalized presence. (Christine Aranda-Smith)

No, it really isn't that. Our students are, but we're not. We are-- what we've done is we've taken a student body where a good portion of it lives on both sides of the border, and we've said, "This is

our little American school and you fit into it." We have done very little to really recognize that we are a two-country school district. Very little. We want to be like Poway. And Poway is never going to be a two-country school district, so neither are we. (Maida Torres-Stanovic)

I inherited a program that I think was politically very correct in that-- again, too, sometimes, she was the right person. Dr. Sarah Clayton was not Hispanic; she happened to be of Anglo descent. (Olivia Leschick)

That's -- just that little act of investing an hour in that class made a tremendous difference for these kids in terms of how they see a principal. And what they see the principal's role in-- most of them have seen the principal's role as an individual who's out there walking around, running the school. Never connecting that the principal is here as a change agent or as a person to serve the needs of the kids. (Joe Brosz)

Theorizing About Organizational Transformation.

Finally, the participants gave examples of how organizational transformation was realized:

It'll only change when the numbers grow. As the numbers grow, things'll change. You couldn't go in this district with having only one Hispanic principal anymore. You couldn't. The community wouldn't allow it. And as communities get -- experience those kinds of -- that kind of growth and change, they'll make sure it happens. That's how it'll happen, is when the people start seeing the changes and when it is no longer uncommon to see a Latino in a leadership position. (Maida Torres-Stanovic)

And we started working on political campaigns. We started doing the things that-- you know, we-- if we knew somebody-- Maria Medrano wanted to be principal. And we worked and we pushed and we started asking questions and making demands and they didn't know that it was a small group of us. (Maida Torres-Stanovic)

And so that helped a lot because they had a commitment they had to live up to and when we'd meet with the, they'd say, "Well, you know, we don't find enough. Give us some names." So we'd go out and ask and come with a list of names of people who were finishing or working on their credentials. They hired a lot of teachers with emergency credentials at that time. (Maida Torres-Stanovic)

And so I said, now I need this: I need a bilingual counselor; I need one who speaks Spanish and I need to look at teachers who are bilingual, who have the BCLAD, not just a CLAD. Then it worked out well last year, so this year now they said, "Well, Martin, it looks pretty good and budget's tight and so really you should only have one AP." I said no. I said if you really want the Association, the BAC, to be on your back, cut it off, because they'll speak out. So what has happened is they compromised. (Martin Jaquez)

'Cuz ultimately, what will happen is if you bring enough people in that are able to provide for the needs of our ethnically diverse population, what you will find is that these individuals will be either isolated or move or be moved-- one of the three. And I think that what you want to accomplish is a change in attitude or have the individual leave for, you know, other pastures. Because that individual does not represent the attitude that we want at a particular site. I'm sorry. (Luis Maestre)

They're a part of that discussion now. So, in that sense, it's making a difference and how we arrive at decisions. And what I'm finding that's better than that-- it's helping the general mass of employees in the school district have a better understanding of why we arrived at that solution. (George Cameron)

I guess little by little, more-- the community began to demand more Latino presence in the -- at the district level. There were other principals hired one at a time. We-- then we finally had a superintendent-- a Latino superintendent came in and also-- he also saw the need of more Latino representation. (Manuel Paul)

And you question. Questioning in and of itself is a very serious challenge for some people because it's a sign of disloyalty; you're breaking down traditions. And I guess part of what I've done is -- is torn down traditions. Or at least, if I don't support them, it's not going to continue. So it could be done passively, it could be done actively. There's many ways of doing it. (Libby Gil)

And actually, I would think that there's a direct link-- there's a backlash because the change is becoming real, because it is significant and because people are feeling desperate. You know, it's one thing to go through denial that we have these changes. But all of a sudden it's hitting people and, my perception is that, the reason we're seeing more of the 187, the 209s is because the reality is finally sinking in, into the dominant, white, power structure, if you will. (Libby Gil)

And they're breaking-- well, yeah-- 'cause you're always going to have pioneers who are forging new paths, who are going to shift the paradigm, if you will-- and really think out of the box. But if we're trying to give the message to our children, Latino children, that here's that white power status there and this is what you need to get to it, that may not be transformative. Then you're just taking over the good old boys-- you're doing the same thing with a different color. Okay? So maybe we have to be very careful about the message. And I'm just exploring this thought: that this is not where you want to go to at all. (Libby Gil)

That's about it. That's about it. So you have to get in positions, if you're going to be a change agent, where you start knowing people that are going to make things happen for you, to help you in the causes that you need to move forward. So, I never thought I'd get into need to move forward. So, I never thought I'd get into that, but you, that's politics. (Tony Alfaro)

And so I think that's when it'll take place-- when people start to recognize-- and part of, I think, the role of people who are in any kind of an administrative position or where they're starting to look at policies and processes within schools is when that starts to change. 'Cause eventually, that 's exactly where it will lead-- is that if you've got different kids, if you have a greater accountability, when your job goes on the line because your kids aren't performing, is the day you start to worry about it. When you stand to lose your little paycheck or for it to be decreased, then you start to worry about it. (Irma Castro)

I mean, the whole world in Santa Ana knew why I was doing that [motivating more than two hundred teachers to leave

I mean, the whole world in Santa Ana knew why I was doing that [motivating more than two hundred teachers to leave the district]. 'Cause I wanted to flush out those old people that weren't sensitive to Latino kids. An hell, I did that. The board supported me. We come in-- all of a sudden we are knockin' socks off of scores; we're getting the most distinguished schools in the state; we're getting recognized for academic programs. And this is in a minority district. (Rudy Castruita)

But, you know, I think that, you know, I see a real problem with recruitment in this office and what do I do? I change policy. Policy that we're going to give a bilingual stipend to our teachers. How does that happen? I go to our unions and say, "Hey, I want this on the table. This is a priority of mine." "Well, geez, why do you want to pay those that speak a second language a stipend?" "Because I believe that we need to recruit." And so they go along with me. (Rudy Castruita)

And you know the frustrating thing is that it takes SO LONG! Especially like-- we're getting ready now to do our affirmative action report. Last year we were at 30.8%-- this year, we'll probably be at 31.5 or something. And you go, "All that work!" And you just move up a percentage point a year. (Maida Torres-Stanovic)

Dialogical Data Analysis

The following represents the beginnings of what might be an ongoing analysis of equity and democracy discussions that merit attention. Eight of the fourteen participants met with me on

September 30 and reviewed and validated my initial data analysis (Clandinin, 1988; Mishler, 1986; Romero, 1997; Siedman, 1991; Van Manen, 1990). I explained to them that since there is no one Latino experience, I organized the data as if it were a mosaic, clustering some data together, and including the remaining data as minority voices or themes. Therefore, I essentially tried to capture a story as if it were a person. The following represents their response:

Personally, it was very worthwhile, very helpful, you know, to read the stories and to see the common threads that you found, you know? That's very validating, very helpful. And you've listened so carefully that as far as everything you took from me, it distilled it very well, you know. Your analysis, the way you've categorized just feels really true, very authentic. (Christine Aranda-Smith)

In addition, the methodology itself was a powerful part of the process (Clandinin, 1993; Mishler, 1986; Patton, 1981, Van Maanen, 1981). After many of the individual interviews and in the group interview, participants shared how the interview dialogues had begun personal and professional reflections and clarifications, which they valued.

But each of us have stories to tell about how we transcend and transform the barriers. And the kind of effort that Jaime is doing I think is a very powerful first step: to connect with individuals on a very personal level, about our experiences. And it's, to me, a very sequential process, before we can talk about taking action as a group and making that impact. LG

In a similar way, I gained insights about myself, as researcher, as a result of analyzing the data. One of my initial sub-categories of Organizational Transformation, for example, was Success Patterns. Upon much reflection, however, I had to admit to myself that the data more accurately described Preliminary Signs of Transformation. In other words, I was so able to empathize with the participants' struggles that I initially highlighted a personal hope that their efforts had resulted in more substantive and rapid changes in the educational system. I, like the participants, had to process my own and their pain before being able to effectively analyze the data.

On the other hand, the following comments represent the group interaction and power of dialogue among participants and among participants and researcher to discover new insights and

advance a collective vision (Clandinin, 1993; Holstein and Gubrium, 1994; Vallance, 1980):

Martin: I mean, you know, this paper that you're putting together, we're talking about what is it that we want in the future -- it has to be right here. I mean, we have -- we don't know what the future's going to hold. We don't know what the young Latinos are going to be like.

The only thing we do have a hold on is for everything that is being said here, to do something about it. To not be reserved -- maybe to step out to ask questions. To have this insecurity that you kind of mentioned earlier today -- well, yeah, we all have it, but sometimes we need to just step out there, to ask the questions: why are you saying this about us?

We were -- in a lot of things that I've read, we were all, to a certain degree, except for family, very isolated -- very isolated. And that was part of our training. And to some extent maybe that is why we're here. I keep going back into: why did we choose this job, knowing what it's all about?

There has to be a drive in us that we're not touching yet; something that is just part of us. Nobody else has it, not even another Latino. But we have it. So if we're looking to the future, we need to start right here. Because we're going to make the difference.

Libby: I certainly concur with that 'cause we are in the position of creating the future. But I concur with all of the messages I'm hearing which has to do with the ideal being a clear sense of commitment, courage, exhibit the courage and really persevere and

transform both personal and professional barriers. And maybe the isolation is part of our strength.

But I would want to really, I guess, talk about the need to be very sensitive -- as I'm hearing us talk about the future for ourselves and for our children -- that we're maybe working too hard to try and fit into the system. Because if we look at what's happening now and if we look to the future, my ideal future is -- the system is -- has to change.

And I feel a lot more optimistic than Christina about this. It's not always the child who has to change. It's not always us who have to change. I think we, the people who are in leadership positions, have an opportunity to change the system to meet the needs of our children. And I think that's part of our responsibility and obligation.

And maybe it's too strong of a message to be advocating for all of our children to become like -- what? Is that really the ideal? And we need to reassess what our ideal is for the future. Some of the job -- or school-to-career and job functions in the future, we can't even imagine.

What my children -- I have students now in high school-- I can't even begin to imagine what the future will look like and their lifestyle, given the kind of technological changes and the accelerated changes in our whole global economy.

So maybe the way we think of institutions of education, of schooling, in the next ten to twenty years -- if you're really going way out, I would even suggest that some of our racial categories will be totally obsolete. Because if -- Maida is talking about all the different interracial marriages,

well, you know, there's a whole new generation of children -- and we're already seeing that -- who have multiple heritages, multiple cultures, and multiple language backgrounds.

So we're looking at a whole different paradigm. And a structure that I think we can create if we believe in it.

Julian: I don't know. I think the future is now. I don't think the future is something that we have to wait for, to happen. I think we're in a position to create the future. As Libby said, all of us are -- as far as change is concerned, I mean, we are change agents. We are attempting to make the society or the world a lot better for those that are coming after us.

In addition, as I did throughout the interview process, I enjoyed a dynamic, synergistic interchange with the participants. In comparison to the actual interviews, the interview manuscripts alone do not capture the rich emotions, non-verbal communication or intersubjectivity (Janesick, 1994) which the participants expressed. For example, the subjects often broke off sentences with laughter or changed sentences suddenly (in apparent response to my non-verbal cues that I understood their experiences). One particularly powerful moment was when one of the participants was overcome with emotion as he recalled a painful memory regarding

his and his daughter's educational experience.

This fluid, non-verbal communication, was often closely linked to powerful accounts of exclusion. In short, the confidence the participants entrusted to me seemed to be positively related to the depth of interview information which they shared. (Clandinin, 1993; Friere, 1985; Merriem, 1988; Smith, 1990; Stanfield, 1994).

Likewise, with the large group, I could offer a perspective as an insider to the group (Romero, 1997) that they added to their own personal and professional development. This was apparent toward the end of the dialogue, where I passed out a copy of one of my comprehensive exam questions in which I designed an evaluation tool for a mentoring program.

Jaime: Right. And I don't know if it seems like I'm completely insincere in saying -- I mean, I wrote this up as a hypothetical -- oh, it's a study: wouldn't this be nice -- and then today, I printed it. And with the conversation, I just decided to hand it out.

Libby: Well, given what I've heard today, and if there truly isn't a K-12 mentoring program in existence in San Diego county, I'm really shocked that we don't have something like this. I certainly think that there would be

value. Not everybody -- and I understand what Christina was saying -- may necessarily be interested or even benefit from that kind of an experience.

But I can tell you right now that there would be a lot of interest from a number of people whom I know personally. And it is about the personal contacts, it is about the personal -- very different than taking a training course in leadership. It is about the personal experiences and stories that people can connect and link.

Not everybody's going to relate to our personal stories, but somebody will. And I know it helps me, when I was reviewing some of the stories that all of you shared, you know, to know that you aren't really alone. We think we're alone, but we're not. We really aren't. Other people are having the same experiences.

So it just strengthens my perspectives and it's reinforcing. So if we can do the same for others, that's what mentoring would be -- be very helpful.

In the following analysis, I will link these narratives with the literature regarding white privilege, Latino identity experiences, educational equity and organizational change. As a result, I expect to gain "a deeper understanding of the nature or meaning of our everyday experiences" (Clandinin, 1988; Mishler, 1986; Romero, 1997; Siedman, 1991; Van Manen, 1990, p.9).

The study participants experienced the first literature review theme, white privilege, at every level: individual, group and institutional. For the most part, they were highly conscious of dominant culture and the various ways that it worked against them (Anzaldua, 1987; Bellah, 1992; Darder, D'Souza, 1995; 1995; Rodriguez, 1993; Romero, 1997; Scheurich, 1993) from individual assumptions of participants' academic deficiency to racial epithets and emotionally painful punishments. Participants generally experienced isolation in schools until they adapted (Apple, 1990; Scheurich, 1993; Stanton-Salazar; 1997) to or were accepted by one dominant culture member. This took place throughout their personal and professional lives.

However, most of their experiences in their professional lives were characterized by informal exclusion (Darder, 1994; Katz, 1989; Stanton-Salazar, 1997): being passed over for promotions (Delgado, 1995; Haro, 1990; Wilson, 1992); being overlooked in social settings or meetings (Apple, 1990; McIntosh, 1989; Romero, 1997; Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Vallance, 1980); receiving criticism by community members or supervisors over

their manner of handling their duties (Cummins, 1996; Katz, 1989; Romero, 1997). Nonetheless, some were refused employment or promotion by personnel authorities; another was recently told by the superintendent of another district about the deliberate restriction of minorities into administrative assignments in that district

Living and working in a such a context had a great influence on the subjects experiences and identities as Latinos. While each participant valued many aspects of their heritage, at some point s/he internalized some dominant culture values, perceptions and skills or marriages (Solis, 1981; Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Tatum, 1992). At other times, each participant manifested an ethno-centric or militant approach to education/ society before finding an ability to access or bridge her/ his bicultural skills. While these phases seemed linked to specific events or times in participants' lives, the biculturalization process is certainly not linear and recurs in different degrees throughout participants' lives (Anzaldua, 1987; Cummins, 1996; Solis, 1981; Tatum, 1992).

As members of the Latino community at large, subjects related to the literature. While those who moved to California seemed to manifest a high level of confidence in their efficacy, those who grew up in California manifested the "involuntary immigrant's" experience, i.e., the emotional colonizing through isolation, verbal assault or hidden curriculum (Acuna, 1988; Apple, 1990; Delpit, 1988; Leyba, 1986, Nieto, 1996; Romero, 1997; Stanton-Salazar, 1997).

Likewise, in the Southwest, Latinos primarily include individuals of Mexican descent, although other Central and South Americans identify as Latinos as well; our participants were generally of Mexican descent, with the exception of one person of Costa Rican descent.

Unlike most Latinos, participants did not exhibit a two-generation pattern of language loss (Crawford, 1995; Hernandez, 1997). However, most did experience an urban upbringing and a segregated educational K-12 experience. In contrast to the general educational resiliency patterns for Latinos (Hernandez, 1997; QEFMP, 1990; Ochoa, 1997) study participants persevered, often in the face of extremely difficult personal,

economic and societal obstacles. All participants have achieved a Master's degree, plus other certificates; seven have earned their doctorate.

The third area of literature review was educational equity. The subjects who generally experienced a sense of equity, inclusion or cultural democracy in their early educational experience were part of the majority in a community outside of California. Others were coerced into assimilating to dominant school culture, isolated, or put in a lower academic level group. Most participants linked up with a dominant culture advocate in a sea of exclusion, a person who encouraged or guided them through school (Apple, 1990; Stanton-Salazar, 1997). Overall, participants experienced tremendous isolation from other Latinos and often struggled without mentors to be accepted by dominant culture members as well.

The idea of developing without role models or mentors is significant regarding the last area of the literature review: organizational change. At an individual level, subjects reported few Latino examples of successful organizational change agents. Those who did see role models reported

them out of state or through the California labor union movement. Nonetheless, participants seemed to maintain some key individual level distinctions from dominant culture leaders. What seems most significant is what they reported not to have internalized: individualism; career ladder pursuit; anti-Latino heritage/language sentiment; or interest in maintaining the status quo in education.

On the other hand, the participants were most successful when they worked collaboratively with various culture of origin members and dominant culture members (Crislip and Larson, 1994; Lappe and Du Boise, 1994; Takaki, 1993). The participants promoted group empowerment (Astin and Leland, 1991) and a transformative leadership which promotes justice (Bellah, 1985; Bellah, 1992; Foster 1989; Hwang, 1995; Ricoeur, 1992; Whyte, 1991).

Final Reflections

In the words of Julian Lopez, "Racism is alive and well." By extension, the subjects have offered ample documentation that exclusion, racism's often invisible manifestation, is

pervasive in San Diego County K-12 educational institutions. While exclusionary practices have become less blatant over the past thirty years, our subjects have continued to experience inequitable evaluations and represent perspectives and students not considered as normative.

As pioneers, participants acknowledge a need to overcompensate for or overcome stereotypes associated with Latinos: being lazy, uneducable, unproductive, culturally incompatible, socially/interpersonally threatening. As a result, participants demonstrated fantastic work ethics or habits, outstanding academic backgrounds, high levels of organizational/ management proficiency, multiple cultural competencies and extremely genteel professionalism. All of this is in addition to being a competent educational leader/ expert.

Participants were committed to working for long-term systematic transformation. Part of the slow organizational diversification or cultural democratization process seemed to be due to issues related to white privilege (e.g., institutional racism, the myth of meritocracy); Latino community division and isolation/ conflict among Latino

professionals also impeded organizational transformation. In such a context, these Latino administrators strove to produce work beyond reproach by both dominant culture members and Latinos.

Furthermore, participants demonstrated unending commitment to advancing social justice in as many ways possible—even regarding this study.

Tony: And I hope -- first of all, I'll contribute; we'll put a couple of copies in our school library for some -- (Group comments) The other thing is that I think, really, you've -- my recommendation would be that you put something together and maybe get it published, in terms of adding even more.

Because there's very little of this that goes on. I mean, sometimes you look at the material -- I mean, we're all searching for stuff. There's nothing. I mean, you know, it's, like, this would be a real -- the book that's very popular right now -- the one about Ophelia -- what's her name? -- Reviving Ophelia..

See, that's really an excerpt on similar type things. But -- you know, a totally different topic, but it has similarities. And I think that this would be very helpful and this is something that you could mentor many, many people along with this.

The data certainly responds to the study's initial questions: "What is Latino culture worth in U.S. society? Given current social, political,

and educational turmoil, what does it mean to be a Latino K-12 administrator in San Diego County? How can school leaders revise their practices so that greater democracy undergirds institutional administrative practices?"

In short, the data suggests that biculturally competent Latino administrators are critical to the preservation of democracy in schools and in society. In addition, to be an effective advocate for all students, Latino administrators must contend with isolation, exclusion, and systematic and interpersonal hostility, albeit covert. Lastly, the data suggests that Latino administrators act consciously against exclusion in individual, informal group and institutional ways.

In the following chapter, I will present further data analysis as it relates to these guiding study questions. In addition, I will offer two theoretical and practical implications based upon the data. One theoretical model examines the specific characteristics or obstacles that Latino administrators typically have to overcome in order to participate effectively in dominant culture institutions. Another analyzes the relationship

between Latino administrators and their racial identity development or perception and their experiences of acceptance or exclusion in various types of communities.

Finally, I will present recommendations for school leaders and researchers to implement. These recommendations are based on new questions that surfaced as a result of the study. In addition, the recommendations for future practices may serve as a concrete set of guidelines for those who wish to take further action to promote cultural democracy.

Overview

As I reflect upon the study, I recall the adage, "After all is said and done, much is said and little done." In this chapter, I present responses to what only appears to be a simple academic challenge, 'So what!' First, I specifically review the study's three guiding questions: "What is Latino culture worth in U.S. society? Given current social, political, and educational turmoil, what does it mean to be a Latino K-12 administrator in San Diego County? How can school leaders revise their practices so that greater democracy undergirds institutional administrative practices?"

Second, I further develop the seminal discussions which surfaced in the first four chapters, particularly regarding the biculturalization, concentric circles schema and organizational diversification models. Third, I present two of my own conceptual models. One analyzes Latino administrators as pioneers, and one analyzes organizational transformation. Finally, I offer implications for practitioners,

and conclusions and recommendations for future studies.

Study questions

What is Latino culture worth in U.S. society? In the United States, Latino culture appears to be rooted in a sensitivity for common good, a tremendous capacity for hard work, collaboration, bicognitive and bicultural skills and perspectives, respect, honesty, and family identity. These traits and values are seminal to the very practice of democracy in the United States.

By contrast, democracy in the United States appears to be threatened by schools replicating hostile (passive and overt) anti-Latino public sentiment (Cummins, 1996; Haro, 1990; Meier and Stewart, 1991). This, in turn, promotes discrimination (Acuna, 1988; Delgado, 1995; de Tocqueville, 1875; Hacker 1992; Myrdal, 1964; Romero, 1992), white privilege (Freire, 1985; MacIntosh, 1988; Romero, 1996; Sleeter, 1994) and societal fragmentation (Bellah, 1991; King, 1964). Therefore, on a larger level, the extent to which Latino community members experience equity and the abovementioned values and skills, support and

inclusion in schools will consequently lead to postindustrial, culturally democratic institutional practices (Chrislip and Larson, 1994; Du Bois and Lappe, 1994).

Study participants indicated that their particular heritage identification and skills brought an essential link to students and families that would be otherwise lacking (Nieto, 1996; Vallance, 1980). As a result, bicultural Latino administrators play unique roles as role models, advocates, staffing/ policy decision makers, and mentors for the growing Latino populace and the practices of democracy in schools.

What does it mean to be a Latino K-12 Administrator in San Diego County?

Successful Latino school leaders who currently appear to work in isolation, nonetheless informally mentor one another and advocate for all students, particularly Latino students. In addition, biculturally competent Latino administrators identify with and communicate bilingually to students and families as part of their effective service and leadership.

Without a doubt, Latino administrators consciously act as role models for students and as ambassadors to hostile or fearful community members. While Latino school leaders may have internalized some dominant culture beliefs and practices, Latino administrators do not manifest individualism in the same way as a monocultural school leader; rather, participants in the study see their own individual gain as related to the Latino community's collective progress.

Despite this, Latino K-12 administrators often experience passive hostility by community members and staff who may feel threatened or slighted by administrative cultural responsiveness to students and parents. In addition, Latino K-12 administrators frequently experience extreme isolation, beyond what many agree is a normal part of a dominant culture administrator's experience. As a result, Latino K-12 administrators seem to have developed a tremendous capacity to endure personal and professional suffering.

At the same time that democracy appears to be threatened by schools replicating hostile (passive) anti-Latino public sentiment, Latino administrators seem to be seminal change agents

utilizing culturally democratic hiring practices, empowering students and parents, and modeling bicultural skills and perspectives to further organizational diversification or transformation towards cultural democracy. This sense of justice seems to be a combination of the dominant culture ideal of democracy and their own personal experiences of systematic exclusion and inequity.

Finally, being an effective Latino administrator means working in a hostile environment without acting vengefully. While the process of transcending the bitterness of pervasive exclusion and hostility may be a worthy future study, the practice of positive interaction with all community members was evident and powerfully developed in these participants. Perhaps this is related to the participants' bicultural competencies. These competencies both frame their actions by the impact vengeful actions would have on subsequent Latinos, and reduce the likelihood that they would act in such a dominant culture manner.

How can school leaders revise their practices so that greater democracy undergirds institutional administrative practices?

The study participants model what others have proposed as a primary way to promote educational equity.

Being anti-racist and antidiscriminatory thus means paying attention to all the areas in which some students may be favored over others: the curriculum, choice of materials, sorting policies, and the teachers' interactions and relationships with the students and their communities. (Nieto, 1996, p. 308)

Secondly, participants suggest that school leaders must act directly to recruit and retain Latino and other 'minority' leaders (or those dominant culture members who are biculturally competent) to implement post-industrial educational practices. This is necessary in order to act upon Michel Foucault's observation,

It seems to me that the real political task in a society such as ours is to criticize the workings of institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent; to criticize them in such a manner that the political violence which has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked, so that one can fight them. (Elders, 1974, p. 171)

To this end, the following two paragraphs represent a section of the mentoring proposal that I distributed to the study participants during the group dialogue on September 30. I offer this as an example of what they affirmed as a strategy for extending educational equity.

I propose using in-depth interviews and a focus group as my qualitative methodological approach. Going into such a study, I will be guided by the following questions: "What roles do Latino K-12 educational administrators play in educational equity/ educational reform?" and "How does mentoring effect educational equity and societal democratic practices?" In addition, as the participants examine each others' stories in written form and in the group dialogue , they may make more sense of their own personal and professional practices (Van Manen, 1990) which may lead to new possibilities for their future stories (Clandinin, 1993).

On a design note, this is a study about, by and for Latino administrators. Therefore, the mentors themselves, the participants from my study, would determine who they would work with and how they would implement the program (Denzin

and Lincoln, 1994, Smith, 1990). In addition, Mary Romero (1997) makes an argument for the researcher being a member of the same group being studied in order to more accurately interpret and perhaps construct new realities and contexts related to the study (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994).

Finally, it is clear that there is no coordinated, single approach to being an effective educational change agent. This follows both post-industrial theory and practitioners' experiences as pioneers in this manner. In the fourth section of this chapter, I will discuss the practices and experiences of pioneers as they set new standards for being educational change agents.

Further Reflections on Biculturalization

Although I summarized participants' experiences as they related to Soliz' biculturalizaion model in chapter four, there are still various questions left unaddressed. I would like to shed some light on how many themes are interrelated through this biculturalization schema (the biculturalization stages are outlined in Appendix E).

Most experienced a Stage 1, finding normalcy in home culture traditional background. Subjects had one significant parent or grandparent who gave them high acceptance, love, and encouragement to resist despair when subjects thought or behaved self destructively, when the subjects were discouraged by dominant culture (especially in educational settings), or when they experienced a specific hardship (move, parent loss or rejection).

At various points, the subjects manifested some type of Stage 2 responses: break with tradition (karate/ spirituality, religion, name); assimilation of dominant culture individualistic thinking and socialization into dominant culture groups; non-alignment with family traditions/ values of origin; termination of home country visits; venturing out onto new ground altogether as an individual.

In this Stage 2, regardless of subjects' success, they experienced white privilege in subtle, or sometimes harsh ways. Also, due to the nature of organizational diversification, subjects primarily found white allies in positions of power. This stage was complicated by what appeared

to be a lack of support or even attack by Latino community or school board members or school staff, commonly known as 'the cangrejo theory.' In other words, Latinos sabotage one another's efforts to ascend to various professional ranks as crabs pull one another back down into an open basket as each tries to rise to freedom.

Although each participant recognized the theory by name or dynamic, the varied responses to it indicated various levels of biculturalization development related to their individual examples. For example, when a Latino administrator experienced a lack of support from fellow Latinos, s/he may have been processing the experience from a Stage 2 or 3 lens. A Stage 2 lens would produce a sense of naive surprise that Latino support is not an automatic result of shared office or shared history. A Stage 3 lens would produce a sense of righteous indignation.

On the other hand, the second party in the scenario (Latino board or community member or staff) might be operating from her/his own biculturalization stage: Stage 2 critiquing the administrator from an internalized anti-Latino heritage perspective; Stages 1 or 3, summarily

critiquing the administrator as though s/he were a dominant culture representative who was insensitive or hostile to the Latino community, a sell-out; or a Stage 4, a critic might be addressing non-inclusive policy or behavior, rather than personality.

In either case, I find it significant that the concept of a cangrejo theory exists primarily in the minds of Latinos, who would only consider such a dynamic as an expression of their sense of group/ community responsibility to begin with. In summary, the more Latino administrators think and act from a Stage 4 level of biculturalization, the more likely they will appreciate the complexity of the critique that they regularly experience as instructive and constructive rather than as personal.

Stage 3, ethnocentric or oppositional identity, seems to be a key stage of bicultural competence in the context of dominant culture marked by white privilege. While experiencing this stage may occur at any time, the isolation which accompanies administrative work is compounded when Stage 3 occurs in adulthood in a context of dominant culture individualism and white

privilege. In some cases, an individual may be fortunate enough to find an organizational ally or culture which supports this harsher stage of bicultural competency development.

While the dynamic of alliance building during Stage 3 was similar for all participants, female study participants seemed to seek out or create their own support networks more readily than males. Inasmuch as collaboration and power sharing are post-industrial practices, Latina administrators seem to have a head start on post-industrial behaviors. Nonetheless, all subjects needed to work out the personal and professional balance of internalizing a reawakened passion for racial, linguistic and social equity, and manifesting dominant culture approaches to educational leadership. I will comment more on this process in section four of this chapter.

Supplemental Model Analysis

Throughout this study, I have referenced two models by Judith Katz which deserve additional analysis on their own merits: the Concentric Circles Model (Appendix A) and the Organizational

Diversification Model (Appendix D). I will elaborate on the Concentric Circles Model first.

While the individual level appears to be the smallest, and perhaps the least powerful of the three, this study indicates that its magnitude is the largest of all three. Most negative contacts and opportunities for organizational transformation involving the subjects occurred at this individual level.

In reality, the institutional level of exclusion is practically invisible and thus difficult to discuss as this model is more typically applied. Nonetheless, it is exactly this kind of discrepancy in what would be an otherwise consistent model which has guided me to examine how Latino administrators experience the invisible impact of white privilege and, subsequently, exclusion.

For example, on an individual level, participants heard comments indicating that a Euro-American expected to meet another Euro-American as administrator. Latino administrators heard comments and read non-verbal messages that indicated that the Latino administrators were not assumed to be intelligent or competent. Latino

administrators also knew that various Euro-American community members and subordinates disliked the participants and would not support them in their administrative roles primarily because the subjects were Latinos and were believed to be only supportive of Latinos. As a result, the participants experienced personal and professional isolation.

On an informal group level, white privilege and exclusion manifest themselves as instances of Latinos being overlooked or unacknowledged in social or professional settings. Latinos experienced Euro-Americans in personnel staff positions who failed to recognize the participants' abilities and thereby misdirected them through district bureaucracy. In one instance, a group of Latino administrators were feared and labeled in a local newspaper editorial as Mafiosos when the Latino administrators organized a support group. As a result, the attendees withdrew from such efforts and experienced greater isolation than before.

The institutional level of white privilege and exclusion manifests itself as powerfully as if it were formal policy in many cases. The

difference is that white privilege and exclusion are not legislated, but practiced by superintendents, assistant superintendents, and other official power brokers and subsequently reinforced by media, politicians, and school curriculum. For example, one participant was told by a dominant culture superintendent in another district that the superintendent unofficially put an end to minority administrative hiring in order to maintain his conservative community members satisfaction with the status quo.

In some cases, participants were told that they were not wanted in a particular district because they did not fit the current mold of an administrator. In other cases, participants were told that they were passed over because they lacked particular qualifications, despite being more qualified than the promoted candidates in various other areas. Some supervisors simply identified participants as being deficient in some areas of their performance, a standard not applied to Euro-American colleagues, and held out the threat of termination with no mentoring or support in place.

The Concentric Circles Model also offers Latino administrators a blueprint for organizational transformation. Subjects clearly operate consciously with various individuals to win trust, build coalitions of interest and leave a positive impression for the next Latino to more readily be accepted by Euro-American staff and community members. As a result of the group dialogue, subjects have acknowledged a need to mentor others as a group and support one another.

Finally, subjects affirmed their need to move into superintendency and human resources positions in order to directly influence policy and personnel decisions. The combined efforts have the potential to advance organizational transformation in many and substantial ways in San Diego County.

The second model, Organizational Diversification, serves as somewhat of a diagnostic tool for assessing the level of resistance to, or support for, organizational diversification among the various districts in San Diego County. From the data, it is clear that the most community and institutional support for organizational cultural democracy is present in the South Bay, where minority students make up at

least eighty percent of the student body, and the majority of those students are Latinos. What is shocking, however, is the assessment that those districts most proactive in hiring culturally responsive teachers and administrators, those districts with most minority representation in administrative roles and board membership, actually fall into the 'Affirmative Action' stage of organizational diversification. The San Diego Unified, Sweetwater Union High School, San Ysidro Elementary, Chula Vista Elementary and National Elementary Districts seem to best fit this stage description. Unfortunately, this is to say that no district, despite the high numbers of minority students or administrators, can yet report organizational transformation into a substantially bicultural or multicultural organization. Some examples of systematic bicultural district practices would be: parity of music, art, dance programs (e.g., mariachi and band, ballet folklorico and dance classes); staffing with biculturally competent teachers, administrators and support personnel; and two-way bilingual education programs.

While the numerical and informal transformation that has taken place in the South Bay is significant, it is also instructive. For example, the first Latino principal took office in the Sweetwater Union High School District over twenty years ago. The first Latina principal in the Sweetwater district and in San Diego County took office in 1984. Those appointments came in the context of pressure from the State Department of Education to come into compliance with desegregation and bilingual education mandates.

Given the often bitter and seemingly unending resistance by those who wished to preserve dominant culture monocultural education, thirty years of Latino administrative presence seem to have produced minimal gains toward cultural democracy and educational transformation to an equitable institution. Clearly, numbers alone do not yield cultural democracy or conditions in which all students are supported, included and successful in their academic and extracurricular programs.

By contrast, using Katz' model of Organizational Diversification, most other districts in San Diego County would fall closer to

'Symbolic Difference' or in a 'Passive' exclusionary organizational culture. Given other districts' growing minority populations, it is possible that, like the abovementioned southern San Diego County districts, more Latino administrators would be valued and a new group of pioneers would begin a substantive process of organizational transformation.

Theoretical Models Presentation

As a result of this study, I have come to see the participants as educational pioneers, groundbreakers upon whose shoulders rest unreasonable expectations and challenges by virtue of their circumstance as the first (Latino, Latina, ex-gang member, etc.) in their particular roles. What follows are some descriptions of the participants' experiences, which I offer as a template in considering other individuals or groups as pioneers. Lastly, I will reveal the cultural common ground which enhance pioneers' potential for ascending professionally in a white privilege based, dominant culture organization.

Pioneers:

As pioneers, most participants did not receive educational support or mentoring in any ongoing way, if at all. Even isolated examples were significant encouragement in this context. Furthermore, while some had middle class backgrounds and positive modeling from other Southwestern states regarding Latino professors and other professionals, most had a negative contact with society at large through school or migration from a supportive environment to the negative context.

Professionally, participants were pioneers in organizations that either wanted for particular purposes, especially language skills, or in organizations that barely tolerated them in the context of State Department of Education pressure to diversify staff. In the first case, participants identified being pigeon-holed, seen only as able to work with Latino students and families, bilingual curriculum, or other one-sided roles. In the latter, participants were isolated from other Latinos administrators and administrators at large and they experienced

heightened scrutiny by both dominant and Latino community members.

Another aspect of being a pioneer has to do with countering and transforming fear. In the prevalent social milieu, Latinos appear to be dehumanized or demonized through political rhetoric as that which surrounded Propositions 198 and 209. In such a context, Latino administrators carry a special burden as a kind of a racial or cultural lightning rod. Therefore, one role (conscious or not) for Latino administrators is to be people who will counter the stereotypes, who will be multicultural public relations agents, faces to reduce the fear which drives the hostility against Latinos.

Latino educational pioneers are generally institutional 'outsiders.' This may be due in part to the movement among districts that administrators often undertake in order to take on an administrative position. However, in a dominant culture organization, such as in a K-12 school, Latino administrators may be described as partial insiders and only that to the extent that they exhibit dominant culture values and/ or behavior. Moreover, in a predominantly Latino culturally

pluralistic community, a biculturally competent Latino administrator may not be a pioneer; rather s/he may be considered an insider to the extent that s/he is connected to the power base of the community at large.

Pioneer Development Model

Based on Jane Elliot's 'Blue Eyes, Brown Eyes' racism simulation, students in the subordinate group experienced: depression, alienation, frustration, lowered academic performance, violence directed at those in power, limited privileges, internalized self deprecation, etc. Students in the superior group experienced: positive self-esteem, confidence, enjoyment of classroom power dynamic, improved academic performance, internalized discrimination towards subordinate group members, more privileges, happiness, etc.

Because schools are so often models of an industrial paradigm, wherein there is a dominant and subordinate culture, student groups often fit into the superior or subordinate categories. Based upon thousands of hours of field testing, I propose the following power associations for both

pioneers as students in schools and as adults in society at large (Appendix F):

Dominant culture insiders appear to possess the following traits, although this list is not to be considered as exhaustive: strong English language skills; good rapport with teachers; high grade point average; middle class values and lifestyle; athletic prowess; politically neutral or dominant culture political disposition; fair skin or northern European appearance; extracurricular involvement; positive social or interpersonal skills; assertiveness skills; involvement with adult advocates; high work ethic; student leadership recognition (ASB); 'attractive' appearance; male gender.

Subordinate group members or outsiders appear to have the following characteristics: passive personalities; English as a Second Language background; low socio-economic status; dark complexion (so as to be perceived as person of color); residence and social network apart from school hierarchy; female gender; low parental support; Latino background; politically confrontational style; 'unattractive' appearance; low grade point average or possessing learning

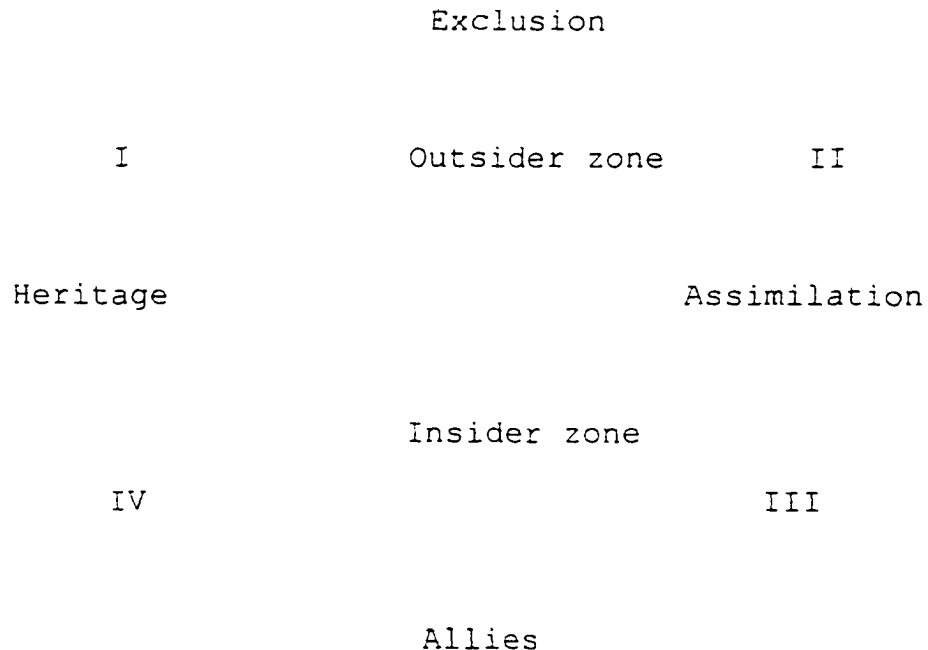
disabilities; physical disability; non-athletic skills; low participation in extracurricular activities.

The categories may be used in a descriptive manner. Given the study participants' narratives, I could subtract the 'outsider' number from the 'insider' number and arrive at a value for their childhood and current experiences. This would describe how much a person had to overcome to be in their current leadership position. Regarding these fourteen subjects' experiences, this level of analysis yielded an average difference of thirteen points between the characteristics which subjects had in their youth and those which they currently have. In short, there seems to be a high correlation between the insider characteristics in a dominant culture industrial paradigm and the realization of administrative promotion.

An amplification of this model could be the subject for another study, which could specifically examine the very process through which school leaders or other 'subordinate culture' members developed dominant culture traits and acceptance. Nonetheless, the data suggests

that the role of an ally or mentor is invaluable in developing such a transformation.

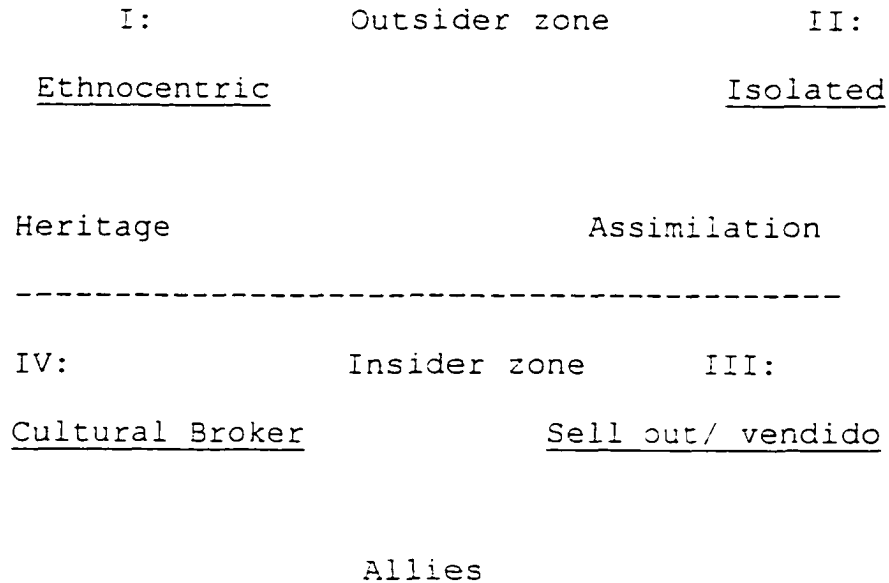
Organizational Transformation Model



This model represents the tension that Latinos often experience between maintaining traditional cultural values, styles and skills and mastering dominant culture competencies. Organizationally, I highlight a spectrum of sentiment, ranging from individual, group and/ or institutional allies to individual, group and/ or institutional exclusion forces. The following diagram describes some common combinations of Latino administrators in various levels of

biculturalization and organizational cultures in San Diego County.

Exclusion



An overview of this model is that it describes a common identity and professional development process in the context of dominant culture (generally read chart in a clockwise direction) for Latino administrators; the model also describes the landscape in which Latino administrators operated. Given this context, it would be difficult for most Latino administrators

to readily experience being transformational leaders in a dominant culture organization.

While the chart parallels Solis' 1981) description of biculturalization, the data suggests that a person may experience the first three stages in any order before experiencing biculturalization or bicultural competency. Quadrant I generally describes a Latino administrator or educator who manifests many traditional Latino cultural traits and who is considered a cultural outsider. Quadrant II describes a Latino administrator who is alienated both from dominant and traditional Latino cultural support, partly as a result of assimilation and partly as a result of dominant culture group rejection. Quadrant III notes an assimilated Latino who is accepted by and identifies more with dominant culture groups than with her/ his heritage community. Quadrant IV describes a Latino who is biculturally competent and able to succeed in a dominant culture group organization or community.

Regarding Latino administrators as organizational transformation agents, a Latino administrator who manifests many visible ethnic

and invisible cultural characteristics in Quadrant I, an intolerant dominant culture, will have little likelihood of being accepted; organizational transformation is impossible.

Likewise, a Latino administrator who manifests many assimilated, dominant culture characteristics, Quadrant II, is much more likely to be accepted; however, organizational transformation is still unlikely, since the Latino administrator would not necessarily bring any different perspective, values, or skills to the role or organization. My interpretation is that this is the prevalent state of Latinos in administration today.

A Latino administrator in Quadrant III, assimilated with support to be bicultural, has greater possibility of being a transformational leader because s/he is more likely to be personally re-connected to her/ his heritage values, perspectives and skills and because allies will be partners in organizational transformation. Organizational diversification would most likely be more symbolic than substantial in this case.

Quadrant IV, however, should yield organizational transformation. A bicultural

administrator with allies may produce something new: cultural democracy. In other words, in a predominantly Latino community, a Latino, who would be perceived as a radical or cultural outsider in a dominant culture community, has the support to prove her/himself. A bicultural administrator in a predominantly Euro-American, dominant culture group may introduce alternative beliefs and approaches to the organization which may more effectively serve Latino and other students and their families.

This model may be used as a descriptive tool or road map for a site or district regarding organizational transformation or cultural democracy. In addition, I offer the image of organizational transformation as a two-dimensional box being exploded or punched at from inside by bicultural administrators. Each individual act of bicultural or multicultural equity or the dents create a sphere. Incremental, culturally pluralistic influences may lead to organizational transformation. Transactional leadership performed by a bicultural individual can lead to organizational transformation.

Conclusions:

- Racism/ exclusion is alive and well and will only change by direct action;
- Change is slow, even with great attention and effort;
- Pioneers work extra hard to be perfect and are often still attacked by all sides;
- Latino culture is valuable because it traditionally includes respect and concern for others, self-sacrifice, and hard work, and in policy making roles, may lead to postmodern, bicultural, cultural democracy institutional practices;
- Latino administrators are central change agents regarding organizational transformation via hiring (institutional), mentoring (group) and interpersonal contacts (individual);
- Organizational transformation may be possible when teachers model inclusive, culturally democratic practices;
- Likewise, transformation of schools into more culturally democratic organizations is most likely to occur when both internal change agents (teachers,, administrators) and external change

agents (community members, district and/ or state policy makers) exert pressure for change.

- Democracy is currently threatened by schools replicating hostile (passive) anti-Latino public sentiment;
- Bicultural Latinos bring a dual consciousness to organizations and that leads organizational relevance/ transformation; dominant culture allies who share a dual consciousness may promote organizational transformation as well;
- Transactional leadership implemented by a multiculturally competent individual (preferably by a team), may lead to organizational transformation;
- Likewise, incremental reform effort implemented by a multiculturally competent individual (preferably by a team), may lead to fundamental reform;
- Organizational transformation and the realization of democracy is an intentional and anti-racist process;
- All study participants see themselves as a change agent operating at all levels: Individual, group, institutional;
- Participants who seemed to be supported as insiders had dominant culture allies, pride in

their heritage, community support and/ or a perceived liberal or progressive supervisor;

- Participants, some for self motivated reasons, but most related to a response to exclusion and white privilege, had internalized: extremely high performance expectations, high work ethic, extremely high self critique and had experienced high scrutiny.

Recommendations

- School leaders must act directly to recruit, retain and mentor Latino and other 'minority' leaders (or those dominant culture members who are biculturally competent) to change paradigm toward cultural democracy versus a new 'old boys/ women's/ ___'s club;
- Men need to network as women do;
- Researchers and practitioners should conduct further research related to Euro-Americans as organizational transformation agents;
- All educators should explore the class issues related to exclusion perpetuated in K-12 public schools;

- All educators should formally promote multicultural competency among all teachers, staff, community members and administrators.
- As this and future studies on related topics may be read with resistance related to white privilege related belief systems, the content should be presented in a way that all readers see the value of becoming an anti-racist ally for all members of society.
- Future studies should investigate what constitutes resistance to equity and inclusion in a increasingly diverse organization or society.
- State and local leaders should salute these and other contemporary pioneers, heroes, warriors, and role models.

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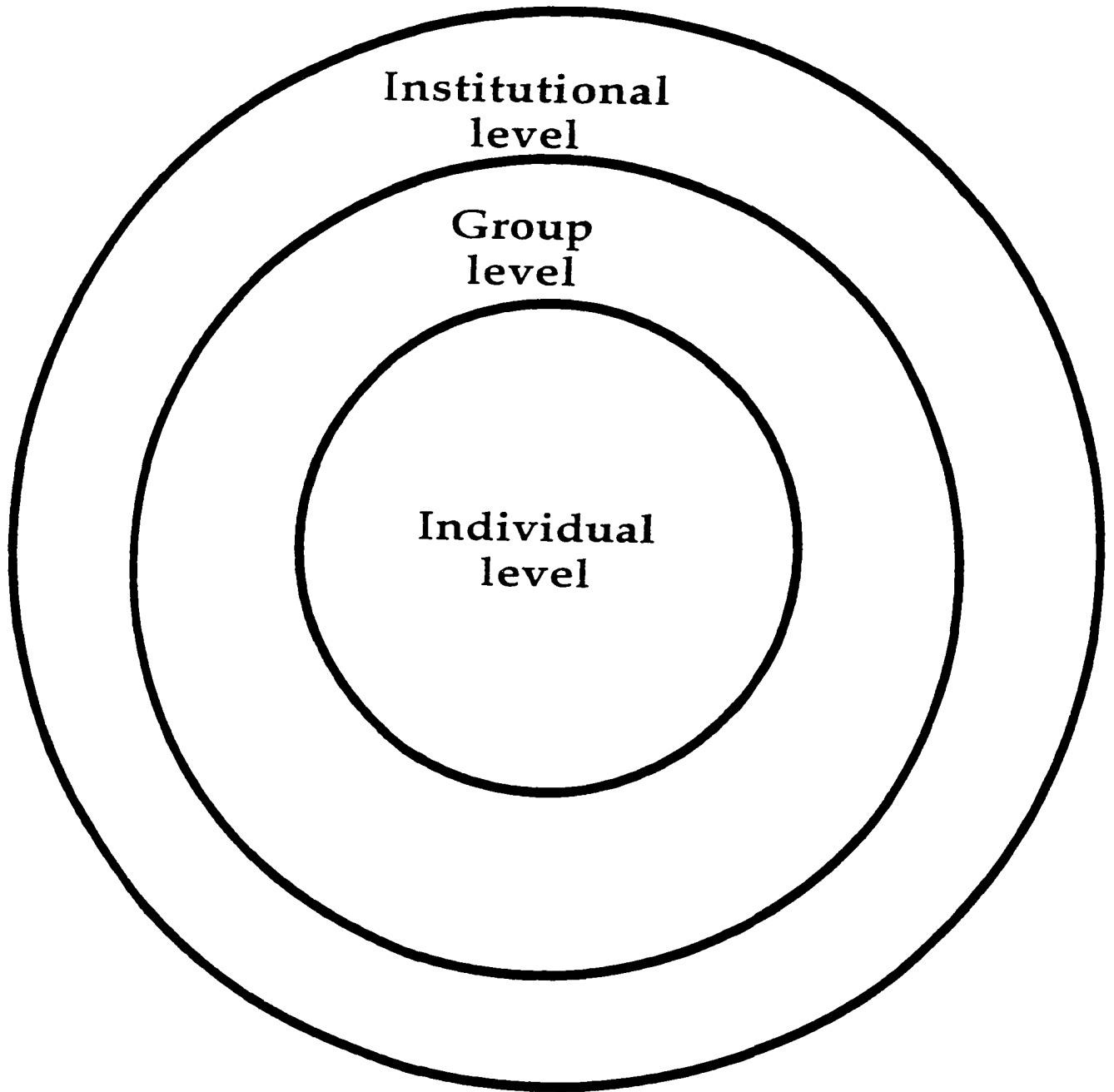
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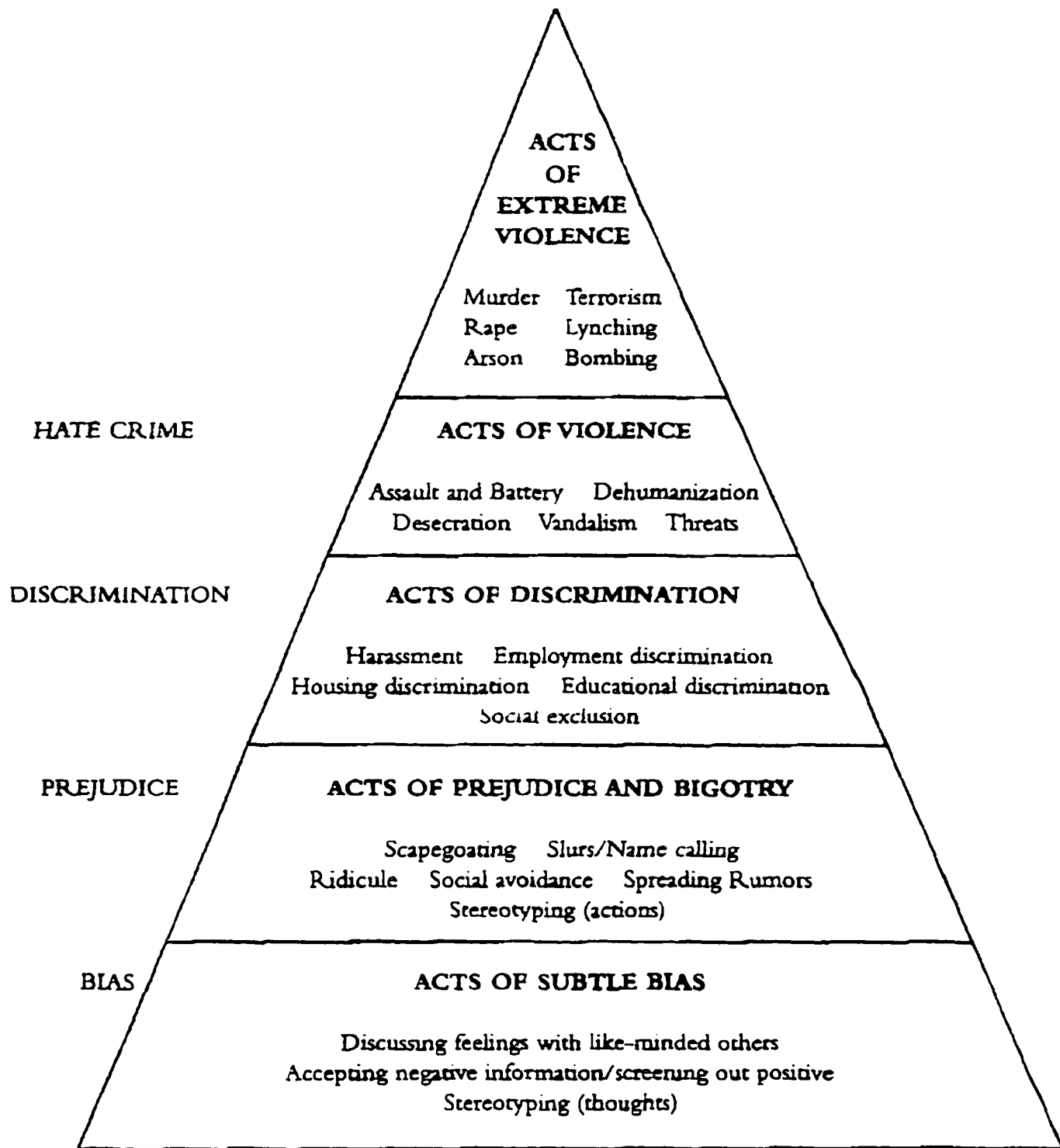
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Appendix A

CONCENTRIC CIRCLES



Pyramid of Hate



Appendix C

CONSENT TO ACT AS A RESEARCH SUBJECT

I am being invited by Jaime Romo, a doctoral student at the University of San Diego, to participate in a study dealing with Latino K-12 administrators in San Diego County. The intent of the study is to analyze personal and professional experiences related to Latino culture manifested particularly in school leadership contexts. The hope is that the sharing of these life stories will help others understand how educational institutions might become more equitable and better promote democracy.

If I agree to participate, I am expected to take part in two informal, one and a half hour interviews with Jaime Romo about both my personal identity and career. The interviews will be audiotaped, then transcribed and sent to me for my review for clarity and accuracy. A third and final group interview will take place in the summer. This group dialogue will be videotaped and will last approximately two hours. The videotaped session will be used for accuracy and use of its content will be subject to participant permission.

Jaime Romo will analyze the study data and will publish it in aggregate for all administrators to review and draw their own conclusions about white privilege, Latino experience, organizational change and democracy.

Any personal or professional risk which may result from participating in this study may be minimized by my option to present particular statements in an anonymously worded section of the report. Participation is completely voluntary. There is no agreement, written or verbal, beyond that which is expressed in this consent form. I may refuse to participate or may withdraw from the study at any time without risk or penalty. The personal and professional benefits from my participation may vary, but should minimally include support, networking and professional reflection and development with successful peers.

Jaime Romo has explained this study to me and answered my questions. If I have other questions or research-related problems, I can reach Jaime Romo at (jromo@nunic.nu.edu; 642-8332) or Dr. Abascal-Hildebrand, dissertation committee chair, (marya@acusd.edu; 260- 4270). I have received a copy of this consent document and "The Experimental Subject's Bill of Rights."

Appendix C (p.2)

I, the undersigned, understand the abovementioned explanations and, on that basis, I give consent to my voluntary participation in this research.

Signature of Subject

Date

Location

Signature of Witness

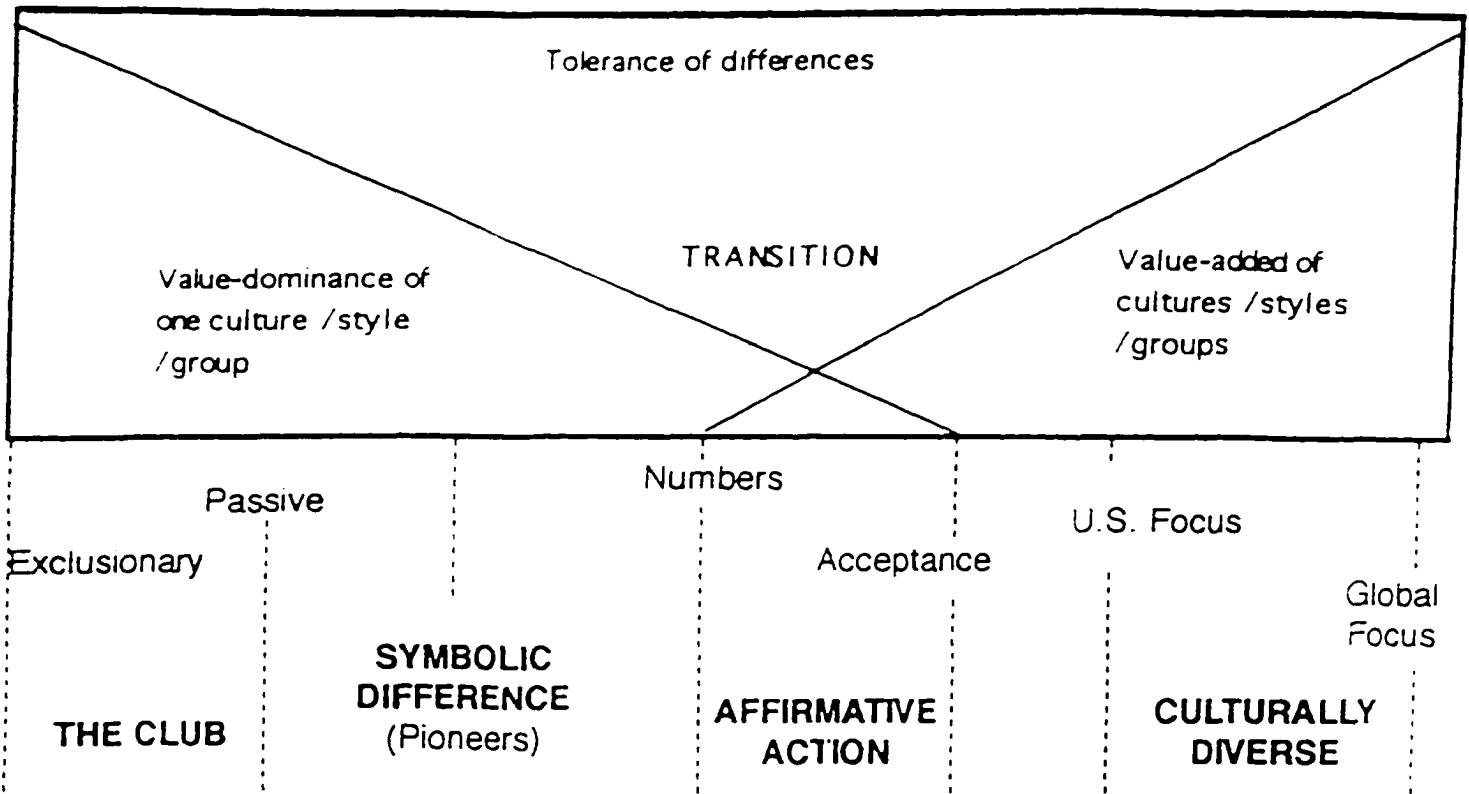
Date

Signature of Researcher

Date

Appendix D

A Model for Developing Culturally Diverse Organizations



The Club

Exclusionary: Based on the belief that only white men have value. As a monocultural system, it sees no value in women and people of color. The system works to maintain its own position of domination and superiority. Example: Country clubs, KKK.

Passive. Strives to maintain White and male privileges through organization's monocultural norms and values. "Business as usual" according to their cultural norms and values results in excluding people of color and women in a significant proportion.

Symbolic Differences

Pioneers. To operate within the law, many systems begin placing people of color and women symbolically within the ranks. This stage is characterized by tokenism. The norms and values of the system remain monocultural. Qualified minorities who fit in are sought out.

Affirmative Action

Numbers. Numerical goals are created only to function within the law. People of color and women are hired but rarely stay. The climate and culture does not support diversity. Numerical targets and goals are developed as a step to change the complexion of the working population. They begin to develop a tolerance for diversity and believe that people of color and women have a rightful place within the system.

Acceptance. Organization moves beyond the numbers and begin to accept the differences of individuals and groups. Leaders focus on the growth of underrepresented groups. White men begin to explore their own identity, as well as, people of color and women. Institution becomes more responsive to its members and begins to address institutional forms of discrimination that may block the advancement of people who are different. Cultural norms are shifting.

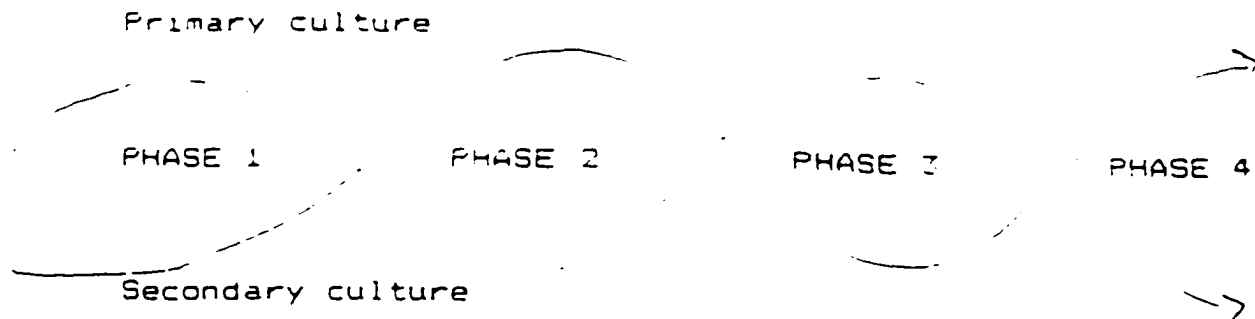
Culturally diverse organizations

U.S. focus. Members see value of a culturally diverse institution and behave accordingly. They understand the value of diverse ideas, opinions, and styles of operating. Members are willing to engage in dialogue and conflict as a way of positively acknowledging, addressing and maintaining their differences.

Global focus. Members examine their relationship with individuals and groups in other nations. The unique

Appendix E

I illustrate the biculturalization process as follows:



Borrowing from transactional analysis terminology, phase 1 is an "I'm OK, You're OK" state. Active psychological conflict does not yet exist at this point.

Phase 2 (I'm not OK, You're OK) begins when the secondary culture increasingly influences the primary culture in such a way that the secondary culture does not respect the primary culture. As a result, the individual feels pressured to behave according to a foreign set of values and expectations in order to survive in the socio-economically dominant secondary culture. The individual perceives the secondary culture as superior and the individual may identify more closely with the secondary culture in order to fulfill his/her spiritual-psychological void.

Phase 3 begins when a person (who has attempted complete identification with the secondary culture) experiences crisis: opposition from the secondary culture; the loss of the rewards of performing according to the expectations of the secondary culture; shame or guilt about having abandoned the primary culture. A 'radical' ethnic or political ideology which seems to support principles of the primary culture characterizes this stage ("I'm OK, You're not OK). Although the person in this stage may seem hostile toward those who do not share his/her ethnic or political ideology, he/she is actually seeking a resolution to this pinculum effect of the bicultural dilemma.

Phase 4 begins when the individual recognizes the value of selectively utilizing adaptive functions from both the primary and secondary cultures. The person who resolves major cultural conflicts will have an increased appreciation and flexibility within other cultural groups' values without feeling that his/her own cultural values are depreciated. (5)

Appendix F

Original conceptual design, ADL

Dominant culture characteristics

strong English language skills
middle class values and lifestyle
male gender athletic prowess
politically neutral or dominant culture political disposition
attractive' appearance fair skin or northern European appearance
student leadership recognition (ASB) extracurricular involvement
involvement with adult advocates positive social or interpersonal skills
high work ethic assertiveness skills
middle class values and lifestyle good rapport with teachers

Subordinate group characteristics

passive personalities
English as a Second Language background
low socio-economic status
dark complexion (so as to be perceived as person of color)
residence and social network apart from school
hierarchy
female gender
low parental support
Latino background
politically confrontational style
'unattractive' appearance
low grade point average or possessing learning disabilities
physical disability
non-athletic skills
low participation in extracurricular activities