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The Persistence and Advancement of Latino Professionals in Student Affairs

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements

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Educational Leadership

by

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The Dissertation of Mario Garibay is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

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Chair

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California State University, San Marcos

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DEDICATION

To Logan:

Education is everything. It was a value instilled in me by your Abuelita, and it is one that I hope to instill in you. Though she is no longer with us, education in our family is her legacy. Keep that in our heart, and she will never leave us.

Our village is beautiful. So many of your Dada's friends were there for him along his doctoral journey, from proofreading to acting as a sounding board. I feel blessed to be raising you with these amazing people in your life.

Your Mommy is a superhero. From the nights I stayed late in the office and evenings and Saturdays when I had class, she was nothing but supportive. I could not have done this without her.

Know that you can achieve your dream, and, when you dream, dream big. Your Dada is here to help make it happen. Getting this degree required hard work and some sacrifices, and I did it. Know that you can do whatever you set out to achieve. I hope you always that you are gifted, valuable, and capable. I hope you know you deserve good things.

This is not just my doctorate. It is for our comunidad. It is for your Abuelita and her legacy. It is for you and your future.

I love you, mijo.

Dada

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VITA

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Persistence and Advancement of Latino Student Affairs Professionals

by

Mario Garibay

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Carolyn Huie Hofstetter, Chair

The number of Latinos, specifically college-aged youth, is increasing rapidly in the United States. As a result, institutions of higher education are seeing increases in their enrollment of Latino undergraduates, but a gap exists in their retention and graduation rates. Latino Student Affairs professionals have a role in the success of students of color, specifically Latino students. Research shows Latino professionals are underrepresented in Student Affairs. While research on Latino Student Affairs professionals is limited, there is information on comparative populations (Latino faculty and presidents, and Student Affairs professionals of color). This literature demonstrates cultural values unique to Latino professionals, and the supports and barriers they experience in their persistence and

advancement. There literature includes the impact of relationships, and social and cultural capital.

This cross-comparative case study explored the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals and ascertained personal and institutional supports and barriers affecting their persistence and advancement. It also identified the role of relationships in overcoming these barriers. The study included 21 interviews with professionals from two universities in Southern California, as well as document analyses of materials from each university regarding what supports may be available for Latino Student Affairs professionals.

Participants identified perceived barriers and supports, and how relationships influence their persistence and advancement. From these interviews, 11 emergent themes were identified. Participants expressed barriers at the personal, interpersonal, and institutional levels. Supports included institutional support, personalismo (formal friendliness), relationships with other Latino professionals, and social capital. Participants identified familismo (the role of family) as both a support and a barrier. Themes were consistent with the available literature on Latino staff. They also aligned with literature on Latino faculty and Student Affairs professionals of color which were used to ascertain potential supports and barriers affecting Latino professionals in Student Affairs.

Implications for future research and theory are presented. Implications for practice are identified for institutions and for the field of Student Affairs. While there continues to be a lack of representation of Latino Student Affairs professionals, this study emphasizes the significance of understanding the experiences of these professionals and how to better improve their persistence and advancement.

Keywords: Latino, Student Affairs, persistence, advancement, social capital, cultural capital

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Background

Demographic changes across ethnic groups in the United States have profound implications for institutions of higher education. The number of Latinos in the United States, for example, is increasing rapidly and shifting the demographic landscape. Individuals of Hispanic descent account for 18% of the U.S. population, an increase of 2.7% from 2014 (United States Census Bureau, 2019).[1] Over the past decade, Latinos have accounted for most of the nation's population growth, with an increase of 27.5% (Ponjuan, 2011). This trend will continue in the coming years. There continues to be projected spikes in the Latino population such that, by the year 2025, 20% of the U.S. population will be Latino (Census Bureau, 2019).

Latino youth account for a large percentage of the Latino population's growth. This demographic will have the most direct impact on higher education. With an increase of Latino youth, colleges and universities can anticipate a proportional increase in college enrollment. About one-third of the Latino population are under the age of 18 (17.9 million) while about one-quarter (14.6 million) are Millennials, ages 18-34 (Patten, 2016). By 2020, the number of Latinos in college-attending age (18-24) will increase by 20% (Jones & Castellanos, 2003). College and university staff will find themselves confronted with the question of how to best meet the needs of the Latino youth, as well as all students, enrolling in their institutions. With this anticipated increase in enrollment of Latino youth, institutions of higher education will need to be prepared to support, retain, and graduate these students.

[1] According to Census.gov, the term "Hispanic" refers to origin whereas terms like "White and Black" refer to race. Individuals who identify as Latino can be of Hispanic origin and have a race that is either White or Black. The literature and this proposal use the terms Hispanic and Latino interchangeably.

Latino Student Representation in Higher Education

With the increase of Latinos in the United States, postsecondary institutions are seeing a parallel increase in Latino student enrollment and graduation rates. From 1980 to 2000, Latino enrollment increased from 4% to 10%, albeit a majority of the enrollment is at two-year institutions (Llagas & Snyder, 2003). Between 1999 and 2009, the number of Latinos enrolling in colleges and universities increased from 14.8 million to 20 million (Ponjuan, 2011). As a result, there has been an increase in the number of Latino students attaining degrees at colleges and universities. The number of Latinos attaining a bachelor's degree or more increased to 14.4% in 2014 from 7.7% in 1980 (Stepler & Brown, 2016). From 1990 to 2000 there were increases in bachelor's degrees conferred to Latino students (105%) as well as master's degrees (128%) and doctoral degrees (76%) (Llagas & Snyder, 2003). On its face value, the landscape of Latinos in higher education looks optimistic since more Latinos are entering colleges and universities and attaining degrees. This means that a larger quantity of Latinos are successfully progressing through the educational pipeline.

Although enrollment and graduation rates have increased, an educational gap still exists. While one sees an overall increase of Latinos attaining university degrees, it is at a rate disproportionate to the general surge of Latinos in the U.S. population and compared to the retention rates of White students. In 1980, for example, 28% of Mexican and 42% of Puerto Rican high school graduates who entered college had dropped out by 1984. Of the high school graduates who entered by 1982, 47% of Asian Americans, 55% of Whites, 65% Native Americans, 66% of Latinos, and 71% of Blacks had left college by 1986 without completing a college degree (Ponterotto, 1990). In 1991, only 4.5% of bachelor's degrees awarded were obtained by Latinos (Jones & Castellanos, 2003). Based on 2014 data, 15% of Latinos

obtained a bachelor's degree, compared to 41% of Whites, 22% of Blacks, and 63% of Asians (Krogstad, 2016). Despite the greater number of Latino students entering higher education, the data demonstrates that colleges and universities are still struggling to meet their needs.

Various factors affect the success and retention of Latino undergraduate students in college settings, such as faculty/staff diversity, college adjustment, financial issues, minority status stress, and campus climate (Kraemer, 1997; Longerbeam et al., 2014; Ponterotto, 1990; Rendon, 2003; Santos & Reigadas, 2009; Thompson, 1995). On the other hand, there are factors supporting the persistence of Latino students, including interactions with Latino faculty and staff. By developing relationships with Latino faculty and staff, Latino students can foster a mentorship with individuals with shared values, experiences, and cultural backgrounds (Santos & Reigadas, 2009; Thompson, 1995). These relationships can ease the tension and stress caused by minority status and campus climate (Longerbeam et al., 2004). Specifically, Student Affairs professionals play an active role in the experiences of undergraduate students.

While there is limited literature on the relationship between Latino students and Student Affairs professionals, the existing literature noted that a greater diversity within Student Affairs staff may positively impact the retention of students of color in general (Garcia, 2016; Kwon, 2016; Parnell, 2016; Rapp, 1997; Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1991). By increasing the representation of Student Affairs professionals of color, students of color get a greater sense of inclusion and role models in order to combat the adverse effects of prejudice, discrimination, and minority student stress (Rapp, 1997). Student Affairs staff of color are additionally actively promoting diversity and inclusion on campus and advocating for minority students (Rapp, 1997). Most importantly, Student Affairs staff of color have an

intimate relationship with students since they are interacting with them on a regular basis outside of the classroom (Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1991). However, despite the role played by Latino faculty and staff and Student Affairs professionals of color, there is a lack of representation of these individuals.

Latino Faculty and Staff and Student Affairs Professionals of Color

There are multiple factors acting as either supports or barriers to the persistence and advancement of Latino faculty and staff and Student Affairs professionals of color. Literature specifically addressing the supports and barriers confronted by Latino Student Affairs professionals was limited. However, a review of literature was done of similarly situated populations beginning with Latino faculty and presidents. Among some of the barriers faced by Latino faculty and presidents are the lack of representation of other Latinos and the negative effects of homogeneity, being limited to lower-ranking or diversity-related positions, and the lack of a sense of belonging (Leon & Nevarez, 2007; Santos & Reigadas, 2009; Savala, 2014). Community, mentorship, and a sense of belonging and "familismo" are ways Latino faculty and staff might overcome these barriers (Munoz, 2009; Sanchez-Pena et al., 2016; Savala, 2014).

Likewise a review of literature on Student Affairs professionals of color was selected due to limited information on Latino Student Affairs professionals specifically. Student Affairs professionals of color face similar barriers to their persistence and advancement. Among these barriers are tokenism, relegation to diversity and low-ranking positions, and prejudice (Chan, 2017; Garcia, 2016; Jackson, 2001; Kwon, 2016; Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1991). Similar to their Latino faculty counterparts, Student Affairs professionals of color overcome these barriers with mentorship and networks, among other supports (Batista & Collado, 2018;

Jackson, 2003; Oseguera, 2018; Palacios, 2018). An understanding of these two populations, including the supports and barriers they experience in their persistence and advancement, act as a foundation in understanding those experienced by Latino Student Affairs professionals.

Problem Statement

There is a disparity in the representation of Latino Student Affairs professionals, despite the literature demonstrating the benefits of a diverse Student Affairs population on Latino student retention. A 2013 study found that, of the 158,653 professionals who identify as "Student and academic affairs and other education services," 12,285 (7.74%) are Latino, as compared to 108,451 (68.36%) who are White (Lozano & Orozco, 2017). For instance, a 2002 study found that the number of Senior Student Affairs officers who identify as Latino/Hispanic (3.6%) are disproportionately lower than those who identify as White (79.8%) (Reason, Walker, & Robinson, 2002). Despite some attempts to increase staff diversity, colleges and universities have neglected to improve the conditions for underrepresented staff (Chan, 2017; Rapp, 1997; Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1991). Additionally, Student Affairs professionals from marginalized populations, including Latinos, are entering and exiting the field within their entry-level positions and not advancing further in the profession (Chan, 2017; Jackson, 2001). Institutions of higher education are faced with a challenge: how to better improve the conditions for Latino Student Affairs professionals with the objective of improving their retention, persistence, and advancement.

The literature provides insight into improving the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals. Specifically, relationships, community, and social networks are recurring themes in the literature on the persistence and advancement of Latino faculty and staff (Canul, 2003; Longerbeam et al., 2004; Oseguera, 2015; Santos & Reigadas,

2009; Savala, 2014). For Latinos, this comes in the form of cultural concepts like "familismo" (sense of family), collectivism over individualism, "respeto" (respect), and "personalismo" (personal friendliness) (Canul, 2003; Santos & Reigadas, 2009). Networks, a sense of belonging and community, and mentorships are common themes in the literature on Student Affairs professional staff of color as factors that have a positive impact on their persistence and advancement (Batista & Collado, 2018; Jackson, 2001, 2003; Oseguera, 2018; Palacios, 2018). Additionally, for Latino students, staff and faculty, mentorship is a recurring consideration (Longerbeam et al., 2004; Oseguera, 2015; Santos & Reigadas, 2009; Savala, 2014), whereby the literature speaks to identifying a mentor who reflects a mentee's cultural identity as a significant factor to the retention and persistence in the field. Consequently, relationships and networks play an integral role in the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals.

Since relationships and social networks, and the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals are intertwined, Social and Cultural Capital Theories were selected as a theoretical framework for this proposed study. Themes around community, familismo, mentorships, and networks appeared throughout the literature (Canul, 2003; Batista & Collado, 2018; Jackson, 2001, 2003; Longerbeam et al., 2004; Oseguera, 2015, 2018; Palacios, 2018; Santos & Reigadas, 2009; Savala, 2014). These themes have a connection to Cultural and Social Capital Theories. Cultural Capital Theory posits that norms and values are passed on from one group of individuals, often from those in the dominant culture, to other groups of individuals (Lin, 2001). Related to this, Social Capital Theory is the network used by individuals to transfer social and economic resources (Lin, 2001). In concert, these theories enact a transfer of social norms and gains through a network of

relationships whereby individuals can persist and advance. The role of relationships and networks are fundamental to understanding how Latinos are navigating their career paths in Student Affairs.

Latinos in higher education utilize social and cultural capital to overcome social inequities and institutional barriers (Bankson & Zhou, 2002; Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Yosso, 2016). One element in Social Capital Theory that correlates with these themes directly is the role of institutional agents. These are the individuals within the system that have the ability to connect others with sources of knowledge, advocacy, role modeling, emotional support, and guidance (Bankson & Zhou, 2002; Bourdieu 1986; Lin, 2001; Stanton-Salazar, 1997, 2011). As noted in the literature, Latino Student Affairs professionals look to these types of agents to access social networks. Latino cultural values, Social and Capital Theories, and the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals are intertwined.

With this background and foundation, the study explored the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals and ascertained personal and institutional supports and barriers affecting their persistence and advancement. The purpose of the study was also to identify the ways in which they have overcome these barriers and specifically, what the role of relationships are in overcoming these barriers.

Definitions

Terms and concepts utilized in this study are defined in this section.

Cultural Capital. According to Lin (2001), cultural capital is the sets of norms and values established by the dominant culture**.**

Latino. The definition used for Latino is a person of Latin American descent living in the United States (Merriam Webster, 2018). For the purpose of this study, Latino will refer to

individuals who identify as members of Latin American cultures (i.e. Mexican American, Puerto Rican American, etc.). As used in the study, Latino is synonymous with Hispanic. Moreover, the focus of the proposed study is on the experiences of both men and women who identify as Latino, and Latino will be used to include all genders.

Social capital. Social capital refers to the social connections used to maintain or gain social and economic resources (Lin, 2001).

Student Affairs. Traditionally referred to as student personnel administration, Student Affairs is the area of the university promoting student learning and development. It is focused primarily on the experiences and activities of students outside of the classroom (NASPA, 2018). This area of colleges and universities can include, but is not limited to, Student Leadership, Student Conduct, Residential Life, Student Activities, Greek Life, and Cultural Centers.

Hispanic Serving Institutions. Institutions where total Hispanic enrollment is at least 25% are eligible to apply for status as a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI). Once designated an HSI is eligible to apply for grant funding to support this population. Often times, HSIs demonstrate their ability to sustain Hispanic enrollment through student services (HACU, 2018).

Additionally, in the field of Student Affairs, the first position individuals are hired into after undergraduate or graduate school is referred to as "entry-level." This category includes the lowest ranking positions in Student Affairs (i.e. Coordinators, Program Assistants, etc.). Typically, individuals in Student Affairs are in these entry-level positions for under five years. "Middle-management" positions, as used in this study, will refer to the next level of positions (i.e. Assistant Directors, Directors, Assistant or Associate Deans). Lastly, "senior-level"

positions or senior administration will refer to individuals at the Dean or Vice Chancellor position or higher. Depending on the institution's organizational structure, the senior administrators could also include Presidents and Chancellors. These terms are synonymous but vary based on the institution. The three categories will be used throughout the proposed study to differentiate position status in the organization.

Research Questions

The study centered on the following research questions:

1. What perceived barriers influence the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals?
2. What perceived supports influence the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals?
3. What is the role of relationships in overcoming barriers to persistence and advancement among Latino Student Affairs professionals?

Methodology

In order to highlight the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals, this qualitative cross-comparative case study utilized opportunities for them to share their perspective via interviews. Participants were selected from two similar institutions within the same university/college system in the Southern California region. At the time of this study, one institution was designated as a Hispanic Serving Institution while the other had begun the process to become one. There were 21 total interviews with Latino Student Affairs professionals, with 10-11 participants from each university, and included entry-level, middle-management, and senior-level professionals. Participants were asked to provide demographic information via a questionnaire prior to their interviews. In line with the study's research

questions, participants were asked to describe their experiences working in Student Affairs. They were asked to respond to questions about any barriers they may have faced in their persistence and advancement; how they overcame these barriers, if applicable; and what support they may have received in their persistence and advancement. Simultaneously, a document analysis was conducted of both campus' websites, social media, and other documents to determine what the two universities advertise as opportunities or support for Latino staff on their respective campus.

Significance of the Study

The relationship between underrepresented student populations and representation within either faculty or staff was identified throughout the review of the literature. The representation of Student Affairs professionals of color has a positive impact on the retention of underrepresented students as they are having regular interactions with students of color outside of the classroom, are developing a sense of belonging for these students, and advocating for diversity issues on campus (Garcia, 2016; Kwon, 2016; Parnell, 2016; Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1991). Specifically, engaging with Latino faculty and staff improves retention of Latino students including by providing Latino students with mentorships with individuals who have a shared culture, which eases stressors caused my minority status and homogeneity on campus (Castellanos & Jones, 2003; Kraemer, 1997; Longerbeam, Sedlacek, & Alatorre, 2004; Santos & Reigadas, 2009). These topics will be expanded upon in Chapter Two. Although research indicates Latino staff play an important role in facilitating student engagement and achievement, there continues to be a lack of representation of Latino Student Affairs professionals in postsecondary institutions.

Summary and Overview of Study

The study provided insight into the experience of Latino professionals within Student Affairs and how to best support their persistence or advancement. Chapter One described that the increase of the Latino undergraduate population is at a high rate. However, the retention and matriculation rates of this population is lagging compared to their White counterparts, in part due to the inability of colleges and universities to best meet their needs.

Chapter Two begins with a review of the literature of student success and its relationship to diversity in Student Affairs. It explores the relationship between Latino student success and Latino faculty and staff representation, particularly with regard to Latino Student Affairs professionals. It includes a review of literature of comparative populations including Latino faculty and presidents, and a general overview of Student Affairs professionals of color. It examines Latino cultural values and their intersection with professionals in Student Affairs, including an emphasis on relationships and community. Lastly, Chapter Two closes with a review of Social and Cultural Capital Theories, as these theories are integrated into the conceptual framework for the proposed study.

Chapter Three focuses on the methods for the cross-comparative case study. This chapter will provide an overview of case study research design. It reviews the two institutions selected for this study and how participants were selected and sampled. Data were collected from interviews and document analysis, and this chapter examines how data were collected and analyzed. Lastly, this chapter presents the limitations to the study, including positionality, and methods used to address potential validity threats. These methods, within a framework centered on Social and Cultural Capital Theories, illuminates the overall experience of Latino

professional in Student Affairs, perceived supports and barriers in their persistence and advancement, and the role of relationships and networks.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

There is a lack of literature on the experiences and trends pertaining to Latino Student Affairs professionals. The purpose of this study was to examine the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals, including what supports and barriers exists in their persistence and advancement in the field.

The literature highlights the impact of minority Student Affairs staff on minority students, focusing on student success and retention with Latino students. Next, there will be a review of literature related to Latino faculty and college presidents. This is the most similarly situated population to Latinos in Student Affairs, and there is a greater amount of literature on Latino faculty than on Latino Student Affairs professionals. While the experiences may be different for Student Affairs professionals who engage with students on a more frequent basis, literature around Latino faculty and college presidents is used primarily to pull out the emergent themes of Latinos working within a higher education context, including Latino-centric values and trends. After exploring existing research on Latino faculty and college presidents, there will be a focus on literature surrounding minority populations in Student Affairs as a whole. The literature demonstrates that the experiences between the different minority groups are similar, and the themes that emerge in this literature could also reflect the themes surrounding Latinos in Student Affairs.

Additionally, the literature review will highlight the unique characteristics that define the Latino experience in Student Affairs. As mentioned in Chapter One, the theoretical framework for the proposed study integrates Social and Cultural Capital Theories. For Latinos, this also includes community and interpersonal relationships, for example

mentorships. An overview of how these theories and other literature on the unique characteristics of Latino culture create a foundational framework for how the proposed study will be provided in this section of the chapter.

Relationship between Staff Diversity and Student Success

Overall, the literature on Latino faculty and Student Affairs professionals of color demonstrates that there is a need for more representation, especially in higher-ranking positions. An identified gap in the literature is on the experiences and issues being faced by Latino Student Affairs professionals. However, the literature also identifies why this topic is critical, as it explains the relationship between Latino representation in faculty and staff on Latino student retention. The literature also explains the benefits of a more diverse Student Affairs staff in addressing climate issues and promoting minority student success.

Latino Student Retention

The literature provides insight into the relationship between Student Affairs professionals of color and minority student retention. Specifically, there is a connection between the representation of Latino faculty and staff, including Latino Student Affairs professionals, and Latino students' retention. According to the literature, there is currently an underrepresentation of Latino Student Affairs professionals (Lozano & Orozco, 2017; Reason, Walker, & Robinson, 2002). This underrepresentation of Latinos in Student Affairs will need to be addressed so that colleges and universities can better serve the increasing numbers of Latino students. Several factors continue to affect the persistence of Latinos in higher education, resulting in a disproportionately low number of Latinos completing college. This section highlights the various factors affecting Latino student retention and addresses the relationship between representation of Latino faculty and staff to Latino student retention.

A number of barriers negatively impact the retention of Latino students. Access to college, campus climate, and faculty/staff diversity are among the issues that have not been solved in order to address the unique needs of Latino students (Rendon, 2003). Among the factors affecting Latino retention, Longerbeam et al. (2004) list: lack of finances and other financial concerns, resulting in Latino students more likely having to work while in college; perceived academic ability; stress caused by a minority status; and college adjustment. In addition to financial concerns, Ponterotto (1990) identifies "climate" as a major factor in why students are not staying in college, ranging from feeling unappreciated by the university to experiencing more overt forms of racism. Academic and social integration, including interaction with Latino faculty and staff, other Latino students, and Latino cultural activities, have direct impacts on the persistence of Latino students (Kraemer, 1997, Longerbeam, et al., 2004). In multiple articles, the persistence of Latino students at colleges and universities correlated with the representation of Latinos within faculty, senior-level administrators, and/or staff. Therefore, a lack of representation of these Latino faculty, senior-level administration, and staff could negatively affect the persistence of Latino students.

In a study of 2,991 Latino undergraduate students, "minority status stress" (the additional stressors that minorities experience as they navigate the educational system as compared to their White counterparts) is identified as having a negative impact on the success and retention of Latino student populations. Minority status stress is greater for Latino students at institutions that do not have a critical mass of Latino students. Although not defined numerically in the study, a critical mass is reached when the number of Latinos is at an amount where the presence of Latinos counteracts the stress caused by their "minority

status." In order to ease the tension caused by minority status stress, institutions need to increase the number of Latino students on their campuses (Longerbeam et al., 2004).

In a study of 32 participants in a Latino faculty-student mentorship program called the Faculty Mentoring Program (FMP), a mentorship program was found to be beneficial in promoting the success of Latino students at universities, specifically in their retention and persistence (Santos & Reigadas, 2009). The most important element of the program is that the student (the mentee) and the faculty (the mentor) shared a similar cultural background. One element of these mentorships is homogeneity between mentor and mentee. In this context, the mentee and the mentor were homogeneous in that they shared goals, values, and cultural backgrounds (Santos & Reigadas, 2009; Thompson, 1995). Having mentors with a similar background as themselves provided social support to mentees. As a result, they felt more connected to the institution and were more likely to persist. In addition to the relationship between Latino faculty and staff, and Latino student retention, there is literature to suggest that there is a relationship between increased diversity in Student Affairs staff and minority student success.

Diversity in Student Affairs and Minority Student Success

The presence of Student Affairs staff of color, in general, and its beneficial impact on student success, is a central topic of the literature (Garcia, 2016; Kwon, 2016; Parnell, 2016; Rapp, 1997; Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1991). In order to be prepared for the influx of Latino students entering higher education, colleges and universities need to reevaluate the representation of Latinos in their faculty and staff populations. Specifically, that they lack Latino representation in Student Affairs, and that it is problematic as these professionals are entrenched in the day-to-day experiences of students in campus life. Minority students

experience a sense of isolation which is one factor that can lead to a higher dropout rate. Being able to find role models or seek out support services counters this sense of isolation. Increasing the representation of minorities in Student Affairs increases the sense of inclusion, provides minority role models, and positively impacts the retention rates of minority students (Rapp, 1997).

Similarly, in increasingly diversified campuses, Student Affairs staff become the leaders in creating change in campus climate and meeting the needs of diverse students. Colleges and universities have been able to combat issues of discrimination or address diversity-related campus issues by increasing the representation of minority Student Affairs staff (Rapp, 1997). Often, senior administrators look to Student Affairs professionals to address racial climate issues. Since Student Affairs professionals are primarily responsible for the out-of-classroom environment, Student Affairs better supports opportunities to engage with these topics as they are more attuned to campus climate and have established rapport with students (Parnell, 2016). Lastly, minority staff are often the individuals who are most aware of the experiences of minority students. They voice the concerns of students of color and are often the staff who advocate most actively for minority students (Rapp, 1997).

Student Affairs professionals find themselves and their work deeply embedded in the everyday experiences of students on campus and play a significant role in student development and retention. They are advising and supervising students, shaping the co-curricular experience for students outside of the classroom through activities, working with students via student conduct processes, coordinating student support services and centers, and, in the case of Residential Life and Housing professionals, living with and among undergraduate students. Interactions with Student Affairs professionals, specifically entry and

mid-level administrators, is influential in the retention of students. Entry and mid-level administrators are more likely to have contact with students than senior administrators and have a greater potential of serving as mentors and role models for both minority and majority students (Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1991). Therefore, colleges and universities miss the mark if their Student Affairs staff are not reflecting the growth of Latino students entering colleges and universities.

Comparative Literature to Similar Populations

Representation and Retention of Latino Faculty and Presidents

There is a significant gap around the retention and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals. However, there was a substantial number of articles focused on the experiences of Latino faculty and college presidents. These include studies on the cultural influences shaping the experiences of Latino faculty, issues affecting retention, and barriers faculty members face in advancing in their field to tenured positions or as college presidents. The literature on Latino faculty provides insight into the cultural trends of Latinos who work in higher education. In reviewing this literature on Latino faculty, the intent is to draw on potential similarities between them and Latino Student Affairs since there is a lack of literature on the latter.

Lack of pipeline for faculty advancement. First, the literature identifies that Latinos are entering into low-ranking faculty roles and not advancing. While Latinos are well represented in lecturer, instructor, and non-tenured faculty positions, they are not as well represented in tenure-track assistant, associate, or full-time faculty roles (Leon & Nevarez, 2007). The inability to "rise in the ranks" is one explanation for the lack of representation of Latinos in faculty and senior-level administrative roles (Leon & Nevarez, 2007; Savala,

2014). For those who advance in the field, promotions are limited to positions focused on diversity and minority affairs (Savala, 2014). In a review of literature on the retention of Hispanic presidents and chancellors, researchers identified the following themes: the influence of the administrators' culture in their persistence and perceptions of their work; mentorship and a sense of others advocating on their behalf; and the influence of both biological family and a sense of family within the institution (Santos, Jr. & Vegas, 2008).

For some faculty, the lack of an "educational pipeline" for faculty tenure directly impacts their advancement. Similar to the experiences of Latino students moving through the K-12 and through the higher education system, Latino faculty equated their experience, and consequent resilience, in their roles in academia to the experiences of these Latino students (Padilla, 2003; Savala, 2014). In a qualitative study of five participants who shared their personal experiences in higher education and serving as faculty, participants consistently said that the lack of an educational pipeline influenced their overall experience. The researchers compared the barriers they confronted in attaining their degrees to persisting in faculty roles. One similarity between the two is that, because of the lack of an educational pipeline, few individuals advance from K-12 into colleges and universities (Savala 2014). Fewer students then advance from their undergraduate studies to graduate school and doctorate programs. Padilla (2003) builds on this concept by linking the K-12 and higher education pipeline to the hierarchical pipeline of hiring, tenure, and promotion process. Similar barriers persisted as faculty moved through the ranks of faculty positions, including education preparation from earlier stages of the pipeline, cultural influences, prejudice and discrimination, and lack of political empowerment, among other barriers.

Barriers to retention and advancement of Latino faculty. In reviewing the literature, one can identify what Latinos are uniquely experiencing as barriers to retention and advancement as they attempt to move up this pipeline. Some of these barriers are institutional. For instance, Latino faculty and senior administrators experience a workplace that lacks a racial/ethnic diversity of faculty. Homogeneity - the lack of diversity - is a common theme in the literature around Latino faculty and senior-level administrators (Leon & Nevarez, 2007). This is different than the discussion around homogeneity in the context of establishing mentorships between Latino students and Latino mentors. In that example, homogeneity of cultural backgrounds demonstrated a positive outcome on the persistence of Latino students because, by having a mentor who was from a similar background, they had a stronger sense of belonging (Santos & Reigadas, 2009).

However, homogeneity in the literature on faculty refers less to the interpersonal relationships on the micro level but rather more on a critical analysis of the systemic issue of the lack of diversity within an institution, particularly in the faculty track. Within the administration, homogeneity is perpetuated as it negatively affects the retention of Latinos being recruited, and the administration then continues to lack diversity (Leon & Nevarez, 2007). Homogenous institutions or organizations are regarded as exclusive to Latino faculty and at times difficult to infiltrate resulting in them leaving the institution or organization, further perpetuating homogeneity. However, building inclusive communities within organizations that are homogeneous, positively affected the retention of Latino faculty, lead to a greater sense of belonging, higher self-efficacy, and as a result, increased retention and persistence (Santos & Reigadas, 2009; Savala, 2014).

In a narrative research study on the persistence of four Latino community college presidents, seven themes pertaining to the needs of Latino faculty emerged. These themes included: influence of family, a sense of struggle and resilience, positive connections to learning, quality mentoring experiences, leadership development programs, commitment and dedication to public service, and the impact of race, culture, and gender on their roles as presidents. These themes are consistent with the aforementioned concepts of belonging, mentorship, sense of community, and the influence of culture in shaping their overall experience. Conversely, the lack of these resources negatively impacts their persistence (Rodriguez, 2005). By not meeting the needs of Latino faculty, their ability to persist at the institutions and advance along the pipeline are negatively impacted. Barriers exist for Latino faculty and administrators, they can be lessened when a tenured environment seeks ways to retain and support the advancement of current Latino faculty and administrators.

Supports for persistence and advancement of Latino faculty. There are a number of ways to increase the retention of faculty including: improve Latino doctoral student socialization, educate faculty search committees, develop faculty learning communities, redefine pre-tenured faculty members' mentoring policies, and improve pre-tenured faculty roles (Ponjuan. 2011). These would address the aforementioned barriers affecting faculty retention, including the inability to advance the "ranks" of faculty positions and the lack of Latino faculty leaders and mentors. They also connect the idea of homogeneity and a way to overcome that barrier through increasing the recruitment of Latino faculty via educating faculty search committees on the importance of diversity at their institution and in the applicant pool. By educating these committees, the likelihood of the recruitment of Latino

faculty members increases the representation of Latinos, and there is a shift away from homogeneity and the negative effects of homogeneity (Ponjuan, 2011).

For some faculty, the sense that their ethnicity affects their career decisions was a theme that emerged in the literature (Savala, 2014). Decisions are made with a different mindset than their White counterparts, so the way that Latino faculty navigate their workplace was embedded in their Latino cultural context. For instance, according to Savala (2014), "The experience of these leaders growing up in a Mexican American household provide them with a certain level of sensitivity that people who haven't had their experiences would not understand" (p. 139). Overall, Latino faculty identified having a different frame of reference for their experiences, which their White counterparts and their institutions did not understand.

One such frame of reference is described by Sanchez-Pena et al. (2016) as "familismo." In this study on Latina faculty, the concept refers to a characteristic of Latino culture, whereby there is "a strong attachment of the member of the nuclear and extended family" (Sanchez-Pena et al., 2016, p. 4). As was previously discussed with the context of collectivism, this characteristic is most similar to a sense of belonging, but it is rooted in Latino traditions and cultures. Unique to Latinos are their strong sense of familial connections, and this extends to wanting to establish similar connections within their universities, places of work, or organizations, thus building a support network.

Community is an example of Latino cultural norms that translate to the success of Latino faculty, as described in a study of Latina faculty. Related to the concept of "familismo," the study demonstrated that Latina faculty seek out a community to which they can belong. Once established, these networks and relationship-building processes led to a greater persistence for the faculty. However, this goes a bit further in establishing that this

sense of community also creates an additional sense of commitment for Latina faculty. It moves from just being a social connection to one that is laden with responsibility for the "social betterment" of the community. This reciprocal relationship in Latino culture extends further what has already been outlined in the literature around mentorships and community, where the mentee or beneficiary gains a sense of belonging. In turn, the mentor or benefactor fulfills their commitment to the betterment of their community, a value that is more prevalent among Latino faculty in comparison to their White counterparts (Sanchez-Pena, et al., 2016).

In addition to the concept of community, mentorship plays a significant role in the retention and advancement of Latino faculty and senior-level administrators (Munoz, 2009; Sanchez-Pena et al., 2016; Savala, 2014). In his study of 15 Latino senior level administrators, Savala (2014) noted that a majority of the participants identified having Latino mentors above them was a significant factor in their recruitment to a college or university, influenced their success, and supported their ability to advance in the field. In these cases, a mentor was able to provide access to a mentee, and mentees also felt empowered and more secure with having a higher-ranking mentor who looked like them (Savala, 2014). In a study of 13 Latina college presidents, mentorship and identifying other Latina role models was one way to overcome barriers to their success, which included the lack of role models in addition to prejudice and exclusion from networks (Munoz, 2009). Identifying these supports and barriers for the persistence and advancement of Latino faculty helps in understanding the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals, who may experience similar supports and barriers. Although there is limited literature on the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals, the next section will review the representation and retention of Student Affairs staff of color,

in general. Coupled, an understanding of Latino faculty and Student Affairs staff of color could provide a foundation for discourse of Latino Student Affairs professionals.

Representation and Retention of Student Affairs Staff of Color

Student Affairs professionals of color are experiencing similar barriers and representation issues as Latino faculty and college presidents. There is a gap in the literature on the recruitment, retention and advancement of Latino Student Affairs. However, there was literature that existed around Student Affairs professionals of color. Similar to the literature on Latino faculty and college presidents, trends in this literature can be extrapolated to identify potential trends applicable to Latino professionals in Student Affairs. Overall, there are a few central themes to improve the retention and advancement of people of color in Student Affairs, including addressing racism and prejudice in the profession and in the campus climate, addressing the impact of homogeneity, designing intentional recruitment practices, and the significance of role models and mentorships. A review of this literature combined with the literature on minorities in Student Affairs informs the reader on overlapping themes to help describe what the experience could be for Latinos in Student Affairs. This literature begins with how minority staff enter the field of Student Affairs and are recruited at institutions.

Recruitment of minority staff. One area of concern in the literature is the recruitment of staff of color to increase their representation in Student Affairs. Colleges and universities are unsuccessful in making the recruitment of minority staff a priority. The literature states there is a need to be intentional in recruitment and hiring practices to increase the presence of minority populations (Borg, 1991; Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1991). The intentionality comes in the form of developing search committees that are seeking candidates of color to increase the

representation in the applicant pool (Kwon, 2016). Lack of diversity in an organization can result in discomfort, lower job satisfaction, and lower self-efficacy (Marcus, 2000). Universities and colleges need to integrate the mindset of recruiting a diverse pool from the beginning and throughout the process. This includes intentionally advertising job postings in spaces where they can attract a diverse pool, setting expectations and providing trainings to those conducting the interviews and screening process, identifying key terms within resumes, and developing interview questions that emphasize the importance of diversity, inclusion, and social justice (Rapp, 1997). Once an institution recruits staff of color, there are additional responsibilities, including developing inclusive practices and policies, integrating diversity into the structure of the organization, and supporting these efforts via supervision (Kwon, 2016; Marcus, 2000). Once Student Affairs professionals of color are recruited, the literature provides insight into the pipeline, or lack thereof, in Student Affairs for the advancement of these individuals.

Lack of pipeline for advancement in Student Affairs. After recruitment and hiring, findings in the literature suggest that colleges and universities need to focus on the retention and advancement of minority staff. While there has been an increase in the emphasis on engaging and supporting minority students, colleges and universities have neglected to improve the conditions of minority staff (Chan, 2017; Rapp, 1997; Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1991). There is an overrepresentation of minorities in lower classified positions and underrepresentation in "progressively higher" ranking positions. Conversely, there is an underrepresentation of White staff in lower classifications but an overrepresentation in higher-ranking positions (Chan, 2017; Kwon, 2016). There are "blockages" in the pipeline for marginalized populations, so they are either advancing at a slower rate than their White

counterparts or not advancing at all (Chan, 2017). In line with the literature around retention of Latino faculty, Student Affairs staff from marginalized populations are entering and exiting the field within their entry-level positions and not advancing further in the field (Chan, 2017; Jackson, 2001). Like their faculty counterparts, Student Affairs professionals of color are also saturating entry-level positions or areas of Student Affairs specific to working with marginalized or minority populations (i.e. multicultural centers, minority student services) (Chan, 2017; Jackson, 2001; Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1991). An exploration of the barriers being faced by these individuals can provide insight as to why they are not moving up the pipeline in Student Affairs.

Institutional barriers for retention and advancement in Student Affairs. These issues call for a deeper understanding of the institutional barriers for staff of color and strategies to overcome them. These strategies include an examination of policy and practice, a discontinuation of placing minorities in stereotypical positions, combatting the isolating effects of tokenism via an increase in representation, and the intentional grooming and advancement of minority staff (Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1991). Specifically, in the case of African American Student Affairs professionals, in order to sustain them in the field, these individuals need to be provided opportunities outside of diversity positions and committees noting that, oftentimes, African Americans tend to be utilized regularly for diversity work on college campuses (Jackson, 2001). For staff of color, one of the reasons they are choosing to exit the field is the lack of rewards outcomes, including promotion or advancement in the field (Borg, 1991).

One specific barrier to their advancement into senior leadership roles is the ability to acquire a doctorate degree, which is becoming more of a prerequisite for these roles (Palacios,

2008). In 2013, less than 1% of Latino adults have attained doctoral degrees compared to Asians (4%) and Whites (2%) (Excelencia in Education, 2015a). Among the barriers to attaining a doctorate degree are family expectations, financial stability, academic support, the effects of "cultural taxation," and "imposter syndrome" (Palacios, 2008). Combined, these hinder the ability for Latino Student Affairs professionals to attain doctorate degrees and thus, the ability to access senior-level positions.

In addition to an advanced degree, other barriers are more systemic and identity-based. Tokenism and a sense of being relegated to areas of Student Affairs focused on multiculturalism and diversity, connects to another issue presented in the literature around racism and prejudice in the field. Minority staff are not being retained nor advancing in the field, not because of their abilities as individuals, but because the environments they are working in are not conducive to their persistence (Rapp, 1997). The literature identifies that institutionally, colleges and universities have a responsibility of addressing issues relating to prejudice and campus climate. Overall, Student Affairs has to think critically about its standard practices to ensure that the field is addressing racism and prejudice (whether intentional or unintentional) within its own institutions (Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1991).

Among these instances of racism and prejudice, for some staff of color, the presence of microaggressions (subtle or unintentional acts of discrimination against members of a marginalized group) have a negative impact on their overall experience at colleges and institutions and act as barriers to the persistence and advancement of these individuals (Garcia, 2016). These microaggressions are smaller experiences occurring on a consistent and repetitive basis that results in an overall sense of being discriminated against within a college or university. The discussion is expanded from microaggressions to microassaults (more

explicit attacks or acts of discrimination), microinsults (rude comments towards people of color) and microinvalidations (actions that exclude the experiences of people of color) (Sue, 2010). Each of these individual instances of microaggressions and other forms of discrimination lead to a larger issue regarding the campus climate which has a negative impact on the retention of staff of color (Garcia, 2016).

Another institutional barrier is the lack of diversity at colleges and universities. A specific consequence of the lack of diversity is the impact of homogeneity - when a system lacks diversity - and the perpetuation of a dynamic whereby one population is centralized and determined to be the "normal" (Aphelbaum, Phillips, and Richerson, 2014; Kwon, 2016). When there is a singular norm and this norm consists of one population, other diverse populations entering homogeneous systems are then systematically excluded. Consequently, homogeneity within an organization results in an unplanned system of exclusion that can have psychological and organizational effects on individuals within the organization (Brewer, 1999; Kwon, 2016). The psychological impact stems from the concept of in-group versus out-group experiences caused by homogeneity, whereby those who are different from the majority experience marginalization, isolation, and prejudice (Brewer, 1999; Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1991). While these institutional barriers negatively affect the persistence and advancement of Student Affairs professionals of color, the literature posits that there are also supports that help these professionals overcome these barriers.

Supports for persistence and advancement in Student Affairs. Among the supports, the first comes in the diversification of institutions of higher education. For some colleges and universities, the critical area for increasing diversity is the transition from graduate programs and recruitment to entry-level roles (Linder & Simmons, 2015; Rapp,

1997; Turrentine & Conley, 2001). According to a study conducted by Turrentine and Conley (2001), ethnic minorities represent approximately 22.8% of students in Student Affairs graduate programs, and the applicant pool of minorities leaving their graduate programs and looking for entry-level positions is increasingly diverse (18-24%). Consequently, there should be an opportunity to increase diversity in staff positions, but there seems to be a gap in the actual representation of these ethnic groups attaining positions and fewer advancing. While Student Affairs programs and the applicant pool of people exiting their programs are rich with diversity, there is unfortunately still a gap in the number of Latinos specifically in these groups. Latinos comprise 3.7% of the graduate student population in the programs and 4-5% of the applicant pool measured in the study (Turrentine & Conley, 2001).

Taking a step further back, Oseguera (2015) identifies that a potential pipeline exists prior to graduate school and actually begins with undergraduate students via her study on the NASPA Undergraduate Fellows Program (NUFP), which is a mentorship program between minority undergraduate students interested in working in Student Affairs and current Student Affairs staff. NASPA (the National Association of Student Affairs Administrators in Higher Education) developed the NUFP program in 1989 with the mission to increase the representation of minority professionals in Student Affairs. In this study of 20 undergraduate students in this program, role models and mentorship, self-efficacy, and cultural influence were identified as important in their trajectory from undergraduate to Student Affairs professional. This study further demonstrates the benefits of mentorship and cultural influence, which are consistent with the experiences of those students of color in the Student Affairs graduate programs, Latino faculty and senior leadership, and staff of color in Student Affairs. Overall, this establishes the significance around understanding the pipeline into

Student Affairs in relationship to the recruitment of minority Student Affairs staff. Participants in the program are provided with key tools for navigating the pipeline into and throughout their tenure in Student Affairs, including mentoring, internships, and conferences, to further expand their learning and social networks (Oseguera, 2018).

The role of mentorships and networks continue to be important to Student Affairs professionals as they continue to travel the pipeline between their undergraduate, graduate, and professional experiences (Batista & Collado, 2018; Palacios, 2018). As noted earlier, values in the Latino culture lend themselves to developing social networks and thus, support the success of Latinos in Student Affairs. These values include "familismo" (being family orientated) and "personalismo" (relationship building). For Latino Student Affairs professionals and senior administration, it is important to view these values as assets in Student Affairs, whether it is through their ability to build networks and relationships with other faculty and staff on campus, with students, or families of students (Palacios, 2018). Relationship and community are also related to the persistence of Latinos in Student Affairs. Affinity organizations for Latinos, whether at their universities or in national associations like NASPA, have the ability to affirm their identities and can support growth and advancement (Batista & Collado, 2018).

In addition to developing mentorships, the literature describes methods that supervisors and departments can use to be intentional in their ability to support and supervise staff members from minority populations once those individuals have already been recruited and hired (Jackson, 2001). The first method is to be cognizant of the cultural differences of people of color, not to tokenize them further, but to ensure that the work environment is conducive to their cultural backgrounds. According to Jackson (2001), colleges and

universities can assist in the retention and advancement of African American Student Affairs professionals and other staff of color via their support of professional development opportunities. This can come in the form of providing financial support for conferences and time off for professional development. Lastly, there is important emphasis on creating relationships with other staff of color (Jackson, 2001).

Jackson (2003) highlighted the topic of retention for a specific minority group. The article compares two categories, one at the institutional level and one at the individual level and proposes that research and subsequent action should be conducted holistically at both levels. At the institutional level, there are campus policies and practices not reflecting the current trends of campus diversification. These can influence campus climate, culture, and staff experiences. Focusing on the individual level provides insight into the impact that interpersonal relations and individualized actions have on retention, like the development of mentorship programs (Jackson, 2003). As with the review of the persistence and advancement of Latino faculty, understanding the persistence and advancement of Student Affairs professionals of color, generally, provides a foundation for discourse on Latino Student Affairs professionals. An additional layer to the barriers and supports identified thus far is literature on what makes the experiences of Latinos unique in comparison to other ethnic groups. This includes literature on values central to the Latino culture.

Latino Cultural Values

In conducting research on Latino Student Affairs professionals, an emphasis is placed on what the unique characteristics or values are for Latinos. One method of understanding the experiences of Latinos in the United States context is to use a Latino Critical Race Theory lens. Latino Critical Race Theory, or LatCrit, is a branch of Critical Race Theory that focuses

on the experiences of Latinos and Chicanos in the United States. First, LatCrit draws attention from the overall conversation of race and addresses how systems of subordination affect one particular population. LatCrit adopts the central tenets of Critical Race Theory: racism as "ordinary" and connected to lived experience, racialization, providing voice to people of color, and praxis (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Espinoza & Harris, 1998; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001; Yosso, 2006; Zamudio et al., 2011).

It then applies these tenets to a specific dialogue on Latinos and Chicanos. For Latinos, this includes centering the "mestizaje" or bicultural identities of being Latino in the United States. This posits that the experience of Latinos in the United States is unique and influences their experiences in a way that should be differentiated from other ethnic groups or cultures, while also still recognizing that Latinos are not a monolithic group. The issues unique to the Latino experience include, but are not limited to, issues pertaining to the laws and history of migration and immigration; assimilation into standardized language and culture; and the intersectionalities of colorism, gender, and sexual orientation. The way in which we examine the Latino experience requires an understanding of these unique characteristics (Espinoza & Harris, 1998; Solorzano, 1998; Valenzuela, 1999; Yosso, 2005).

In using this lens, the focus is placed on what makes the Latino experience different and the unique barriers affecting their persistence and advancement. In doing so, one can center his/her experience. That is, rather than trying to define and fit the Latino experience in the White, majority-centric research, further analysis can align with the actual lived experiences of students, staff, senior-level administrators, and Student Affairs staff who are Latino, including issues of discrimination and marginalization at the institutional level.

The literature posits that there are certain values that define the culture of Latino faculty and staff and how they operate in their work. In a study on Latino faculty and senior-level administration, Canul (2003) identifies three values: collectivism over individualism, "personalismo" (formal friendliness), and "respeto" (respect). One of the greatest differences in the work style of Latinos and other racial and ethnic groups is around the differences between individualism and collectivism. Latinos' leadership style tends to be collectivist. Latinos place a value on being a member of a community, or family, and interdependency and the community are prioritized over individual goals or achievements. Personalismo is similar to the interconnectedness and collectivism of the Latino cultural identity, in this case emphasizing harmony and avoidance of conflict. This connects to another cultural value around respeto (respect), whereby Latino culture tends to be hierarchical (i.e. using terms like "usted" in lieu of "tu" as a sign of respect for older individuals or those in positions of authority).

The intersectionality between Latino culture and the profession of Student Affairs will be important in understanding the impact of cultural values in how Latinos in Student Affairs operate and navigate systems of higher education, where the majority culture of individualism is encouraged in order to advance in the field. The cultural nuance of respect for hierarchy may have a negative impact on the retention and advancement of Latino faculty and Student Affairs professionals, since individualism is rewarded over collectivism (Canul, 2003). In line with Social and Capital Theories, how they navigate these systems will rely heavily on how social and cultural capital is exchanged between members of the community. This literature posits, then, that relationships and social networks are a central theme in understanding the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals. As a result, a review of Social and

Capital Theories, which also focuses on the role of social networks in navigating systems, is helpful in further understanding these experiences.

Social and Cultural Capital Theories

Relationships, community and social networks are key influences in understanding how Latinos persist and advance in careers in Student Affairs. Research suggests that marginalized populations, specifically Latinos, perform better in educational environments where there are strong social relationships (Cammarota, Moll, Gonzalez, & Cannella, 2012; Valenzuela, 1999). This has a direct connection to Social and Cultural Capital Theories. Cultural capital is the set of norms and values established by the dominant culture, and social capital refers to the social connections used to maintain or gain social and economic resources. (Lin, 2001). In the literature, there is a tension behind the nature of social and cultural capital and how this operates in institutions (Cammarota, et. al, 2012, Yosso, 2006). This tension rests on whether culture is understood to be dynamic or fixed.

While systems of social inequity are established and perpetuated over time, contemporary sociologists see systems and cultures as dynamic. Individuals can transgress barriers set up by social inequity using social and cultural capital. This allows there to be agency among the actors within a system. Specifically, social capital refers to the networks within institutions that then distributes social and economic resources to this network. An individual is able to navigate a system by tapping into a network, whereby this social and cultural capital can be dispersed, resulting in both social and economic advancement. Additionally, the larger the network, the more easily an individual is able to persist and advance (Bourdieu, 1986; Cammarota, et. al, 2012).

In education, the discourse on social capital also includes cultural capital. Coupled with social mobility are the cultural norms and symbolism. These are embedded in the structure of the institution and within the relationships between individuals. Cultural capital allows students to persist and advance through the educational system more successfully than those who do not have similar levels of access to social or cultural capital. "Symbolic violence" is the process by which a dominant class reproduces a power differential culture (Bourdieu, 1986: Lin, 2001). Norms, rooted in a person's social class, are imposed by the dominant and internalized by the minority group, causing future generations to then reproduce these inequities (e.g. education correlated to being White). Cultural capital then exists when then these norms are transferred via the social interactions. In education, social control or denied access to social and cultural capital can oftentimes be connected to issues of race, particularly against people of color who have traditionally been excluded from education. (Bourdieu, 1986; Dika & Singh, 2002; Lin, 2001; Stanton-Salazar, 1997, 2011).

In reviewing the literature on Social Capital, a tension exists around the agency of a member in the social organization (Coleman, 1998; Bankson & Zhou, 2002; Dika & Singh, 2002; Lin, 2001). The structuralism approach sees the individual as socializing and adhering to social norms and obligations, whereby the researcher tries to explain these individuals' actions in relation to their social context. This position asserts that individuals are restricted within a hierarchy by norms and sanctions and lessens the sense of agency of actors within the system. The other approach sees the individual as having active agency, and accordingly acts independently despite their social context. In this case, structures are amended to the actions of the individual. While Coleman (1988) argues that these ideas are both problematic, they are strengthened when they are understood in relationship to one another. He writes that

sociological research includes both perspectives, integrating both the concepts of individual agency and social context. Similarly, Lin (2001) states that Social Capital is the link between these two areas of tension as it describes the method by which individual action is able to transverse social structures that would restrict them.

For some, the bridge between the concepts can be the role of institutional agents – or individuals who have positions of high status and power within a system or institution. These individuals and groups connect the individual-based social networks to the institution they are operating out of. The onus is on both institutions and individuals within social networks to assist in the trajectory of the individual. Institutional agents provide individuals with funds of knowledge, bridging gaps, advocacy, role modeling, emotional support, and guidance (Bankson & Zhou, 2002; Bourdieu 1986; Lin, 2001; Stanton-Salazar, 1997, 2011).

For instance, Latinos in higher education are both the product of their social context and the systems in which they function, but they have individual agency to act within these systems. Social networks and social capital are described as "freeways" whereby individuals are able to travel within the complexity of systems, but only a few have access to get onto the freeway. However, structural barriers along the way sometimes block access, as there are barriers to achievement and social mobility in education (Stanton-Salazar, 1997). In other words, social and cultural capital are not fixed properties. Rather, it is a complex social process involving individuals within an institution (Bankson & Zhou, 2002).

This concept is crucial to understand for the work on Latino Student Affairs professionals because (a) social networks and relationships are engrained within the Latino culture (Munoz, 2009; Sanchez-Pena et al., 2016; Savala, 2014; Valenzuela, 1999) and (b) the use of social and cultural capital is essential for persons of color to navigate systems rooted in

inequity (Stanton-Salazar, 1997; Yosso, 2016). Social capital is described as a "web" in which those tapped into the social networks are able to tap into resources - both social and economic (Cammarota, et. al, 2012). As later described in the literature review, the ability for Latino professionals to persist and advance in Student Affairs is connected to their ability to gain access to social networks and, consequently, the benefits that come with them.

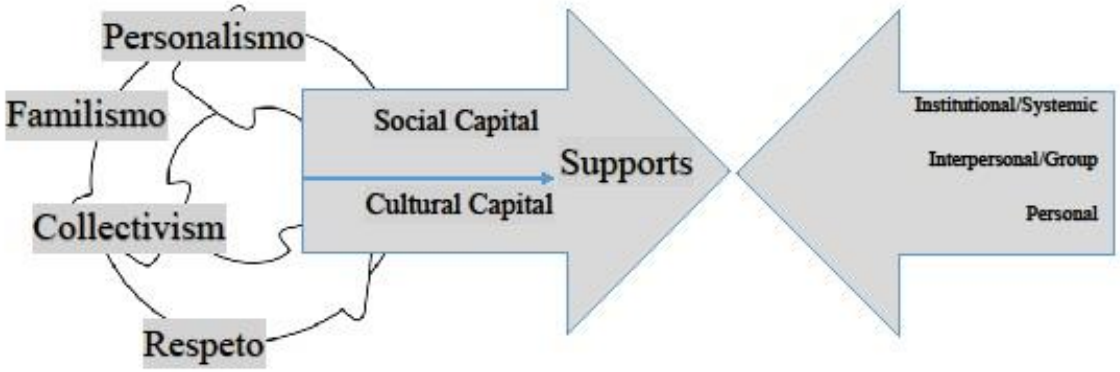

Figure 1. *Conceptual Framework for Study*

Summary

There is a gap in the literature about the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals. This literature reviews highlighted concepts uniquely based within experiences of Latino culture. Additionally, the literature showed the barriers affecting the persistence and advancement of two comparative populations, Latino faculty and Student Affairs professionals of color. An influx of Latino students is entering higher education but not graduating at the same rates as their White counterparts. Similarly, the available research supports the role that Latino faculty and staff and Student Affairs professionals of color have in the retention of students of color and in campus diversity and inclusion efforts. Yet, despite the benefits of Latino Student Affairs professionals on the success of Latino students and

other students of color, the existing literature demonstrated that there are barriers to the persistence and advancement of Latino staff at colleges and universities. A central theme throughout the literature was the role of relationships and community in addressing these barriers and providing support. For this reason, a review was conducted of literature on Social and Cultural Capital Theories, laying a framework for the proposed study. This literature provided a base of understanding of the existing literature on the overall experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals, what supports or barriers may exist in their persistence and advancement, and the role of relationships in their persistence and advancement.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This qualitative cross-comparative case study explored the persistence and advancement of Latinos in Student Affairs. This study attempted to shed light on systemic barriers in their career paths and how these are overcome. Specifically, it looked at the role of relationships and social networks in their persistence and advancement. The study utilized a narrative approach through interviews to provide the participants the opportunity to share about their experiences from their perspective. Research on marginalized populations, like Latinos, emphasized the value of experiential knowledge (Arriola, 1996/1997; Savala, 2014; Solorzano, 1997; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001; Zamudio et al., 2011). In his study on Latino senior-level administrators in higher education, Savala (2014) presented the idea that, by nature of conducting research on Latinos in this context, it provides voice, an opportunity to present counter-narratives to a "master narrative" to these individuals, and an examination of the subordination of Latinos in U.S. colleges and universities.

The study utilized a comparative case study method of approximately 21 Latino Student Affairs professionals from two universities in Southern California. This method allowed participants to share their experiences from their own perspective and speak to their perceived supports and barriers in their persistence and advancement. First, this chapter will revisit the research questions for the study. The next section of this chapter will provide an overview of comparative case study research design and how it relates to the research questions. This section will also describe how participants were recruited and selected, as well as how the universities were chosen. Additionally, this section will review why the use of interviews and document analysis were selected. Finally, this chapter will discuss the

limitations of the study, including the positionality of the researcher, and methods to maintain the validity of the research.

Research Questions

As discussed in Chapter One, the goal of this study was to explore and highlight the experiences of a marginalized population. The study explored the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals in an effort to identify personal and institutional supports and barriers affecting the persistence and advancement of these individuals. The purpose of the study was also to identify the ways in which Latinos may have overcome these barriers and specifically, what the role of relationships may have been in overcoming these barriers. The research questions driving the study were:

1. What perceived barriers influence the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals?
2. What perceived supports influence the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals?
3. What is the role of relationships in overcoming barriers to persistence and advancement among Latino Student Affairs professionals?

The focus of the study was on the Latino Student Affairs professionals, their relationships and networks, and if social capital is transferred between them. The purpose was to understand how individuals operate, persist, and advance within these systems of higher education. At the individual level, these questions highlighted the lived experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals, the barriers they may be facing, and how they are overcoming these within their own experiences.

Research Design

Comparative Case Study Method

The study utilized a case study research design. Case studies are effective when understanding a "real-world" case while understanding that these exist in more complex context (Yin, 2018). This study considered that the lived experience is embedded in a greater context but focused still on the stories of the individuals being interviewed. According to Yin (2018), the case study method is composed of three features: it reconciles situations in which there would be several variables of interest, it is supported by prior development of "theoretical propositions," and integrates multiple sources of evidence (p. 15). In other words, the case study contextualizes other forms of research methods within "real-world" or lived experiences. These other methods and theoretical foundations become features of the case study rather than the other way around so that the case being researched is centralized within this larger context. The purpose of this study was to draw on a "real-world" or lived example within a larger context with the hopes of drawing larger conclusions from the shared narratives of the individuals being interviewed. The research questions for this study asked the individuals how they perceived their own environment, including any barriers or systems of support they can identify. This supported the use of a case study model, as it draws inferences from the individual cases to gain a deeper understanding of the context.

Specifically, this proposed study used a comparative case study research design. The study included participants from two institutions. However, in using a comparative case study design, the study was able to compare and contrast the experiences of two sets of Latino Student Affairs professionals. In doing so, the researcher was able to identify unique differences between the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals at these two

institutions. For instance, the opportunities for support may exist at one institution and not the other, or the barriers experienced by one group of individuals might be unique to that campus. At the same time though, the study was able to draw commonalities between the experiences of participants at both institutions and see if there were common themes between the two, including support and barriers both groups are experiencing in regard to their persistence and advancement.

Institutions Selected

Participants in this study included Latino Student Affairs professionals from four-year, public institutions in Southern California. Since the focus is on Latino Student Affairs professionals as the unit of analysis, it is important to account for different variables, including regional nuances and differences in policy and procedure. First, Latino professionals in Student Affairs in Southern California may have different experiences than Latinos in other regions of the U.S. This is due in part to its proximity to Latin American countries. More so, the laws and policies of a state or area of the United States can pepper the experiences of the universities there, and thereby influence the experiences of the Latinos who work on those campuses. There are also large cultural differences between Northern and Southern California. This study focused on institutions in Southern California. In California, there are four major systems of colleges and universities: the University of California, the California State system, private universities, and community colleges. Similar to concerns around regional differences, in order to contain the study further, it focused on two schools within one system. Based on this criterion, two universities were selected.

University A

The first university selected for the study was a four-year, public, Research 1 institution located in Orange County, CA. In Fall 2017, there were 29,307 undergraduate and 6,651 graduate students. There are approximately 15,868 employees at this institution, which makes it the second largest employer in Orange County. The ethnic composition for its undergraduate population is 37.3% Asian, 25% Hispanic/Latino, 14.9% White, and 1.9% Black or African American. As of May 2017, University A was named a Hispanic Serving Institution for the 2017-2018 academic year by the U.S. Department of Education.[2] For this university, Student Affairs staff selected for the study fell under the Office of the Vice Chancellor, Student Affairs.

University B

The second university selected was a four-year, public, Research 1 institution located in San Diego County, CA. In Fall 2017, there were 28,587 undergraduate and 8,037 graduate students. There are approximately 28,672 employees at this institution, making it the second biggest employer in the county. The ethnic composition for its undergraduate population is 37.6% Asian, 19.1% White, 17.8% Hispanic/Latino, and 2.5% Black or African American. At the time that this study was conducted, University B had not been designated as a Hispanic Serving Institution but has initiated discussions on how to meet the requirements set by the U.S. Department of Education. This university has a decentralized Student Affairs system,

[2] Colleges and universities can apply to apply to be recognized as a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) if their total Hispanic enrollment is 25% of their total enrollment. After getting an HSI designation, these colleges and universities can also apply for grant funding to support students on campus. Often times, this process encourages colleges and universities to initiate or further develop Latino-centric services and programs on campus to meet the needs of this population of students (HACU, 2018).

with a majority of these professionals reporting to either the Assistant Vice Chancellor of Student Life, the Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs or the Executive Vice Chancellor of Academic Affairs. Participants in the study came from the areas reporting to these individuals.

Participants

As it was an intentional decision to find two similarly situated institutions, this study selected Student Affairs professionals, totaling 21 participants, whose positions were alike at each institution. The Student Affairs staff selected were those traditionally in the area of Student Affairs headed by the Vice Chancellor or Vice President of Student Affairs. These departments included members of Student Activities, Student Conduct, Residential Life, Student Organizations, Greek Life, Leadership Programs, Cultural Centers, and some Student Success departments. For the purpose of this study, individuals in Academic Advising and Enrollment Management (e.g. Registrar's Office, Financial Aid, Admissions, etc.) were not included. Additionally, these positions were not represented by unions, as they may be at other institutions. In order to capture a substantial span of a professional's experience, the researcher selected participants who have been in the field for at least three years. Participants who have worked in the field less than this time may not have realistically experienced career transition and may not have as thorough an understanding of their supports and barriers as they are more novice to the field. As a result, this excluded a number of entry-level Student Affairs professionals from the study. Initially, the researched attempted to recruit individuals who were in the field at least five years. However, due to the lack of available participants, the minimum number of years in Student Affairs was lowered to three.

Participants were recruited through two avenues, staff association list-serves and snowball sampling. First, the researcher sent a message through the list-serves for their

respective university's Latino staff organizations. Simultaneously, the researcher contacted individuals in leadership at each institution to assist in the recruitment of participants. The researcher also asked participants to refer additional participants, like themselves, through a snowball sampling approach. Participants were contacted directly by the researcher. Participants were asked to complete a questionnaire with demographic questions on years in Student Affairs, years at their current institution, position name and classification, ethnic identity, Latino subculture, and gender. In addition to attaining demographic information, this information was used to assess if the participants qualified for the study.

Data Collection Methods

This study used interviews and document analysis as its primary data collection methods. Table 1 demonstrates how each set of data correlated with one or more of the research questions. The primary method of data collection was interviews with Latino Student Affairs professionals. However, in addition to the research questions regarding what barriers or support are available to Latino Student Affairs professionals, a document analysis was also conducted as part of this study. The strategies for data analysis relied upon the researcher to create assumptions from the narratives shared by the individual participants but also looked at the differing explanations for their experiences. To enhance evidence of validity, it was important that the researcher allowed for additional methods of data collection from the perspective of the university, so document analysis was another method of data collection used. This data could have either supported or contradicted the information provided in the interviews.

Table 1. *Alignment of Data Collection Methods to Research Questions*

Research Questions	Interviews	Document Analysis
What perceived barriers influence the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals?	x	x
What perceived supports influence the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals?	x	x
What is the role of relationships in overcoming barriers to persistence and advancement among Latino Student Affairs professionals?	x	

Interviews. First, interviews were conducted with 21 participants total, with 10 participants being from University A and 11 participants from University B. Utilizing interviews in a comparative case study are effective for two reasons: they can be targeted and insightful. First, interviews allowed the researcher to focus his questions on the topic and research questions. Although there may have been concerns around bias and reflexivity, interviews still allowed the researcher to gather participant narratives. Secondly, the goal of the researcher was to gain deeper explanations since interviews allowed participants to elaborate on their statements and provided their personal views on the topic (Yin, 2018).

Participants shared their experiences, including their perceptions of opportunities and barriers to their persistence and advancement, through interviews. Interviews allowed the participant to articulate their story and their personal view of more deeply embedded phenomena. Interviews were conducted in person. The interview protocol was semi-structured, to allow for flexibility in the participants' narratives. Interviews were conducted with these participants in a one-on-one setting, as opposed to focus group. Due to the nature of the study, participants may have been critical of their respective institution. In order to share more freely, focus groups were inappropriate and interviews remained private and

confidential. Electronic notes were saved on a password-protected computer and handwritten notes were maintained in a locked office. Pseudonyms for participants and their places of employment were used to minimize risk of identification. In order to ensure accuracy, the researcher e-mailed participants a summary of their individual interview after the interview was conducted.

Document analysis. Second, document analysis was utilized in addition to interviews. Document analysis was effective because it provides an understanding of the culture and technical operations of a given organization or institution. This provided context for data from interviews and will either support or contradict the data gleaned from the interviews. Other strengths of document analysis is that it can be stable, unobtrusive, specific, and broad (Yin, 2018, p. 114). These features allowed the researcher to review documents before, during, and after the interviews were conducted to contextualize the interviews. However, there were limits to the accessibility of these documents, so the researcher conducted his own review of available material but also relied on the participants to provide access and direction to additional material.

A document analysis was conducted on materials from the colleges and universities including website materials, human resource brochures and other materials, and any materials regarding resources available to Latino staff and Latino Student Affairs professionals, specifically. In addition to his own review of available documents, as noted earlier, the researcher asked participants if they can provide additional documents to be reviewed and analyzed. The review was intended to identify how the institutions are responding to the needs of its Latino Student Affairs professionals or how, if at all, they are supporting the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals.

Data Analysis

Data were initially hand-coded by the researcher then coded with the Dedoose data analysis software. The researcher employed elements of each of the four different strategies of case study analysis: relying on theoretical propositions, working from the "ground up," developing a case description, and examining plausible rival explanations (Yin, 2018). The first two elements pertain to developing themes. First, using a theoretical understanding of Social Capital Theory and a review of the literature helped guide the analysis and helped to identify central themes when coding. Concurrently, the researcher coded by pulling themes from the interviews and documents itself. A blend of these two strategies were significant in drawing a deeper understanding of the lived experiences of the participants. The researcher went into the interviews with an understanding that, based on the literature, relationships are related to the topic of persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals and may have been a theme that emerged from the data. Initial themes and coding took place throughout the interview process but were not finalized until after all of the interviews were conducted. The interview questions remained unchanged by these initial themes to ensure that they were not being influenced by previous interviews and remained consistent. These themes were in the coding of the data analysis, but the researcher considered emergent themes from the data analysis that may not have been introduced in the interviews.

The other two strategies depended on the researcher remaining open-minded when reviewing the data (the participants and documents). In drawing elements from the strategy, developing a case description was helpful to the researcher in gaining a rich explanation of the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals. Validity was crucial for the study, so using elements of the strategy around "examining plausible rival explanations" has a direct

connection to providing validity by being as inclusive of diverse perspectives as possible in the data analysis. The experiences of individual participants differed and contrasted from one another. For example, some participants described a smooth progression in their advancement, where another participant experienced several barriers to both their persistence and advancement. Allowing for different perspectives not only strengthened validity but also helped the researcher draw a greater understanding of the data.

Validation

The researcher employed a number of strategies to triangulate the data: construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability (Yin, 2018). First, in order to build construct validity, the researcher used multiple sources of data. In addition to the 21 interviews, the researcher also conducted an analysis of documents related to support services and retention efforts for Latino staff at each institution. Additionally, he asked the participants to review a summary of their interviews to ensure that he was accurately capturing their perspective. Second, in regard to internal validity, the research design incorporated both explanation building and integrated rival explanations. The researcher developed themes from the various interviews and document analysis. If divergent or opposing themes arose, the researcher ensured that these were presented in the analysis. Third, as it relates to external validity, the questions developed for the interview protocol incorporated questions around how the participants have either experienced barriers or opportunities in their persistence and advancement. As driven by the research questions and theoretical framework, the data were grounded with a greater context when being analyzed. Lastly, in order to satisfy the test on reliability, the researcher maintained consistent documentation of his data collection, including interview protocols, interview notes, and document analysis notes.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

Introduction

The goal of this study is to explore and highlight the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals to identify personal and institutional supports and barriers affecting their persistence and advancement in university settings. The purpose of the study was also to identify the ways in which Latinos may overcome these barriers and, more specifically, the role of relationships in overcoming these barriers. The research questions are:

1. What perceived barriers influence the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals?
2. What perceived supports influence the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals?
3. What is the role of relationships in overcoming barriers to persistence and advancement among Latino Student Affairs professionals?

This chapter addresses the research questions through document analysis and interviews with participants from two institutions. Prior to and during interviews, university documents, including websites, were analyzed in relation to the supports and barriers to the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals. Additionally, research questions were addressed through individual interviews with 21 participants from two universities. This chapter provides an overview of the participant demographics, the process used for precoding, and the process used for coding in Dedoose. It highlights 11 emergent themes from the interviews. After a review of these central themes, codes were aggregated by descriptors: university, ethnic identity, Latin subculture, gender, years in Student Affairs, and rank of position. Finally, a summary of the findings was provided.

Document Analysis

Prior to and during interviews, documents were reviewed and analyzed for espoused institutional supports and barriers for the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals. These documents included: websites on Latino-centric initiatives, staff association websites and social media, and brochures and pamphlets related to Latino-centric resources and initiatives. Documents were coded based on the study's research questions and conceptual framework centered on the supports and barriers influencing the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professional staff and the role of relationships by institution (Table 2).

University A

University A is a four-year, public, Research 1 institution located in Orange County, CA. The ethnic composition for its undergraduate population is 37.3% Asian, 25% Hispanic/Latino, 14.9% White, and 1.9% Black or African American. As of May 2017, University A was named a Hispanic Serving Institution. When conducting searches of "Latino initiatives," "Latinx initiatives," "Latinx staff," "Latino staff," "Latino Student Affairs," and "Latinx Student Affairs" at University A, documents available included a website about the process of becoming a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI). The site described what the HSI process is and what it means for University A. The majority of the information related specifically to students, as the HSI process pertains to representation of Latino students on a college campus. Other sites that were found included information for recently admitted students, an article on Latino leaders (faculty and students), for a Latino celebration dinner webpage, and a Latino staff association website. The next document found was a social media site for the Latino staff association. During interviews, one participant provided a resource

guide for Latinos with information directed to Latino students. The documents most applicable to the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals were the website and social media site for the Latino staff association and the website regarding the celebration dinner. The other documents were excluded since the information was about or directed to faculty and/or students.

The documents were coded based on the study's research questions and conceptual framework centered on the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professional staff and the role of relationships. For University A, the themes that emerged the most were social programs (4), recognition/celebration of staff (4), advocacy (3), community (3), recruitment/hiring (3), and retention (3). Other themes included networks/partnerships, professional development, support, encouragement, and institutional values.

University B

University B is a four-year, public, Research 1 institution located in San Diego County, CA. The ethnic composition for its undergraduate population is 37.6% Asian, 19.1% White, 17.8% Hispanic/Latino, and 2.5% Black or African American. When this study was conducted, University B was not yet designated as a Hispanic Serving Institution but had initiated discussions on how to meet the requirements set by the U.S. Department of Education. When conducting a similar search for "Latino initiatives," "Latinx initiatives," "Latinx staff," "Latino staff," "Latino Student Affairs," and "Latinx Student Affairs," documents available at University B included a site on a new Latinx initiative tied closely to University B's process to become an HSI. This site was addressed to the campus community but pertained to Latino student success. Other documents included a Chicanx/Latinx resource guide for students, a website for their Latino staff association, and a Latino-centric

recognition and celebration month. A social media site was also available for the Latino staff association at University B. During interviews, a participant provided a brochure about the Latinx/HSI initiative. As with University A, the documents at University B most applicable to the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals were the website and social media for the Latino Staff Association and the website about the recognition/celebration month. The other documents were excluded since they related and/or were directed towards students.

The documents were coded based on the study's research questions, and conceptual framework centered on the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professional staff and the role of relationships. For University B, the themes that emerged the most were community (2), retention (3), and professional development (3). Other themes included: networks/partnerships, promotion/advancement, recruitment/hiring, social programs, advocacy, encouragement, equity, institutional values, recognition/celebration of staff, representation (demographics), and support.

Table 2. *Document Analysis*

Code	Code Frequency at University A	Code Frequency at University B
Advocacy	3	1
Community	3	3
Encouragement	1	1
Equity	0	1
Institutional Values	1	1
Networks/Partnerships	2	2
Professional Development	2	3
Promotions/Advancement	0	2
Recognition/Celebration of Staff	4	1
Recruitment/Hiring	3	2
Representation (demographics)	0	1
Retention	3	3
Social Programs	4	2
Support	2	1

Interview Data Analysis

Participants

There were 21 participants in the study (Table 3). Of these, 10 participants were employed at University A, and 11 were from University B. Of those 21 participants, seven identified as male (i.e. male, cismale, man) and 14 as female (i.e. womxn, cisgender female, cis-hetero female). Additionally, 15 participants self-identified at Latina/o/x, three identified as Chicana, and one self-identified as Mexican-American. Latina and Latino are gendered terms for women of Latin descent and men of Latin descent, respectively. Latinx is a new preferred, gender-neutral term for individuals of Latin descent. Latino, Latina, and Latinx were used interchangeably throughout the interviews. Chicana, Chicano, and Chicanx is a politically grounded term developed in the 1970s by young activists of Mexican descent. It is still used by individuals of Latin descent as a political ideology. Of the 21 participants, two identified as mixed heritage (Mexican and white) and multiracial (Brazilian, Irish, and Swedish).

The participants were asked to respond to the Latino subculture with which they identified: 17 responded Mexican or Mexican-American; one Peruvian; one Cuban-Mexican-American; one Venezuelan and Mexican-American; and one Brazilian-American. Additionally, seven participants have worked 3-5 years in the field of Student Affairs, five worked 6-10 years, six worked 11-15 years, one worked 16-20 years, and two worked 20-25 years. Lastly, participants were asked to identify their job titles and classifications. Responses fell into three groups: entry-level (program assistants and coordinators), middle-management (assistant directors, associate directors and directors), and senior-level (assistant Vice-Chancellors/Presidents, Vice-Chancellors/Presidents, and equivalent positions). Of the

responses, nine participants were entry-level, 11 were middle-management, and one was senior-level.

Table 3. *Interview Participants*

Pseudonym	University	Gender	Ethnic Identity	Latino Subculture	Years in Student Affairs	Position Rank
Anthony	A	Male	Latinx	Mexican-American	6-10	Entry-Level
Laurel	A	Female	Brazilian, Irish, and Swedish	Brazilian-American	11-15	Middle-Management
Libertad	A	Cis-Hetero Female	Latinx	Peruvian	3-5	Middle-Management
Luciana	A	Female	Latina	Mexican-American	11-15	Middle-Management
Michelle	A	Female	Chicana	Chicana	11-15	Middle-Management
Ryan	A	Man	Latina/o/x	Mexican	3-5	Entry-Level
Soledad	A	Womxn	Latinx	Mexican-Cuban-American	3-5	Entry-Level
Tom	A	Male	Latino	Mexican-American	16-20	Middle-Management
Victoree	A	Womxn	Latinx	Mexican	11-15	Middle-Management
Yvette	A	Cisgender Female	Latina	Mexican-American	3-5	Entry-Level
Adrian	B	Male	Latino	Mexican	3-5	Entry-Level
Alicia	B	Female	Mexican-American	Mexican-American	21-25	Senior-Level
Bruce	B	Male	Latinx	Mexican-American	21-25	Middle-Management
Daniel	B	Male	Latino	Venezuelan and Mexican-American	6-10	Entry-Level
Hope	B	Female	Chicana	Mexican-American	6-10	Middle-Management
Miguel	B	Cismale	Latinx	Mexican-American	3-5	Entry-Level
Monica	B	Female	Latina	Mexican	11-15	Middle-Management
Olivia	B	Female	Mexican/Latina	Mexican/Latina	6-10	Entry-Level
Rosa	B	Female	Chicana	Mexican	3-5	Entry-Level
Stephanie	B	Cisgender Female	Latina	Mexican	6-10	Middle-Management
Ursula	B	Female	Mixed Heritage	Mexican (White/Latina)	11-15	Entry-Level

Precoding Process

After completing interviews, summaries of the interviews were sent to the participants and reviewed for accuracy. In creating these summaries, the research began the process of

identifying emergent themes in the interviews which later helped develop codes. Next, a precoding process using a hand-coding method was used with the data collected from interviews using both the research questions and the conceptual framework. The conceptual framework (see Figure 1) integrates the Latino cultural values (Personalismo, Familismo, Collectivism, and Respeto), supports, and barriers identified in the literature review. An emergent theme in the literature was the role of relationships to sustain themselves and overcome barriers. Because of the role that relationships play in navigating systems of oppression and the emphasis on relationships in the Latino culture, social and cultural capital theory were also integrated into the framework. Figure 1 shows how there are different forms of barriers acting at the personal, interpersonal, and systemic level. It then illustrates how Latinos in Student affairs, grounded in their Latino cultural values, use social and cultural capital and other supports to counter or overcome these barriers.

Transcripts were coded with an emphasis on instances where participants identified a support to their persistence or advancement, a barrier to their persistence and advancement, or the role relationships played in their persistence or advancement. An initial list of 205 codes was created. Another review of the data was conducted with these codes. After this second review, codes were reorganized and consolidated resulting in a second list of 89 codes. This list of codes was then uploaded in the Dedoose software with the interview transcripts.

Coding Process

Using the list of codes developed after precoding, research questions, and conceptual framework, the data were then coded via the Dedoose software. Additional codes were added, some removed, and others renamed. The research developed a finalized list of 91 codes. Table 4 outlines the list of 91 codes with their frequencies. These codes were then reorganized again

using the research questions and conceptual framework to develop 11 central themes in the data: pipeline for advancement, institutional/system barriers, interpersonal/group barriers, personal barriers, personalismo, relationships with other Latino professionals, social capital, institutional support, self-sustainability, familismo, and regional differences. The data was also analyzed based on the various descriptors, including university, ethnic identity, Latin subculture, gender, years in the field, and ranking of their current position (entry-level, mid-management, or senior-level). The following sections will review the 11 central themes from the interviews and the data by the descriptors.

Table 4. *Frequency of Emergent Themes and Codes/Subthemes based on Research Questions and Conceptual Model of Factors influencing Student Affairs Professionals*

Theme	Subthemes/Codes	Frequency
Pipeline for Advancement	Advanced Degree, Hiring Practices/Promotions, Moving out v. Moving Up, Pipeline	152
Institutional/Systemic Barriers	Awareness of Resources, Co-Opting Initiatives, Deficit Model, Discrimination, Double-work, Glass Ceiling, Hostile Work Environment, Institutional Racism, Limited Opportunities, Marginalization, Microaggressions/Acts of Intolerance, Pay Equity, Representation, Representation in higher leadership, Student Affairs not legitimate, Tokenization, Transparency, Unconscious Bias	290
Interpersonal/Group Barriers	Assimilation vs. Authenticity, Competition among Latinos, Diversity and Conflict within Latinos (Intersectionality - colorism, Intersectionality - immigrant status, Intersectionality - older generation), Insider/Outside Dynamic, Intersectionality (Intersectionality - LGBT, Intersectionality - biracial identity, Intersectionality - body type, Intersectionality - first gen, Intersectionality - gender, Intersectionality - young), Reputation	209
Personal Barriers	Financial Need, Lack of confidence/Imposter Syndrome, Lack of Voice, Work-Life Balance	124
Personalismo	Colleagues, Colleagues in other departments, Collectivism/Community, First-Gen Staff Association, Mentorship, Networking, Relationship with students of color, Supervisors, Support	371
Relationships with other Latino professionals	Comfort, Encouragement, Latino Staff Association, Latino-Centric Conferences, Mutual Understanding, Recentering, Religion/Spirituality, Resiliency, Shared Culture, Shared Experience, Shared Goals, Shared Language, Socializing, Solidarity, Strong Work Ethic, Trust, Validation, Visibility, Welcoming New Latino Staff	258
Social Capital	Access to senior admin, Actively advocating in searches, career prep/advice, Politics, Recognition, Social Capital	147
Institutional Support	Additional Responsibilities/Committees, Commitment to values (e.g. EDI), Counseling Services, Diversity National Associations/Conferences, Performance Appraisals, Professional Development (speakers, trainings, workshops), System-wide support	148
Self-Sustainability	Positivist World View/Lowering the Bar; Self-sustainability, Sense of freedom	26
Familismo	Family, Maternal Figure, Motherhood, Paternal Figure	82
Regional Issues	Regional Issues	10

Emergent Themes

Using both the research questions and conceptual framework (see Figure 1), the 91 developed codes were grouped into central themes. The first theme, "pipeline," served as a foundational theme since it demonstrated the typical career trajectory for persistence and then advancement of Student Affairs professionals. In the various interviews, participants outlined the perceived trajectory in Student Affairs and referred to is as a pipeline. Some of the participants were able to successfully travel this pipeline, whereas others were not.

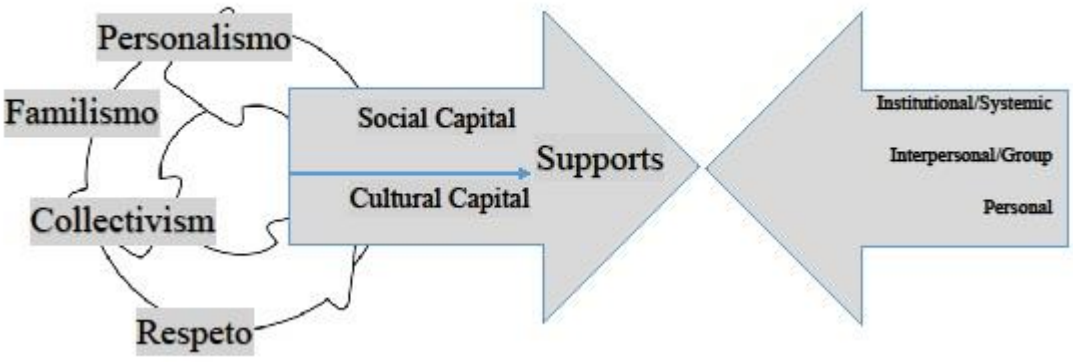

Figure 1. *Conceptual Framework for Study*

Participants identified a number of barriers that affected their ability to persist and advance. These barriers have been collected into three groups: 1) institutional/systemic barriers (barriers that were pervasive in the culture of the university or influenced by larger societal structures of oppression), 2) interpersonal/group barriers (barriers that existed in the interplay between individuals), and 3) personal barriers (barriers that were individualized and in the locus of control of the participant to be able to change).

Participants were also asked to identify supports in their persistence and advancement. Three themes were collectivist and relational in nature: personalismo, shared identity, and

social capital. Two themes related to formalized supports, including institutional support and professional development opportunities. Self-sustainability was a final theme that emerged from a number of interviews where participants conveyed that they did not attain support from others or the institution but rather led or are leading their own trajectory and supporting themselves along the way.

A majority of the themes and codes that emerged in the interviews were not necessarily mutually exclusive. Subtle nuances caused for some tension with all themes and codes, especially based on the perception of the participant. However, some were clearly more a support or a barrier. Two in particular were much more nuanced and, even from the perspective of the participant, blurred the line between being a support or barrier. These themes were familismo (which includes the role of family) and regional factors.

The themes pertaining to what a majority of the participants perceived as barriers related specifically to Research Question 1 (What perceived barriers influence the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals?). The themes pertaining to what a majority of the participants perceived as supports related specifically to Research Question 2 (What perceived supports influence the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals?). One barrier (Interpersonal/Group Barriers) and three supports (Personalismo, Relationships with other Latino Professionals, and Social Capital) pertained to Research Question 3 (Is the role of relationships in overcoming barriers to persistence and advancement among Latino Student Affairs professionals?). Table 5 aligns the emergent themes to the study's Research Questions.

Table 5. *Alignment of Emergent Themes from Interviews to Research Questions*

Research Questions	Emergent Themes
What perceived barriers influence the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals?	Pipeline for Advancement Institutional/systemic barriers Interpersonal/group barriers Personal barriers Familismo Regional factors
What perceived supports influence the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals?	Pipeline for advancement Personalismo Relationships with other Latino professionals Social capital Institutional support Familismo Regional factors
What is the role of relationships in overcoming barriers to persistence and advancement among Latino Student Affairs professionals?	Pipeline for Advancement Personalismo Relationships with other Latino professionals Social capital Interpersonal/group barriers

Pipeline for Advancement

The first central theme that emerged in the study was the concept of a pipeline (Table 5). This theme served an overarching theme from which the other ten themes emerged. Some participants described an existing pipeline, and described both supports and barriers that exist as individuals attempt to advance on this pipeline. Other participants described a lack of a pipeline altogether. Of the participants, Alicia and Bruce were in the field the longest (20-25 years). Both described that there were a number of barriers to their advancement. Alicia was able to successfully advance but still explained that there was a lack of a pipeline and often felt that she was establishing it. Bruce on the other hand, had not. Other participants, regardless of their years of service or institution, described this same tension. They knew

some individuals were able to advance but, at the same time, the system was not set up for all Latino Student Affairs professionals to advance.

While many understood conceptually that there is a pipeline in Student Affairs, several barriers prevented either their access to it or ability to travel it, as will be later described in this chapter. Among the supports described later, many acknowledged that the role of relationships and social capital were closely connected to either advancement or the inability to advance. Tied closely to this theme is the role of an advanced degree, hiring practices and promotions, and for some, the decision to exit the field. For many participants, the concept of a pipeline was understood. They described the typical advancement to go from an entry-level position to middle-management to senior-level positions.

However, for many, a number of barriers existed along this pipeline, including institutional/systemic barriers, interpersonal/group barriers, and personal barriers. On the other hand, participants outlined supports that existed along the pipeline, including the emphasis on relationships (personalismo), the benefits of connections based on shared identity, the role of social capital, institutional support, professional development opportunities, and for a few of the participants, their self-sustainability. Lastly, two related themes presented themselves as both a barrier and support: the role of family (familismo) and regional factors. The typical progression along this pipeline can be hindered by their barriers or bolstered by these supports.

Advanced degrees. Related to this topic is the role of advanced degrees. Participants including Miguel, Michelle, Hope, and Libertad explained concerns around not having an advanced degree whether it be a Master's degree or a doctorate. For those who wanted to transition from entry-level to middle-management like Miguel, there was a sense that not

having a Master's degree acted as a barrier to do so. Some, like Hope, Michelle, and Libertad, felt fortunate to advance to their current position in middle-management without a Master's degree but felt that if they wanted to advance further, they would eventually need one. Michelle and Hope outlined how similar barriers to their advancement (e.g. financial status and familial obligations) also acted as barriers to their degree attainment. When asked what was holding her back from getting her degree, Michelle stated, "Um, family life, so I'm married, I have two kids. Um, my husband went to get his Master's first, so um, I um, so right now we're having him go through it first, and then we'll see." Other participants who had attained a Master's degree, like Olivia, Ursula, and Rosa, spoke to how difficult it was for them to attain their degrees but received adequate support from family and supervisors who encouraged them to go back and persist in the degree programs.

Of the participants in the study, Alicia and Bruce noted that they had earned doctorate degrees. Similar to how the other participants explained that they recognized the significance of a Master's degree, Alicia and Bruce explained that in order to transition to a senior-level position, they needed to have a doctorate degree. However, Alicia and Bruce had different experiences in regards to the role of an advanced degree and their opportunities for advancement. Alicia, a senior-level professional, explained that she was encouraged by her supervisors and mentors to get a doctorate degree and that this helped her successfully advance into a senior-level position. On the other hand, Bruce, a middle-management professional, has found that his support came more from his family than work, and he has not advanced successfully. When asked to elaborate, Bruce perceived that his degree was not valued by his institution since it was a Doctorate of Education (EdD) and not a Doctorate of Philosophy (PhD). In comparison, Alicia had a PhD, so she did not express the same concern

of having her degree being questioned since often PhDs are considered more rigorous or legitimate in academia in comparison to EdDs. This relates to a similar theme, which will be further explored in the section on "institutional/systemic barriers" regarding the perceived legitimacy of Student Affairs at a university.

Hiring practices and promotions. Participants spoke about the process of hiring and promotions frequently, with perspectives ranging from optimistic and positive to negative and cynical. Those participants who were able to successfully advance (e.g. Soledad, Michelle, Luciana, Laurel, Libertad, Adrian, Alicia, Stephanie, Hope, Ryan, Tom) spoke about the positive elements of their search processes, emphasizing the support and encouragement they received from being informed of the position opening and throughout the application and interview process. Several of these supports will be discussed later in the chapter but include: the role of relationships (personalismo), social capital, institutional support, and professional development opportunities. Rosa, Hope, Soledad, and Laurel stated that mentors or supervisors contacted them directly and encouraged them to apply. Others like Tom, Michelle, Luciana, Adrian, Libertad, Ryan, Stephanie, and Alicia noted that they were given additional work responsibilities and established a positive rapport with others which helped them be recognized for their work and were promoted.

Despite successfully advancing at their institutions, Michelle and Luciana both addressed their concerns that, these promotions are inequitable across the division, especially when compared to their White, male counterparts. Michelle stated:

> "I think sometimes I feel like, I mean, there's a lot of people of color in our division, but sometimes it, it was weird when [another Latina staff member] and I were the last to be promoted… So there was three of us, two Latinas and a white male, that were the last… but I think it took way too long.... Um, with the white male it was that he didn't have a big enough budget and he didn't supervise two people, but I thought that they were always holding onto him,

> because if they did his, then there'd be obvious discrimination that, that all that was two female Latinas."

Similarly, a number of individuals spoke to their inability to advance, including Anthony, Bruce, Ursula, Monica and Daniel. Some of these barriers will be further addressed in the sections on institutional/systemic barriers, interpersonal/group barriers, and personal barriers. Overall, these four individuals noted the inequity or lack of fair hiring practices or promotions. Daniel stated that he applied to approximately nine to ten positions over the span of three years while at University B. Some were at University B), including one in which he served in an interim capacity until it was filled. However, he never advanced from the application to interview phase. He stated:

> "But now with these other positions that I applied to... I even spoke with some of the people that were in that department and... thinking that because I had worked with them in some previous capacity or helped out, you know, sometimes for many hours that I sacrificed to help that with other things and projects that weren't even in my job duties... I'm not saying that I deserved it, but I would've expected maybe at least an interview…."

Likewise, Bruce stated that he applied to over 37 positions while he was at University B where he had been working for approximately 15 years yet had not been able to successfully advance. Like Daniel, one of the positions he applied for was one that he had served in on an interim basis while the position was being filled. He explained:

> "So, when I applied for the, the job that my director was leaving, despite me having done her job for three years consistently, despite her putting me in charge of the entire department, my subroutine is doing my job, doing all of the conduct for hire, um, our college, um, having an earned doctorate, having a masters, having a post-graduate certificate of counseling, um, geez, and so, despite having even been, um, bestowed the honor of being the employee of [the] year for the university, upon other accolades within our ... the associations that the university is associated with, um, the hiring supervisor had brought in a candidate to campus who had just literally graduated."

Both Bruce and Daniel felt that working harder or feeling that they were more qualified than other candidates, should have helped them in job processes. However, they also felt that they did not get these positions because the hiring process itself was inequitable. This will be addressed again when discussing reputation and the insider/outsider dynamic as institutional barriers, as well as the theme around social capital. For these participants, being qualified for a role was not enough to be successful in a job process without the relationships or social capital to support their advancement and promotions.

Those participants who were not able to successfully advance in the field were a part of a larger group of participants that also included Alicia, Miguel, Michelle, and Adrian, who addressed the need for a clearer pathway or pipeline. Miguel noted, "In terms of advancement, I think that [the university should] start to show logical pathways for people who are aspiring to be engaged. To, to have new skillsets." This concept of additional responsibilities will be later discussed in the section on institutional support. Likewise, Bruce called for a more intentional pipeline with clear direction when he stated, "And it goes back to being able to be intentional with, um, providing, um, educational tracks, um, for folks to say, to say like all right, like you're, you've been here for so long... Okay, you've been here for five years?" In doing so, supervisors can support their employees in building the skills for future positions. Taking this a step further, there is an understanding that this pipeline goes further into senior level positions and currently there does not exist a clear pathway for these individuals. Alicia states, "So I thought to myself, well, why don't they just promote these people? Why isn't there a pipeline for provosts out of this pool? Why isn't there a pipeline for Chancellor in this pool? Why isn't there a pipeline for Vice Chancellor, Assistant Vice Chancellor?" Although Alicia's questions were rhetorical in nature, the perception of a clear pipeline or pathway is

intermixed with and impacted by the barriers that will be explained later in the chapter. Similarly, though it is not directly outlined, themes around supports, including social capital, speak directly to how to establish a pathway or pipeline.

Moving up versus moving out. Not being able to advance in the field of Student Affairs has caused a number of the participants to transition out of it while others have considered employment outside of Student Affairs or higher education. During the duration of the study, Daniel and Ryan both took positions outside of higher education. Others contemplated what the transition would look like. There was a sense from these participants that, if they were not going to move up in the field, then they would move out. Whether successfully advancing or leaving the field, the participants outlined several barriers and supports they experienced affecting their persistence and advancements. The remainder of this chapter will explore these barriers, supports, and other influences that acted as both.

Table 6. *Frequency of Emergent Themes and Subthemes/Codes – Pipeline for Advancement*

Theme	Subthemes/Codes	Frequency
Pipeline for Advancement	Advanced degree	31
	Hiring practices/promotion	56
	Moving out v. moving up	8
	Pipeline	57

Institutional/Systemic Barriers

The first level of barriers that participants identified were those that were institutional and systemic (Table 7). Included in this section are barriers related to the institutional culture of where the participants currently or formerly worked, including the perception that Student Affairs is not legitimate, lack of transparency, and a lack of awareness of resources. A second set of subthemes reflected inequitable access for people of color, including representation generally and, specifically in senior-level positions; pay inequity; and the impact of a "glass

ceiling." A third set of subthemes included issues that were identity-based and related to the experiences of being a person of color in Student Affairs, including tokenization and the concept of "double-work," which will be further explained in this section. Lastly, there were pervasive social issues that impacted the experiences of the participants and were systemic in nature, including the use of a deficit model, unconscious bias against Latinos, microaggressions, hostile work environment, prejudice, discrimination, and racism. Latinos in Student Affairs have to navigate multiple levels of barriers because of the barriers that exist for all individuals in Student Affairs are being layered on top of the ones unique to their identities as a marginalized population in the United States. These barriers demonstrate an interplay between their identities as Latinos within the context of a career in Student Affairs.

Campus culture. Among the barriers identified by participants, several were identified regarding the campus culture. First, five of the participants addressed the perception that Student Affairs was perceived as not legitimate on their campus in comparison to faculty or more academic settings. Stephanie directly stated that she feels that, since her university focused on research in the "hard" sciences, Student Affairs is not valued on campus. Michelle and Luciana both felt that faculty were more valued than Student Affairs practitioners. Miguel spoke to the sense that Student Affairs may not be as legitimized since Student Affairs professionals focus on "soft," relational skills rather than what is being taught in the classroom. This came to a head for Bruce when he asked to teach a course for the university, and he was overlooked because his doctoral degree was in Education and not in one of the physical sciences. The context of a campus culture that does not value Student Affairs is the first of several barriers.

Next, participants remarked on the lack of transparency at their universities. These included Victoree, Yvette and Antony who felt that, although they understood the values being espoused by their institution, there was a lack of transparency around the inner-workings on the institution, giving them a sense that these espoused values are hollow. Others, like Ursula, Bruce, and Soledad, expressed just not having a sense that their current or former institutions provided them information with full transparency, for their own work or campus-wide initiatives. Soledad pointed out, "More information's power." For example, the universities used in the study have either recently gone through a process to be identified as a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) or are starting the process, so participants addressed their concerns around the transparency of these processes. Michelle and Luciana were both at a university that was recently designated as an HSI and noted that they felt excluded from the process despite being actively involved on campus and in the Latino staff association. Miguel, Bruce, and Ursula are at a university beginning their process and they already have concerns that they are not aware of what is being discussed. Miguel referred to the process as "hush hush." This lack of transparency led the participants to be skeptical of the process and of the university.

The lack of transparency in these processes is similar to the lack of awareness around campus resources and creates a disconnect. Participants noted that they were either unaware of available resources or knew that these resources were not advertised well. At least eight participants expressed that they had a difficult time finding resources on campus to support their professional development. Five of these individuals could not identify any on campus. Monica said, "I am ... am reaching if I say there's any." Stephanie expanded on this by saying, "I really don't know that there is any like specific resources, and that's unfair right?" Anthony

and Yvette had similar frustrations, finding that the institution itself does not make an effort to make staff aware of these options. Bruce and Alicia had similar experiences, and they found that they had to seek out these resources on their own. Daniel, who was involved in the Latino staff association, noted he was aware of these campus resources, like Human Resources policy and support, because of his involvement and attendance at meetings for his association. However, he recognized not many people know about these opportunities because they are not marketed well to staff, specifically Latino staff and other staff of color.

Inequitable access. Whereas campus culture refers to the overall culture of the institution, participants identified ways in which they felt they had inequitable access to the same benefits as other ethnic groups, particularly their White counterparts. This included pay inequities or equitable access to employment (particularly higher-ranking positions), which participants described as "representation" or the "glass ceiling." Of these three, representation was one of the most prevalent themes, appearing in 20 of the 21 interviews. Representation was further broken down into representation among Student Affairs professionals, and specifically representation in senior-level positions. The latter is particularly significant when the concept of a pipeline is recalled.

Representation refers to the quantifiable numbers of individuals. Although participants were unable to provide specific numbers, they referred to the lack of representation of Latinos in the field and at their respective universities several times. Adrian from University B stated, "I would say in the university setting of in the folks that I've worked with I would say that there's not that many." Similarly, Stephanie from University B stated, "So I think part of the reason is that there aren't a lot of people period." For at least three participants, this lack of representation led to a sense of marginalization and isolation. Representation for participants

was a precursor for the relationships and supports later addressed in this chapter. Despite discussing the importance of having a community of other Latinos, Adrian noted that he does not have a lot of relationships with Latinos because there are few or none in his immediate office space, surrounding offices, or meetings he attends.

For some of the participants, being able to see their identity reflected in higher-ranking, senior-level positions was important. However, the participants expressed that there is a lack of representation in these senior-level roles. Alicia, from University B, stated:

> "I don't know if you were gonna pull the data on all the classification of where staff Latinx people are in the staffing, but if you look at the classification for AVP and higher, it's the lowest out of any. So [outside of] African American, um Latinx is the lowest [paid]."

Michelle, from University A, explained why diverse representation is important for her:

> "I think that at the top they need to have a more diverse cabinet and so when you see that diversity um, at the top that's not I mean, first, it's all male… And their diversity is very limited and so it's hard to feel like people are looking out for you or really paying attention to needs of staff ...when there isn't... diversity at the top."

Because of this lack of representation and the emphasis on being able to see oneself represented in order to believe that a senior-level position is attainable, participants expressed that they do not see themselves attempting to advance to these roles. Like Michelle, Luciana from University A, explained, "But it's hard when I don't see them. So then I place these barriers on myself, perhaps, that, if it doesn't exist then it's even more of a challenge for me."

In addition to representation, another form of inequitable access is pay inequity. Perceived or actual instances of pay inequity was addressed by ten participants either in comparison to male and/or White counterparts. Victoree from University A noted, "A lack of pay equity, uh particularly uh as a Latina. Other men will get paid more even if they're brown. Um other women get paid more. Other women of color get paid more. Um, yeah, it's a

problem." Also at University A, Libertad and Michelle had concerns regarding how their unequal job classifications have impacted them, since salaries are tied to their classifications. Libertad stated, "When they tried to reclassify me from a one to a, to a three and HR saying, 'No, it's a two.' Right? So it was kind of being under classified. And of course, with that comes underpaid, right? Um, I think that definitely has been one of the, the most challenging." Michelle conveyed frustration when recalling a similar scenario:

> "It's hard not to think that way, when it's taken forever for your reclassification to go through when a bunch of other people's went through a long time ago... and then when it's finally time for it to go through, they say, 'No.' ...They're supposed to give me an equity adjustment, that's taking forever, um, and so I'm owed."

Furthermore, due to a lack of pay equity, the participants equated their value as employees. When addressing her experience as a Latina and being underpaid, Victoree felt that the university was treating her as "cheap labor."

Combining both the issues of pay inequity, lack of representation, and their identities as Latina, two participants, Monica and Alicia, went one step further and explained they felt a "glass ceiling." In this context, the participants referred to the inability to advance further along the pipeline and/or to increase their salaries because of their intersecting identities as women of color. A more in-depth discussion on the intersectionality of gender will be provided in the section on "Interpersonal/Group Barriers."

Identity-based issues. The next set of institutional/systemic barriers are grouped because they related to the experiences of being a person of color in Student Affairs. Latino Student Affairs professionals have to contend with the standard barriers of navigating the professional, including campus culture and campus politics. However, they also face barriers based on their identity as Latinos in the U.S. The first of these barriers is double-work and

tokenization (e.g. being one of the only Latinos and thus, serving as the sole representative for Latinos at their respective department, University, etc.). First, at least six participants identified feeling tokenized as people of color. Anthony from University A described himself as a "minority ambassador." He further explained:

> "Yeah. It was ... it felt like being the token, honestly. And I know why they were doing it, I know why they were trying ... they're trying to bring more diversity into their staff, so I was like always on file to give my ... to help out. But I knew it really shouldn't -shouldn't be doing it. Um. Because it does make you feel like a token a little bit."

Luciana had a similar experience of being one of the few Latinas on her campus. She recalled why she chose not to apply for higher-ranking positions as a result of feeling that once a spot for a token is filled, her chances were limited. Specifically, she stated, "But then also feeling invalidated, like no, we already got a Latina on the row. I mean, even though that may not be the case, that feeling of we already got somebody, they're the representative, they're the voice. Thank you. We're good."

Tokenization and a lack of representation added an additional barrier, where participants felt an additional responsibility to do twice as much work because of their identity. Referred to as "double-work" by Luciana, this was a recurring theme for her and eight other participants. One of these other participants was Monica, who recalled that, after each time that she left a position, two people replaced her. This phenomenon of double-work (i.e. cultural taxation) occurs when people of color have the added responsibility of being the sole representative for diversity work or working with students of color because of their shared identity. Miguel explained:

> "I would like to see more commitment from other colleagues, who sometimes don't know how to grapple with these discussion points around diversity. To hold some of this burden, I think that in many cases I find myself constantly

> saying what, did we think about the students of color, did we think about how an employee who might have different abilities feel about this?"

Soledad described a specific situation in a meeting where she had to advocate on behalf of a student of color to receive an award because all of the other recipients were White, and this student was also deserving of the award. She conveyed frustration with always having to speak up for students of color because if she did not, she was not sure who would. A similar frustration was expressed by Yvette when she described a situation where a fellow staff member was racially insensitive towards a Black student. Likewise, the participants were called upon for additional responsibilities but not compensated or remunerated. Miguel, who identifies as Latinx and Queer, felt that he took on a heavier load because students who identified as either Latinx and/or Queer would go to him directly since they have a shared identity. Several participants from University A explained that they assist with a Spanish new student orientation or are often asked to translate documents into Spanish despite the orientation being outside of normal work hours and not being compensated for their extra work. At University B, Miguel is also asked often to help translate documents. In one instance when he was asked to translate something, he responded:

> "Am I being remunerated for that? Am I being compensated? So I pushed back on this colleague and suggested, given the sensitivity of this briefing, that they need to engage translators or that they needed to honor the fact that this was above and beyond the scope of my work. And so sometimes I wish the university recognized, in some capacities, how much work is being placed on me."

Systems of oppression. The final subcategory under institutional/systemic barriers is connected to larger systems of oppression, including hostile work environments and microaggressions, prejudice and discrimination based on unconscious biases and deficit models, and institutional racism.

While the first set of subthemes pertained to examples where an overall campus culture acted as a barrier, three participants described a more egregious hostile environment where they experienced either subtle or overt forms of racism. Miguel and Anthony, who both identified as Queer and Latino, pointed to instances where they were told to "simmer" or "moderate" their personalities in meetings. Stephanie had a similar experience as the only Latina on a leadership team, where she was not able to speak up or was spoken over in meetings. Yvette provided details on her interactions with colleagues at a former institution. Her experiences ranged from microaggressions to overt hostility. In one instance, she described:

> "I had, um, a co-worker, um, she, well one she, I hear, I've heard her say a lot of, um, things that are problematic, a lot of things about immigration, sometimes relating me to, um, undocumented folks when I've, uh, challenged them to step up and do their part of the work."

In another instance, she recalled an experience she had in a meeting, "...With a white woman yelling at me and then I getting in trouble for being aggressive when I was just sitting, sitting there while she was yelling at me." While not providing specific examples, both Victoree and Bruce described their respective campuses as "hostile work environments," especially for people of color.

Other participants spoke about instances where there was discrimination or prejudices based on what Tom termed "unconscious bias." Tom explained that he has been part of hiring processes or he himself has experienced instances where individuals had a preconception of Latino's ability or competencies. He recalls examples of when he felt that colleagues and hiring managers had a stereotype of Latinos as "uneducated" or "lazy" and Latinos only "work enough to get by and [they] party all night and all day on the weekends." Luciana expressed how she felt as a Latina female, "...Sometimes somebody has a Latina female in

their mind about what their character should be like, what their personality should be like. And sometimes if you don't match that… And so if you don't fit that then it's kinda like oh, it's weird. I don't really know how to place you." Similarly, both Faith and Luciana explained that universities and colleagues operate with a deficit model for Latinos and are focused on the deficiencies of the Latinos rather than tailoring their work and interactions to the strengths that Latinos can bring. They explained that there is a perception that Latinos are not as qualified or competent as other ethnic groups.

Going further, these instances of microaggressions, hostile work environments, prejudice, and discrimination, all stem from what some participants pointed to as institutional racism. Five participants described a larger, societal influence that is pervasive in the universities they work in and in the field of Student Affairs. As Alicia noted:

> "I mean, I think there is one, a lack of people talk about diversity as being a really important thing but the reality is that there's very few Latinx people at the highest levels of the university. Um there's that institutional racism that's a barrier. Um there's the structural pieces of that that are a barrier and you just, you just hit them and you didn't even know they were there."

Interpersonal/Group Barriers

Where the previous section described instances of institutional or systemic barriers, this next theme introduces a set of barriers focused on interpersonal barriers that are embedded within the systemic barriers presented earlier but emerged from the interaction between individuals, relationships, and group dynamics (Table 7). These include reputation and insider/outsider dynamics; competition with other Latinos; diversity within the Latino culture and how that can result in conflict; balancing assimilation with authenticity; and the role of intersectionality with other identities.

Reputation and insider/outsider dynamics. First, in interviews with five participants, the topics of reputation and insider/outsider dynamics each came up. Some participants spoke of these in tandem whereas others parceled them out. For Luciana, she discussed that reputation is important for her in regard to her advancement at the university. She recognized this as an important factor, having had the experience of being on search committees when a person's reputation would be discussed and considered as a factor in the person being selected or not. It is important for her to have a positive reputation on campus since she witnessed how reputation affected whether others were hired or not. Bruce, on the other hand, has had a different experience with reputation. He has found that others at his university in the field have a negative perception of him, sometimes even before they've met him. He stated that he feels like his reputation is tainted and now acts as a barrier. This concept transitions into the next subtheme of insider/outsider dynamics. Bruce contemplated his perspective on reputation and referred to the dynamic as "middle school." He described a scene where opportunities were given to the "popular" person, but those who are not are "isolated" and "lonely." Like Bruce, Victoree describes this dynamic as "high school." She stated:

> "Um I think they pick their favorites. Um I think they decide who they're going to invest in and um I don't think they do a lot for like retention of like folks of color. It's like high school, you know? I just, I want to keep my friends here so I'm just going to send my friends and everybody else can just wait in line."

In addition to advancement, this dynamic acts as a barrier to professional development and funding opportunities. She felt that, while it is easier for some to secure funding to attend conferences, it was more difficult for her because she believed her supervisor acted as a "gatekeeper," and she perceived that she is not one of the "favorites." Later in this chapter,

data on how relationships are important for the persistence and advancement of Latinos in Student Affairs will be presented. This perception of outsider/insider dynamics demonstrates that not having these relationships can act as a detriment for some participants.

Competition between Latino staff. Participants additionally expressed competition and tension between subcultures in the Latino culture. For Luciana, she felt like the institution is set up in a way where there cannot be more than one Latino or Latina in a department or area of campus. She explained:

> "Maybe we all compete for the same stuff. (laughs)... I don't think we always think of each other. Maybe at the same time, although we build community, maybe at the same time there's like, oh, we feel this sense of competition amongst the community of like well there can't be two Latinas in charge. Or they're, oh we are getting too many people here that are similar. Maybe they're gonna start noticing. Um, I don't know, but I feel like people think of the, that would, quotas in that way sometimes. And then sometimes I feel as like it puts barriers on ourselves, too."

There was an understanding that positions are limited within divisions and on college campuses, and that there were already too few Latinos on campus. Consequently, their perception was that the likelihood of them getting hired is further impacted by the fact that Latinos are already underrepresented. Their attention turned to seeing other Latinos as competing for the "one spot" or a "token" spot for an underrepresented minority. They internalized this perception and began seeing other Latinos as their competition.

Diversity among Latinos. For other participants, there is an interplay with larger social conflicts between Latino subcultures. Bruce explained this dynamic:

> "... Latinos are really interesting beasts. And God bless us. The only thing that really kind of brings us together is the common language. Right? Uh, we're all mad at each other. Right? Because every single one of us is gone into like our own conflicts, we have our own biases, we have our own, um, perceptions of different types of Latino."

Similarly, a number of the participants described instances where skin complexion, or colorism, influenced how they interacted with other Latinos. Those participants with darker skin complexions, like Bruce and Victoree, expressed that they have a different experience than lighter-skin Latinos or Latinas. Victoree explained lighter-skin Latinos are white-passing or look "Italian." They felt that they were not afforded the same opportunities or given the same access to social capital as their lighter-skinned colleagues. Participants who were white-passing, like Ursula who is biracial, and Laurel who is multiethnic, spoke about their experiences from the other side of this dynamic. Both spoke about the privileges associated to being white-passing, but they also stated that they felt like they have to defend their Latino identity to other Latinos because they are not "Latino enough."

In addition to skin tone, this division also occurs because of political ideologies and generational gaps. Bruce, Victoree, and Monica each pointed out the difference between individuals who are more politically active and those that are not. Bruce stated:

> "Like, it's just, like, who's down to be Latino? Who's Latinx? Who isn't? Um. Like what language do they use to describe themselves. Like it determines like how ethnically, like, uh, conscious or committed they are to the community. And we just, we do that so horribly to one another."

Adrian, who had a position in Greek Life, often times felt that his work in this area of Student Affairs garnered judgment from other Latinos. (Greek Life is historically a predominantly White area of Student Affairs.) An additional layer to this division was the intersections of age and generations. Anthony and Bruce, who were older professionals, conveyed their concern with not using more politically progressive language (e.g. using the term Latinx to describe themselves). Anthony expanded on this in his interview:

> "This sounds really negative and I shouldn't say it this way ... but I can't think of another way to say it. Um. It's been my experience over the years, and it's been now almost 20 years in the field. Seen enough changes, especially

> politically and from a social justice diversity ... when I got into the field, social justice was not a word anybody used. Multi- I swear to God, I think it with multiculturalism was the key word, and diversity was the new word. Uh, social justice wasn't there. Marginalizing wasn't a word we used. In the 90's, sadly it was a topic that was discussed but hadn't ... the research hadn't really caught on in my impression. Uh, and so I've been here l- in my own personal ... I kid with the students, I say 'look, I'm old' ... when they talk about labels, I said 'look, I grew up being Hispanic- I grew up being Mexican American, but also Hispanic, Latino, Chicano."

The methods in which participants identified themselves seemed to interplay with their political ideology as well as their years in the field and their generation. The oldest cohort of participants did not tie themselves to a term, interchanging Latino, Hispanic, and Mexican-American. A second cohort identified as Chicano, a politically charged term connected to 1970s radical movements. A third section used the term Latino or Latina, and spoke from a less politically charged perspective. A final group of participants were younger and emphasized the use of the term Latinx, a term meant to be inclusive of all genders, but also grounded in a younger, social justice-oriented movement. Although older, Victoree identified with this last grouping, and passionately explained, "If you're, you know, problematic… It's really about the quality of the brown folks that they have here… There's a lot of like white supremacist brown people here. And do you think it's set up in the way here at the institution? Those are the only kind that they like."

Assimilation and authenticity. The themes on colorism, generational differences, and political ideologies lead to another theme brought up by the participants: assimilation and authenticity. At least six participants identified one barrier to advancement as being a pressure to assimilate or loss of authenticity. Miguel had concerns around what he referred to as "moderation." He was already told to "moderate" his personality in meetings and other interactions with colleagues and contemplated whether he'd have to further self-moderate as

he advanced in the field. Likewise, Victoree felt that in order to persist at the university, she had to assimilate. She stated:

> " Yeah, so they don't want you to be critical. They don't want you to be radical. They don't want you to have uh Latinx-centered leadership. Um they don't want you to be multiculturally competent. They want you to prefer whiteness. They want you to act white, you know. They don't want you to say Buenos Dias, Bueno Tardes. They don't want you to show up in cowboy boots with big earrings."

For some, this goes beyond the work setting. For example, Anthony's family felt like they had to assimilate. Anthony, who was also one of the older participants, said that his family emphasized assimilating, so he did not have as strong a connection to his identity as a Latino, including not being able to speak Spanish. Participants described a spectrum of those who wanted to maintain authenticity and those who had "assimilated," and they expressed how this aligned with the amount of barriers they faced. For those who assimilated more, they perceived that they had fewer barriers along their pathway because they assimilated and suppressed their authenticity, and those who maintained closer ties to authenticity perceived that they struggled more. Along the spectrum, participants expressed concern that in order to advance, they would have to assimilate or conform more.

Intersectionality with other social identities. Finally, in addition to the experiences of being Latino, participants conveyed the nuanced intersection of their multiple identities as adding a complexity to the barriers they were facing, both from the institution and in their interactions with other Latinos. Three of the participants who identified as Queer discussed the impact of homophobia on their experiences in Student Affairs and relationships with other Latino staff. Three participants described how their body shape, whether having a larger body type and/or being shorter, affected how others perceived them or whether or not they were taken seriously. Likewise, six participants also noted that their age, as younger professionals,

impacted how they were perceived and found that they had to work harder to prove themselves. Nine participants discussed how their experiences as first-generation students impacted how they accessed support or social capital. Two of these participants were Laurel and Ursula, who have mixed backgrounds and identified more with their status as first-generation than as Latino. Lastly, the role of gender was brought up by 11 of the participants. The intersectionality of gender for women of color and Latinas emerged from the interviews in a variety of ways, including: the roles of Latinas as maternal figures, recognizing the additional workload taken on by women of color, or the impact of machismo and patriarchy from either White or Latino men. Victoree tied in some of these topics when she stated:

> "Women of Color end up doing more emotional labor broadly, um do work for the community without getting paid or recognized or nominated for things. Um I think they fill a role that is really essential so if you remove one of those women and get them to move up you need to hire like two or three people to replace them. So I, I feel like the system would rather just keep you where you're at then try to figure out how to fill in the gap."

She went on to say, "I'm not interested in building relationships with um condescending machistos or patriarchal folks or sis-hetero Latinos. I don't understand their privilege like I'm not interested in that. So if somebody is queer or a transphobic then I don't care that you're brown."

Personal Barriers

The final set of barriers are individual in nature and fell into four categories. These include the role of financial need, a lack of work-life balance, a lack of voice, and confidence and imposter syndrome (Table 7).

Financial need. The first of these personal barriers was the role of financial need. Fourteen participants identified their financial status as a barrier. Yvette explained that she chose to work in housing and residence life because she has debt from student loans, and this

position provided free housing and a meal plan. A number of participants, including Adrian and Bruce, were financially supporting their parents or extended families. Other participants who were married and/or had children were also cognizant of the role finances and salaries played in regard to familial support. The individuals were more discerning in their career paths based on the salaries of the position. Despite all other factors or benefits of the positions, including even if the positions were higher-ranking, their main priority in applying for or accepting positions was contingent upon if the salary increase would be substantial. More on the role of family will be discussed later in the chapter.

The role of an advanced degree was identified as a factor in the advancement along the Student Affairs career pipeline. However, lack of financial support limited the opportunities for some of the individuals to either attain a degree on time or altogether. Olivia expressed that it took her a longer amount of time to complete her degrees as a direct result of her financial need. Lastly, as with other barriers, there was an overlap between the role of family, financial need, and a lack of an advanced degree. Hope, for instance, discussed the financial and familial obligations when attaining a degree:

> "And now that I feel like, okay, yeah, this is what I want to do. It's more about like, I have a mortgage, I have a two year, two-and-a-half-year-old. Um, I, you know, going to be able to do that anytime soon. Am I willing to sacrifice the time with my family time and money?"

Her experiences are similar to Michelle's from University B, who is also a mother of young children. Michelle said that she would try to get an advanced degree if she was provided time off and, more importantly, if the university provided financial support like stipends or discounts.

Work-life balance. When discussing family and financial need in their interviews, Hope and Michelle also discussed the role of work-life balance and the lack thereof being a

barrier to their persistence or advancement. Sixteen participants identified feeling overworked or a lack of work-life balance was a barrier to their persistence and advancement. In reference to balancing work and family, and obtaining an advanced degree, Michelle stated, "I think it goes back to the hours part, right? So, if there's a better balance, like, life-work balance then um, people are more likely to go back to school or finish school." Participants like Ursula and Olivia expressed not wanting to apply to higher-ranking positions out of a concern for losing some work-life balance. Olivia felt the higher one advances, the more work there is, and she prioritized her family and time with her partner above work.

Others expressed not having access to professional development opportunities, like Anthony and Yvette, who both mentioned that they tend not to take these opportunities because they do not have the time to get out of the office. Michelle added,

> "...Having a better culture of not working crazy hours, or not having the expectation that everyone's supposed to work and um, [University A] is a yes campus which means they take on a lot of new programs even though the staffing isn't really there to support it, so um, we are expected to execute and um, execute at a level of excellence um, which just means that people are working crazy hours in order to make it happen…"

Yvette describes having left a previous institution because she needed to care for her health. Often times, as with the concept of double-work, this falls on Latinos and other people of color, as noted by Soledad:

> "... No one was advocating for like our health. No one was advocating... It felt like always our colleagues who were, are white always could use their sick days and like could take vacation and it was kind of they always had permission to do whatever we want, they wanted when everybody else, uh, like couldn't."

Later, when discussing supports and shared culture, the concept of a strong work ethic will be presented. However, in the context of work-life balance, Soledad noted how this cultural value can act as an invitation to being overworked. She stated:

> "I wonder if there is this narrative and I also see it in like my mom and like other folks in general, um, at least in my family, her also ... also, my whole family's Latinx, duh. But in my family, like, we want to work hard and do hard, um, so I think people read that as like well, they work hard anyway, so let's add this to their plate."

Michelle also pointed to the relationship between work-life balance and self-advocacy when she said, "It's hard to be your own advocate when your whole day is taken up by meetings and what not that you don't even have time to think about yourself." This sense of advocacy connected to the next barrier where participants felt like they lack a voice at their institutions.

Lack of "voice." Lack of voice was a theme that emerged from at least eight of the interviews. Among these participants, Michelle, Soledad, and Monica all noted that they find it difficult for them to advocate for themselves. While some participants noted that they have positive relationships with their direct supervisors (Daniel and Soledad), the other participants described not feeling like they can voice their needs or concerns. In a previous institution, Soledad consistently felt silenced when she would try to advocate for herself, her colleagues, or students of color. Yvette also discussed one instance where she could not voice her concerns about "harmful behavior" in her workplace or not knowing who she could report it to. Stephanie, Michelle A., Hope, Victoree, and Rosa also all described how they felt invalidated by not being able to speak up in their workplace.

Rosa and Hope felt like a disconnect existed between staff and larger vision plans or new initiatives. They did not have an opportunity to voice their opinions or perspectives, especially when there was a direct impact on their role and workload. For instance, with the emerging HSI recognition process at University B, Rosa brought up concerns. She says, "I don't feel like ... I feel like it'll be pushed on, not influences. Um, cuz I feel like right now, it's like they want to do this and like they have this vision, but they don't think about like the

logistical things." She goes on to say, "I feel like administrators need to listen to the people that are doing the work, instead of like having this, these visions. Um, cuz I feel like, especially the people that are… more about like serve more, serve more."

Lack of confidence and imposter syndrome. The last set of personal barriers is what some of the participants referred to as a "lack of confidence" or "imposter syndrome." This theme emerged in ten participants' interviews. Participants, like Olivia, were not aspiring to higher-ranking positions because they lacked confidence. Similarly, Alicia was surprised when she did get a higher-ranking position. She recalled, "'Did they make a mistake?' When I looked at the org chart and I saw like where my position was listed, um I had that feeling like, 'Oh my gosh. I can't believe they hired me for this job.'" She continued to discuss her own disbelief that others found potential in her, "...I think this is a cultural um phenomena, like you really just take the advice of your family and the people around you and she was a white woman and I knew that she saw potential in me but I was just somehow like (laughs) apprehensive and leery."

Like Alicia, Luciana and Adrian also identified this lack of confidence or self-doubt as "imposter syndrome." Imposter syndrome is a term used when individuals doubt their accomplishments or feel like they will be exposed as not deserving of them. Rosa, for instance, described not feeling "intelligent enough," a doubt that she carried from when she was an undergrad to now. Similar sentiments were felt by Hope and Yvette, who recalled that their lack of confidence stemmed from their experiences as first-gen students in college. Hope explains, "So yeah, sometimes it feels like I'm still that student… I think that the research shows, (laughing) that you continue to be first gen."

Several participants acknowledged that this self-doubt wanes their persistence and acts as a barrier when considering advancements or higher aspirations. Some participants though discussed how they address their lack of confidence. Some participants, like Stephanie and Adrian, overcome this barrier by gaining confidence from their networks, which will be discussed within when reviewing supports identified by participants in the study. Alicia, on the other hand, describes another method: "Fake it until you make it."

Table 7. *Frequency of Emergent Themes and Subthemes/Codes – Institutional/Systemic Barriers, Interpersonal/Group Barriers, and Personal Barriers*

Theme	Subthemes/Codes	Frequency
Institutional/ Systemic Barriers	Awareness of resources	18
	Co-opting initiatives	4
	Deficit model	4
	Discrimination	6
	Double-work	31
	Glass ceiling	3
	Hostile work environment	6
	Institutional racism	11
	Limited Opportunities	9
	Marginalization	4
	Microaggressions/acts of intolerance	18
	Pay equity	25
	Representation	63
	Representation in higher leadership	37
	Student Affairs not legitimate	6
	Tokenization	10
	Transparency	12
	Unconscious bias	23
Interpersonal/ Group Barriers	Assimilation v. authenticity	21
	Competition among Latinos	4
	Diversity and conflict within Latinos	24
	Insider/outsider dynamic	18
	Intersectionality – colorism	11
	Intersectionality – immigrant status	4
	Intersectionality – older generation	12
	Intersectionality – LGBT	21
	Intersectionality – biracial identity	10
	Intersectionality – body type	4
	Intersectionality – first gen	21
	Intersectionality – gender	40
	Intersectionality – young	9
	Reputation	10
Personal Barriers	Financial need	40
	Lack of confidence/imposter syndrome	25
	Lack of voice	17
	Work-life balance	42

Personalismo

Personalismo, or a formal friendliness, groups a set of supports that were identified in 18 of the 21 interviews conducted related to relationships. Within the theme of personalismo, a number of subthemes pertaining to relationships was introduced: collectivism and community, formal relationships with the role of supervisors, informal mentorships, relationships with colleagues, networking, and relationships with students (Table 8).

Collectivism and community. Collectivism and community were central themes for participants, appearing in 18 of 21 interviews. Participants spoke to the importance of building relationships and establishing a sense of community. One participant, Miguel, explained that this emphasis on relationships stems from the nature of Latinos to be collectivist. Similarly, Luciana described Latinos as "communal." Soledad further explains, "So I feel like there's a huge correlation in my, my values of being like community oriented and like loving everyone no matter what. Like, there's always room for you. There's another plate of rice and beans for you." Victoree described the process of "village building" when referring to the community she has developed with other Queer Trans Latinx (QT Latinx) staff. Eleven of the participants directly connected relationships as their central system of support. For instance, when asked about what his supports were, Tom stated, "...Just the relationships that I've built. So, if I've built positive relationships with people, those are my support systems. ...Regardless which position that they have, whether it's former supervisors or people that I'm belong in a group with or we worked on a project with, those are my support systems." Participants identified a number of different types of relationships, including those with supervisors, mentors, colleagues, and students.

The role of supervisors. Trusting relationships with a supervisor was another emergent theme. Seventeen participants identified supervisors as a support. In some cases, supervisors have actively supported the advancement of the participants by providing them with additional responsibilities, or encouraging professional development opportunities, like advanced degrees and conference attendance. While some participants described the challenges of accessing professional development funding, other participants described scenarios where their supervisors actively advocated for funding to conferences. Additionally, some younger professionals saw their supervisors as maternal figures, providing them with both career and personal advice. Overall, those with positive relationships with their supervisors described those relationships as built on trust, encouragement, and openness. Although there was an overlap for some, participants made distinctions between the role of a supervisor and a mentor.

Informal mentorships. While 17 participants identified supervisors as a support, 19 referred to mentors as supports. Participants distinguished between the supervisor and mentor. They described supervisors as formal relationships where they primarily gained work and career advice. Some mentors may have started as or are currently supervisors, but they support and advocate the individual holistically, both personally and professionally. Soledad described her relationships with two mentors as a Latinx professional:

> "Even though I didn't know a lot of like Latinx professionals during my career, I felt like I was able to develop relationships with mentors who really advocated for me, who really loved me and like saw potential in me. Like, um, like [Mentor 1], obviously like, huge mentor and person in my life. Meeting [Mentor 2] who is also like ... and obviously not multiracial, but multiethnic and so like I felt like I could connect with [Mentor 2] being like oh, we like kind of look ambiguous, like how do we navigate my identity."

For many of the participants, mentorships were sustained over time, whereas supervision often ended when they left a position.

Formal relationships with colleagues. In the study, 16 participants responded that relationships with colleagues across campus was a source of support for their persistence and advancement. Participants referenced both colleagues in their immediate offices and those across the university. Nine of the participants specified their relationships with colleagues outside of the office. These relationships are not necessarily rooted in shared identity but may be with other Latinos or just colleagues of any ethnic background. In interviews, they identified specific individuals who they have built close connections with, often referring to these relationships as friendships. Daniel, for example said, "Sure, I mean it's always nice to make friends with the people that you work with." Soledad went on to say, "I think those relationships are forming and we trust each other as colleagues, which is nice because I think sometimes it's like cool, if you can trust each other as colleagues then you can like build friendships. Or sometimes it's like oh, we can build friendships, so we can trust each other, right?"

Networking. The emphasis on collectivism, community, and relationships with colleagues, supervisors, and mentors, laid the foundation for networking. Fifteen participants identified developing networks as a central form of support. For some of the participants, like Daniel, Tom and Alicia, networking had a direct connection to opportunities for advancement. Daniel spoke about the benefits of networking, and stated:

> "Especially having those relationships with people that aren't necessarily in your area, or even if they are because then, um, you can use them as references. Right? Um, they might connect you with other people this- whatever their area- their job area is. Like, they might know people that you might not know, and so they can create that connection or bridge that for you."

Tom described his perspective on networking with the following:

> "Well it allows for you to have a network of people and give you confidence moving forward. So kind of what I talked about earlier about who's vouching for you or who's advocating for you, it expands your network of people that can vouch for you outside of the work that you do on a daily basis. So if you're involved in other things, then there's other people out there that can say, 'Well, this person's not just a housing person, they're also doing this and they're- and I've worked with them personally.' You know, so that helps you."

Likewise, Alicia stated, "Don't just stay in your office. Get out, get involved so that people know who you are…. You know, start talking to people like that. And then I would say, make yourself visible and known." While most participants spoke about internal networks at their institutions, others referenced external networks. Anthony described his network via two of the major Student Affairs professional associations, Student Affairs Professionals in Higher Education (NASPA) and College Student Educators International (ACPA). Victoree emphasized having a strong network of colleagues who are women of color and Queer and Transgendered Latinx (QTLatinx) professionals from across multiple universities. For some participants, an additional benefit of forming relationships with colleagues and networks is that they were able to build a pool of resources and references for students. This piece connected to the next section on relationships with students as a support.

Relationships with students. While the purpose of professional Student Affairs staff is to support and serve students, when asked to identify supports, 17 of the participants spoke about their relationships with students. For some of these, it is in reference to encouraging a pipeline for emerging Student Affairs professionals, similar to how they were encouraged as undergraduate students to enter the field of Student Affairs. For other participants, they described how advocating for students, specifically students of color, was a source of motivation. This motivation, consequently, provided them with purpose to their work, and

encouraged them to persist. Especially since both institutions are seeing an increase of Latino students, the participants were cognizant of their responsibilities to the students and, likewise, how their work with these students provided them with a tangible purpose.

Relationships with Other Latino Professionals

The previous section discussed the role of relationships and community, generally, as a support for Latino professionals in Student Affairs. Participants, more specifically, identified how the role of relationships with other Latino professionals influenced their persistence or advancement. Among the subthemes related to the section are topics related to the concept of shared culture, values associated with interacting with other Latino staff (i.e. comfort, encouragement, recentering, solidarity, and trust), the role of Latino-centric conferences and staff associations, and the impact of shared experience (Table 8).

Shared culture. Of the 21 participants, 11 identified shared culture as supports stemming from relationships with other Latino staff. Related to this, participants discussed mutual understanding, shared goals, shared language, and other values associated with shared identity (e.g. strong work ethic, resiliency, and spirituality).

Five of the participants noted that it is easier to connect with other Latinos because of their mutual understanding, described in the context of not having to explain themselves or the other Latinos "getting it." For instance, when explaining this, Libertad said:

> "I think not, not having to explain myself, right? And, and, and being able to be un- like, say something and for somebody to understand the whole context behind it, right? Um, not having to define different things, right? For, for somebody to just like get it, right? Um, so, so that's why I think it was im- important. And um, I think the, the mutual understanding and in a way um, compassion that, that happens, right? Of like just knowing already, right, by even the look or the, the gesture, right, like knowing what exactly that meant."

Similar to a mutual understanding, three participants identified having a common goal or purpose with Latinos as a support. For these participants, knowing that other individuals advocated for students of color, other Latino staff, and the Latino community encouraged and supported their persistence.

Ten participants identified that having a shared language, and hearing Spanish spoken in their work environment, also supported their persistence. Luciana explained, "If you speak Spanish. Not everybody does. But sometimes that even just brings a sense of familiarity and openness." Other cultural values were also identified. Two participants discussed the role of spirituality in their connecting with other Latinos. Four participants noted that resiliency is a Latino cultural value, which has a direct connection to their persistence and advancement. Similarly, five participants noted the role of a strong work ethic as being a core value for Latinos. As noted earlier, Soledad and others recognized that, because of this cultural value of being hardworking, they themselves take on additional responsibilities. However, as it interplays with other Latinos, it reinforces their shared identity and acts as a motivator for their persistence.

Shared experiences and cultural norms with other Latinos (shared language, similar values, common purpose) helps serve as a foundational support for Latino staff. Miguel commented:

> "...Being able to connect with colleagues around cultural and family background, kind of experiences. That maybe other counterparts don't always know. Um, it's not the kind of things that happen both in my personal career life, as it pertains to my culture and my family, aren't indicative of being Mexican. But sometimes it helps to connect with someone else who may come from a Mexican family or another Latinx, um, nationality, right?"

One example of this came from Alicia's experience of transitioning from a White supervisor to a Latino one. She stated:

> "But until I had a Latino supervisor I got like, 'Whoa.' Like I felt like what it must feel like for a lot of White people to have a White boss and a White supervisor (laughs) that they just get you culturally. So for example, he would speak in Spanish to the staff that would come in at night and refresh the office. ...He would talk about his Catholic faith. He asked me to go Mass. I'm not eating meat on Friday. Um he would talk about music and songs that I identified and understand and cultural, just cultural practices that like we have to explain to a lot of people. So when he came on I was like, 'I get it now!'"

Value of interacting with Latino staff. When discussing the role of relationships with other Latino staff as a support to their persistence and advancement, participants described the value and benefits associated with these relationships. These included encouragement, validation, visibility, trust, comfort, solidarity, and recentering. Eleven participants identified that they received encouragement from other Latino staff. This included encouragement to persist, and access to professional development opportunities or to apply for better positions. Libertad described what this looks like for her, "[They] support me and, and cheer me on type of thing. And, and say, 'Yes, you, you are worth it, right?' Or, 'You're doing an amazing job,' even when I may not be feeling like that." Eleven participants identified relationships with other Latinos as sources of validation. Stephanie explained, "So as an empathetic and, and they like to empower me, they, when you just want to vent about being a brown person in a really white campus, I think there's a lot to be said about being able to do that with someone who is also brown."

Five participants discussed that having relationships with other Latino staff provided them a sense of "visibility." Some participants described this, as Monica did, that it meant "bringing them to the table." Other participants described this as a sense of being able to be seen by others, as Miguel stated, his persistence is furthered when others say, "I see you." Ten participants explained that they have a sense of trust from building relationships with other Latinos. The experiences of some individuals who found that they were able to vent or

express their frustrations to other Latino staff because they have an established trust with them. Five participants described getting a sense of comfort from being around other Latinos. Lastly, one participant described getting a sense of solidarity from these relationships, and another participant described his relationships with other Latinos as "recentering" him.

Latino-centric conferences and staff associations. Related to the topic of relationships with other Latinos is the positive impact of conferences and staff associations with the goal of providing services specifically to or connecting Latino professional staff. Ten participants described having attended conferences that highlighted the needs of Latino professionals. As described by participants, the benefits and value of connecting with other Latino staff was exponential in these conferences as they were interacting with other Latino professionals either regionally or nationally. Libertad, for instance, described the conference as "crucial" and the "first time [she] felt inspired to go further." Institutionally, Latino staff associations have served as supports for the participants, as identified by 17 participants. Participants spoke to how these staff associations are a direct, intentional way in which they can develop relationships, networks, and a sense of community with other Latino staff. Ryan explained, "...Knowing that there are others of us across the campus is really nice, and even having those like, monthly meetings, um, where we can just talk or go to a happy hour, um, has been very supportive I think of my growth and retainment at [University A]." Additionally, participants detailed how these associations supported their professional development because they invited speakers, hosted events, and coordinated meetings.

Shared experiences. Lastly, nine participants identified that having shared experiences with other Latino professionals supported both their persistence and advancement. For participants, having individuals who faced similar challenges in their

experience was helpful as they faced them as well. Libertad explained, “We were experiencing the, the professional world in a very similar way.” Hope further elaborated, “So whether it's Chicano or whether it's just women of color like that, I think because it is such a signal, an identity of mine, I gravitate towards those, um, maybe those communities or those individuals that are able to share that experience in a way where I don't have to explain this is why, you know, like is a challenge.” Additionally, and related to the next section on social capital, participants expressed that there are benefits with connecting with other Latino professionals who have gone through similar experiences before them. Thus, being able to connect with other Latinos provided them with the support and knowledge necessary to navigate the university system and a career in Student Affairs. This leads directly into the next section regarding social capital.

Social Capital

Connecting themes around the role of relationships and networks in persistence and the pipeline for advancement, social capital was a theme that emerged from interviews with 13 participants. Participants explained the role that relationships and networks played in regard to accessing professional development opportunities, formal recognition, and job opportunities. Earlier in the chapter, participants explained that, since they felt marginalized, they lacked social capital and were further shut out of opportunities. Additionally, a lack of representation of Latinos in higher-ranking positions was limiting for some participants because they found it to be a barrier to accessing social capital. However, those who were able to make connections with other staff and senior leadership, especially with ones who were Latino, described the benefits of having those connections. Within the theme of social capital, there are five subthemes that emerged in the interviews: access to senior leadership,

receiving recognition, career preparation and advice, actively advocating in job searches, and support in navigating campus politics (Table 8).

Access to senior leadership. Among the professional development opportunities, participants noted they were able to gain access to senior leadership through relationship development and networking. At least six participants stated that, because they had built positive relationships on campus, they were able to directly connect with the most senior officials on their campus including Vice Chancellors/Presidents and Chancellors/Presidents. Miguel, for instance, stated networking provided him with direct access to communicate with the Chancellor/President. Similarly, through her circles of networking, Monica has started forming relationships and mentorships with higher-ranking administrators, which she has found to be beneficial to her own career advancement.

Receiving recognition. Likewise, participants also described that, because they have formed relationships with others, they were often recognized, including awards and scholarships. Four participants explained that their networking had directly resulted in them being provided opportunities or awards. They described how their social connections allowed others to see their work and increased their chances of receiving this recognition. Again, Miguel and Monica each described situations in which they received honors and awards and felt that, since they were able to develop relationships across campus, others were able to see their accomplishments and recognize them with formal awards. Libertad provided another example of when she was selected to emcee an event where she would have high visibility, and she attributes this opportunity to having had those relationships. By having social capital, these participants were able to have access to opportunities and accolades. In the context of

advancement, having social capital is especially significant when seeking additional career opportunities.

Career preparation and advice. When discussing career opportunities, ten participants acknowledged the role that relationships had when it came to preparation and advice on how to travel the pipeline of advancement. Some, like Alicia and Monica, received advice on going back to school or attaining advanced degrees. Ryan and Soledad both went to older Latina professionals to seek advice when applying for positions or following interviews. Most of the participants did not describe formal or institutional sources of career preparation but rather noted that through relationships with other Latino colleagues that sought advice and gained insight into career advancement. When asked how she knew about career or professional development opportunities, Alicia said that there was not a formal source or person to go to. Instead, she had to "put herself out there" and speak to others on campus. For those participants who identified as parents, like Hope, this advice not only included career preparation but how other colleagues have balanced family. In this vein, participants felt like they had established trust to ask more nuanced questions or have more authentic conversations when it came to their options for career opportunities. Whereas some participants discussed how advice supported their advancement, some participants conveyed that this support came in the form of actively advocating for others in recruitment and job searches.

Actively advocating in job searches. Twelve participants conveyed how having or lacking relationships or social capital had an impact on job searches. Participants provided different perspectives on this theme including being a member of a committee where they actively advocated for other Latinos to get the position, being encouraged or encouraging

others to apply for a position or having the sense that their relationships helped them get the position. Tom spoke most directly when he noted that he was able to get a job because he had someone in the room who could advocate for him and his qualifications. Other participants, like Hope and Rosa, expressed how their friends and mentors directly outreached to them to inform them of the positions they currently have. If they had not had these prior relationships, they stated that they would not have been aware of the opportunity or felt confident enough to apply. Tom and Alicia, who are responsible for hiring others, both explained why this is particularly important for Latinos. Tom expressed that he advocates for Latinos in job searches because he feels a responsibility to do so. When discussing her former supervisor, Alicia commented, "Like he was the one that like when he, when ... And I think he also brought out more of the philosophy of like, you have to be able to help other Latino people advance in their career." Consequently, she expressed how she has a similar charge now, "And you have to be able to help other people of color do it but you really have to help the Latino population." For some participants that also meant helping them to navigate the campus once they arrived, as will be discussed in the next subtheme.

Support in navigating campus politics. Social capital as a support was most prevalent when discussing how to navigate politics on campus. Seven participants identified that relationships with others, specifically Latinos, was influential in their ability to navigate campus politics and the barriers that negated their persistence. Younger professionals, like Libertad, explained how they go to older Latinos for this social capital. She explained, "Someone who had been in Student Affairs for a few years, uh, was pretty key in, in introducing me, right, to the different aspects, the different politics, the structures, uh, and really the culture of Student Affairs." She went on to say:

> "Continuously like seeking advice, maybe from um other Latinx women of color that I, uh, that ha- are further in their careers. And um, asking for advice on like, you know, like, 'What to you think about this? Or how do you react to this? Or um, do you, do you make any sort of comment when something is being said or do you just choose to not, right, to not address it in the moment?'"

Again, like participants expressed that there are not necessarily formal avenues to gain information on career advancement, these participants expressed that there is no formal method of getting information on how to navigate Student Affairs or campus politics. This source of capital came from their relationships with other colleagues, especially those with a shared identity like Latinos. Other participants described more institutionalized forms of support.

Institutional Support

Although there was an emphasis on relationships and informal sources of support, themes around institutional support also emerged in the interviews. Examples of these systems of support included: a commitment to diversity and other values, performance appraisals, on-campus professional development, committees and additional responsibilities, system-wide support, and national associations (Table 8). Institutional support was provided at three levels: campus-level, system-wide, and national.

Commitment to diversity and other values. Eleven participants addressed how their institutions' commitment to diversity and values had a positive impact on their persistence. Monica, for instance, commented on wanting to work in places whose values aligned with hers. Soledad said that her values around community and student-centeredness aligned with her workplace values. Yvette went on to explain that she has persisted because the campus has a similar goal of working with students of color. Daniel and Miguel stated that they had persisted because of their institution's commitment to equity, diversity, and inclusion. Alicia

also discussed her university's commitment to increasing diversity as an important value to her, since she appreciates a diverse environment. As University B has begun the process of becoming a Hispanic Serving Institution, participants who worked there (e.g. Miguel, Alicia, Hope, Stephanie, and Monica) referred to student-centeredness and serving Latino students as core values that are appreciated at the campus. Some spoke with uncertainty and skepticism but had a general positive attitude regarding the process.

However, when the institution is incongruent with their values, this has caused individuals to leave their institutions. Bruce, Soledad, and Anthony each left positions because they felt that their campuses were not student-centered and/or did not value diversity. Monica B added that she has intentionally chosen not to apply for positions in specific areas of her current campus because she did not believe their values were consistent with hers. Being in a space whose commitment to values aligned with their own was important for these participants.

Performance appraisals and professional development. Participants discussed the role of professional development opportunities in their persistence and advancement. Two of these participants connected their ability to access professional development to performance appraisals. First, in regard to appraisals, Monica stated that she does not find value in her appraisal since it does not lead to professional development. Alicia, on the other hand, had a positive approach to performance appraisals since it did connect to her development. This was in the form of gaining additional responsibilities or being encouraged to use professional development opportunities on campus. When done intentionally, these performance appraisals had a link to the persistence and advancement of the individuals in the study.

On-campus professional development. Sixteen respondents noted that on-campus professional development opportunities helped in regard to their persistence and/or advancement. For some, like Soledad, this came in the form of acquiring skills as a source of persistence. "...Just learning new skills and being able to be given the time to learn new skills, I think is really important… If you need to block off time to read new stuff about like queer community things, like, go do it. Or like yup, take an hour a week to learn Excel better, honestly. (laughs)" As described by Alicia, these new skills helped to make the job feel fresh and allowed the employee to continue in the role. Others expressed learning new skills outside of their job scope to help prepare them for advancement, like Luciana who attended a training for those interested in acquiring supervision skills. This prepared her for higher-ranking positions that included supervision of staff. Likewise, Victoree listed what opportunities for growth she looked for, which included: "To other like spaces I think that have broader portfolios maybe um, more staffing, more supervision, larger funds, ...something we have to deal with, donors, uh advancement, uh broader like alumni engagement, anything that would help you expand your portfolio-" Other examples provided included speakers, trainings, workshops, and campus events where they are interacting with senior leadership. Some, like Daniel, accessed these opportunities through their involvement in the Latino staff associations as mentioned earlier.

Additional responsibilities and committees. As Alicia mentioned, adding additional responsibilities can also make an individual feel "fresh." Twelve participants, including Alicia, discussed how additional responsibilities and joining committees contributed to their persistence or advancement. Alicia elaborated on this when she said:

> "So retention and staying on is making the job fresh, making the job exciting, putting new things uh in front of you or allowing you the latitude to uh create

> new things and new projects, giving you that autonomy to lead… The supervisor should be looking at the job card and seeing how that person has changed or grown, um giving you the ... Working with you after maybe a period of you know four to five years on a working title change, sending you to professional development opportunities that are at a higher level that are working on your executive leadership, coaching and development. That helped. [My supervisor] did that for me."

Participants described the benefits. Specifically, that they remained excited about their own position and prepared themselves for advancement. Bruce had the opportunity to take on some of the responsibilities of his supervisor and served in the interim capacity. Ursula expressed her desire, although unable to change her job card, to take on more responsibilities in her current role to prepare her for future positions.

Part of these additional responsibilities included serving on campus-wide committees. For instance, Daniel and Miguel mentioned that they gained both "exposure" and experience by serving on these committees, which should benefit their advancement. Hope, Miguel, and Libertad also noted that these played a role in their persistence because they felt like their work was valued and that they were able to contribute to these committees. Connecting back to the role of relationships and community, Hope and Miguel also explained that committees contributed to their persistence because they were able to develop a network with other staff on campus, including other Latinos. While these are examples of persistence and advancement at the campus-level, there were also supports available at the system and national levels.

System-wide support. Moving beyond campus-level support, four participants expressed that they have had support for their persistence and advancement at the system-wide level. Victoree, who expressed that she had limited support at her institution, stated that she found support at system-wide and national levels. The universities in this study were part

of the same multi-university system. At the system-wide level, both Tom and Victoree expressed that there are initiatives to better support Latinos, including a large conference centered on the pipeline for advancement for Latino staff. Broadly, Miguel discussed how the system provided conferences for professionals to attend related to a variety of topics, at which he has also presented. The opportunities have helped him refine his current job skills and provided him growth and development in other areas.

Libertad also mentioned that she has been able to attend a number of system-wide meetings, where she can advocate for important campus-wide issues. By being included in these conversations, she is able to persist because she is able to have her voice heard and she connects with others who have a common goal. Additionally, she is able to create a network of relationships beyond her own institution and across the whole system. For some participants, this network reached further.

National associations. Four participants noted how involvement with national associations, and attendance at their respective annual conferences or meetings, helped their persistence and advancement. Anthony and Soledad highlighted that the opportunity to attend a national conference helped in their persistence and advancement. Soledad mentioned that by just having access to funding and being supported to attend the conference helped her feel valued. Once there, the participants explained they were able to go to sessions to either refine or develop new skill sets. For Anthony, attending these conferences was particularly beneficial when he was job searching or looking to advance in the field, since he was able to network with professionals across the country and, potentially, able to interview while at the conference.

Each of the four participants described the community they developed by attending conferences and being involved with these associations. Monica noted that she was able to connect with other Latinas through one of these associations. Victoree found a network of other professionals who identify as Queer Latinx and women of color through these associations, and she interacts with them regularly either online or in person. Being a Latina woman, Soledad shared a story from when she attended a conference recently and a fire alarm went off. She described how a group of Latinas were the ones who took the lead, helped escort people out of the building, connected with their colleagues, and came together to speak with the conference center staff. With passion and elation, she described it as a moment of solidarity with other Latina women across the field, through a random moment at a conference.

Table 8. *Frequency of Emergent Themes and Subthemes/Codes – Personalismo, Relationships with other Latino Professionals, Social Capital, and Institutional Support*

Theme	Subthemes/Codes	Frequency
Personalismo	Colleagues	28
	Colleagues in other departments	12
	Collectivism/community	71
	First-gen staff association	2
	Mentorship	57
	Networking	42
	Relationships with students of color	84
	Supervisors	53
	Support	22
Relationships with other Latino Professionals	Comfort	7
	Encouragement	29
	Latino staff association	30
	Latino-centric conferences	13
	Mutual understanding	8
	Recentering	4
	Religion/spirituality	4
	Resiliency	8
	Shared culture	25
	Shared experience	22
	Shared goals	3
	Shared language	17
	Socializing	3
	Solidarity	2
	Strong work ethic	7
	Trust	17
	Validation	38
	Visibility	13
	Welcome new Latino staff	8
Social Capital	Access to senior admin	13
	Actively advocating in searches	33
	Career prep/advice	28
	Politics	18
	Recognition	10
	Social capital	45
Institutional Support	Additional responsibilities/committees	46
	Commitment to values (e.g. EDI)	35
	Counseling services	1
	Diversity	3
	National associations/conferences	7
	Performance appraisals	2
	Professional development	42
	System-wide support	7

Self-sustainability

Given that relationships were a central theme throughout the interviews, five of the participants identified their own self-sustainability as a source of support (Table 9). For

example, Anthony described himself as a "self-made professional." He indicated that he did not get as much support from other individuals or institutions he worked at. He felt like he had to seek out professional development opportunities on his own. Similarly, Bruce expressed that his mindset on lowering his expectations - what he referred to as a "positivist worldview" - helped him persist at his university. He said, "And I think the moment I started realizing that I wasn't expecting much, because I wasn't getting much of a return. That was basically my ability to continue sustaining myself." Like Anthony, Bruce also felt that he gained more support intrinsically than from the university or relationships with others. He was not notified of professional development opportunities but rather had to seek them out on his own. Alicia, who had been in the field 20-25 years, addressed that there was not the same systems of support for her that exist now. She had to navigate the campus on her own, meet new people, seek out information, and "educate" herself.

Related to this theme is one around a sense of freedom, which emerged in four interviews. Monica appreciated being able to have a sense of independence. She stated that she was always an "independent person" because she was taught to be that way from her father (as will be discussed when reviewing the theme of familismo later). As someone who described herself as a "rule breaker," Monica also expressed that she needed a sense of freedom in her position to be independent. Miguel and Libertad described their preference with flexibility around their schedules. Libertad also conveyed that she valued being able to manage her own budget and control her own personal development. While earlier in the interviews, these participants conveyed the value of relationship building, they also appreciated a sense of freedom in their own workspaces.

Familismo

For many of the participants, family was a central theme to their persistence and advancement and aligned with the central theme of the literature on "familismo." Familismo refers to the strong ties to family in the Latino culture. Discussion around family included obligations and commitment to family, having family as a support outside of their workplace, the role of motherhood for a few of the female participants, and finding both paternal and maternal figures in their workplace (Table 9). Overall, a tension existed around family since participants spoke about family as both a support and a barrier. Family either acted as a limitation to the career moves participants would make or a strong motivator to continue to persist and advance.

On the one hand, participants felt the strain and burden of their commitment to family. When thinking about career advancement, they were cognizant of the geographic proximity to their parents, siblings, or extended family. While some always stayed close to family, others who had left were drawn back to Southern California because of them feeling drawn back to be closer to family. Among these, Anthony, an entry-level Latino from University A, noted that he wanted to return home since his parents were getting older and he felt an obligation to be closer to them. Similar career transitions were made by Soledad, Yvette, and Adrian who each left Southern California to gain additional experience but returned to be closer to family. Others were always geographically bound by family and stayed because they got married and started their own family in the region. Ursula was one of these individuals, and she understood that she could not take positions or move to another state, despite additional career opportunities, since her husband was an attorney and could only practice in California. Where

some are geographically bound, others found limitations in taking on more work responsibilities because of family.

Similarly, others did not want to take on positions where responsibilities would conflict with their obligation to their partner or children. There was a concern from those interested in starting families, like Olivia, who did not want to apply for higher-ranking positions because their current work schedule would balance well with a family. Rosa was apprehensive because her current position required several evening commitments and the person who previously had the position left the role because they wanted to start a family. She became emotional when she spoke to wanting family but knowing this current position would pose a challenge because of its time commitments. Having a family or wanting to start a family acted as a limitation for these individuals, particularly for female participants like Hope, Monica, Michelle, and Ursula. All of these Latina participants noted their role as mothers as a central factor to how they perceived their current roles or job advancement in the future. Hope connected to other mothers on campus, noting, "...Mommy is like a really salient identity right now for me… my working mom challenge or struggle." In another instance, this had a direct correlation with Bruce's decision not to accept a new position. He stated that he turned it down once he and his family visited the location because he knew his wife and children would not have a happy life there. As a husband and father, Bruce understood that career decisions were made as a familial unit. Consequently, he felt an additional responsibility as well when he did not get a position, noting, "...Every opportunity that I miss is a lost opportunity for my family."

Some participants felt a financial burden when talking about their responsibility to their families. This included both supporting their own children or caring for their parents and

extended family. When looking at higher positions, there was a keen awareness that this additional salary would go back to support their families. On the other hand, where obligations and commitment to family acted as a barrier for participants, they would speak about this theme as a support as well. Daniel, an entry-level Latino from University B, decided to leave the field of Student Affairs after years of not advancing. He decided to move into an industry that paid him more, for the sole purpose of helping him support his parents. Likewise, in their contemplation of what their next career moves would be, both Adrian and Yvette expressed that they will have to receive substantial salary increases since they help support their families financially.

While participants expressed a concern about this financial burden, the commitment to serve their families also became a motivation for them. For some, they stated that they learned a number of values from their family including their ability to persist, resiliency, and strong work ethic. When talking about her biological family, Victoree conveyed, "I think the, the desire to want to go further, particularly if you are recently immigrated or if you're first gen's and like I said, still have a mixed status family, that's stuff that you get. That's not stuff that the institution can give me. That level of resistance capital."

Family provided additional support in the form of what participants referred to as "a comfort zone" or "venting." Several participants noted that they had partners or family outside of higher education or who did not have an understanding of Student Affairs. As a result, participants identified that this was beneficial because it allowed them separate their work and personal lives was beneficial. Yvette explained that having a boyfriend that she could go home to and "just vent" was a large support. Monica and Victoree both referred to family as a central source of support and comfort. On the other hand, this lack of

understanding from family sometimes presented a challenge for some of the participants. Luciana expressed that her parents emphasized "not rocking the boat" and did not understand what career advancement looked like. Although they were supportive, whenever she would apply for a different position, they could not quite grasp why she would, if she already had a secure position. Monica expressed a similar struggle because she wanted to go to her family to complain or seek advice, but her family lacked an understanding of what she does at the college, so there were limitations to the support they could provide her.

The role of family translated into the relationships with mentors, supervisors, and colleagues. Participants either described their relationships with colleagues as "familial" or "like family" or established that they identified mentors or supervisors as parental figures. Adrian, Ryan, and Daniel (all younger male Latinos) referred to former and current supervisors, who were typically women of color, as "work moms." Monica, who had a close relationship with her biological father, gravitated to Latino men as mentors because of this. The ways in which participants spoke about connections to other people on campus, especially other Latino individuals, sometimes blurred the lines between familial and work relationships. Family as a central theme was either literal with their biological family or figurative in the workplace, and it acted as major influence (whether positively or negatively) on the persistence and advancement of the participants in this study.

Regional Factors

Another more nuanced theme was that of regional factors, which was brought up by five participants (Table 9). Participants were either drawn to the Southern California region because of the allure of the region (Miguel noted, "There's a level of like being young and wanting to be under the sun.") or to remain closer to family, like Soledad and Adrian

described in the previous section. Others, like Soledad and Anthony, grew up in Southern California but left for positions out-of-state. They sought out opportunities in different states for new experiences for professional growth. Anthony, however, described how this was sometimes challenging, particularly as an out, gay Latino. When he accepted a position in the Midwest, he described instances where he would receive harassing phone calls. Olivia also discussed the regional differences in her comparison of Southern California and Texas, which was more conservative. She did not have a negative experience, but just explained that the environments were different. Likewise, Anthony noted that when he worked in a New England state, there was a regional difference around which Latino group was the majority. Compared to Southern California, where a majority of the Latino population is of Mexican descent, there were more individuals from areas like Puerto Rico in New England.

Table 9. *Frequency of Emergent Themes and Subthemes/Codes – Self-Sustainability, Familismo, and Regional Factors*

Theme	Subthemes/Codes	Frequency
Self-Sustainability	Positivist world view/lowering the bar	15
	Self-sustainability	4
	Sense of freedom	7
Familismo	Family	62
	Maternal figure	17
	Motherhood	2
	Paternal figure	1
Regional Factors	Regional factors	10

Codes by Descriptors

The following section will aggregate the codes by various descriptors including university, ethnic identity and Latin subculture, gender, years in field, and rank of current position.

University

The codes were first aggregated between Universities A and B. Ten participants worked at University A, and 11 participants worked at University B. For participants who worked at University A, the most frequent codes were collectivism/community (40), relationship with students of color (40), representation (34), pipeline (27), and intersectionality-gender (27). For participants who worked at University B, the most frequent codes were relationship with students of color (44), family (41), mentorship (40), additional responsibilities/committees (38), hiring practices/promotions (34), and supervisors (34).

However, being recognized as an HSI did not result in a better perception at University A. Instead, the distrust and cynicism in the process was just conveyed differently between University A and University B. Participants at University A, the recognized HSI, were dissatisfied with the lack of transparency, the co-opting of grassroots student and staff initiatives, and exclusion of staff from the process. Participants at University B, which was beginning the process of becoming an HSI, were apprehensive, skeptical, and dissatisfied with the lack of transparency and engagement with staff.

Ethnic Identity and Latin Subculture

Next, codes were aggregated by ethnic identity and Latin subculture. Fifteen participants identified as Latina/o/x, three identified as Chicana/o/x, one identified as Mexican-American, and two identified as mixed/multiracial. For participants who identified as Latina/o/x, the most frequent themes were: relationship with students of color (59), representation (50), collectivism/community (54), family (42), and hiring practices/promotion (40). For participants who identified as Chicana/o/x, the most frequent themes were: mentorship (17), family (13), and collectivism/community (13). The most emergent codes for

the participant who identified as Mexican-American were: representation in senior leadership (11), pipeline (10), additional responsibilities and committees (9), and lack of confidence/imposter syndrome (9). For the two participants that identified as mixed/multiracial, the most frequent codes were: relationship with students of color (13), intersectionality-biracial identity (10), and intersectionality-colorism (6).

In regards to Latin subculture, 17 identified as Mexican-American, one Peruvian, one Cuban-Mexican-American, one Venezuelan and Mexican-American, and one Brazilian-American. For those participants who identified as Mexican-American, the most frequent codes were: relationship with students of color (59), representation (55), family (57), mentorship (49), and collectivism/community (49). For the participant who identified as Peruvian, the most frequent codes were collectivism/community (7) and social capital (6). For the participant who identified as Cuban-Mexican-American, the most frequent codes were: relationship with students of color (16), collectivism/community (10), and lack of voice (8). For the participant who identified as Venezuelan and Mexican-American, the most frequent codes were hiring practices/promotions (8) and supervisors (7). Lastly, for the participant who identified as having a Brazilian-American subculture, the most frequent codes were relationships with students of color (8) and intersectionality-biracial (5).

Gender

The codes were then aggregated by gender. Seven participants identified as male (i.e. male, cismale, man) and 14 identified as female (i.e. womxn, cisgender female, cis-hetero female). For participants who identified as male, the most frequent codes were: representation (27), relationship with students of color (25), hiring practices/promotions (24),

and family (22). For those who identified as female, the most frequent codes were relationship with students of color (59), collectivism/community (53), mentorship (51), and family (40).

Years in Student Affairs

The codes were next aggregated by years in Student Affairs. Seven participants have worked in the field of Student Affairs for 3-5 years, five have worked 6-10 years, six have worked 11-15 years, one has worked 16-20 years, and two have worked 21-25 years. For participants who worked in the field for 3-5 years, the codes with the highest frequencies were: relationships with students of color (47), collectivism/community (35), double-work (23), representation (22), and additional responsibilities and committees (20). For participants who have worked in the field 6-10 years, the most frequent codes were: family (23), mentorship (22), supervisors (20), collectivism/community (18), and representation (17). For participants who worked in the field for 11-15 years, the most frequent codes were: relationships with students of color (20), intersectionality-gender (19), and mentorship (18). For the participant who worked in the field 16-20 years, the most frequent codes were: actively advocating in searches (12) and unconscious bias (11). Lastly, for the two participants who worked in the field for 21-25 years, the most frequent themes were: insider/outsider dynamic (12), hiring practices/promotions (12), pipeline (12), representation in senior leadership (11), and additional responsibilities and committees (11).

Rank of Current Position

Lastly, codes were aggregated by rank of current position: entry-level (program assistants and coordinators), middle-management (assistant directors, associate directors and directors), and senior-level (assistant Vice-Chancellors/Presidents, Vice-Chancellors/Presidents, and equivalent positions). Nine participants were entry-level, 11 were

middle-management, and one was senior-level. For entry-level participants, the most frequent codes were: relationship with students of color (50), collectivism/community (34), representation (30), pipeline (27), and work-life balance (25). For participants in middle-management positions, the most frequent codes were: family (36), collectivism/community (36), mentorship (34), relationship with students of color (34), and hiring practices/promotions (30). For the participant in a senior-level position, the most frequent codes were: representation in senior leadership (11), pipeline (10) and lack of confidence/imposter syndrome (9).

Summary of Findings

Documents, including social media sites and websites, were reviewed at the two universities in the study before and during interviews. Of the documents available to the researcher, there were limited ones pertaining to the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals. Most of the documents were about or targeting students and/or faculty. Documents reviewed included social media sites and websites for Latino staff associations. These materials were coded, and themes that emerged centered on community and professional development.

Interviews were also conducted with 21 participants at the two universities. Ten worked at University A, and 11 worked at University B. Using the study's central research questions and conceptual framework, the interviews were coded and recoded. These codes were then organized into 11 emergent themes: pipeline for advancement, institutional/system barriers, interpersonal/group barriers, personal barriers, personalismo, relationships with other Latino professionals, social capital, institutional support, self-sustainability, familismo, and regional factors.

First, participants discussed the trajectory for individuals to persist and advance in Student Affairs. They described it as a natural progression from entry-level to middle-management to senior-level administrators. Concurrently, they described the attainment of advanced degrees (Bachelor's to Master's to Doctoral degrees), which follow this progression closely but not always simultaneously. When speaking in the context of their own experiences as Latino Student Affairs professionals, though, they found that this pipeline did not exist. For them, there was not a natural progression. They identified that a lack of representation of Latinos in higher-ranking positions was a factor, whereby the higher one goes, the fewer Latinos there are represented. For some, they chose to exit the field. In fact, two participants were transitioning out of Student Affairs at the time of the study.

Participants identified a number of barriers that affected their persistence and advancement. This included barriers at different levels: systemic/institutional, interpersonal/group, and personal. At the systemic/institutional level, participants described more deeply embedded barriers. Some of these were societal in nature but influenced their experiences, including systems of oppression, racism, prejudice, and microaggressions. Some were rooted in the culture of their institutions, like insider/outsider dynamics or the perceived illegitimacy of Student Affairs. At the interpersonal/group level, participants described issues related to their interactions with others, especially other Latinos. Some of these issues were connected to issues of intersectionality with colorism, intergenerational diversity, and diversity within Latino culture and conflict between Latino subcultures or ideologies. The third level, personal barriers, existed in the immediate locus of control of the individual, like financial barriers or their lack of confidence (e.g. Imposter Syndrome).

Next, participants identified several supports that assisted their persistence and advancement and ability to overcome barriers along their pipeline or pathway. Consistent with the literature and directly related to Research Question Three and the study's conceptual framework, three themes were centered on relationships, including personalismo ("formal friendliness"), relationships with other Latinos, and social capital. Personalismo tied into topics related to relationships with colleagues, mentors, supervisors, and students. Additionally, participants highlighted themes around network, collectivism, and community. In particular, participants described the relationships with other Latinos, include connecting via staff associations and Latino-centric conferences. These relationships were based on similar values (strong work ethic, spirituality, or resiliency), shared experiences, mutual understanding and goals, and a common language (Spanish). Lastly, participants described the role of social capital that they attain from relationships, particularly with other Latinos. This included access to senior-level administrators, recognition, being either the person who advocates for others or being advocated for during job searches, and advice on how to navigate career paths or campus politics.

Other supports identified by the participants as influencing their persistence or advancement included institutional support. This came in the form of an institution's commitment to values important to the participant, on-campus professional development opportunities (e.g. workshops, speakers, etc.), system-wide support, or involvement with national associations and attendance at national conferences. Lastly, one support identified by a smaller number of participants was the support they gain from themselves. Referred to as self-sustainability, this theme included positivist worldview and a sense of freedom.

Two final themes were more complicated in nature and acted as both a support and barrier. The first theme was familismo and included the centrality of family, which acted as a source of support for the persistence of the participants and an obligation that created barriers for advancement. This theme also included how participants developed familial relationships with colleagues or seeing supervisors and mentors as maternal or paternal figures. Additionally, a few of the participants also identified how the regional context (e.g. Midwest, Southwest or Northeast) either had a positive or negative impact on their persistence or advancement.

Table 10. *Anchor Quotes for Emergent Themes*

Emergent Theme	Quote(s)
Pipeline for Advancement	"So I thought to myself, well, why don't they just promote these people? Why isn't there a pipeline for provosts out of this pool? Why isn't there a pipeline for Chancellor in this pool? Why isn't there a pipeline for Vice Chancellor, Assistant Vice Chancellor?"
Institutional/Systemic Barriers	"I mean, I think there is one, a lack of people talk about diversity as being a really important thing but the reality is that there's very few Latinx people at the highest levels of the university. Um there's that institutional racism that's a barrier. Um there's the structural pieces of that that are a barrier and you just, you just hit them and you didn't even know they were there."
Interpersonal/Group Barriers	"Um I think they pick their favorites. Um I think they decide who they're going to invest in and um I don't think they do a lot for like retention of like folks of color. It's like high school, you know? I just, I want to keep my friends here so I'm just going to send my friends and everybody else can just wait in line."
Personal Barriers	"...Having a better culture of not working crazy hours, or not having the expectation that everyone's supposed to work and um, [University A] is a yes campus which means they take on a lot of new programs even though the staffing isn't really there to support it, so um, we are expected to execute and um, execute at a level of excellence um, which just means that people are working crazy hours in order to make it happen…"
Personalismo	"...Just the relationships that I've built. So, if I've built positive relationships with people, those are my support systems. ...Regardless which position that they have, whether it's former supervisors or people that I'm belong in a group with or we worked on a project with, those are my support systems."
Relationships with Other Latinos	"But until I had a Latino supervisor I got like, 'Whoa.' Like I felt like what it must feel like for a lot of White people to have a White boss and a White supervisor (laughs) that they just get you culturally. So for example, he would speak in Spanish to the staff that would come in at night and refresh the office. ...He would talk about his Catholic faith. He asked me to go Mass. I'm not eating meat on Friday. Um he would talk about music and songs that I identified and understand and cultural, just cultural practices that like we have to explain to a lot of people. So when he came on I was like, 'I get it now!'"
Social Capital	"Someone who had been in Student Affairs for a few years, uh, was pretty key in, in introducing me, right, to the different aspects, the different politics, the structures, uh, and really the culture of Student Affairs."
Institutional Support	"So retention and staying on is making the job fresh, making the job exciting, putting new things uh in front of you or allowing you the latitude to uh create new things and new projects, giving you that autonomy to lead… The supervisor should be looking at the job card and seeing how that person has changed or grown, um giving you the ... Working with you after maybe a period of you know four to five years on a working title change, sending you to professional development opportunities that are at a higher level that are working on your executive leadership, coaching and development. That helped. [My supervisor] did that for me."
Self-sustainability	"And I think the moment I started realizing that I wasn't expecting much, because I wasn't getting much of a return. That was basically my ability to continue sustaining myself."
Familismo	"I think the, the desire to want to go further, particularly if you are recently immigrated or if you're first gen's and like I said, still have a mixed status family, that's stuff that you get. That's not stuff that the institution can give me. That level of resistance capital." "...Every opportunity that I miss is a lost opportunity for my family."
Regional Factors	"There's a level of like being young and wanting to be under the sun."

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION

Overview of the Problem

The goal of this study was to explore and highlight the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals in an effort to identify personal and institutional supports and barriers affecting the persistence and advancement of these individuals. The purpose of the study was also to identify the ways in which Latinos may have overcome these barriers and specifically, what the role of relationships may have been in overcoming these barriers. The research questions driving the study were:

1. What perceived barriers influence the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals?
2. What perceived supports influence the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals?
3. What is the role of relationships in overcoming barriers to persistence and advancement among Latino Student Affairs professionals?

Using a conceptual framework of integrating Social and Cultural Capital Theories and Latino cultural values, the focus of the study was on Latino Student Affairs professionals, their relationships and networks, and whether social capital is transferred between them.

This chapter includes a summary of findings, connecting themes from the literature review in Chapter Two to the findings presented in Chapter Four. Additionally, the researcher introduces the limitations of the study, including positionality, and discusses implications for practice (both at institutions and in the field of Student Affairs), policy, and theory. The researcher then concludes with a review of the significance of the study and suggestions for further research on the topic of Latino Student Affairs professionals.

Summary of the Findings

The study was comprised of an analysis of documents related to the persistence and advancement of Student Affairs professionals at two universities, and interviews with 21 participants from these universities. Documents specifically pertaining to Latino Student Affairs professionals were limited but the emergent themes from documents at both institutions centered on professional development and community among Latino staff. Additionally, 11 themes emerged from the interviews. These themes included: pipeline for advancement, institutional/systemic barriers, interpersonal/group barriers, personal barriers, personalismo, relationships with other Latino professionals, social capital, institutional support, self-sustainability, familismo, and regional factors. Table 5 aligns these themes with the study's research questions. Using the study's conceptual framework and research questions, this summary will outline the general concept of a pipeline for advancement in Student Affairs for Latino professionals, the supports and barriers that affect their ability to travel this pipeline, and the role of relationships in their persistence and advancement.

Pipeline for Advancement

A foundational theme in the data was the concept of a pipeline for advancement in Student Affairs. Participants explained that there were barriers (a) preventing their ability to persist, in some cases causing some to exit the field and others to consider leaving, and (b) affecting their ability to advance along the pipeline. As was described in the literature, Student Affairs professionals of color are saturating lower-ranking positions and are advancing at a slower rate than their White counterparts (Chan, 2017; Kwon, 2016). On the other hand, participants pointed to a number of supports for both their persistence and advancement. As described by participants, the typical career path along this pipeline takes

the individual from entry-level to middle-management to senior-level positions. However, participants described how barriers and supports interplay to either hinder or bolster an individual's ability to navigate this pipeline. Concurrent to the career pipeline for Student Affairs professionals is the role of advanced degrees. For some of the participants, they perceived that the lack of an advanced degree acted as a barrier for their advancement. The literature posits not having a doctorate degree can act as a barrier for attaining a senior-level position as it is becoming more of a prerequisite for these roles (Palacios, 2008).

Consistent with the literature, the participants' Latino identity and culture intersected with their career path in Student Affairs. While they experienced barriers and supports similar to other ethnic groups, their experiences were influenced by their Latino identity. As was outlined in the Conceptual Framework (Figure 1), they faced barriers both at the personal level like most of their colleagues in Student Affairs. However, because of their Latino identity, more systemic barriers around racism, discrimination, and the influence of larger social dynamics mirrored in their interpersonal relationships acted as unique barriers to their experience. On the other hand, their career path was rooted in cultural values, like personalismo and collectivism, which aligned with participants' emphasis on relationships as a support mechanism to counter barriers they faced. Simultaneously, because of the role of relationships as a support, participants express how they gained social capital from other colleagues to help them navigate the pipeline in Student Affairs. Participants also described how they gained institutional support, often as a result of their social capital. Figure 2 illustrates an updated Conceptual Framework after the study was completed.

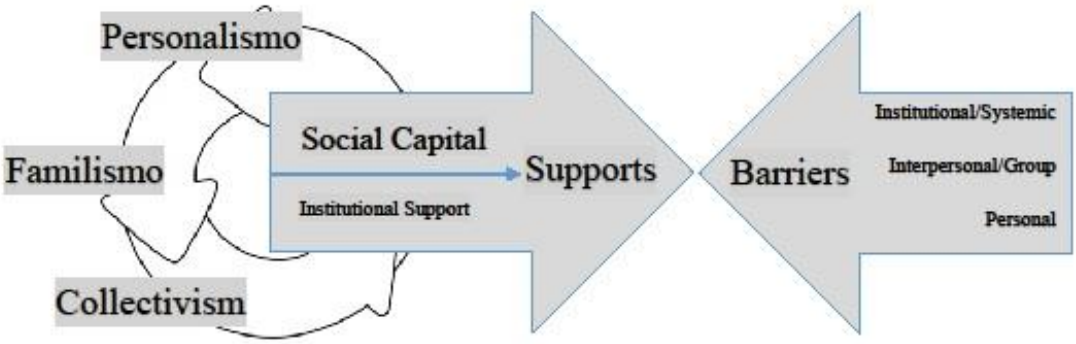

Figure 2. *Updated Conceptual Framework after Completed Study*

Participants discussed their perspectives on hiring practices and promotions. Some participants who were successful in their career paths spoke positively about these processes. Others, specifically those who have not successfully advanced, were more critical of hiring practices and promotions at their universities and had a more cynical outlook. Participants from both perspectives did speak to the need to make these practices more equitable. Participants who successfully advanced identified a number of supports, which include the role of relationships (personalismo), social capital, institutional support, and professional development opportunities. For those unsuccessful in their searches, barriers included institutional/systemic barriers, interpersonal/group barriers, and personal barriers. However, participants (both who have and those who have not successfully advanced) discussed how having a clear pipeline for Latino Student Affairs professionals would facilitate advancement. If everyone had the opportunity to access supports for professional development or social capital, it would make the process to advance for equitable.

Lastly, at the time of the study, some participants were either in the process of or considering leaving the field of Student Affairs. The literature described a similar phenomenon generally in Student Affairs, where Student Affairs professionals of color are exiting at entry-level positions because they are unable to further advance in the field (Chan, 2017; Jackson, 2001). Since a number of barriers were preventing them from advancing beyond entry-level positions, there was a sense that more opportunities would present themselves if they left Student Affairs.

Barriers to the Persistence and Advancement of Latino Student Affairs Professionals

In interviews, participants were asked, "What perceived barriers influence the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals?" Participants described 13 types of barriers to both their persistence and advancement. These barriers were grouped into three categories: institutional/systemic, interpersonal/group, and personal. The first of these categories was "institutional/systemic barriers" and included: campus culture, inequitable access to higher-ranking and/or higher-paying positions, identity-based issues, and systems of oppression. Focusing more closely on the interactions between individuals, the next layer of barriers that emerged were interpersonal/group barriers, including reputation and insider/outside dynamics, competition with other Latinos, diversity within the Latino cultural and how this resulted in conflict, balancing assimilation with authenticity, and the role of intersectionality with other identities. The final set were personal barriers and included the role of financial need, a lack of work-life balance, a lack of voice, and confidence and imposter syndrome.

Institutional/systemic barriers. Among the institutional/systemic barriers, participants first described the role that campus culture played in regard to acting as a barrier.

Participants described their campus culture as lacking transparency, which caused them to distrust their campus leadership or campus initiatives. This was most relevant for the participants when they described lacking information about their campuses' respective HSI process or feeling like they and their work were disconnected from the overall process, despite them having an invested interest in it. However, being recognized as an HSI did not result in a better perception at University A. Instead, the distrust and cynicism in the process was just conveyed differently between University A and University B. Participants at University A, the recognized HSI, were dissatisfied with the lack of transparency, the co-opting of grassroots student and staff initiatives, and exclusion of staff from the process. Participants at University B, which was entering into the process of becoming an HSI, were apprehensive, skeptical, and also dissatisfied with the lack of transparency and engagement with staff.

Another institutional/systemic barrier described by the participants was inequitable access, including lack of representation and pay inequity. Participants felt that there was a lack of representation of Latinos in their campuses' Student Affairs units, especially in senior-level positions. Lack of representation in general, led to a sense of marginalization and isolation for participants. Due to a lack of representation in leadership roles, they were less likely to envision themselves in these kind of positions as a result. Similarly, participants discussed having inequitable pay, in comparison to their male and/or White counterparts. This was especially impactful for the Latinas in the study, who felt that their pay was inequitable even in comparison to White female and male Latino counterparts.

The next set of institutional/systemic barriers in the study were identity-based. Because of their identities as Latinos, the participants faced barriers, which intersected with

systemic, racially-based issues and with those of the standard barriers at the institution impacting other in Student Affairs. First, tokenization emerged as one barrier for participants. As was described in the literature, a lack of representation often leads to experiences of isolation and tokenism (Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1991). Participants in the study felt that since there was a lack of representation of Latino staff on campus, they felt like a "minority ambassador" and would have to speak on behalf of their culture. Others also placed a mental block when considering advancement because they felt they would not be hired since there was already a Latina represented. One participant stated that it like a quota. She said that since there was a lack of representation already and the "token" position for a Latina was already filled, it would be unlikely that she would be hired.

Additionally, several participants explained that they experienced "double-work" or "cultural taxation," where they felt as if they had to do twice as much work as their White counterparts. Some participants explained that this was the result of them feeling that they had to advocate for diversity and students of color, where their White counterparts did not feel this sense of responsibility or obligation. Based on the experiences of the participants, they felt that, more often, students of color went to them first before going to their White counterparts because they felt more comfortable speaking to the staff who looked like them. Participants expressed that sometimes the interactions went beyond their job responsibilities. In one instance, one participant described how, after a Latina student passed away, the student's family felt more comfortable connecting with her because she was Latina and spoke Spanish. While she had the same job responsibilities as her White counterparts, she felt like this type of scenario happened often, so she felt an additional level of burden and responsibility as the only Latina on staff.

In other cases, examples of "double-work" were more specific and actually added work without additional compensation or recognition. Participants felt like they were being asked to volunteer for campus events that served students of color or their families more frequently than their White counterparts. Participants understood the value these programs and events in meeting the needs of students of color. At the same time, they acknowledged that this was a program outside of their job responsibilities, and they did not receive additional compensation. Participants felt the additional burden of taking on these responsibilities since they were one of the only few Latinos in their department. However, participants also understood the value of this added work, its meaning to the students that they worked with, and that this work would not happen if they did not do it. If they did not do it, who would?

Digging deeper, the last set of institutional/systemic barriers are those related to systems of oppression. Participants described barriers related to larger systems of oppression including hostile work environments, microaggressions, prejudice and discrimination based on unconscious biases and deficit models, and institutional racism. The literature described how microaggressions and discrimination affect Student Affairs professionals of color at college campuses (Sue, 2010; Garcia, 2016). Participants described work environments where they experienced either subtle or overt forms of racism, including being told to "simmer" or "moderate" their identity as a Queer Latino, feeling like they were constantly spoken over, interrupted in meetings, or were yelled at in a meeting by a White counterpart. Other participants described instances in which they felt that their colleagues held unconscious biases and the perception that Latinos were "lazy" or not as educated. Participants discussed that, in general, the universities operated on a deficit model and focused on perceived

deficiencies of Latino Student Affairs professionals. Participants tied these practices to institutional racism and therefore believed that these universities were embedded in a deeply-rooted systems of oppression.

Interpersonal/group barriers. The first of these interpersonal/group barriers was reputation and insider/outsider dynamics. Some participants found they were more successful in their advancement because of the role of reputation. Those who believed that they had a better reputation and stronger relationships with campus partners, supervisors, and leadership were able to more effectively advance. However, others who felt like their reputation was tainted described perceived insider/outsider dynamics where they were excluded and isolated. Some described the experience like a middle school or high school, where opportunities were provided for the "popular" person but not to others, leaving the outsider feeling isolated and lonely. This affected both hiring and promotions, as well as access to professional development funding.

The next three interpersonal/group barriers were competition among Latinos, diversity among Latinos, and assimilation and authenticity. First, participants expressed competition with other Latinos, since there are limited opportunities and they were vying for the same opportunities. Since representation of Latinos is also limited, there is a sense of urgency since there is usually only one or a few Latinos who potentially advance. Likewise, larger social conflicts between Latino subcultures or colorism in the Latino culture influenced interactions between Latino Student Affairs professionals. Some participants described how these cultural dynamics in society were mirrored within college staff. Another form of conflict between Latino professionals was based on different generational and political ideologies. Some discussed how they used to described themselves as Hispanic (a government-developed term

now not commonly accepted except in certain regions of the U.S., like the Midwest), but have had to redefine how they identify. Newer generations of Latino Student Affairs professionals used terms like Chicano/a or Latinx to identify themselves. Often times, the way in which a participant identified themselves differed based on the participants' generation and political ideologies, and there were instances in which different ideologies conflicted. Older participants described feeling in conflict with younger generations of Student Affairs professionals. Likewise, those who were more politically active felt like they were in conflict with individuals who were more assimilated into the majority culture on campus.

Lastly, intersectionality with other social identities, like an individuals' sexual orientation or gender, acted as another interpersonal/group barrier. Participants explained that the intersectionality of their Latino identity and other social identities affected their experiences at the institution and interaction with other Latinos. Participants who identified as Queer discussed the impact of homophobia. Others noted that their age or body type also influenced how others perceived them. Notably, the women in the study discussed how in some ways their gender affected how they were perceived or treated. On one hand, they were seen as maternal figures. On the other hand, they often felt like they had additional workload in comparison to their male and/or White counterparts, and were impacted by machismo and patriarchy from either White or Latino men.

Personal barriers. First, participants identified how their financial status affected the types of positions they would attain (e.g. some took housing and residential life positions for the free housing and meal plan). Participants also explained how their responsibility to financially support their parents, extended family, or immediate family made them intentional when deciding if they would accept positions they were offered. Specifically, they felt more

concerned about the salaries associated to these positions because they financially supported family and would turn down positions, even if it helped them advance in their career, if the salary increase was not substantial enough to meet the needs of their families.

In most cases, participants described the role of family as a source of support and having a positive influence on their persistence. For some, participants felt the strain and burden of family. When considering career advancement, they strongly took into consideration the geographic proximity to parents and extended family or of their financial obligations to their immediate family. Participants described having to take into consideration their whole family when making career decisions. Some chose to take positons that would not conflict with their familial obligations, often times limiting their own opportunities for advancement by choosing not to apply for higher-ranking roles. Similarly, some chose not to pursue advanced degrees due to time and financial constraints as a result of family obligations. Specifically, for the women in the study who had children, their role as mothers was particularly salient. They both felt the additional burden of having to raise a family and balance their own personal advancement and feeling like they had to choose one or the other.

Participants also explained that work-life balance, or the lack thereof, acted as a barrier to their persistence and advancement. Some noted that they had to balance familial obligations and other commitments while working full-time simultaneously. This was also true for those who conveyed that their work required "crazy hours." Often times, some of the participants prioritized their family over work. This is coupled with the aforementioned concept of "double work" and the cultural value of a strong work ethic, which will be further discussed in the section on supports and shared cultural values. Together, these add an additional stress on Latino Student Affairs professionals and ultimately, affects their

persistence. This is further exacerbated by the perception participants have that there is an unconscious bias that Latinos are perceived as "lazy." This stress of a strong work ethic, reinforced by the desire to counter these negative biases, results in a cycle where they are being asked to do more while already doing "double-work."

Lastly, participants expressed feeling a lack of confidence or "imposter syndrome." In some cases, participants did not aspire to higher-ranking positions because they lacked confidence in their ability to be in or to get the position. In their current positions, some participants had a sense of self-doubt, questioned if they were "intelligent enough." Participants related their imposter syndrome to how they felt as undergraduate students, constantly second-guessing their abilities and whether they actually belonged.

Regional factors. Some participants, who had previous positions outside of Southern California, experienced a negative effect on their persistence in those positions. Some had challenging experiences in states or regions of the U.S. that were more conservative, especially for one participant who identified as a gay Latino. Lastly, when discussing building relationships with other Latinos, they described how regions differed on the majority Latino subculture. These subcultural differences influenced their ability to connect with other Latinos. A majority of the participants identified as having a Mexican-American subculture. For those who worked outside of Southern California, they observed higher numbers of Puerto Rican or other Latino subcultures. While they could relate to these individuals based on their common Latino culture and shared language, they could not fully relate because their experiences as Mexican-Americans at times differed from the experiences of these other Latino subcultures.

Support for the Persistence and Advancement of Latino Student Affairs Professionals

Although participants described a number of barriers that they perceived as affecting their ability to persist and advance, they also described a number of supports they used to counter or overcome these barriers. Participants were asked, "What perceived supports influence the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals?" In response, they identified seven institutional and familial supports. Five additional supports identified by the participants related to relationships with supervisors, mentors, colleagues, other Latino Student Affairs professionals, and students. These relationships will be discussed further in the chapter in the section on the role of relationships in the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals. This section on supports will focus on the other supports identified by participants, including institutional support and familismo.

Institutional support. Participants described a number of institutional supports available to them. These included the institutions' commitment to diversity and other values, on-campus professional development, committees and additional responsibilities, system-wide support, and national associations. First, participants expressed that the university's commitment to diversity efforts had a positive influence on their persistence, since they felt like the institution and their values aligned.

Next, some participants identified that professional development opportunities supported both their persistence and advancement. These opportunities existed on-campus, at the system-wide level, or nationally. The document analysis component of the study found professional development as a central theme for both institutions, specifically as a feature of both Latino staff associations' commitment to provide these opportunities to Latinos on campus. On-campus professional development opportunities helped participants to be

successful in their current positions and allowed participants to develop skills for future roles. Having the support of their supervisors and departments to participate in these activities also provided a sense of validation and feeling valued. Examples of on-campus professional development opportunities included speakers, trainings, workshops, and campus events where they could interact with campus leadership.

Another example of institutional support for professional development and advancement came in the form of additional responsibilities and committees. Some participants expressed that having new responsibilities helped them feel like their position was "fresh" to them. This increased their persistence by encouraging them to remain engaged in their roles and feel that the role can grow with them. Others explained that this helped them acquire the skills to make them stronger candidates for future positions. The opportunities, including sitting on committees, expanded their networks and provided them additional "exposure," supporting both their persistence and advancement. This contrasts the concept of "double-work." Participants accepted these additional commitments positively, as they sought out these opportunities to intentionally support their advancement. They were able to "opt in" to these experiences. This is a different interpretation than when they were tasked with additional responsibilities without a choice.

On a larger scale, these professional development opportunities also presented themselves at the system-wide and national levels. The institutions selected for the study were part of a multi-university system. As a result, participants explained there were initiatives and professional development opportunities aimed at Latino staff, including a system-wide conference with sessions focused on Latino professionals. Moreover, participants expressed their involvement with national professional associations and attendance at their respective

conferences. One participant noted that having access to funding and being supported to attend the conference helped her feel valued. As with other professional development opportunities, participants were able to learn skills for their current positions or those they aspire to have. These conferences and associations also provided another layer of community for participants, where they were able to connect with colleagues across the field of Student Affairs, especially with other Latino professionals.

Familismo. Familismo, the strong ties to family in the Latino culture, was a central theme in the literature and research. A tension existed around family as both a support and a barrier. As described in the literature, "familismo" is "a strong attachment of the member of the nuclear and extended family" (Sanchez-Pena et al., 2016, p. 4). Culturally, Latinos have a strong sense of familial connections, and this extended for participants to wanting to establish similar connections within their universities, places of work, or organizations, thus building a support network. Participants discussed obligations and commitment to family, having family as a support outside of their workplace, the role of motherhood for a few of the female participants, and finding both paternal and maternal figures in the workplace.

Participants expressed looking to family as a source of support. Participants gained motivation for wanting to better their family and developed values around persistence, resiliency, and strong work ethic from their families. Some participants saw their partners and families as "comfort zones" or spaces for venting. They noted that they can disconnect from work or can complain to their family members freely since they are objective, and it would not negatively affect them professionally as it could if they vented to colleagues.

The Role of Relationships in Persistence and Advancement

Relationships served as a central theme in the literature and thus, pertinent to the conceptual framework and research questions. Participants were asked, "What is the role of relationships in overcoming barriers to persistence and advancement among Latino Student Affairs professionals?" Participants described relationships as having an important role in their persistence and advancement. When asked to respond to the question on supports, participants would start describing the role of relationships. According to the literature, personalismo (formal friendliness) and collectivism were central Latino cultural values. Participants emphasized their relationships with supervisors, mentors, colleagues, and students. Specifically, participants described relationships with other Latinos as having a significant role in their persistence and advancement. Participants explained that these relationships were a source of social capital, where they were able to gain information through their connections with others since that knowledge was not always explicit or readily available. Although a number of participants described the positive influence of relationships, they also described other instances where because they did not have these connections they felt they could not access this social capital. This left them feeling excluded and marginalized. The following is a review of themes around relationships, community, and social capital, as well as instances in which participants felt that they were self-sustaining or lacked relationships with others.

Personalismo. Personalismo prioritizes relationships, interconnectedness and collectivism and is a core value in Latino culture (Canul, 2003). Consequently, collectivism and community was a central theme for participants in the study. One of the greatest differences in the work style of Latinos and other racial and ethnic groups was around the

differences between individualism and collectivism, whereby Latinos' leadership style tends to be collectivist. Latinos place a value on being a member of a community, or family, and interdependency and the community are prioritized over individual goals or achievements (Canul, 2003). The literature on Latino faculty, who are a similarly situated group of individuals in higher education because of the shared Latino identity, explained how community is an example of Latino cultural norms that translate into success for Latino faculty (Sanchez-Pena, et al., 2016). Participants discussed the importance of this community and building relationships in their own experiences as Latino Student Affairs professionals. Some connected this to their Latino identity and described the Latino culture as "communal" and "collectivist." They identified relationships with supervisors, mentorships, colleagues, and students, while discussing connections they have made in extended networks on campus.

When participants discussed relationships with supervisor and mentors, these individuals were sometimes the same individual, or categorized differently for participants. Where supervisors' primary role is work direction formally, a mentor serves as a guide for the participants' personal life or career path. In their description of the role of supervisors, most discussed that their supervisors actively encouraged their professional development and advancement. Those who did not have positive relationships with their supervisors often had difficulty accessing professional development funding or other resources. Positive relationships with supervisors were grounded in trust, encouragement, and openness. This is similar to how participants described mentors, but mentors were not always the participants' supervisors. Again, although there was limited literature on the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals, an understanding of their experience could be inferred from literature on a similar population, like Latino faculty. According to the literature on Latino faculty,

mentorship played a significant role in the retention and advancement of Latino faculty and senior-level administrators (Munoz, 2009; Sanchez-Pena et al., 2016; Savala, 2014). As described by the participants, mentors supported and advocated for the individual holistically, both personally and professionally. Some identified mentors or supervisors as parental figures. Participants, particularly younger males, conveyed seeing their mentors or supervisors as "work moms," and going to them for maternal advice.

Similarly, participants responded that relationships with colleagues acted as a support in their persistence and advancement, whether the colleagues were in their immediate work offices or across campus. They relied upon these relationships, and many described these working relationships developing into genuine, familial relationships outside of work. These relationships and the emphasis on collectivism and community lay the framework for the networks built by the participants. For some participants, networks had a direct connection to opportunities for advancement. Individuals in networks would share job announcements, act as formal or informal references in job searches, and speak positively about the participants to others across campus, building what participants felt were positive reputations for them. Some of these networks extended further into the field of Student Affairs as a whole. For some participants, these extended networks also developed into a form of kinship or "village building" to better sustain the individual and support their persistence.

Several participants discussed the role that relationships with students played in the persistence of Latino Student Affairs professionals. Participants described a desire to give back to their community via their support and advocacy of Latino students and future generations of Latinos. Specifically, they emphasized the importance of serving and supporting the retention of Latino students, in the same ways they were served and supported

as students themselves. The literature described how community extended further from being social connections to a concept rooted in a responsibility for the "social betterment" of the community (Sanchez-Pena, et al., 2016). Participants also described seeing students as the beginning of the pipeline in Student Affairs and could see the potential for some students to become future Student Affairs professionals. In the review of literature on Student Affairs professionals of color, Oseguera (2015) identified that a potential pipeline exists prior to graduate school and actually begins with undergraduate students via her study on the NASPA Undergraduate Fellows Program (NUFP), a mentorship program between minority undergraduate students interested in working in Student Affairs and current Student Affairs staff. Other participants explained that advocating for and connecting with students of color was a primary motivation for their persistence.

Relationships with other Latino professionals. Participants discussed the role of relationships with other Latino Student Affairs professionals as a source of support. They listed a number of ways in which these relationships were unique or significant, including shared culture, values associated with interacting with other Latino staff, the role of Latino-centric conferences and staff associations, and the impact of shared experience.

Shared culture, as introduced in the study, is a collection of themes from participant interviews, including mutual understanding, shared goals, shared language, and other shared values. Participants described gravitating towards other Latino staff because they "don't have to explain themselves" and the other Latinos "get it." As was noted in the literature, "The experience of these leaders growing up in a Mexican American household provide them with a certain level of sensitivity that people who haven't had their experiences would not understand" (Savala, 2014, p. 139). A shared background added an assigned pretext to their

relationships, where they did not explicitly have to convey their mutual understanding. Sometimes a simple look or gesture sufficed. Participants shared how this shared culture evolved from hearing Spanish being spoken in their work environment and how it brought them a sense of "familiarity" or "openness." Participants noted these relationships provided them encouragement and validation because they had a community of support encouraging them to persist and apply for better positions and provide them with professional development opportunities. Participants explained that these relationships were connected to their visibility, either symbolically ("I see you") or literally by being brought to meetings, events, or other networking opportunities.

Specifically, participants discussed the role of Latino-centric conference and staff associations as having a positive impact on their experiences. According to the literature, affinity organizations for Latinos, whether at their universities or in national associations like NASPA, have the ability to affirm their identities and can support growth and advancement (Batista & Collado, 2018). It was impactful for participants to attend conferences or participate in groups where their identity and needs as Latinos were centralized. Participants also discussed how Latino staff associations were direct, intentional ways to develop relationships, networks, and a sense of community. An analysis of documents at the two institutions included information and marketing for their respective Latino staff associations, with community, recognition, and professional development being central themes in these documents.

Social capital. Related to the themes of the role of relationships and networks, social capital emerged as a central theme in the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals. According to the literature, relationships, community and social

networks were key influences in understanding how Latinos persist and advance in careers in Student Affairs.

The literature suggested that marginalized populations, specifically Latinos, performed better in educational environments where there were strong social relationships (Cammarota, Moll, Gonzalez, & Cannella, 2012; Valenzuela, 1999). Relationships and the social capital that comes with them counteracted the barriers to their persistence and advancement and provided them access to opportunities and information. As noted in the literature, an individual is able to navigate a system by tapping into a network, whereby this social and cultural capital can be dispersed, resulting in both social and economic advancement. Participants explained building relationships with other Latino professionals allowed them to connect with individuals who faced similar challenges in their persistence and advancement and obtain advice on how to face or overcome them. These connections built social capital, as participants expressed how engaging with other Latino professionals helped them gain insight on how to navigate campus politics and other systems at the university. Participants explained how their relationships and networks provided them access to professional development opportunities, access to senior leadership, recognition, career preparation and advice, actively advocating for them to be hired in job searches, and support in navigating campus politics.

As it pertains to advancement, social capital came in the form of either career preparation and advice, or actively advocating for them to be hired for a position. First, participants explained that relationships help support their advancement because they were able to seek out advice on applying to positions, interviewing, negotiating salaries, or following-up when not getting a position. This was information they did not receive institutionally but rather through the connections they made with other Latino staff. Similarly,

they were informed of different job openings, specifically because of established relationships. For some participants, social capital was a benefit during searches, whether they were on the search committee or the applicant going through the process. Individuals with whom they had a prior relationship or connection would actively advocate for them to be hired, and they conversely advocated for those they had relationships with as well.

Then, as it pertained to persistence, navigating campus politics could be challenging. Those participants who gained social capital by working with other Latino professionals to learn the system persisted and were retained in their positions. Older Latino professionals took younger professionals under their wing and provided them insight on how to overcome barriers at their institution and in Student Affairs generally. Participants expressed not having formal, institutional avenues to learn about campus culture and navigate politics, so they often relied upon their relationships to gain this information. This social capital helped participants navigate their respective university's systems, including campus politics.

Lack of relationships as a barrier. A majority of participants explained the importance of relationships as a form of support. Participants who had struggled to advance the most shared that they felt like they were not advancing in the field because they did not have strong relationships on their campuses, including those with colleagues and supervisors. They felt, since they did not have these relationships, they lacked access to social capital, funding for professional development, and promotions, among other opportunities. Instead, they felt demoralized, marginalized, and isolated, and they further disassociated from relationships on campus.

Self-sustainability. Despite relationships being a central theme in the research, a small number of participants expressed that their own self-sustainability was a source of

support for their persistence and advancement. Participants described experiences where they had to learn how to navigate the systems on their own, including one who referred to himself as a "self-made" professional. Interestingly, of the five participants who conveyed that they had to navigate campus independently, three were in the field the longest. This implied that older generations have a different perspective than newer professionals, who identified collectivism and relationship building as central to their persistence and advancement. These older professionals were potentially the individuals who established the foundation for the networks that exist now and are currently benefiting future generations of professionals. Some of these participants expressed preferring the sense of freedom and autonomy associated with not being embedded in social networks on campus. Others, however, expressed how having to "do it on their own" left them feeling isolated on campus without connections, pushing them to have to find their own opportunities for persistence and advancement.

Limitations

Several limitations could impact the study. These limitations included variation between the two institutions selected, including diversity, intersectionality within the Latino population, the universities' Hispanic Serving Institution designation, and the researcher's positionality. Additionally, the low number of potential participants was a limitation. Each is discussed below.

Variation between institutions

First, the study had to take into consideration the variations between two different colleges and universities. Each university had a unique set of cultural nuances, policies, and structures that would influence the experiences of their Student Affairs professionals. The goal of selecting two similar types of institutions was that the positions and titles at each

would be similarly situated and comparable. Throughout the recruitment and selection of participants, the researcher had to be cognizant of how position titles and organizational structures varied between institutions. He determined participant eligibility based on the areas that were most aligned, which fell under the Vice-President or Vice-Chancellor of Student Affairs at one institution but was decentralized under the Executive Vice-Chancellor for Academic Affairs at the other. In determining the scope, the researcher included some like positions at the different institutions. For instance, cultural centers fell under Student Affairs at University A but fell under a different area at University B. Thus, staff in the cultural centers were eligible in University A but not those at University B. Conversely, student success and retention units fell under different areas, so they were eligible at University B but not at University A.

Diversity and intersectionality of Latino population

As described in the definition of Latinos used for this study, this group contained a diverse population of individuals from Latin American descent. The experiences of those of Mexican descent may be different than those of Cuban or Puerto Rican descent. Participants also discussed variations based on the ability to be white-passing, generational status, and immigrant status of their families. Older participants discussed being more assimilated into the U.S. majority culture than their younger counterparts. Participants ranged from identifying as first generation immigrants to the U.S. to third-generation. Additionally, different generations of participants had different political ideologies, which impacted how they identified personally and also impacted their relationships with other Latino staff. This was further nuanced by individuals who identified as multiracial or multiethnic, who expressed feeling that they both identified and did not identify with other Latino staff.

Additionally, intersectionality with gender and sexual orientation influenced the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals. This was more prevalent in the variations of how people identified with the terms Latino, Latina, or Latinx. The researcher chose to remain consistent with the literature and used the terms Latino and Latina. As the study progressed, though, the term Latinx (a term meant to be gender-neutral) emerged as the preferred term in higher education. Individuals who identified as Queer, and younger participants, preferred the term Latinx whereas older participants preferred a mix of Latinx, Latina/o, Chicana/o, or Mexican-American. However, since literature was limited on this topic, this study was intended to be a starting point for the discussion on Latino Student Affairs professionals, but discourse on this research will most likely continue. These variations and their intersectionality with other social identities will be discussed in the section of this chapter on areas for further consideration in future research.

Processes to become Hispanic Serving Institutions

A nuance to be taken into consideration is that both institutions were at unique time periods in the discourse around Latinos as they were either recognized as, or emerging as, Hispanic Serving Institutions. According to the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities, Hispanic Serving Institutions are defined "in Title V of the Higher Education Act as not-for-profit institutions of higher learning with a full-time equivalent (FTE) undergraduate student enrollment that is at least 25 percent Hispanic" (www.hacu.net). On one hand, the participants may have reflected differently on the topic during this time period than if they were conducted a few years prior. The process of becoming Hispanic Serving Institutions often highlighted issues for Latinos on campus not typically addressed. For both institutions, the process acted as a catalyst for the development of Latino-centric programs

and resources. However, coupled with that were frustrations with the processes at each university (e.g. transparency, disconnect with senior administration, feeling like programs were being co-opted by the university, etc.). While the experiences of going through the HSI process was unique during this time period, the opportunities and challenges during this time highlighted other underlying supports and barriers that existed at each institution.

Limited Representation

In preparation for the study, the researcher was aware of the limited representation of Latino Student Affairs professionals based on research of each university's demographics, the literature, and personal experience. However, the researcher refined the scope of participants by narrowing the areas that participants were recruited from and their number of years in the field of Student Affairs. Because the researcher decided to hone in on Student Affairs, this excluded a number of Latinos who performed comparable work in other divisions, including Enrollment Management and Academic Advising units. In fact, right before the study began, Enrollment Management moved from both universities' Student Affairs divisions, making it so that a number of those participants were no longer eligible. Additionally, as mentioned earlier, some units fell under different divisions at the two universities, so Latinos in cultural centers at University B and Latinos in student success and retention offices at University A were not eligible. Additionally, the intent of the researcher was to capture the experiences of individuals who have experienced either advancement or the lack thereof or have experienced both supports and barriers over an amount of time. Therefore, he initially identified that participants had to be in the field for at least five years to be eligible. However, there was a lack of representation of Latino professionals in Student Affairs at both institutions, so this pool was further limited by the study's eligibility criteria. The researcher was then able to

change the minimum number of years in Student Affairs from five to three, opening up the pool of potential participants so that he could ultimately get 21 participants for interviews. The researcher reflected on this and while 21 participants was ideal for this initial study, underrepresentation of Latinos in Student Affairs was a limitation, especially beyond five years of service, and may affect the need for a larger subject pool in future research.

Positionality

Lastly, a central limitation of the study was the positionality of the researcher, as discussed in Chapter Three. The researcher, himself, is a Latino Student Affairs professional. Additionally, the researcher selected two institutions in which he has been employed. While this may have seemed to be a concern and limitation, a thorough understanding of the universities and their structures was helpful in: (a) understanding the support systems and barriers within the context of the respective university and (b) ascertaining the positions and titles of the participants and where this placed them in their organizational chart. The researcher did not deny his positionality and would have harmed the validity of the study if he attempted to so.

Implications for Practice

After reviewing the literature and completing this study, the researcher identified implications for both individual institutions and the field of Student Affairs. First, the data and literature suggest that there is a connection between the representation of Latino staff in Student Affairs and the retention of students of color, especially Latino students. As the number of Latino students increase on college campuses, the role of Latino Student Affairs staff will become more crucial. However, research also suggests that Latinos are currently underrepresented in Student Affairs on college campuses, and in the field in general. As

described in both literature and in this study, there are barriers affecting the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals once on campus. A conceptual pipeline exists for the advancement of professionals in the field. However, since these barriers exist, it is difficult for some to persist and continue to advance. For some, they are opting out and choosing to leave the field of Student Affairs because of this. On the other hand, there are supports that exist for these individuals, and some Latino Student Affairs professionals have been able to successfully advance due to them. Hearing from both participants who are not advancing and those who have successfully advanced, a foundational theme was needed for a pipeline bolstered by supports and specifically attuned to the needs of Latino Student Affairs professionals. The responsibility of recruiting additional Latino Student Affairs professionals, improving their retention and supporting their advancement is a responsibility that is shouldered upon both the individual colleges and universities, and the field of Student Affairs as a whole.

Implications at institutions

First, individuals and colleges should reform their recruitment and hiring practices to improve the representation and retention of Latino Student Affairs professionals. Several participants in the study discussed the experience of being one of a few Latino Student Affairs professionals. The researcher, himself, made this realization in the recruitment of participants, when there was not a large enough pool of eligible applicants, causing him to reduce the minimum requirement of years in Student Affairs from five to three years. Hiring managers should look into how to be more intentional in attracting more Latinos into their applicant pool. Then, they should have a lens of understanding the impact that increasing Latinos in Student Affairs can have for their Latino students and other students of color throughout the

search processes. Promotions and hiring should not be automatic, but there was a desire to advance among most of the participants. Specifically, colleges and universities should directly address instances of implicit bias by having hiring managers be trained on the topic, how to recognize it, and how to minimize its impact. Participants expressed a concern from witnessing unconscious or implicit bias against Latino candidates when they participated on hiring committees, where other members of the committee inferred that Latino candidates were either uneducated or lazy. Reform in hiring practices would include training hiring managers and search committees on the importance of increasing the representation of people of color in those pools, ensuring that final candidates for a position are diverse, and developing measures to combat implicit bias through either educating the committee or adding safeguards into hiring protocols.

Once recruited, there were systemic barriers impacting the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals, ranging from microaggressions to more overt forms of racism, like when one participant described being yelled at in a meeting. In addition to trainings on implicit biases in hiring and promotions, colleges and universities should encourage campus-wide trainings on how to address implicit bias, microaggressions, and hostile work environments. Colleges and universities should also intentionally review their policies on prejudice, discrimination, and intolerance in their workplace, as well as make the campus more aware of these policies.

Colleges and universities can add or build upon services and resources with a Latino-centric lens and intentionally support their persistence and advancement once on campus. Williams (2013) notes the significance of shifting the paradigm of preparing staff to be able to navigate higher education to one where the structure is intentionally redesigned to protect and

integrate diverse cultures. Participants in the study described having to adapt their collectivist culture to the individualistic system of higher education. The research posits that the institutions should adapt to the cultures of underrepresented staff. Several participants discussed the role of Latino staff associations and other opportunities where they interacted with community. A few of the participants explained how they had a more difficult experience navigating campus structures and politics on their own. However, when they found individuals, particular other Latinos, who had similar experiences, they found spaces where their identities were validated, could remain authentic, and not have to explain themselves, since there was already an established mutual understanding based on common cultural experiences and values. Since relationships were a central theme in both the literature and the data in the study, this is a key implication for changes in practice. Participants explained the significance of Latino staff associations and committees with a predominately Latino composition in their retention. Colleges and universities could bolster and provide additional institutional support for these groups. Similarly, institutions can look at methods in which they can enhance or formalize mentorship opportunities between younger and older Latino staff, and between entry-level and higher-ranking staff.

While not unique to Latino professionals, participants discussed the importance of professional development opportunities and additional responsibilities to intentionally prepare them for higher-ranking positions (not to be confused with "double-work") and to position them to transition into the next position up. This would create an intentional process for advancement. However, unless there is a foundation of a pipeline, where Latinos are participating in that process rather than being excluded, Latino professionals are not having access to these opportunities. This takes representation one step further and means that

Latinos should be intentionally supported across the pipeline at all levels of the institution. Several participants discussed attending a conference where they were able to interact with senior-level Latino Student Affairs professionals and felt validated by being able to see themselves represented in these positions. This suggests that increasing representation at all levels on the pipeline encourages individuals to further persist and makes advancement seem more attainable. Although supports existed to counteract barriers along the pipeline, the role of these initiatives is reducing the barriers in the first place and to create access. Attainability and accessibility are in a mutual cycle, influencing one another, but the onus is on the institution to increase access to support individual agency.

Implications in the Field of Student Affairs

While these are implications for individual colleges and universities, there are also implications for practice in the field of Student Affairs as a whole. Specifically, there are two prominent national associations for Student Affairs professionals – NASPA and ACPA, which both influence the field as a whole and have roles in the recruitment and retention of Latino Student Affairs professionals. Based on the research and results of the study, there is a need for Latino-centric recruitment and retention programs. Some exist, as highlighted by the participants and the literature. One is the NASPA Undergraduate Fellows Program (NUFP), which seeks to encourage undergraduate students of color to enter the field of Student Affairs. Some participants suggested that the pipeline begins with tapping into current student populations.

Additionally, as there were implications for institutions to bolster opportunities for Latino Student Affairs professionals to engage with other Latinos on their campuses, the field could use their two major associations to offer similar opportunities across the field and

throughout the various rankings of Student Affairs. There is already a foundation for this through the NASPA Latinx Knowledge Committee and ACPA Latinx Network, which are two subgroups of the national associations focused on the needs of Latino staff. However, the field and its two prominent associations can use this foundation to look at how to further support the persistence and advancement of Latino professionals in all areas and levels of Student Affairs. In the study, participants shared about the inability to see themselves in senior-level positions at their institutions, so these associations could also provide opportunities for lower-ranking Latino Student Affairs professional to see, engage, and build networks with more senior-ranking ones. They have already begun this process with the NASPA Escaleras institute and other programs from both associations. Access should be made easier for Latino Student Affairs professionals by either offering these programs more on a more regular basis, in various locations across the country, and at a lower cost to participants. They should also actively engage with institutions to actively encourage and financially support their staff to attend. These associations could also act as advocacy groups engaging with senior leadership and policymakers to better improve the conditions of Latino Student Affairs professionals.

The field of Student Affairs and its two major associations should review their practices with a more critical and intentional lens with the focused goal on increasing supports and minimizing barriers for the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals. The central implication is a need to develop a more accessible pipeline from entering the field, through middle-management positions and into senior-level leadership. This would only be done through increasing the amount of representation in the field and providing additional job opportunities for individuals to advance and developing additional

resources, integrating Latino-centric values (e.g. personalismo, collectivism, familismo) and centering the Latino culture. This includes providing additional financial support for professional development and equal pay, especially given that many professionals are embedded in their family and may have to financially support others. This also means a thorough understanding of the paradox around a strong work ethic in the Latino culture, the impact of "double work" and "cultural taxation," and the desire of professionals to take on additional responsibilities as a form of professional development. Leaders in the field should have this understanding in providing opportunities for advancement without burdening Latino professionals. Overall, this calls for a culture shift in the understanding of Latino Student Affairs professionals, an overhaul of the systemic barriers preventing their persistence and advancement, and redesigning supports that exist for them.

Implications for Policy

Additionally, the research suggests that there are implications for policy. Specifically, individual institutions and higher education policy should reflect a deeper understanding of the supports and barriers affecting the persistence and advancement of Latinos Student Affairs professionals. While it seems that the persistence and advancement of these professionals have been thus far excluded from policy at institutions and higher education in general, studies like this one emphasize the need to illuminate their experiences and revisit policies around employment and campus diversity to better support their persistence and advancement. In other words, as the research implies, practices should utilize a lens of this topic when reviewing their practices. There is a concurrent implication that policymakers should be cognizant of these pertinent issues when reviewing or introducing policies. By nature of the higher education system, the focus is on the student experience and ensuring

equitable access to marginalized populations. An example of this is the development of the Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) process for designating institutions and providing grant-funding to support the recruitment and retention of Latino students at colleges and universities. However, these designations and emphasis on retention are limited to students and does not consider the representation or persistence of Latino staff. The documents identified during the document analysis of items pertaining to Latinx initiatives at the two universities in this study focused primarily on the student experience. If it did not just focus on students, it included Latino faculty but still did not include Latino Student Affairs professionals and staff. A strategic approach to diversity relies upon not just increasing the number of students of color on campus but addressing their persistence and retention. This approach also includes increasing representation of staff and faculty of color (Williams, 2013). As suggested by the literature and research suggest, since there is a connection between the retention of Latino students and the representation and retention of Latino Student Affairs professionals and other staff, a discourse of one cannot occur without the other.

Implications for Theory

Lastly, there are implications related to the interplay of various theories and a newer framework that integrates these various intersectionalities. The researcher utilized Social and Cultural Capital Theories in shaping the conceptual framework for this study. In reviewing the literature, additional theories including Critical Race Theory and Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) were also potential theories that could have influenced the framework of the study. Elements of various theories helped provide an understanding of the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals and underlying systemic barriers that influence their

personal narratives and the educational system they were navigating. Since different types of relationships emerged in the literature highlighting the experiences of Latinos in higher education, Social and Capital Theories and their emphasis on relationships as the avenue for transferring social and cultural capital made them a great fit for this study. However, this study demonstrated that there is an additional need to understand the experiences of Latinos in higher education in the context of these overlapping theories. There is a need for discussing how Latinos are navigating social networks and gaining capital in the context of barriers both at the institutional and systemic levels. Moreover, when developing or applying theory on Latinos in higher education, the unique nature of their experiences and the influence of Latino cultural values should be central to the lens through which theory is seen. The research suggests a new approach to theory reflecting the interconnectedness of social networks, social and cultural capital, Latino cultural influences, and systems of oppression affecting the individuals, their experiences in higher education, and the educational system itself.

Significance

Chapters One and Two provided an overview of how the representation of Student Affairs professionals of color can have a positive impact on the retention of underrepresented minority student populations (Garcia, 2016; Kwon, 2016; Parnell, 2016; Sagaria & Johnsrud, 1991). The literature also described how engaging with Latino faculty and staff improved retention of Latino students (Castellanos & Jones, 2003; Kraemer, 1997; Longerbeam, Sedlacek, & Alatorre, 2004; Santos & Reigadas, 2009). However, although the literature indicated Latino staff play an important role in facilitating student engagement and achievement, there continues to be a lack of representation of Latino Student Affairs professionals in postsecondary institutions (Reason, Walker, & Robinson, 2002).

Additionally, Student Affairs professionals of color, including Latinos, are entering and exiting the field within their entry-level positions and not advancing further in the profession (Chan, 2017; Jackson, 2001). As noted in earlier chapters, institutions of higher education are faced with a challenge of how to better improve the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals.

This study was intended to explore the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals and identify supports and/or barriers affecting their persistence and advancement. Since there was also a lack of literature on this topic, this study provided an initial contribution to the discourse on this topic. The study provided personal and institutional supports and barriers for the participants. It provided insight into what makes the experience of Latino professionals in Student Affairs unique and how they navigate systems of higher education differently based on their cultural values, including personalismo, collectivism, and familismo. Related to these values, the study demonstrated the role of relationships in the persistence and advancement in Student Affairs. Researching this topic provided a lens with which to further understand these experiences so that conditions can be improved for their persistence and advancement. Then, colleges and universities can enhance their ability to support the influx of Latino students on their campuses and the experiences of students of color.

As noted, this is an introduction to better understanding the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals, with the aim of increasing representation, persistence, and advancement. If nothing else, this study demonstrated this is an area of higher education research that requires additional attention. The study was limited in scope and was developed as a cross-comparative case study. Even with its limited scope, there was a plethora of data.

The information provided was nuanced even within this smaller sample, so one can anticipate that additional research will provide a deeper understanding of their experiences. The next section of this chapter will provide examples in which further research on this topic can be conducted in the future.

Areas for Future Research

In reviewing the limitations, implications, and significance of the study, the researcher is aware that there are several areas for future research. The researcher intended for the study to be limited in scope and, by using a cross-comparative case study design, knew he was only comparing two groups of Latino Student Affairs professionals. Even with the limited scope, a number of themes emerged. One can anticipate that with further research on this topic, there could be substantially more. Additionally, because of the limited literature available on the topic, the researcher was aware that this study would be a starting point for the discourse on the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals. A few specific areas should be considered for future research.

First, the qualitative study focused on the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals, and not necessarily their representation in the field. There was a limited amount of literature on the number of Latino Student Affairs professionals. The researcher would suggest that future research be conducted on the quantitative data to ascertain the representation of Latino Student Affairs professionals in the field over time.

Second, since the study was limited in scope, the researcher also suggests research in the distant future that has a much larger scope and includes interviews with participants across the field nationwide. This would be a substantial project that would unearth a substantial amount of data and be influenced by several more differences in school type, region, and

other variables. For smaller scopes, there could be additional cross-comparative case studies comparing type of institution (e.g. public versus private) and comparing university systems in a region (e.g. the California State system versus the University of California system) or across regions (e.g. Southwest, Midwest, Northwest, etc.). In the research, some of the participants had previous experiences at colleges or universities in different states or different types of institutions (e.g. community college, public, private), which influenced their overall career path and perception of barriers and supports. While this study was intended to be small in scope and focused on participants at these two institutions, in discussion about their career path and the supports and barriers impacting their persistence and advancement, they reviewed their previous workplaces. They would compare and contrast their current experiences with previous institutions. A study with a much larger scope analyzing the experiences of Latinos across the field would capture more of these experiences across the U.S.

Similarly, the research suggests the experiences of Latino staff at colleges and universities designated as a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) could be compared and contrasted with those that are not. Since the study took place at two institutions that were either already designated or in the process to become an HSI, the researcher included a question asking their perspective on these processes. While it was not embedded in the research questions and consequently not centralized in the study, the researcher was able to glean perceived supports and barriers in the participants' reflection of the HSI process at their respective institution. However, this suggested that it would be worth reviewing HSI processes from the perspective of Latino staff, since often they are student-centered.

Additionally, while there was literature on (a) the relationship between the retention of Latino students and Latino staff and faculty and (b) the relationship between the retention of students of color and Student Affairs professionals of color, this research suggests that there could be further research in the area of the relationship between the retention of Latino students and Latino Student Affairs professionals. Some of the participants touched upon this in their responses about their experience as professionals too, also suggesting a that there could be further research in this area; also, that this does not need to be limited to those schools identified as HSIs since college campuses in general are seeing an increase in Latino student populations. While this study focused on the staff, it would be worth investigating more about the role of Latino Student Affairs professionals in student retention to further bridge the gap in the literature.

Another area that was foundational in this study but could use further exploration is the concept of a pipeline from undergrad into senior-level staff positions. The focus of the study was on the persistence and advancement of those already in the field and participants were already in the field for at least three years. However, some of the participants, and some of the literature, suggested that the pipeline starts with students matriculating from undergrad into graduate schools, and then into the field. In fact, some of the participants chose to enter the field and got positions at the institution they attended as an undergraduate because of their positive experience as student leaders and relationships with their mentors at the time, who are now their colleagues. This would be a great area to look at when determining how to encourage Latino students to enter the field, how to support the retention of future generations of Latino students, and thus, how to strengthen the pipeline and further encourage those

students to enter the field. This study is intended to be a snapshot of experiences along a much more extended pipeline.

Lastly, when looking at the emergent themes around diversity within the Latino population and intersectionality with other social identity groups, there is a plethora of areas for future research looking at the variations of experiences based on various social identities. These areas include but are not limited to biracial or multiracial identity, gender, sexual orientation, and body type. Each of these intersectional identities provides an additional area to explore, not only how these Student Affairs professionals' experiences are influenced by their Latino identity, but also how that interplays with their other social identities. Specifically, this study demonstrated that the intersectionality between gender and the Latino culture heavily influences the experiences of Latina women in the field. The researcher would suggest looking at these two populations independently. Aside from being impacted by racism and prejudice because of their race and ethnicity, forms of sexism (e.g. the glass ceiling) also acted as a barrier. Some Latina participants in the study expressed feeling suppressed and excluded by Latino men and other men of color. The researcher suggests that there be further research on three areas: the experiences of Latino men, the experiences of Latina women, and a comparative analysis of these two experiences. Moreover, within the Latino cultural identity there are also differences worth exploring based on the generational status of participants' families in the U.S. or their immigration status, their status as having been first-generation college students (where neither parent attended an institution of higher education), age or generation status of the participants, and their political ideologies. When considering areas of future research, the researcher acknowledges that the topic of Latinos in Student Affairs has so much more room for growth.

Conclusion

The reality is that colleges and universities are evolving as their demographics are shifting. More and more Latinos will be entering institutions of higher education. Efforts, like the ones developed in conjunction with HSI designations, are looking at how to improve the conditions for Latino students on campus in order to strengthen their retention. One area brought to the forefront is the role that Latino faculty, Student Affairs professionals, and other staff play in the retention of Latino students. An increase in the representation of people of color in faculty and staff positions has a positive impact on the retention of Latino students and other students of color. This is especially true when looking at representation within Student Affairs professionals, who are consistently interacting with students outside of the classroom. Specifically, having an increased representation of Latino Student Affairs professionals would have a positive impact on Latino student retention. Despite this, however, there is a lack of representation of Latino professionals in Student Affairs, and little research on this topic or how to better sustain these individuals and support their advancement.

This cross-comparative case study provided a window into this subject. It is the beginning of a larger discussion on representation, recruitment, retention, and advancement of Student Affairs professionals. There is much to learn about what makes their experiences unique and how their Latino identity intersects with their roles as Student Affairs professionals, including the concepts of personalismo and familismo. Moreover, there is an opportunity to further the discussion on the barriers and supports that exist in their persistence and advancement, and how they navigate the pipeline in Student Affairs with the influence of their cultural values. On one hand, the study introduced personal, interpersonal/group, and institutional/systemic barriers that these individuals are brushing up against as they try to

persist and advance. This includes everything from financial and familial constraints to racism, discrimination, and prejudice. On the other, there are several supports to counter these barriers, and encourage their persistence and advancement. Among these supports are institutional support and professional development. More importantly, the role of relationships and social capital are central in navigating these systems, since community and collectivism are values embedded within the Latino culture.

The implications gleaned from this study is a limited entry-point to the overall discourse on the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals in Student Affairs. The researcher was overwhelmed with the amount of information received from a scan of documents at each university and 21 interviews. The intent of this study was to shift the focus to Latino staff and expand the understanding of their experiences. Although there is a gap that exists on this topic in Student Affairs and higher education research, this study offered a glimpse into the topic and provided numerous areas for future research. This study demonstrated the need to better understand the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals and offered insight into the intersectionality of their cultural and professional identities. The study identified a number of barriers at the personal, interpersonal, and systemic level, institutional supports, and the role of relationships and social capital in their persistence and advancement. Most prominent is the need of institutions to increase representation of Latino Student Affairs professionals at all levels, from entry-level to senior administrations. Additionally, having a deep understanding of these issues are integral in how institutions intentionally design their campuses to better meet the needs of the influx of Latino students entering higher education. Policies and practices need to be adapted through a Latino-centric lens. This approach includes thoroughly understanding the collectivist nature of

the Latino culture and both embracing and prioritizing relationships, community, and other Latino cultural values. Since there is an interconnectedness between Latino staff and students, an institution will better support the retention of the increased number of Latino students through their ability to meet the needs of their Latino Student Affairs professionals.

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Appendix A
Email Recruitment to Participants at University A

Dear (Name)

I am a graduate student in the Joint Doctoral Program (JPD) in Educational Leadership through UC San Diego and Cal State San Marcos. I am also currently the Coordinator of Student Activities for Warren College at UC San Diego. The topic of my dissertation will be on the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals. Specifically, this study will explore the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals and will ascertain personal and institutional supports and barriers affecting their persistence and advancement. The purpose of the study is also to identify the ways in which they have overcome these barriers and, specifically, what the role of relationships are in overcoming these barriers.

At this time, I am seeking interview participants who identify as Latino and who have at least five years of professional experience in Student Affairs. Since this is a cross-comparative case study, in order to qualify as a participant, I am seeking individuals who work within the areas overseen by the Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs.

Interviews will be in person and take approximately 60 minutes. I will coordinate a date, time, and location for the interview with you directly if you choose to participate. With your permission, the interview will be audio taped and transcribed. Additionally, your confidentiality will be maintained and respected throughout this process. Pseudonyms for both you and your university will be used to minimize risk. I will be providing you with a summary of the information you provided me to check for accuracy and to ensure that there are any references that you feel may be identifiable.

I appreciate your consideration of this request. If you choose to participate, please contact me at magaribay@ucsd.edu. I hope to conduct interviews from [date TBD] to [date TBD].

Thank you,

Mario Garibay
Doctoral Student, Educational Leadership
858-534-1722
magaribay@ucsd.edu

Carolyn Hofstetter
Chair/Associate Teaching Professor, Department of Education Studies, UC San Diego
Dissertation Committee Chair
858-822-6688
chofstetter@ucsd.edu

Appendix B
Email Recruitment to Participants at University B

Dear (Name)

I am a graduate student in the Joint Doctoral Program (JPD) in Educational Leadership through UC San Diego and Cal State San Marcos. I am also currently the Coordinator of Student Activities for Warren College at UC San Diego. The topic of my dissertation will be on the persistence and advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals. Specifically, this study will explore the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals and will ascertain personal and institutional supports and barriers affecting their persistence and advancement. The purpose of the study is also to identify the ways in which they have overcome these barriers and, specifically, what the role of relationships are in overcoming these barriers.

At this time, I am seeking interview participants who identify as Latino and who have at least five years of professional experience in Student Affairs. Since this is a cross-comparative case study, in order to qualify as a participant, I am seeking individuals who work within the areas overseen by the Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs or a Dean of Student Affairs in one of the six undergraduate colleges.

Interviews will be in person and take approximately 60 minutes. I will coordinate a date, time, and location for the interview with you directly if you choose to participate. With your permission, the interview will be audio taped and transcribed. Additionally, your confidentiality will be maintained and respected throughout this process. Pseudonyms for both you and your university will be used to minimize risk. I will be providing you with a summary of the information you provided me to check for accuracy and to ensure that there are any references that you feel may be identifiable.

I appreciate your consideration of this request. If you choose to participate, please contact me at magaribay@ucsd.edu. I hope to conduct interviews from [date TBD] to [date TBD].

Thank you,

Mario Garibay
Doctoral Student, Educational Leadership
858-534-1722
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Carolyn Hofstetter
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Appendix C
Informed Consent for Student Affairs Professionals

Mario Garibay, under the supervision of Dr. Carolyn Hofstetter, Associate Professor, Education Studies, UC San Diego, is conducting a study to explore the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals. As an individual who identifies as Latino who works in a department that the researcher identifies as Student Affairs, your permission is requested to participate in this study.

Study Objectives: The purpose of the study is to explore the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals and to ascertain personal and institutional supports and barriers affecting the persistence and advancement of these individuals. The purpose of the study is also to identify the ways in which they have overcome these barriers and, specifically, what the role of relationships are in overcoming these barriers.

Procedures: As a cross-comparative case study, interview data will be collected. Interviews will be individual and consist of an in-person conversation of approximately 60 minutes in length related to the participant's persistence and advancement in Student Affairs.

Risks and Inconveniences: There are minimal risks to participating in this study. You will be asked to participate in an approximate 60-minute interview session. Interviews will be recorded and notes will be taken by the researcher, creating the potential for a breach of confidentiality. The interviews will be transcribed utilizing Rev.com.

Safeguards: To minimize risks to confidentiality, all notes and data files will be kept private, only to be used for analysis purposes. Electronic notes will be saved on a password-protected computer and handwritten notes will be maintained in a lock office. Pseudonyms for participants and their places of employment will be used to minimize risk of identification. The transcription service, Rev.com, maintains a high level of security and confidentiality, and it states that files or personal information will not be shared with anyone outside of the company.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation is entirely voluntary and may be withdrawn at any time. There are no consequences if you decide not to participate.

Benefits: Although your participation in this research study may be of little benefit to you, beyond personal reflection on your experiences, the data gathered in this study has the potential to benefit other Latinos in the field of Student Affairs.

Questions: This study (has been/will be) approved by the UC San Diego Institutional Review Board. If you have questions about the study, you may direct those questions to the researcher, Mario Garibay (magaribay@ucsd.edu; 626-665-4939) or to Dr. Carolyn Hofstetter, Committee Chair (chofstetter@ucsd.edu; 858-822-6688).

_____ I agree to participate in this research study. Name: _____

Participant's Signature Researcher's Signature

Appendix D
Interview Protocol for Latinos in Student Affairs

Interview Protocol: Latinos in Student Affairs

Time of Interview:

Date:

Place:

Interviewer:

Interviewee:

Introduction to the Interview: The purpose of the study is to explore the experiences of Latino Student Affairs professionals and to ascertain personal and institutional supports and barriers affecting the persistence and advancement of these individuals. All participants will remain anonymous in the writing of the report and data will be aggregated according to emergent themes. Pseudonyms will be used for participants and the universities in this study. All data collected, including this interview, will be maintained in an encrypted file on a password-protected computer in a locked home or office. This interview will take approximately 60 minutes. You will have an opportunity to review a summary of the information provided in the interview to ensure accuracy.

[Interview reads and signs consent form]

[Turn on recording device]

Questions:

1. Please describe your role at the university.
2. How long have you been in the field of Student Affairs?

3. Please describe your career path in Student Affairs thus far.
4. What supports, if any, have you experienced in your career path?
5. What barriers, if any, have you experienced in your career path?
6. What support systems, if any, are available to your advancement at the university?
7. What barriers, if any, do you perceive in your advancement at the university?
8. What can the university do to better support your persistence at the institution?
9. What can the university do to better support your advancement at the institution?
10. What relationships, if any, have you been able to create with other Latinos at the university?
11. What role do these relationships play in regards to your persistence at the university?
12. What role do these relationships play in regards to your advancement at the university?
13. As part of my research, I will also be conducting an analysis of documents that relate to potential supports or barriers affecting the persistence or advancement of Latino Student Affairs professionals at the university. Are there any documents at the university that you suggest I review?
14. Is there anything else that you would like to add?