UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
RIVERSIDE

For (Y)Our Eyes Only:
Latina/o/x Faculty Navigating Tenure Expectations at Hispanic Serving Institutions

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirement for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

by

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December 2023

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

A Latin American writer, Facundo Cabral, once wrote: *Nacemos para encontrarnos: la vida es el arte del encuentro.* In English, Cabral's words can translate to: We were born to meet. Life is the art of meeting [and finding]. I evoke Cabral's words because his writing and songs remind me that nothing worth doing comes from being and doing alone.

Life has allowed me to meet people who have shaped my life in big and small ways. At the risk of not doing justice to how much I have grown because of the people I have met and at the risk of leaving many out, I would like to indulge in this acknowledgment section.

My educational journey started with my family. My father, Beto—short for Roberto—from my father, I learned hard work. He worked extremely hard to provide for our family. He also served as a former educator. My father taught me that earning good grades was only part of the deal; being street-smart and applying school things to real life was the complimentary package. So, he led by example. I learned how to count as I stood by his side, counting and administering money whenever he would join his friends to gamble or sell fish upon returning from a fishing trip. Sometimes, I get lucky and see my father in my dreams lying on a hammock under one of our mango trees after a full day of work. I know you are watching from heaven; I love you!

My mother, Norma, taught me with patience. I still remember the rainy day you taught me how to pronounce and write the vowels. As we sat on our bed, you gave me some advice that transformed much of my educational journey: ask for help and not be

afraid to ask questions. I know raising three children as a single mother is difficult. Your prayers throughout the decades have worked because, for the most part, I have always found people who have answered my calls for help. Thank you for always waiting for me with a plate of food, an ear to listen to, and much love, Tota!

Between both of my parents, I learned how to read, write, and count. Most importantly, they gave me my life and the liberty to live it. Thank you for all the sacrifices, lessons, and encouragement. I am thankful you both met to give me life and serve as my first educators and role models. I would choose you as my parents in every lifetime. I love you both!

The hard work and patience that my parents taught me were best exemplified by my grandmother, Maria Luisa. Scaping the world from El Salvador, my grandmother decided to immigrate to the United States. She enrolled in adult school to learn English—sacrificing the little spare time she had to rest at night and during the weekends. Once my grandmother fixed her immigration status, she returned to school to study for the U.S. citizenship test. Thanks to my grandmother's efforts, I immigrated to the United States at a time when El Salvador was one of the most violent places on Earth due to gang violence. For all you have done, mamá Luisa, I thank you. I love you!

Uncle Carlos and Oscar. Thank you for reinforcing the value of an education as I grew up. To my siblings, Wilber and Magaly. You give me hope. Wilber, thank you for grabbing all attention growing up. You freed me. Most times, we played soccer on opposite teams. Whether on the soccer field or playing video games, I would much rather lose to you—you cried too much, LOL. Magaly, I still remember when you were born.

Your playful spirit lights up every room. You still manage to bring up the kid in me. Thank you both for keeping me sane throughout the years. I love you both!

In the United States, my educational journey began at Belmont High School. To me, Belmont was a place filled with many caring educators. I appreciated my teachers, Mr. Capper, Mrs. Guilliam, Mrs. Juarez, Mrs. McCammon, and Mr. Smith, for guiding me and supporting my intellectual curiosity as I adapted to new academic demands in the United States. To my soccer coach, Mrs. Carr-Swaim, thank you for being the trusting and caring adult I needed in school.

My story at Belmont High School, particularly my educational journey in the United States, is incomplete without Dr. William G. Tierney, who, with time, I call Bill and a friend.

Bill, I have benefited from your guidance and support. You have impacted my personal and professional growth. Because of you, I learned how to drive and developed a passion for traveling. I am still taking good care of your 94 Acura. Over our two decades of friendship, I have enjoyed watching you cheer for the Dodgers and join you and Barry for a meal. Barry's cooking is still undefeated!

Bill, you opened a world of possibilities for this immigrant kid with broken English, puffy hair, and dreams of graduating from high school to get a "good job." You taught me that I could make a difference. You helped navigate UCLA, USC, and a Ph.D. at UC Riverside. In between, you helped me overcome heartbreaks and amend mistakes in personal and professional relationships. I love you. As always, thank you, Bill!

During my time at Pullias, I had the opportunity to lead the I AM Mentoring program. I worked directly with my community and supported many working-class students in their college applications. I had the opportunity to understand high schools and watch how tirelessly college counselors work to support students in their college applications. Among those high school counselors was my good friend, Mr. John Kim. Mr. Kim, I continue to cherish friendship. I think of you often. I hope you are resting in heaven. As a working professional in college access, I credit much of what I know to you, Mr. Kim! Also, to all the students who touched my life, thank you. You each made me a better person!

My time at USC's Pullias Center brought me beautiful friendships. Diane Flores and Monica Raad for always keeping operations smooth. Christine, we ran a whole program by ourselves. Dr. Lisa Garcia, thank you for taking me on my first UCLA visit and becoming my first supervisor later. I learned how to mentor students and conduct operations from watching you lead. Dr. Jonathan Mathis, thank you for always looking out for me. I have learned how to learn with empathy and integrity because of you. Dr. Zoë Corwin. Zöe, you taught me that research can be fun. Having you as a mentor and friend is one of my greatest joys!

My time at the Pullias Center will be incomplete without my brother from another mother, Dr. Antar Tichavakunda. You added efficiency to my workouts—those Superman workouts were crazy. Thank you for teaching me research. Life would have it that my first AERA proposal and publications were with you. I am glad our involvement with Heart of Los Angeles (HOLA) and Dino's Chicken brought us together. Thank you

for all the calls and messages that are often filled with encouragement, jokes, and sports and Drake commentaries. I love to be able to able to call you my brother!

Beyond the Pullias Center, I have been blessed to find the support of colleagues who have become friends and family. Among these great individuals is my brother, Dr. Adrián Trinidad. We have been through many calls, messages, conferences, game nights, and carnitas asadas. You have seen it all: the movie and the movie credits. Your friendship, advice, and support have fed me life throughout my doctoral journey. Thank you for lifting me. Dr. Román Liera, I always appreciate your wisdom and critical thinking. You have played the role of an older brother in my life. Your phone calls, messages, and encouragement over these last five years have made me a better person and thinker. Dr. Eric Felix, thank you for always building community anywhere you go. Your moral and emotional support continues to inspire me. Through your mentoring, patience, and support, I have become a better writer, thinker, and, most importantly, a better person. Watching you play with darts with Little E is one of my favorite joys in social media. Because of you, I have gained access to a community that sustains me—a big shout out to the CCHALES Crew. It is a labor of your love; we all benefit from it, Dr. Felix! Adrian, Eric, and Román, as I witnessed you complete your doctoral programs at USC, you were my first role models. Thank you for teaching me brotherhood!

To my Yours in Soccer family, thank you for welcoming me. You allowed me to go back to college access. Kerri, Jerome, Beto, and Gloria, thank you for giving me access to a piece of heaven through YSF. Thank you for trusting me to serve YSF

students and their families; this dissertation journey was less lonely and much more inspiring because of them.

While completing my doctoral studies at UC Riverside, I have benefitted from the labor and support of Chicano Student Programs, SOE staff, and faculty members. y heartfelt gratitude to each one of you. To my classmates and #TeamRall, thank you for all the support. I am eternally grateful to have been able to cross paths with you and call you friends. You were the cornerstone of my time at UC Riverside. During my time at UC Riverside, I also had the fortune to become a loyal customer of my favorite Girl Scout troop, the Rall Girls—those Girl Scout cookies became my reward and motivation to finish assignments and deadlines. Thank you for always leading girls!

I have had a good time at UC Riverside, but I am convinced I could not have completed a doctoral program without my wonderful advisor and dissertation chair, Dr. Raquel M. Rall. Thank you for taking a chance on me, Dr. Rall. I still remember when, still at USC, you pulled me aside to work on a grant proposal. I lacked confidence in my skills, but you encouraged me to believe in myself. I am lucky you did not lose faith in me throughout these years by saying, “You never know if you do not apply and put your name out there.” We did not get the grant, but I gained much from you in that interaction. Thank you for guiding me and giving me the freedom to complete this doctoral program while working in the background to open many opportunities for me and my peers.
I have learned so much from you, Dr. Rall. You taught me that things do not need to be perfect, but they need to get done while modeling excellence and integrity in research, teaching, and service. Picking up the phone to call you to inquire about working under

your guidance was the best decision I have made. You have supported my personal and professional growth over these last five years. This dissertation was strengthened by your generous feedback and time with me. Your trust in me and the doors you opened have made me a better person and a better person. Being your student is a call to do good work; I hope to keep answering the bell whenever my name is called, Dr. Rall. It is the best way I know to pay it forward. I am eternally grateful for your presence in my life.

I am grateful to both my committee members, Dr. Eddie Comeaux and Dr. Louie Rodriguez. Your guidance and leadership not only allowed me to complete this dissertation but also allowed all departments to navigate the challenges that came with the COVID-19 pandemic. Thank you for being in my corner to support my doctoral journey (and beyond) from the start.

An honorary committee member and friend from UC Riverside, Dr. Levin, I appreciate your wisdom and guidance during my doctoral program. You were the first person I met during my official visit to UC Riverside. In the classroom, I benefited from your rigor and thoughtfulness. I enjoyed serving as your teaching assistant and graduate researcher. I continue to enjoy our conversations about soccer. Thank you for all your support for me and what you did for the SOE community at UC Riverside!

This dissertation would not be possible without the support of Latina/o/x faculty members who participated in this study. Thank you for showing up for me during the data collection process. I enjoyed each of our conversations. I am eternally grateful to each of you as we shared different spaces and trusted me with your stories. Thank you for your encouragement and advice to finish this project as you checked in on me.

As I close this acknowledgment section, I want to thank all my friends and family who showered me with love and encouragement to complete this project. T, Jose, Mendez, Lomeli Kimberly, and Rogelio, Guillermo, Panchito. I have benefited from our conversations and humor throughout these years. Mendez and Lomeli: I love seeing you step into fatherhood. Thank you for allowing me to occasionally hang out with Theo and Sevilla while taking writing breaks. To Doña Maria from Gigis Bakery, thank you for always taking care of me—and for putting that extra shot of coffee or pan dulce whenever you saw that I needed it.

Last but not least, thank you to my better half, Christina. I am grateful for your love, support, encouragement, and patience during these last seven years. Your quiet, thoughtfulness, and kind spirit have been my shelter from days and nights of insecurities, tragedy, chaos, and madness. No words can describe how much you mean to me and how much your sacrifices and understanding have made this project possible. A house without you is just another office. Thank you for being my home and my haven.

In this acknowledgment section, I have taken the risk to compile names and people essential to accomplish this milestone. However, memory is a tricky thing. I did not mean to be presumptuous and leave anyone out. So, to everyone who has supported my journey and I somehow failed to mention explicitly, I hope you all know you were important in this process. I value you.

Life is the art of meeting and finding. I am thankful that I met and found each one of you. Because of you, I am; I appreciate you. Rest in heaven, Dr. Mike Rose. Thank you for all your wisome, Dr. John B. Slaughter.

DEDICATION

To the bold Latina/o/x scholars and scholars of color who dared to become faculty members while sacrificing so much of themselves to academia, sometimes in silence. Your journey inspired us all. Because of you, we are!

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

For (Y)Our Eyes Only:
Latina/o/x Faculty Navigating Tenure Expectations at Hispanic Serving Institutions

by

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University of California, Riverside, December 2023
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This study explores the experiences of 30 Latina/o/x faculty navigating tenure expectations at Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs). The author uses qualitative interviews, guided by organizational theory and epistemic exclusion, to identify organizational conditions, policies, and practices that promote or impede the professional development and progression of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments. The research reveals four main findings that suggest striking parallels between HSIs and Predominantly white Institutions (PWIs). The first finding details participants' pathways into the professoriate. The second finding illustrates how Latina/o/x faculty experienced uneven levels of support as they navigated ambiguous, contradictory, vague tenure expectations. The third finding emphasizes how Latina/o/x faculty members' experiences managing tenure requirements at HSIs were dominated by the salience of being undervalued and disrespected in their contributions to research, teaching, and service while dealing with microaggressions. The fourth finding highlights how Latina/o/x

professors coped with epistemic exclusion and shortcomings in their socialization experiences as they undertook the role of tenure-track professors at their respective institutions. The findings of this study have direct implications for diversifying the professoriate and improving educational outcomes for Latina/o/x students in higher education. Through these four findings, the author argues that the experiences of Latina/o/x professors in tenure-track appointments continue the history of a lack of institutional support that hunts the Latina/o/x community in higher education. The author introduces the concept of *Confianza* to combat the salience of epistemic exclusion in the organizational socialization of Latina/o/x faculty as way to enact servingness at HSIs to better serve the Latina/o/x faculty and the Latina/o/x community in higher education.

Key Words: Hispanic Serving Institutions, Servingness, Latina/o/x faculty, tenure, Latino Faculty Socialization, Epistemic Exclusion.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In 2021, I worked as an academic advisor for a summer immersion program predominantly supporting Latina/o/x[1] youth in their college exploration process. The program encouraged students to examine their motivation for seeking a college degree and tasked them to discover their college preferences to attain the best academic match. These activities helped students create a list to inform their college application process better.

During one program session, I co-facilitated a workshop for 30 students who were applying to college that fall. I assigned students to research a university they thought they would like to attend that had their potential major. Eagerly, the students began working in small groups and browsing different websites for institutions to include on their official college list. Students were captivated by the myriad of choices and websites devoted to various public and private colleges and universities in the United States. Some students were fascinated by the athletic programs, while others loved the institution's proximity to the beach, city, or mountains.

As students worked, my colleague, Mrs. Vega, and I walked around the room supporting students with their research as they posed clarifying questions. Guillermo engaged my colleague at one of the tables with an innocent yet powerful question. As Guillermo researched what it would take to earn an engineering degree at a local research university, he stumbled upon the faculty website for the engineering department. As he

[1] I use the term Latina/o/x to respect the human dignity of project participants by centering their diverse social and gender identities. Additionally, the term Latina/o/x serves to disrupt normative language, cultural, and single-axis identity binaries in past and present bodies of literature.

browsed the website, Guillermo exclaimed: "Aqui solo güeros enseña [there are only white[2] people teaching here]." Addressing my colleague, Guillermo said, "Mrs. Vega, why are there no Latino professors at this college?" At a young age, Guillermo pointed to a significant problem in higher education: faculty diversity, particularly among the Latina/o/x community.

A year before Guillermo's observation, national news covered Dr. Lorgia García Peña's tenure and promotion case at Harvard University. Dr. Lorgia García Peña, the only Black Latina on the tenure-track in the university's Faculty of Arts and Sciences, was recommended to apply for early tenure by her department chair and two deans. Garcia Peña was unanimously recommended for promotion and tenure by two university committees. Shockingly, her tenure packet was denied at Harvard University (Mochkofsky, 2021). Harvard is not known for its track record in its students and faculty demographic in tenure-track appointments. Without tenure, Dr. Lorgia García Peña left Harvard University against her will. For its few Latina/o/x students and students of color and prospective Latina/o/x students, like Guillermo, Dr. Lorgia García Peña's departure meant that the university deprived them of the opportunity to benefit from the mentorship and presence of one of the few Latina/o/x scholars on campus. This incident is problematic in the context of empirical research highlighting the importance of faculty diversity in securing successful outcomes for Latina/o/x students (The Educational Trust,

[2] Although it is the standard practice of the American Psychological Association (APA) style guide to designate all racial and ethnic groups by proper nouns and thus capitalize them. In alignment with Bensimon & Associates (2022), I use lowercase to spell out "white." Like Bensimon's and Associates, I use this practice as an "intentional action, a form of advocacy, that acknowledges the longstanding mistreatment and wrongdoing inflicted on racially minoritized groups by historical and contemporary forms of white supremacy" (Bensimon & Associates, p. 26).

2022). Hence, the impetus for this dissertation is to engage in the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty navigating tenure expectations to advance college outcomes for students of color, particularly for Latina/o/x students.

For faculty, achieving tenure honors individual accomplishments, secures job stability, and legitimizes scholarly contributions to a particular field. The tenure process is said to be fair, neutral, and meritocratic (Delgado-Bernal & Villalpando, 2002). Yet, it places little accountability on the institution as the onus for achieving tenure falls on the individual instead of the university. Higher education structures are historically unwelcoming and unresponsive to the needs of ethnic and racial minoritized professionals such as Latina/o/x professors (Martinez et al., 2022; Pedota, 2022). Universities' unwelcoming and responsive behaviors against the needs of racially minoritized professionals such as Latina/o/x faculty become evident when dealing with the denial of tenure. The denial of tenure for ethnic and racial minorities is often blamed on the individual without considering the institution's failure to support tenure for vulnerable populations (Baez, 2002). When ethnic and racial minorities do not achieve tenure, the academy deems these individuals as uncommitted or unqualified for the job (Ward & Hall, 2022). In the case of Dr. Lorgia García Peña, it is unclear what prompted the denial of tenure, given that two university committees unanimously recommended her for tenure. Due to the exclusionary and ambiguous power of the tenure and promotion process combined with the lack of institutional accountability, Urieta and colleagues (2015) refer to the tenure and promotion process for Latina/o/x faculty as a "moving [and unattainable] target."

For the Latina/o/x community, tenure denial is often the driving force behind attrition and low numbers in the professoriate (Cooper & Stevens, 2002; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996; Zambrana et al., 2017). I am not the first person to write about the underrepresentation of Latina/o/x in tenure-track faculty appointments, particularly their experiences in the tenure and promotion process. Over the last 40 years, researchers before me have made a call to action to increase the number of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments (e.g., De Luca & Escoto, 2012; Padilla & Chavez Chavez, 1995; Urieta & Chavez Chavez, 2009). These researchers have illustrated how colleges and universities continue to be unsupportive of the careers of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments (Fleming et al., 2023; Martinez et al., 2023; Turner et al., 2008). In doing so, these researchers have exposed the challenges faced by Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments. For example, higher education literature illustrates how the tenure and promotion journey of Latina/o/x faculty is marked by isolation and trauma as they endure a lack of institutional support, negative teaching evaluations, rejection and scrutinization of research, overwhelming demands for service, and denial of tenure or promotion (Carrillo & Mendez, 2016; Gonzales et al., 2013). However, despite documentation of negative experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments, improvements in the experiences and representation of Latina/o/x faculty in the professoriate have yet to come (Zambrana et al., 2023).

The representation of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments has remained in the single digits since the 1980s despite growth in the number of Latina/o/x students graduating from college (Contreras & Gandara, 2006; Ek et al., 2010; Olivas,

1988). Data shows Latina/o/x faculty members are significantly underrepresented compared to other racial and ethnic groups in postsecondary institutions and settings (Rodríguez et al., 2015; Valle & Salinas, 2018). As of 2019, Latina/o/x faculty account for 6.18% of tenure-track faculty and only 5.73% of tenured faculty in colleges and universities across the United States (Matias et al., 2017). Without any action to address Latina/o/x faculty representation in tenure-track appointments, the conditions and experiences that drive Latina/o/x faculty out of tenure-track positions remain salient and unresolved within higher education institutions. Rooted in the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty navigating tenure expectations, for forty years, researchers have provided actionable steps to increase faculty diversity for Latina/o/x faculty (Gasman et al., 2011; Franco et al., 2023; Fleming et al., 2022; Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2017; Rodgers & Liera, 2023) and recommendations to retain, support, and address the negative experiences endured by Latina/o/x faculty as they navigate tenure expectations (De Luca & Escoto, 2012; Guanipa et al., 2003; Ibarra, 2003; Pegan et al., 2023). However, actionable steps have yet to come to increase and improve the conditions of Latina/o/x faculty navigating tenure expectations. As such, the injustices endured by Latina/o/x faculty in their quest to secure tenure continue to remain in the eyes of Latina/o/x faculty only as higher education and its decision-makers have yet to acknowledge and provide solutions to improve the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments. Hence, the reason for the title of this dissertation.

In this study, like the many researchers before me, I continue to take issue with the underrepresentation of the Latina/o/x community in the professoriate. However,

unlike previous scholars who have documented the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at predominantly white institutions (PWIs), in this study, I explore the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at Hispanic Serving Institutions[3] (HSIs). HSIs are a critical pathway for Latina/o/x students to enter higher education. In recent years, researchers have begun to question what it means to be a Hispanic Serving university, given the challenges in college outcomes Latina/o/x students continue to endure in these institutions (Flores & Leal, 2023; Garcia, 2017, 2023). In an attempt to understand what it means to be Hispanic-Serving from the students' perspective, Gonzalez and colleagues (2023) yearn for the presence of Latina/o/x faculty to gain motivation and support to improve their educational outcomes. Despite the need expressed by Latina/o/x students to have more Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs, Latina/o/x faculty are not the norm at HSIs (Vargas et al, 2020). Furthermore, a scant body of research is dedicated to exploring the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments at HSIs (Quinteros & Rebecca Covarrubias, 2023).To this end, as a college access practitioner, in this study, I focus on a critical gatekeeping component that can help improve access, retention, and educational outcomes for Latina/o/x students in education, particularly at HSI: the tenure process of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs.

[3] In federal law, a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) is defined as an accredited, degree-granting, public or private nonprofit institution of higher education with 25% or more total undergraduate Hispanic or Latino full-time equivalent student enrollment. In this study, I focus on the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments at HSIs within the four-year context—i.e., four-year universities with an HIS designation as defined by federal law.

In what follows, I present an overview of my dissertation split into three sections. In the first section, I introduce the reader to the problem statement guiding this work. Within this section, I problematize faculty diversity by focusing on the dismal numbers of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments at HSIs. I present the importance of HSIs to Latina/o/x student enrollment and expose the consequences of failing to increase Latina/o/x faculty for Latina/o/x student retention. In the second section, I introduce readers to the purpose of my dissertation and present research questions guiding the study. In the third section, I present the theoretical framework, data collection, analysis, and my positionality. I conclude with a chapter summary and what to expect in the subsequent chapters.

Problem Statement

The lack of faculty diversity in tenure-track appointments is not a new problem in U.S. higher education. It is an issue pervasive in higher education since the modern conception of tenure dating back to the 1940s (American Association of University Professors, 2022). In the modern era, the lack of faculty diversity in tenure-track appointments is more apparent as faculty representation falls short of alignment with student diversity (Griffin, 2019, 2020). Recent reports suggest faculty diversity plays a crucial role in college student completion and significantly impacts students' sense of belonging, retention, rates, and persistence (The Educational Trust, 2022).

The anecdote I provided about Guillermo displays how when Latina/o/x students pursue higher education, they find little representation in the people who will educate them (Contreras, 2017). According to the Pew Research Center (2022), in 2020, the

Latina/o/x community accounted for a fifth of all students enrolled in four-year postsecondary institutions—3.7 million students. Nonetheless, data from the 2020 Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) shows that Latina/o/x tenure and tenure-track faculty make up only 5% of the professoriate compared to 73% of white full-time professors (American Council on Education, 2020). These numbers demonstrate the professoriate remains overwhelmingly white.

Colleges and universities must urgently increase Latina/o/x faculty representation to increase college outcomes for Latina/o/x students enrolled at HSIs (Contreras, 2017). Understanding the importance of faculty diversity for Latina/o/x students, researchers such as Ponjuan (2011) and Olivas (1988) claim that increasing Latina/o/x faculty is critical to improving college outcomes for Latina/o/x students. Many Latina/o/x students are first-generation college-goers from low-income backgrounds (Campaign for College Opportunity, 2018). So, for Latina/o/x students, having access to Latina/o/x faculty as they navigate their college journey can benefit their college experience. For example, the presence of Latina/o/x faculty can signify having access to mentors and role models who can promote persistence toward degree completion while improving the campus climate for Latina/o/x students with their mere presence (The Educational Trust, 2022). Despite the potential benefit of increasing the representation of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments for improving the educational outcomes of Latina/o/x students, colleges and universities continue to perpetuate an inability to recruit, hire, and retain Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments.

Bringing the Problem of Faculty Diversity to HSIs

Historically, HSIs have played a critical role in providing access and degree attainment to Latina/o/x students (Laden, 2004; Nuñez & Bowers, 2011; Gonzalez et al., 2020). As the number of Latina/o/x students continues to increase, HSIs are the primary entry point for Latina/o/x students into higher education (Garcia, 2016, 2019; Santiago, 2012). As of this writing, HSIs enroll 66% of Latina/o/x students (Exellencia in Education, 2023). When focusing specifically on four-year colleges and universities, HSIs enroll 45% of all Latina/o/x students nationally. Despite the high number of Latina/o/x students at HSIs, the percentage of Latina/o/x faculty does not match Latina/o/x student diversity at HSIs. Reports by *Excelencia in Education* (2017) suggest Latinx faculty account for 4% of full-time faculty members. Only 60% of them have tenure or are on the path to it. The numbers of tenured Latina/o/x faculty are sorely lacking and do not properly reflect student body demographics.

Without increasing Latina/o/x faculty diversity at HSIs, Latina/o/x students run the risk of having fewer role models, advocates, and mentors who can guide and understand the unique challenges faced by this demographic in their quest toward higher education (Arbelo-Merro & Milacci, 2016; Campaign for College Opportunity, 2018; 2021; Flores, 2017; Garcia, 2019; Ponjuan, 2012). Given the importance of Latina/o/x faculty to the educational experiences of Latina/o/x students, it is imperative to increase Latina/o/x faculty representation in tenure-track appointments at HSIs. Increasing faculty representation for Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments is an urgent matter that must be addressed with understanding the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs. I

argue that improving Latina/o/x faculty success in tenure-track appointments goes hand in hand with improving Latina/o/x educational outcomes. Examining the formal and informal organizational structures that advance or hinder the trajectory of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track positions is necessary to understand the cultural changes necessary to support and serve Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments and the Latina/o/x community in higher education.

Positionality, Purpose, and Research Questions

There is a scant body of research that fully explores the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments at HSIs (Canaba, 2019; Castalleda et al., 2017; Nuñez & Murakami, 2015; Quinteros & Rebecca Covarrubias, 2023). The limited theoretical and empirical attention to the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty navigating tenure and promotion at HSIs is harmful because it overlooks what researchers such as Ponjuan (2011) and Olivas (1988) refer to as the missing piece to improve college outcomes for Latina/o/x students. Without understanding the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments at HSIs, colleges and universities risk further jeopardizing educational opportunities for Latina/o/x students. It is crucial to understand more about the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs, which overwhelmingly serve as the entry point for Latina/o/x students into higher education. In this dissertation, I focus on a critical gatekeeping component that can help improve access, retention, and educational outcomes for Latina/o/x students in higher education: the tenure and promotion process of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs.

Positionality

Although I present my positionality in Chapter 3, I want to briefly acknowledge my personal and professional experiences and how they influence my purpose for this research. Throughout my educational and professional journey, I have benefited from the presence of faculty of color in the academy, particularly the presence of Latina/o/x faculty. I aspire to become a Latino faculty member and eventually a university administrator. My aspiration comes from my personal and professional experiences. In addition to arguments presented in the literature regarding the benefits of Latina/o/x faculty in higher education, my personal and professional experiences as a college access practitioner make me believe that by supporting and retaining more Latina/o/x faculty, more Latina/o/x students will enter and graduate from college. Thus, the impetus for this project is twofold: first, the desire to increase Latina/o/x faculty representation and improve access and retention for Latina/o/x students in higher education and second, the desire to increase educational leadership among the same community through representation and retention of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments.

Purpose and Research Questions

Given my motivations, as a college access practitioner, in this study, I focus on a critical gatekeeping component that can help improve access, retention, and educational outcomes for Latina/o/x students in education: the tenure process of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs. So, the primary objectives of this study are to explore a) the experiences that lead Latina/o/x faculty to the professoriate and b) the culture of HSI's tenure process through the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty. In doing so, this study seeks to understand how

HSIs advance or hinder the retention and career trajectories of Latina/o/x/ faculty through the expectations of tenure: teaching, service, and research. I seek to achieve the objectives of this study by answering the following research questions:

1. What educational experiences motivated Latina/o/x faculty to pursue a career in the professoriate?
2. How do Latina/o/x faculty define their experiences as they seek to obtain tenure at HSIs?

Overview of Theoretical Frameworks

In answering these research questions, I deploy a qualitative methodology guided by organizational theory and Black and Chicana feminist theory. Under the umbrella of organizational theory, I deploy Tierney's and Rhoads' (1993) organizational socialization theory to understand how Latina/o/x faculty become socialized by organizational formal and informal policies and practices that either advance or hinder their professional trajectories. Informed by Black and Chicana feminist theorists, I deploy the concept of epistemic exclusion (Settles et al., 2020) to account for the salience of race and racism in the socialization process of Latina/o/x faculty as they interact with formal and informal organizational policies and practices. Both organizational socialization and epistemic exclusion are crucial frameworks to guide the study. They enable me to capture the experiences endured by Latina/o/x professors in tenure-track appointments.

Tierney and Rhoads (1996) enable me to explain how formal and informal events and processes within organizational structures support or hinder how Latina/o/x faculty learn, secure resources, and perform their job expectations. Applying the concept of

epistemic (Settles et al., 2020) applied the concept of epistemic exclusion helps me to illustrate biases in the evaluation process of Latina/o/x faculty as they navigate crucial metrics to meet tenure and contribute to knowledge production. These biases are displayed through formal and informal socialization processes first described by Tierney and Rhoads. Examples of formal processes include systems of evaluations (e.g., evaluation metrics in publishing, grant funding metrics, publishing, promotion, and tenure). Informal processes encompass instances outside formal evaluation metrics, such as peer interactions, access to adequate working equipment, and information to navigate formal processes.

I think of Settle's application of epistemic exclusion as the outcome of Tierney's formal and informal organizational socialization by which Latina/o/x faculty learn the rules and expectations of tenure. Pairing these two theories allows me to capture the formal and informal processes by which Latina/o/x faculty become socialized into the professoriate while accounting for the salience of race and racism as Latina/o/x faculty interact with organizational structures, spaces, and stakeholders. In doing so, I explore how formal and informal organizational structures create a culture that either hinders or advances the career trajectory of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments within an HSIs context.

As of this writing, there is a gap in the application of Tierney and Rhoads' (1997) organizational socialization theory and epistemic exclusion (Settles et al., 2020). In higher education literature, both frameworks have been utilized to study the experiences of faculty of color at PWIs. Applying these concepts to understand the socialization

process of Latina/o/x faculty within an HSIs context adds nuance to the understanding and application of these two theoretical frameworks in higher education and our understanding of HSIs. By studying the tenure process at HSIs, organizational socialization theory and epistemic exclusion can help illuminate the values and norms that dominate the organizational culture of HSIs. In doing so, higher education scholars can understand how the organizational culture at HSIs might differ or be similar to tenure and promotion norms and values that dominate the tenure process at PWIs.

Overview of Research Design

In this dissertation, I use qualitative inquiry to capture the lived experiences of Latina/o/x faculty navigating tenure at HSIs. I interviewed 50 faculty members using in-depth interviews (Kvale, 1996; Seidman, 2006). However, for this dissertation, I only include the interviews of 30 Latina/o/x faculty employed at an HSI at the time of this interview. Although the 20 Latina/o/x faculty members I excluded from this study were not employed at HSIs, my interviews with them were critical to informing my findings as I drew parallels between HSIs and PWIs institutions.

In-depth interviewing enabled me to capture the behaviors, attitudes, and perceptions Latina/o/x faculty hold toward their tenure and promotion process. Topics of the interview questions spanned participants' educational journey towards the professoriate, responsibilities as a professor, and experiences meeting tenure and expectations. Through interviews, I bear witness and stand in solidarity with the lived experiences of Latina/o/x faculty navigating tenure and promotion at HSIs as they confided in their lived experiences.

Data Collection

I began data collection after receiving approval from UC Riverside's Institutional Review Board (IRB). For inclusion in this study, potential respondents had to self-identify as Latina/o/x and hold a tenure-track teaching position at a four-year HSI in the United States. Interviewees for this study were recruited using purposeful (Gall et al., 1996) and snowball sampling (Creswell, 1997) through personal contacts, professional organizations, and social media. Interviewees participated in a one-time interview that lasted between 90-120 minutes. Over a span of three months, all interview data were collected. All participants were employed as tenure-track professors when our interview occurred.

Data Analysis

I engaged in a deductive approach to data analysis rooted in ethnographic methods. Using field notes and analytic questions, I focused on data reduction in all five phases of my data analysis: developing field notes and memos, sorting through data, engaging with analytic questions, theoretical deductive coding, and crafting patterns and findings. This process helped me to organize, interrogate, understand, and present my data in a way that illustrates the conditions that influence and shape the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty navigating tenured expectations.

The five stages of data analysis previously outlined were deductive (Brinkmann, 2013). After conducting interviews, I organized all collected data into four categories: interview audio, transcripts, field notes, and document data. In this process, I reviewed interview transcripts for accuracy by listening to audio recordings. As I distanced myself

from the interview process, I also used this process to revise my field notes and gain insight into how each participant answered my research questions. Moving to phase 2 of data analysis, I engaged in analytic questions (Neumann, 2006; Neuman & Pallas, 2015) to scoop out and sort pieces of the data that were directly connected and answered my research questions. In phase 3, I relied on my research questions and theory to continue to engage in a deductive analysis. I used my theoretical frameworks and research questions to develop, define, and collapse codes. In doing so, I created a structural synthesis that answered my research questions and could be presented as findings (Neumann & Pallas, 2015). In my final data analysis stage, I worked toward identifying patterns, descriptions, and events that highlighted the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in the tenure process.

Overview of Findings

I present four findings that provide direct answers to my research questions. The first theme details participants' pathways into the professoriate. In the second theme, I illustrate how Latina/o/x faculty experienced uneven levels of support as they navigated ambiguous, contradictory, vague tenure expectations. In my third finding, I emphasize how Latina/o/x faculty members' experiences of managing tenure requirements at HSIs are dominated by the salience of continuing to be undervalued for their contributions to research, teaching, and service while also dealing with microaggressions. In my fourth, I present how Latina/o/x professors cope with epistemic exclusion and poor socialization during their tenure process. These four findings answer my research question.

Significance of the Study

As one of the few studies to focus on how Latina/o/x faculty navigate tenure expectations at HSIs, this study has theoretical and practical contributions to education. Theoretically, this study advances the shared understanding of organizational socialization theory and epistemic exclusion within a minority-serving context. By doing so, I advance the understanding of the academic norms and values that dominate the organizational culture of HSIs through the tenure and promotion process. So, this study can contribute to developing a culturally sensitive framework for the career development of Latina/o/x faculty and other faculty members from underserved groups.

Pragmatically, the study could contribute to and inform policies and practices to increase faculty diversity in higher education. Additionally, given the increase of Latina/o/x students enrolling in higher education, particularly at HSIs, increasing Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs could produce more positive outcomes for Latina/o/x students. Given the exclusionary nature of the tenure process for Latina/o/x faculty, it is imperative to understand their experiences to work toward removing institutional barriers in higher education that lead to persistent underrepresentation of marginalized groups in tenure-track roles. So, this study has implications for higher education decision-makers. Faculty, department chairs, deans, tenure committees, provosts, and Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion Officers (DEIO) can benefit from engaging with the findings of this dissertation.

Chapter Summary and Next Steps

My interactions with Guillermo in the summer of 2021 taught me faculty representation must be addressed in higher education. In this chapter, I introduced the reader to the problem statement, impetus and purpose of the study, research questions, theoretical framework, research design, an overview of findings, and the study's significance. Throughout these sections, I have argued that understanding the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in the tenure process is imperative to increase faculty diversity among the Latina/o/x community and improve college outcomes for this demographic. In Chapter 2, I review the literature concerning the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments. The literature review presents an opportunity to introduce readers to past studies detailing the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments and my contribution to existing literature. In Chapter 3, I expand on my theoretical framework, methodology, and research design. In doing so, I offer more nuance to the theoretical framework and detail my data collection process, such as sampling, data analysis, positionality, and trustworthiness. In Chapter 4, I present data findings. I conclude this dissertation with Chapter 5, which summarizes significant findings and draws connections to existing literature while offering implications for policy and practice.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The Latina/o/x undergraduate student body continues to increase, but Latina/o/x faculty diversity in tenure-track appointments remains stagnant (Contreras et al., 2022; Delgado-Romero et al., 2007; Garcia-Louis & Mateos-Campos, 2022; Kulp et al., 2019; Perez, 2019; Salinas et al., 2020). In 1988, Michael Olivas made a call to recruit more Latina/o/x faculty because he viewed the recruitment of Latina/o/x faculty as "the single most important key to any hope of increasing Latino access [and retention]" (Olivas, 1988, p. 6). Olivas' call to action some 35 years ago was an attempt to address inequity and establish a more welcoming environment for the growing number of Latina/o/x students who would enter collegiate spaces in the years to come. Historically, colleges and universities are unwelcoming to the Latina/o/x community (Cedeño & Schwarzer, 2022; Martinez et al., 2023; Muñoz & Villanueva, 2022; Pegan et al., 2022; Zambrana et al., 2023), and since the number of tenure-track appointments for Latina/o/x faculty remains in the single digits, the environment remains inhospitable for the growing numbers of Latina/o/x students and faculty.

In recent years, higher education been scrutinized for its lack of faculty diversity and denial of tenure to prominent Latina/o/x scholars (Mochkofky, 2021). When it comes to Latina/o/x faculty representation in tenure-track appointments has remained in the single digits over the last 40 years (Aguirre & Martinez, 1979; Castañeda et al., 2017; Johnson, et al., 2018; Urieta et al., 2015; Vargas et al., 2020; Viramontes et al., 2021; Zambrana, 2018). In Chapter 1, I discussed the problems of lacking Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments in determining student success and outcomes. I also illustrated

the importance of increasing faculty diversity for Latina/o/x students, particularly at HSIs[4], which continues to be an access point for Latina/o/x students into higher education (Núñez & Murakam, 2015). Exploring the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs can add nuance to the literature of Latina/o/x faculty in the professoriate. Without understanding the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs, it is nearly impossible to better understand what contributes to their underrepresentation in the professoriate, particularly at HSIs.

HSIs' Importance and Faculty Diversity: A Recap for the Latina/o/x Community

For Latina/o/x students, HSIs remain the access point to higher education. Federal legislation defines HSIs as higher education institutions with 25% or more full-time equivalent undergraduate Latina/o/x student enrollment. In 2021-2022, 18% of all higher education institutions (559 HSIs enrolled 66% of all Latina/o/x undergraduates. The number of newly emerging HSI's is anticipated to increase in the coming years (Excellencia, 2022). Undergraduate Latina/o/x students are more likely to graduate when they have diverse faculty who like them and can serve as positive mentors and role models (Contreras, 2017; The Campaign for College Opportunity; The Educational Trust, 2022). However, the representation of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs is dire. The average

[4] As a reminder, federal law defines HIS's as accredited, degree-granting, public or private nonprofit institution of higher education with 25% or more total undergraduate Hispanic or Latino full-time equivalent student enrollment. Later in this literature review, I provide additional context on HSIs and their importance for adding more nuance to the literature on the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty beyond PWIs. However, if the reader desires a more robust overview of HSIs, see Garcia (2019), (2020), (2023).

student-to-faculty ratio at HSIs (regardless of race) is 28 to 1, while the average Latina/o/x student to Latina/o/x faculty is 146 to 1 (Vargas et al., 2018).

Increased Latina/o/x faculty representation in tenure track appointments at HSIs is essential given the significance of Latina/o/x faculty to Latina/o/x students' educational experiences. This pressing issue cannot be resolved without first understanding the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs. However, higher education literature has yet to capture the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs. Hence, the purpose of this study.

In this chapter, I review the literature relevant to the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at public and private four-year universities in the United States. I center my literature review using peer-reviewed articles published over the last two decades, but I primarily focus on peer-reviewed articles published over the last ten years. Before discussing the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in the tenure process, I provide a landscape regarding the institutional challenges faced by the Latina/o/x community in secondary and postsecondary education to provide grounding for the experiences[5] of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments. I provide this overview of the institutional challenges of the Latina/o/x community in K-20 education to illustrate how the lack of institutional support marks the academic journey of the Latina/o/x community. The tenure process continues to need more institutional support for the Latina/o/x community. Then, I focus on synthesizing the challenges faced by Latina/o/x tenure-track

[5] Although I recognize that the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty can also mirror the experience of other racially minoritized groups in higher education, —e.g., African American / Black, Southeast Asians, Native Americans, and Pacific Islanders—given the scope of this work, I center the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty because of the large number of students entering college who come from Latina/o/x backgrounds.

faculty and the strategies they use to overcome these challenges. Next, using literature focused on coping strategies used by Latina/o/x faculty, I present an overview of the gaps in current higher education literature regarding the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments. I argue the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at predominantly White institutions (PWI) are well documented, the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs remain largely unexplored. I conclude by emphasizing the need to explore the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs to increase student retention and diversify the professoriate.

The Landscape of Latina/o/x in Education and Tenure-Track Appointments

Nearly 30% of students enrolled in elementary and postsecondary schools in the United States are projected to be Latina/o/x by 2026 (Snyder et al., 2018). Despite this significant representation in numbers, Latina/o/x students endure significant educational barriers that prevent them from gaining access to and completing a college education, graduate school, and entering and navigating the professoriate. The institutional absence of support for Latina/o/x students in high school, undergraduate, and graduate programs has significant impact on their educational performance. This lack of institutional support creates disparities in the educational attainment for Latina/o/x, jeopardizing access to the professoriate in the United States and can contribute to undesirable outcomes for Latina/o/x students. These institutional challenges mark the educational journey of the Latina/o/x community as they navigate educational institutions in secondary and postsecondary education. However, these difficulties continue once Latina/o/x scholars enter the professoriate. In what follows, I illustrate the institutional challenges that mark

the educational challenges for the Latina/o/x community in secondary and postsecondary education.

Experiences with Lack of Institutional Support: Latina/o/x Students in High School

The need for more institutional support in the educational journey of Latina/o/x students starts in K-12. High school is a pivotal step before enrolling in college as getting ready for college starts with a rigorous high school academic experience. However, research shows Latino/o/x students often attend overcrowded high schools with limited college preparation courses (Convertino & Main, 2020; Tierney & Duncheon, 2015; Campaign for College Opportunity, 2018). For example, in a study that surveyed 200,000 students from various backgrounds, The Education Trust (2022) found that Latina/o/x students aspire to attend college and pursue a STEM career. However, only a few Latina/o/x students enroll in AP STEM courses that could prepare them for college and STEM careers. So, the lack of resources prevents Latina/o/x students from preparing for college.

In addition to attending under-resourced schools, the lack of institutional support for Latina/o/x students also manifests as Latina/o/x students face low expectations, deficit culture bias, and lack of mentoring (Rodriguez & Oseguera, 2015). Research by Barajas-Lopez illustrates how Latino/a/x students experience deficit thinking and low expectations from teachers in mathematics while receiving little or no support in academic subjects. Researchers such as Rall (2016) and Tichavakunda and Galan (2020) illustrate how a lack of mentoring and institutional support can prevent Latina/o/x students from successfully enrolling at four-year universities as they need help navigating

a complicated college enrollment and financial aid process. The combined result of these examples at the high school level exemplifies how Latina/o/x students face an uphill battle to complete their high school degree and participate in postsecondary education.

Experiences with Lack of Institutional Support: Latina/o/x Students in Community College

Lack of institutional support at the high school level makes Latina/o/x students predisposed to enrolling in a community college instead of a four-year university upon earning a high school diploma. Latina/o/x students frequently report poor direction from high school staff and a lack of assistance to demystify financial worries as the two main reasons why they chose to begin their academic journey at the community college level (Vega, 2017). This stratification of Latina/o/x students concerns given that comprehensive and research university systems have higher persistence rates and grant bachelor's degrees, yet less than 24% of Latina/o/x students attend the University of California or California State University systems because they never transfer out of the community college system.

Lack of Institutional to Transfer out of the Community College

Transfer rates for Latina/o/x students also remain historically low. The Campaign for College Opportunity (2020) suggests that most students enrolled in California's 116 community colleges plan to transfer to a 4-year university. However, only a small share of students achieve their transfer goal. For Latina/o/x students, the goal of transferring out of a community college can be a tough task to achieve. Nationally, amongst first-time college students in the 2010 cohort, only 25.8% of Latina/o/x students, compared to 33% of African American students, 45.1% of White students, and 43.8% of Asian American

students, completed a certificate or degree within six-years (Shapiro et al., 2018). Researchers have documented the complex and challenging pathways Latina/o/x students navigate the transfer from community college to a four-year university or complete a community college degree or certificate (Bensimon & Dowd, 2009; Gándara et al., 2012; Felix et al., 2022). Studies show Latina/o/x students are less likely to transfer or earn a community college degree or certificate due to part-time enrollment, lack of academic advising, and a broader range of course offerings (Crisp & Nora, 2010). In addition to academic barriers, many Latina/o/x students enrolled in community colleges come from low-income backgrounds, yet students enrolled in community colleges receive the least financial aid (White & Dache, 2019). For Latina/o/x students, the lack of access to financial aid paired with challenges with financial literacy makes them prone to working more than 20 hours a week while in school. Without adequate financial support to meet their basic needs, Latina/o/x students delay their postsecondary trajectories (Núñez & Elizondo, 2013; Huerta, 2022).

In the classroom, Latina/o/x students face challenges that limit their ability to transfer to a four-year university and earn a four-year degree. Viramontes (2022) explains how Latina/o/x students in developmental education often experience academic invalidation, first by their placement into developmental education and then by experiencing deficit and demeaning classroom pedagogical practices. Additionally, scholars have also documented a history of complicated and confusing articulation agreements (Kisker et al., 2012; Monaghan & Attewell, 2015), differentiated advising (Maldonado, 2018; Zeruera, 2018), and limited resources available for transfer (Felix &

Trinidad, 2017). These experiences negatively impact Latina/o/x students' self-confidence, self-efficacy, and educational aspirations (Acevedo-Gil et al., 2015). Without increasing institutional support through mentoring, academic services, transfer guidance, and asset-based pedagogical practices, Latina/o/x students face an uphill battle to meet their educational outcomes even if they have high aspirations to earn a college degree. So, the lack of resources, guidance, and validation is what haunts the Latina/o/x community from the moment they enter higher education, and as I will illustrate later, persists as Latina/o/x scholars pursue a career in the professoriate. The community college and its transfer process is an early antecedent to what Latina/o/x scholars face in the tenure process.

Experiences with Lack of Institutional Support: Undergraduate Latina/o/x Students

Given the challenges faced by Latina/o/x students at the high school and community college level, a few Latina/o/x students start their educational journey at four-year universities. When Latina/o/x students enroll at a four-year university, they are more likely to be first-generation college students than other racial/ethnic groups (Excelencia in Education, 2019). At four-year institutions, Latina/o/x students experience similar academic and non-academic barriers to their community college counterparts. The existing higher education literature explores[6] several challenges Latina/o/x students face in four-year institutions. Some of these avenues of research include: culturally relevant

[6] Here, I focus on highlighting broader institutional challenges that affect the academic outcomes of Latina/o/x students. For an in-depth analysis of the issues affecting Latina/o/x college student retention, see: Hernandez, J. C. (2019). Leaking pipeline: Issues impacting Latino/a college student retention. *Minority student retention*, 99-122.

advising and teaching practices (Carvazos, 2016; Pappamihie et al., 2011; Roscoe, 2015), experiences with racism in and out of the classroom (Nadal et al., 2014; Sanchez, 2019), access and understanding of financial aid resources (Berumen et al., 2015; Graves, 2022; Gross et al., 2014; Perna, 2011), food and housing insecurity (Waggler et al., 2022), access to technology (Mshigeni et al., 2022), lack of supportive university mentors (Cavazos, 2016; Gonzalez et al., 2015; Harper & Davies III, 2016), and lack of support to navigate research and career opportunities (Solis & Duran, 2022). Together, these experiences limit the ability of Latina/o/x students to thrive in undergraduate school and progress to graduate school, which could ultimately lead to a diversification of the professoriate.

Latina/o/x students face barriers at every level of their education. Ultimately, these barriers serve as gatekeeping mechanisms that limit the number of students who make it through the education system to emerge as professors and administrators at institutions of higher education. Since the lack of diversity in the professoriate remains a pressing issue and is the sole topic of this study, exploring the multiple levels of obstacles Latina/o/x students face is crucial to understanding the all-encompassing nature of this problem. Education needs to be revamped from the ground up to better serve the student body's demographic.

Experiences with Lack of Institutional Support: Latina/o/x Students in Graduate School

If Latina/o/x students can overcome the institutional challenges they face at the high school, community college, and undergraduate level and enter graduate school,

similar issues await them. First, Latina/o/x students face difficulties navigating the graduate school application process (Ramirez, 2011, 2013). Once in graduate school, Latina/o/x students endure institutional challenges such as the lack of mentoring (Levin, 2022), isolation due to clashes with traditional academic culture and the graduate school curriculum (Ramirez, 2014), stereotypes and discrimination (Gutierrez et al., 2022), and financial burdens (Santa-Ramirez, 2022). For Latina/o/x students in doctoral programs, continuous exposure to these difficulties can halt or disrupt their journey toward the professoriate.

Latina/o/x Faculty: Challenges in the Hiring Process to Enter a Tenure-Track Appointment

Much like the challenges experienced in their educational journeys, the lack of institutional support from colleges and universities remains an issue for Latina/o/x students who aspire to enter a career in the professoriate. UCLA's Chicano Research Center (2015) illustrates the consequences of these educational barriers for Latina/o/x students. Out of 100 Latina/o/x, only 13% earn a college degree, less than 5% earn a graduate degree, and less than 1% earn a doctoral or terminal degree (UCLA Chicano Research Center, 2015). The number of graduate degrees conferred to the Latina/o/x impacts how many Latina/o/x graduate students can enter the professoriate. However, it is inaccurate to argue that there are not enough qualified Latina/o/x candidates to be considered for tenure-track appointments as researchers have exposed biases in the professoriate's hiring process (Liera & Hernadez, 2021; White-Lewis, 2020, 2021).

Attributing the underrepresentation of Latina/o/x faculty to a scarcity of candidates needs to be more complex. Researchers show how, despite the availability of Latino/o/x candidates for tenure- track appointments, colleges and universities habitually overlook their qualifications in favor of White candidates (Liera, 2020; Liera & Ching, 2019; Liera & Hernandez, 2021; Villareal, 2021; White-Lewis, 2020, 2021). As a result, the professoriate remains predominantly white. Furthermore, colleges and universities contribute to underrepresenting Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments by failing to provide institutional support to existing Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments. As a result, Latina/o/x professors account for less than 5% of tenure-track faculty at degree-granting institutions (MacFarland et al., 2017).

As I mentioned earlier, institutional challenges mark the educational journey of the Latina/o/x community as they navigate educational institutions in secondary and postsecondary education. These difficulties continue once Latina/o/x scholars enter the professoriate. Much like the challenges faced in educational attainment, once Latina/o/x occupy positions in the professoriate, their professional life is also marked by a lack of institutional support. In the subsequent sections, I will highlight the existing literature which explores the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure process at four-year universities. I survey relevant literature and synthesize significant themes in this body of work. In doing so, I present areas of knowledge and gaps in the literature informing my study.

Repeating and Continuing the History: Lack of Support for Latina/o/x Faculty in the Tenure Process

Mapping the Challenges in Areas of Knowledge

The tenure process is notoriously shrouded in mystery and ambiguity for early career faculty (Gasman, 2021; Tierney, 2020). However, research also indicates the tenure process is experienced differently by racial and ethnic minorities and women scholars compared to white males (Johnson-Bailey & Cervero, 2008; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996; Urieta et al., 2015; Mattew, 2016). Research, teaching, and service are the three categories used to evaluate candidates for tenure. Each component may have varied significance in the process depending on the type of institution (Griffin et al., 2013; O'meara et al., 2017). Each institution determines how transparent each categories' evaluation process will be (Perna, 2001; Delgado-Bernal & Villalpando, 2002). For example, one institution can place more emphasis on teaching than research, whereas another university can place greater value on research than teaching and service.

The purpose of tenure is to protect professors' intellectual independence and safeguard them from unfair dismissal (Tierney, 2020). In the past, the tenure process has also been utilized to bar certain racial and ethnic groups from academic employment (Matthew, 2016). The accomplishment of tenure praises an individual on a meritocratic system touted as fair and neutral. In doing so, it places little to no accountability on the institutions tasked with supporting employees toward successful career development and is evident in instances dealing with the denial of tenure of ethnic and racial minorities. When racial and ethnic minorities are denied tenure, the blame is not placed on the

institutional mechanisms that failed to promote racial and ethnic minorities in obtaining tenure, but rather on the individual (Baez, 2002). As a result, ethnic and racial minorities who do not achieve tenure are thought not to have worked hard enough (Ward & Hall, 2022). The exclusionary power in the tenure process, combined with a lack of institutional accountability, creates what Urieta and colleagues (2015) labeled a "tool of fear and a moving target."

Existing research on the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in higher education provides evidence of an uneven terrain endured by Latina/o/x faculty in their quest to earn tenure in colleges and universities across the United States. (Baez, 2000; Padilla, 1994; Viramontes et al., 2021). This research predominantly uses qualitative inquiry (Turner et al., 2008; Sanchez-Peña, 2016). Using interviews (Baez, 2000; Croom, 2017; Guillaume & Apodaca, 2020; Urieta et al., 2015; Sotto-Santiago & Vigil, 2021), focus groups (Diggs, 2009; Fries-Britt et., 2011; Turner & Gonzalez, 2011), and self-ethnographies (Belderrama, 2008; Castallena et al., 2017) as the primary sources of data collection, researchers capture the barriers encountered by Latina/o/x faculty in tenure process and some of the strategies deployed by this demographic. The emergent theme of this body of literature is the lack of institutional support and the challenges endured by Latina/o/x faculty due to the lack of institutional support. For Latina/o/x community, every level of educational attainment is affected by a lack of institutional support, as was shown in earlier sections. As the Latina/o/x population rises and continues to reach educational milestones, these difficulties become more pressing. At the ultimate level in academia, the professoriate, the challenges experienced by the lack of support, guidance,

and resources intensify for the few Latina/o/x faculty who persist long enough in their educational journey to occupy a tenure-track position. In the subsequent sections, I outline examples from existing qualitative research to highlight these experiences of institutional failure.

Feeling Like an Outsider

Researchers document the prevalence of race and racism in U.S. society and colleges and universities function as sites to observe the prevalence of race and racism as microcosms of broader society (Dancy II et al., 2018; Ray, 2019). Systemic racism makes academia a non-inclusive place and profession for Latina/o/x faculty (Balderrama, 2008; Carrillo & Mendez, 2016; Gonzalez et al., 2013; Urieta et al., 2015; Zambrana et al., 2017). Because of the prevalence of racism in the academy, many Latina/o/x faculty feel like outsiders as they encounter a hostile campus climate and campus culture rooted in whiteness that dominates U.S. colleges and universities (Delgado-Bernal & Villalpando, 2002). Carrillo and Mendez (2016) illustrate how their working-class identity as Latino professors makes them feel they must always provide visual documentation to justify their presence in the academy. Echoing Carrillo and Mendez (2016), an early study by Ek and colleagues (2010) highlights the experiences of Latina/o/x professors who feel they do not belong in the academy because of the prevalence of racism. These feelings become amplified as Latina/o/x professors often find themselves as the first and only Latina/o/x professor in their department or larger university, perpetuating a sense of isolation and loneliness (Gonzalez, 2013; Zambrana et al., 2017). Because of the isolation endured by Latina/o/x faculty, researchers insist on the need to provide newly minted

Latina/o/x faculty with access to resources and networks to learn the rules of the academic game so that they no longer feel like outsiders in the academy (Gonzalez et al., 2013). Nonetheless, the constant devaluation in their teaching, research, and service from students and peers continues to signal that Latina/o/x faculty are outsiders to the academy. In the next section, I illustrate how Latina/o/x faculty endure devaluation from peers and faculty.

Questioning, Devaluation, and Resistance from Students

Latina/o/x professors in the academy are frequently questioned about their competence because they are perceived as being less intelligent than other faculty (Reid, 2010; Sule, 2011). In schools and institutions all around the country, Latina/o/x faculty members are routinely faced with proving their status as academics. (Gonzales et al., 2013; Nunez, 2015; Olivia et al., 2013; Zambrana et al., 2017). For example, in teaching evaluations, Latina/o/x professors are often described as "intimidating" and "confrontational (Martinez et al., 2016). This is evident in Eva's (2018) annotated literature review showing Latina/o/x professors are penalized more heavily than white women for not displaying warmth in teaching evaluations. White women also received higher ratings for capability despite having the same teaching style as Latinas (Eva, 2018). Echoing similar findings, Pizarro (2017) illustrates how she endured personal attacks on her teaching evaluations throughout her career by receiving comments that scrutinized her personality as opposed to her teaching pedagogy and effectiveness as an instructor. McManigell Grijalva (2018) shows that compared to white professors, Latina/o/x faculty and other faculty of color are more likely to receive harsher teaching

evaluations and have their competencies called into question. There are also documented instances where Latina/o/x faculty members are treated poorly due to their sexual orientation. (Misawa, 2015). These biases endured by Latina/o/x faculty through teaching question the ability of Latina/o/x faculty to teach and jeopardize their quest toward the tenure process (Gonzalez et al., 2013; Urtieta et al., 2015; Zambrana et al., 2017).

Among students, the devaluation of Latina/o/x faculty's competencies extends beyond teaching evaluations. Students are more likely to refer to Latina/o professors by their first name (Martinez et al., 2016), question their authority to teach (Benedett et al., 2018; Gutiérrez y Muhs et al., 2012), and engage in intimidating behavior towards Latina/o/x professors (Palomo & Hinojosa, 2018). These examples suggest that despite having satisfied the requirements to join the academy, Latina/o/x faculty encounter hostility from White students inside and outside of the classroom. When interacting with students, Latina/o/x faculty endure questioning, devaluation, and resistance from White students. These behaviors from White students toward Latina/o/x faculty "reflect the nested context of racist attitudes and feelings in academia (Aguirre, 2020, p. 367).

Devaluation from Peers and Racism Through Academic Bullying

Beyond student interactions, when interacting with their White peers, Latina/o/x faculty are subject to ridicule that delegitimizes their position in the academy (Delgado-Romero et al., 2003, 2007; Sotto-Santiago & Vigil, 2021). The constant devaluation and derision of Latina/o/x faculty's credentials, knowledge, and contributions from white colleagues are what researchers such as Frazier (2011) refer to as academic bullying. Broadly defined, academic bullying is the "systemic long-term interpersonal aggressive

behavior that occurs in the academic workplace setting in both covert and overt forms against faculty who are unable to defend themselves against the aggressive behavior committed by faculty in power" (p. 2). Delgado-Bernal and Villalpando (2002) illustrate how academic bullying plays out in the tenure process review. They offer a counter-story to illustrate how the work of Latina scholars is subjected to academic bullying through the devaluation of the tenure process committee. Delgado-Bernal and Villalpando explained that when Latina/o/x scholars publish work that explicitly honors and reflects personal and political motivations, committees immediately critique based on "objectivity." Brown on Brown research is often penalized in these committees for doing "soft" or less rigorous research. However, white-on-Brown research is often categorized as trailblazing and innovative (Castalleda & Hames-Garcia, 2014; Monzo & Sohoo, 2014; Tao Han, 2018). The pretense of objectivity is utilized in academic bullying as a justification to ignore the contributions and eliminate the worth of Latina/o/x faculty in the tenure process (Gonzalez et al., 2013; Levin et al., 2013; Moore, 2017; Navarro et al., 2013; Ortega-Liston & Rodriguez Soto, 2014; Sanchez-Peña, 2016; Urieta et al., 2015).

The hostility expressed through academic bullying against Latina/o/x faculty causes this demographic to endure racism in the academy. Recalling a time in which they suffered from academic bullying, a professor recalls when two white male professors told him not to "hang my brown beret outside my front door" (Gonzalez et al., 2013). This instance is not isolated. In a mixed method study conducted by Zambrana and colleagues with 543 faculty of color, 44% reported having experienced racial or ethnic discrimination; 24 of this total sample identified as Latina/o/x. Higher education literature

provides a plethora of examples demonstrating how academic bullying is a mechanism for overt and covert forms of racism against Latina/o/x faculty (e.g., Arnold et al., 2021; Chang et al., 2013; Cole & Hasle, 2017; Lachica Buenavista et al., 2022; Loius et al., 2017; Perez, 2019; Prieto, 2016; Saldaña et al., 2013). These overt and covert instances of racism endured by Latina/o/x faculty are yet another factor cited in the literature (Sotto Santiago & Vigil, 2021; Fernandez, 2013; Johnson et al., 2018; Zambrana et al., 2015).

Expectations to Perform Service Work

The hostility experienced by students and peers becomes even more daunting as Latina/o/x faculty endure the expectation to carry the burden of engaging in disproportionate service work assignments. Historically, higher education literature has shown how faculty of color face the uneven expectation of engaging in service work when compared to their White colleagues (e.g., Baez, 2000; Canton, 2013; Guillaume & Apodaca, 2022; Ponjuan, 2011; Stanley, 2005; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996; Turner et al., 2008; Wood et al., 2015). Referring to the expectation carried by Latina/o/x faculty to engage in service work, Padilla (1994) developed the term *cultural taxation*. Cultural taxation is the obligation endured by Latina/o/x faculty to show good citizenship towards their university by engaging in service work such as serving on diversity committees or being committed to diversity issues but being penalized for doing so (Padilla, 1994; Tierney & Bensimon, 1996). In the lives of Latina/o/x faculty, cultural taxation is manifested through the expectation to mentor and connect with communities of color throughout campus (Gonzalez et al., 2013), sit on race-related committees (Smooth, 2016), or be explicitly hired to serve as a token of diversity to appease students of color

and be attentive to their needs (Paguero, 2018). The problem, however, is that while Latina/o/x faculty are consistently put in a position to conduct more service work than their white counterparts (Zambrana et al., 2017),
service activities are given the least weight in the tenure process (Baez, 2002).

By undertaking the constant demands for service, Latina/o/x faculty find themselves with little or no time to attend to their research efforts (Ponjuan, 2011; Araujo, 2014), which jeopardizes their tenure process aspirations (Delgado-Bernal, 2002; Delgado-Romero, 2007; Urieta & Chavez Chavez, 2009). As a result, Latina/o/x faculty experience burnout, poor mental health, physical health, and low job satisfaction (Munoz et al., 2019; Pegan et al., 2022). White professors are seen as savvy and protective of their time when they conduct similar measures, but Latina/o/x faculty are regarded as not getting along or not being a team player when they try to shield their time from service to engage in research initiatives (Aguirre, 2020; Zambra, 2018). Combined, this body of literature suggests that the expectation to engage in service work is salient to the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in their quest for tenure process.

Lack of Support, Guidance and Transparency

Institutional and peer expectations to engage in service work without support, guidance, and transparency from peers and the larger university make the tenure process of Latina/o/x faculty an uphill battle. For Latina/o/x faculty, peer networks play a significant role in a faculty member's career advancement (De Luca et., 2012; Niehaus & O'Meara, 2015; O'Meara & Stromquist, 2015; Paguero, 2011, 2018; Salina et al., 2020). However, peers and larger organizational structures do little to provide guidance, support,

and transparency. Reflecting on his experiences as a Latina/o/x assistant and associate professor, Paguero (2011, 2018) reports a positive experience accessing mentorships and receiving support by highlighting how mentorship was critical to navigating an obscured tenure process. However, as shown in the previous section, higher education literature highlights how Paguero's mentorship experiences are isolating. Latina/o/x faculty do not always find mentorship opportunities in their journey toward tenure.

For Latina/o/x faculty, receiving mentorship and structural support to navigate their tenure process is rare (Espino & Zambrana, 2019; Zambrana et al., 2015). Latina/o/x professors often work in departments with inadequate institutional financing, and their classes are frequently threatened with cancellation. (Garcia, 2013). Additionally, like other faculty of color in the academy, Latina/o/x faculty are less likely to receive clear and transparent information regarding tenure process requirements from white peers and university leadership. In a study with 16 Latina/o/x faculty at public universities, Urieta et al. (2018) illustrate how Latina/o/x faculty members received conflicting information on the publication requirements they are to meet to receive tenure. For Latina/o/x faculty, this lack of transparency makes them feel dubious about how university committees can successfully evaluate their tenure process file (Delgado-Bernal & Villalpando, 2002).

Without adequate support, guidance, and transparency during the tenure process, Latina/o/x faculty run the risk of receiving conflicting and deceiving information in their tenure process journey. As a result, it is not surprising that in a review of the literature conducted by Gonzales and Saldivar (2020), Latina faculty who successfully navigated the tenure process often refer to themselves as survivors. The survivor theme is also

present in other literature concerning the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in higher education (Espino, 2018; Urieta & Chaves Chaves, 2009; Sot-Santiago & Vigil, 2021; Viramontes et al., 2021).

Mapping Latina/o/x Faculty's Strategies to Navigate Tenure Process

In the previous section, I surveyed the literature on the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty to highlight how the lack of institutional support manifests in the professional life of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments. Using my interactions with students, classmates, and organizational structures, I demonstrate how Latina/o/x perceive the lack of institutional support on a personal level. In this section, I continue to survey the literature on Latina/o/x faculty to illustrate the individual efforts of Latina/o/x faculty to obtain tenure process as they combat the lack of institutional support.

Same-race-gender networks

Despite the challenges encountered by Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments, researchers have documented the strategies employed by Latin/a/o/x faculty to overcome feelings of isolation, lack of guidance and support, demands for service, devaluation from students and peers, and instances of racism through academic bullying, as discussed above. One example of these strategies is forming same-race and gender networks (Espino et al., 2010; Gonzales et., 2013). Same-race and gender networks enable Latina/o/x faculty to connect with members with colleagues within and outside of their university who can provide mentorship, support, validation, and information to demystify and navigate the tenure process (Cantú Ruiz & Machado-Casas, 2013; Ek et al., 2010; Lopez et al., 2021; Nuñez et al., 2015). One of the most relevant

examples of same-race-gender networks is the case of the group Research for the Educational Advancement of Latinas (REAL)—a group created to aid the foster retention of Latina women in the tenure process (Gonzalez et al., 2013; Murakami et al., 2014; Olivia, 2013). Through their participation in REAL, members create a sense of community and belonging in the academy, learn strategies to publish their work and navigate the demands of service work, form publishing partnerships, and provide mutual mentorships (Ek et al., 2014; Nuñez et al., 2015; Murakami, 2014; Quijada Carecer, 2011). Like REAL, higher education literature also provides multiple examples of the value of same-race-gender networks for Latina/o/x faculty navigating tenure process (e.g., Carillo & Mendez, 2016; Castalleda et al., 2017; Paguero, 2011; 2018). While same-race-gender networks can be instrumental for Latina/o/x faculty to receive adequate support and guidance to combat feelings of isolation, the challenge is these networks do not change organizational structures to support and retain Latina/o/x faculty. Therefore, finding a colleague support network rests on the individual as they navigate different university spaces. Although there are individuals who can assist Latina/o/x professors with the tenure process, Latina/o/x faculty must bear the additional weight of identifying a network of allies rather than receiving support from broad institutional rules. Moreover, the lack of Latina/o/x faculty on college campuses makes it challenging to find and foster these networks at any university. The onus for retention should not be placed on the individual, especially faculty facing multiple systemic barriers to success. When faculty go out to find support networks, it further perpetuates the burdensome system. The service burden for other faculty grows because they are now responsible for guiding

Latina/o/x colleagues through a procedure that may be expedited with better institutional support.

Becoming politically savvy

Researcher suggests Latina/o/x faculty negotiate and resist feelings of isolation, lack of guidance and support, the demands for service, and academic bullying by becoming politically savvy (Espino, 2018; Monzo & Soohoo, 2014). For Latina/o/x faculty, becoming politically savvy requires investing much energy in learning the "rules" and “ropes” of academic life. For example, waiting to feel safe before speaking or sharing an opinion, engaging in impression management or keeping people comfortable by not discussing issues of race too much or challenging old ways of thinking within the department and larger university (Salazar, 2009; Harris, 2020; Lutz et al., 2013; Zambrana, 2018). Latina/o/x teachers might better approach their tenure process journey by identifying their battles, determining what can and cannot be given up, speaking up strategically, and exercising impression management. In some instances, political savviness also results in Latina/o/x faculty accessing spaces where they can play roles in decision-making to dismantle and improve their conditions and those of others (Espino & Zambrana, 2019).

Becoming politically savvy depends upon an individual investment of time and resources to learn how to navigate academia rather than an investment of institutional resources to adequately provide all the resources needed for successful onboarding and retention. By attempting to become politically savvy, Latina/o/x faculty endure added pressure to negotiate their professional and social identity. This pressure is also called

"double consciousness" (Levin, et al., 2013). Without sustained organizational efforts to illustrate the customs of academic work, relying on individualized efforts can be costly for Latina/o/x faculty who may make mistakes detrimental to their careers (Gasman, 2021; Mathew, 2016). Moreover, the added pressure to engage in double consciousness tax new faculty and may contribute to poor retention (Levin et al., 2013). Feelings of inferiority or difficulties in earning the respect of White colleagues on an equal footing are exacerbated by pressures to develop political acumen and indulge in double awareness. All of these factors pile on to Latina/o/x faculty and create layers of burden and challenge in navigating academia.

Maintaining Identity and Purpose

In order for Latina/o/x faculty to remain in the academy, they must fulfill their duties to racial minority populations in higher education. As a result, Latina/o/x faculty members' presence in academia and dedication to the professoriate are fueled by their advocacy for racial minoritized populations in higher education through their teaching, research, and service. (Lechica Buenavista et al., 2013; Salinas & Rodriguez, 2013; Viramontes et al., 2021). Whether engaging in race-related service activities or teaching, Latina/o/x faculty often view these activities as an opportunity to raise values related to social justice, inclusivity, social activism, and coalition leadership among their students (Salinas & Rodriguez, 2013). Engaging in race-conscious teaching and service enables Latina/o/x faculty to create educational pathways for racially minoritized communities by exposing and dismantling educational inequities while maintaining a sense of identity in the academy (Lechica Buenavista et al., 2023).

The research produced by Latina/o/x faculty is another example of their commitment to racially minoritized communities and what fuels the survival of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments. Latina/o/x faculty see their research as an opportunity to contest deficit-oriented Eurocentric views rooted in white supremacy, despite the possibility that their work may be mistakenly perceived as lacking in rigor, being too focused on racial and social justice issues, or being too close to their social identities. (Lechica Buenavista et al., 2023). The ability to challenge and change deficit-minded views through their research motivates Latina/o/x faculty to continue their journey in the professoriate (Viramontes et al., 2021). In doing so, Latina/o/x faculty play a significant role in creating new approaches to decolonize research and teaching while mentoring and preparing students to work within a diverse society (Contreras, 2017). In their research, the survival of Latina/o/x faculty is rooted in their community and their responsibilities to it (Murakami & Nunez, 2014)). As a result, Latina/o/x faculty continue to believe that their community commitments are worth their struggle as they navigate what can be an unsupportive, isolated, racialized, and often hostile academic environment (Farrinton, 2018; Gonzalez et al., 2013). However, Latina/o/x sense of commitment and purpose to serve racially minoritized communities should not absolve higher education institutions from addressing the racial, ethnic, gender, class, and sexual orientation needs of its changing faculty diversity. To this end, scholars such as Viramontes and colleagues (2021) urge higher education institutions to make structural and cultural changes to eliminate gatekeeping and exclusionary practices endured by Latina/o/x faculty in the tenure process.

What We Still Do Not Know about the Experiences of Racially Minoritized Faculty

In prior sections, I illustrate the challenges endured by Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments and strategies employed by Latina/o/x faculty as they navigate the tenure process. I this section, I will acknowledge specific gaps in the literature limiting my ability to focus solemnly on Latina/o/x faculty to address my research questions. First, studies focused on the experiences of racially minoritized faculty are typically qualitative and focused on PWIs (Griffin, 2020; Turner et al., 2008). Second, only a few of these studies have a sample comprised of only Latina/o/x faculty as most of these studies fuse Latina/o/x faculty with other racially minoritized faculty under the term "Faculty of Color" (Turner et al., 2008). Third, PWIs are the primary subject of literature on Latina/o/x faculty tenure processes. Scholars such as Settles and colleagues (2020) argue that the experiences of racially minoritized faculty in the academy depend on racial, ethnic, and gender identities as well as the institutional type and geographic location. Fourth, current literature treats the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty as monolithic. It fails to explore the extent to which the experiences of racially minoritized faculty depend on the racial and ethnic identity and institutional type (Settles et al., 2020). By focusing on the experiences of Latinx faculty within the HSI context, this study seeks to address these gaps in the literature.

Hispanic Serving Institutions

Although HSIs have only existed for a quarter century, they continue to capture researchers' interests because of their fast growth and concerns regarding what it means

to be "Hispanic serving" (Contreras, 2017; Vargas, 2019). As Hispanic-Serving Institutions grapple with defining their identity, scholars emphasize the pressing need to increase the presence of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments to establish an organizational culture rooted in Hispanic Servingness (Contreras, 2017; Vargas et al., 2019).

A few have ventured to document the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at minority-surviving institutions such as HSIs (Settles et al., 2020; Vargas et al., 2018). These few studies focused on Latina/o/x faculty, have began to provide evidence that illustrates how Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs, like they do at PWIs, encounter discrimination, racism, and microaggressions at HSIs (Martinez et al., 2017; Venegas et al., 2021). The salience of racialized experiences for Latina/o/x faculty aligns with literature focused on Latina/o/x students at HSIs (Comeaux et al., 2021; Martinez et al., 2017; Ortega et al., 2023)

Expanding the definition of Servingness at HSIs, Garcia (2019) asserts that indicators for Hispanic Servingness should encompass the experiences of Latina/o/x students and non-students—i.e., faculty (Garcia, 2019). However, the salience of racialized experiences for Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs indicates that HSIs are not effectively serving the Latina/o/x community because of the salience of white supremacy within HSIs organizational structures (Garcia & Zaragoza, 2023). Concerned with exploring the culture of HSIs through the tenure process to highlight the structures that prevent or advance servingness in the socialization of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs, I explore the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty through the lens of organizational

socialization (Tierney & Rhoads, 1993) and epistemic exclusion (Settles et al., 2020). Focusing on the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty through the lens of organizational socialization and epistemic exclusion enables me to illuminate the values and norms that dominate the organizational culture of HSIs. In doing so, I add nuance to previous studies that provide evidence of how HSIs, like PWIs, uphold racialized experiences for Latina/o/x faculty due to the salience of white supremacy.

Chapter Summary and Next Steps

In this chapter, I contend that Latina/o/x scholars' education is characterized by a lack of institutional support at every stage of their academic journey. I highlight how the lack of institutional support haunts Latina/o/x students' experience in academia and the professional journey of Latina/o/x scholars pursuing a career in the professoriate. To this end, I started this chapter by providing a landscape of the educational experiences of Latina/o/x students in K-20. Within this section, I also offered an overview of Latina/o/x faculty in the tenure process. Next, I synthesized literature pertinent to the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track positions at four-year universities. In doing so, I illustrated how the lack of institutional support manifests as Latina/o/x faculty interact with students, peers, and larger university structures. I also presented the strategies used by Latina/o/x faculty and individual efforts that fail to make up for the lack of institutional support to navigate the tenure process. Third, I presented gaps in the literature concerning Latina/o/x faculty and the opportunity to study the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs to add nuance to how these institutions enact Hispanic Servingness. Finally, I concluded the section by highlighting how the experiences of

Latina/o/x faculty at PWIs are prevalent within higher education literature and how the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs remain largely unexplored. In the next section, I present my methodology to explore the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs.

CHAPTER 3: THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

In Chapter 2, I used scholarly literature to contextualize and justify my focus on the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments at HSIs by displaying the systemic issues experienced by Latina/o/x scholars at various levels of educational attainment. In this chapter, I present a theoretical framework and research design. Understanding the organizational experiences that hinder or advance the professional outcomes of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs is a complex endeavor. Therefore, guided by organizational socialization theory (Tierney & Rhoads, 1996) and the concept of epistemic exclusion (Settles et al., 2020), I deploy a qualitative study rooted in interviewing to provide in-depth analysis as I set to study the phenomenon of tenure in the setting of four-year-HSIs-universities to provide an in-depth analysis of the factors that advance or hinder the professional outcomes of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments. Through the deployment of my theoretical frameworks and interviews, I center lived experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments at HSIs as they interact with organizational structures and university stakeholders (Creswell, 2007; Kvale, 1996; Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Seidman, 2006).

In what follows, I provide a discussion and rationale for engaging with organizational socialization theory (Tierney & Rhoads, 1996) and the concept of epistemic exclusion (Settles et al., 2020). Then, I describe my research design. Within this latter section, I present my research paradigm and outline my data collection strategy and analytical procedures. I conclude by discussing the study's trustworthiness, limitations, and a chapter summary.

Theoretical Framework

Defining Organizational Socialization Theory

As proposed by Tierney and Rhoads (1993), organizational socialization theory explores the process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and behaviors to adapt and integrate into an organization. Organizational socialization theory details the process of learning the ropes and being trained and taught what is essential in an organization (Tierney & Rhoads, 1993). In doing so, organizational socialization theory illustrates how newcomers learn and internalize an organization's norms, values, and expectations while detailing how new members develop a sense of belonging and identity in the organizational context.

Although Tierney and Rhoads (1993) offer two stages of organizational socialization, in this project, I only engage with the second stage of organizational socialization. The second stage of organizational socialization is split into two parts: the entry role and continuance. The entry phase is when someone joins the organization formally, whereas the continuity role happens when someone starts interacting with other organization members, picks up formal and informal rules, and gets accustomed to organizational culture. This process occurs through different dimensions of socialization: individual and collective efforts, formal and informal events, random or sequential processes, fixed or variable progress benchmarks, serial or disjunctive training, and investiture or divestiture resources. Together, these dimensions of socialization emphasize the role of socialization agents, such as supervisors, peers, and mentors, who facilitate the socialization process by providing guidance, support, and feedback to

newcomers. It also recognizes the importance of socialization tactics employed by organizations, such as orientation programs, training, and mentorship initiatives, in shaping newcomers' experiences and facilitating their adjustment.

Applying Stage Two in Organizational Socialization: The Role Continuance Phase

In higher education, organizational theory is frequently used to investigate phenomena. Scholars apply organizational theory in a number of ways which can include examining how a board of trustees becomes socialized into the trusteeship (Rall, 2021) or how the role of academic advisors assisting distressed students during the first year of college can impact student outcomes (Yarbrough & Brown, 2003). In the past, scholars also used organizational theory to explore the experiences of early career faculty in the professoriate (Tierney & Bensimon, 1997; Sahl, 2017). The four-year PWI is the only group to whom the organizational socialization hypothesis has been applied. In contrast to other research, the goal of my study is to apply organizational theory to faculty experiences as they negotiate working in four-year HSIs as professors.

In this study, I apply Tierney and Rhoads' (1993) continuance role in organizational socialization to the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs. In doing so, I explore how Latina/o/x faculty learn the ropes of the professoriate as they become socialized into the professorship via events and processes that occur as they navigate their tenure process at a given university (Tierney & Bensimon, 1993). These events and processes transmit organizational values and norms to the individual and teach newcomers how to emulate them (Rhoads & Tierney, 1993). Faculty meetings, yearly evaluations, research, service, and teaching expectations are formal examples of

socialization in the tenure process (Tierney & Bensimon, 1996; Tierney & Rhoads, 1993). Lunches with peers, holiday gatherings, and casual conversations with colleagues are informal processes and events in the tenure process.

Tierney and Rhoads' organizational socialization framework helps explain the influence of organizational structures on individuals. Tierney and Rhoads' formal and informal dimension of socialization theory enables me to explore four aspects of the experiences of Latina/o/x on the tenure-track appointments at four-year HSIs. One, it enables me to explore what happens to tenure-track Latina/o/x faculty when they are onboarded and acclimated to their respective universities. For example, the resources and information Latina/o/x faculty receive to facilitate their transition to the professoriate, and how they understand the expectations for tenure. Two, explore whether the onboarding and acclimation of Latina/o/x faculty into tenure-track appointments are advanced or hindered by university stakeholders' formal and informal policies and practices. For instance, how might formal evaluation, department meetings, and interactions with peers provide Latina/o/x faculty with information to navigate and learn the expectations for tenure? Third, examine the individual tactics deployed by Latina/o/x faculty as they attempt to learn their roles, tasks, and expectations in tenure-track appointments as they interact with formal and informal organizational policies and practices. What Latina/o/x faculty do to make sense of and decode tenure expectations while negotiating their perception of belonging and acceptance into the university. Fourth, examine the socialization outcomes for Latina/o/x faculty as they navigate the organization. For example, I want to know what views Latina/o/x faculty hold regarding their desire to stay

or leave their organization and or tenure-track position. Understanding this aspect regarding the socialization of Latina/o/x faculty enables me to explore how these Latina/o/x faculty go from "organizational outsiders" to "organization insiders" and how formal and informal organizational structures, policies, and practices serve Latina/o/x faculty become acclimated to the professoriate. Table 1 summarizes the usefulness of Tierney's and Rhoad's organizational socialization theory to my study.

Table 1 - The Usefulness of Organizational Socialization Theory to My Study

Organizational Socialization	Usefulness to My Study
Investigates the socialization of newcomers during recruiting, onboarding, and acclimatization.	Details the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty as they attempt to transition from organizational outsiders to organizational insiders through the tenure process.
Examines formal and informal tactics used by the organization to support the adaptation of newcomers	Details how formal and informal organizational structures provide official and unofficial sources of information and a sense of belonging to Latina/o/x faculty with tenure tack appointments.
Examines individual tactics to learn about their roles and become acclimated into the organization	Details the individual efforts of Latina/o/x faculty to learn about their tenure responsibilities as they interact with the formal and informal policies and practices that define the organization. Centers on what Latina/o/x faculty do to make sense of and decode tenure expectations while negotiating their perception of belonging and acceptance into the university.
Examines the outcomes of organizational socialization	Details the socialization outcome of Latina/o/x by centering Latina/o/x faculty views on job performance, job satisfaction, and desire to remain with their organization and tenure-track position.

Despite the usefulness of Tierney's and Rhoads' (1993) formal and informal dimensions of organization socialization theory, one of its shortcomings is the absence of

race analysis. Because the organizational structures theory is a raceless framework, it fails to capture how racially minoritized faculty, such as Latina/o/x faculty, can be disadvantaged through a socialization process rooted in white homogeneity (Sulé, 2014). Given the focus of this study—to understand how organizational structures support or hinder the professional trajectories of Latina/o/x faculty—it is critical to account for the salience of race within organizational socialization. To make up for the lack of racial discourse analysis within the formal and informal dimensions of organizational socialization, I pair Tierney and Rhoads' socialization theory with epistemic exclusion theory (Dotson, 2011; 2012; 2014; Settles et al., 2020), which captures the racialized practices of socialization in the tenure process.

Defining Epistemic Exclusion

Epistemic exclusion theory's origins can be traced back to Black and Chicana feminist theorists (e.g., Anzaldúa, 1987; Collins, 1999; Crenshaw, 1991; Delgado-Bernal, 1998b; 2002; Dotson, 2011, 2012, 2014; Yosso, 2002). Epistemic exclusion asserts that because racism is prevalent in academia, processes of knowledge production and the incentives received are not democratic (Collins, 1999; Dotson, 2021; Settles et al., 2022). Settles and colleagues (2020) refer to epistemic exclusion as the active, often invisible processes that prevent members of marginalized groups from accessing, producing, or sharing knowledge in the professoriate.

As a community of color in higher education, epistemic exclusion is significant to the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty because they are often underrepresented in academia and may face barriers to participation in the production and dissemination of

knowledge in the tenure process (Settles et al., 2020). In the tenure process, the mechanism that facilitates epistemic exclusion are rooted in biases built into formal evaluation systems and reflected in informal faculty interactions disguised under meritocracy and academic rigor rooted in Eurocentric views (Settles et al., 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022). Eurocentric beliefs assert that 1) objective "truth" can only be achieved by well-designed research; 2) "high-quality" scholarship is objective, generalizable, and often quantitative; 3) the researcher's identity, experiences, and beliefs should not be accounted for in the scientific process (Jones et al., n.d).

Formal Manifestations of Epistemic Exclusion

In the lives of Latina/o/x professors, the influences of Eurocentric views in the tenure process play a significant role in the epistemic exclusion endured by Latina/o/x faculty in their tenure process. Limited representation, funding disparities, publication biases, and exclusionary gatekeeping can be formal and informal manifestations of epistemic exclusion (Settles et al., 2021). In what follows, I provide examples of how these formal and informal manifestations can occur in the lives fo Latina/o/x faculty navigating tenure expectations.

The limited representations in the professoriate, research teams, editorial boards, and leadership positions such as the tenure committee is a form of epistemic exclusion. Without enough representation, publication biases frequently subject Latina/o/x professors to criticism of their work, viewpoints, and approaches and fail to give them credit (Settles et al., 2020). Additionally, epistemic exclusion can occur through funding disparities in disciplines, research projects, and methodologies. Latina/o/x faculty often

have limited access to resources and support to conduct and disseminate their research—which is often qualitative. Without access to resources and support to conduct research, Latina/o/x faculty face difficulties developing an academic presence to be considered leading scholars in their fields. However, even when Latina/o/x professors may have access to resources to conduct their research, they often find that their research is not taken seriously or given as much attention as the work of their non-Latino colleagues researching the same topics compared to research produced by white faculty. This devaluation in research endured by Latina/o/x faculty can limit their ability to publish in mainstream journals or secure grants and establish themselves as legitimate researchers (Rideu, 2021; Zambrana, 2017).

Although Latina/o/x faculty could benefit from an advocate who can challenge these negative perceptions of the research conducted by Latina/o/x professors, the reality is Latina/o/x faculty are seldom represented in academic leadership positions that can influence conversations on tenure committees. Furthermore, in the tenure evaluation process, Latina/o/x professors may face epistemic exclusion if they engage in research and teaching that is community-centered and not considered "prestigious" or "academic" by traditional standards, resulting in less recognition and support for their work. As a result, in the tenure evaluation, the research and academic contributions of Latina/o/x faculty can be dismissed or devalued by being categorized as "niched" or "doing too much service" (Villalpando & Bernal, 2002).

Informal Manifestations of Epistemic Exclusions

Outside of formal evaluation systems such as the tenure packet, yearly evaluations, department meetings, Latina/o/x faculty may also endure epistemic exclusion if they are the only one (or of a few) Latina/o/x faculty members in their department or university. When their representation is low, Latina/o/x tenure-track faculty members can feel left out of university networks of power and the influences that shape academic cultures and norms. This exclusion can limit their access to resources, opportunities, and mentorship, making it harder for Latina/o/x faculty to advance in their careers. Lastly, Latina/o/x faculty may experience subtle discrimination and hostility that signal a lack of respect and belonging in academic spaces. These can include comments, gestures, or actions that convey implicit and explicit biases.

The Usefulness of Epistemic Exclusion to My Study.

Settles and colleagues (2020) applied the concept of epistemic exclusion to higher education. Their analysis illustrates how epistemic exclusion reflects dominant assertions regarding what scholarship is rigorous and legitimate and which scholars are deemed credible within academia. Epistemic exclusion sheds light on the barriers endured by Latina/o/x faculty in their tenure process.

While epistemic exclusion and organizational socialization are distinct concepts, they are also related. Epistemic exclusion and organizational socialization involve transmitting and acquiring knowledge within organizations. However, whereas epistemic exclusion focuses on the systematic exclusion of certain groups from knowledge production and dissemination by the salience of race and racism through formal and

informal processes, organizational socialization focuses on how individuals become socialized into the norms and values of organizational structures and stakeholders. Concerning organizational socialization, epistemic exclusion is the outcome of organizational socialization when race and racism are centered to analyze how organizational structures either advance or hinder the professional development of Latina/o/x faculty. Although epistemic exclusion is useful to center the importance of race and racism in the evaluation outcomes endured by Latina/o/x faculty, epistemic exclusion fails to account for the socialization processes that lead to such outcomes. Hence, I pair epistemic exclusion with organizational socialization. Below, I present a table to rationalize how these frameworks guide this study.

Table 2 - Justifying the Paring of Organizational Socialization and Epistemic Exclusion

Theory	Definition	Utility to my Study	Gap/Need for Pairing
Organizational Socialization (Tierney & Rhoads, 1993)	Highlights the ways in which formal and informal encounters and activities are used to transfer structural norms.	Captures formal and informal policies and practices that signal to Latina/o/x faculty whether people feel they belong in the academy.	Raceless framework. Does not account for the formal and informal socialization processes of Latina/o/x faculty as they interact with organizational structures.
Epistemic Exclusion Settles et al., 2020)	Highlights how disciplinary and social identity-based biases are present within the academy's formal and informal evaluation metrics.	Captures outcomes endured by Latina/o/x faculty as a result of disciplinary and identity biases.	

Research Paradigm

Methodology informs why, what, and how a researcher approaches their inquiry. Through its practical and theoretical-interpretative processes, data collection methods like qualitative inquiry facilitate the study of social events based on an individual's lived experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Maxwell, 2013). Qualitative methodologies offer opportunities to collect rich and detailed descriptions of people's experiences, which often are complex and nearly impossible to explain through quantifiable analysis (Kvale, 1996). Qualitative research methods and techniques allow researchers to highlight how people interpret their experiences, their lived worlds, and the meanings they attribute to those experiences (Kvale, 1996; Merriam, 2009). Because of the focus on human experience and social events, I rely on a qualitative methodology rooted in interviews as a data collection tool to study the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments at HSIs. Interviews in my study allow me to gain insight into how Latina/o/x faculty define and reflect on their experiences in tenure-track appointments.

Methodology is influenced by a researcher's worldview even though it provides them with a set of tools to interpret social events and personal experiences. A researcher's paradigm is a "basic set of beliefs that guide action" (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p. 99). I subscribe to a social constructivist paradigm. Social constructivism holds that meanings are "negotiated socially and historically" and thus heavily rely on participant meaning-making (Creswell, 2007, p. 21). There is no objective truth as the researcher and participants actively construct their realities during the research process (Creswell, 2007).

Guided by a research paradigm, this research endeavor is an attempt to discover how research participants and I, the researcher, navigate our social worlds within a context negotiated by historical and social factors such as power structures, social locations, symbols, beliefs, ideas, and feelings (Bailey, 2007; Creswell, 2007; Geertz, 1973). In what follows, I present the research design I deployed to co-construct meaning with research participants as I engage in data collection and data analysis.

Research Design

In qualitative research, particularly in using interviews, the researcher is the primary tool for data collection. During interviews, data collection occurs from the interactions between the researcher and research participants within a given context and time (Creswell, 2013; Kvale, 2006; Seidman, 2006). Therefore, as the researcher becomes ready to interact with participants, they need to explore motives and biases for engaging in a research topic and interacting with participants by reflexivity (Creswell, 2013).

Reflexivity is the researcher's process of introspection that enables them to explore how their cultural background and positionality in the social structure influence the frames of reference, motives, biases, and intentionality when engaging in qualitative inquiry (Creswell, 2013). The process of reflexivity is critical to the research design. The researcher must engage in the process of reflexivity to ensure trustworthiness and validity of the research and its findings. To this end, the researcher must know how reflexivity influences data collection, data analysis, and the formulation of findings (Creswell, 2013;

Marshall & Rossman, 2016). As such, before diving into the logistics of my research design, I offer my positionality statement to engage in reflexivity.

Positionality Statement

As an immigrant to the United States from El Salvador, I have sought mentorship from ethnically and racially diverse communities in higher education. Equally important, I benefit from Black and Latina/o/x faculty in my higher education journey. The presence of Black and Latina/o/x scholars (whether doctoral students or faculty) has been instrumental in advancing my educational and professional career. For example, at UCLA, I benefited from Latina/o/x professors whose academic advice was critical to consider switching majors instead of dropping out of UCLA as I doubted my sense of belonging in the university. A Latino faculty member helped me change my major from Biochemistry to History after receiving a low exam score. Even though my academic advisor had suggested I drop out of UCLA, this Latino faculty member showed me other possibilities and ensured I graduated from UCLA.

Additionally, the presence of Latina/o/x faculty at UCLA allowed me to access course offerings where I saw myself represented in the curriculum while exploring issues related to my identity and gaining tools to fight systems of oppression in the educational system. I still vividly remember how a "Chicanos in Education" class changed my career trajectory. I stumbled upon a reading about Belmont High School as I finished one of my assigned books for class. In this reading, Belmont High School students were cited as significant political actors in promoting fair educational opportunities for Latina/o/x in Los Angeles during the 1968 East LA Walkouts. Before this class, I had never heard

positive things about Belmont High School; I had internalized the notion that Belmont High School was a dropout factory for Latina/o/x youth. However, after taking this class, I gained a sense of empowerment and responsibility as I started to understand and explore why so many of my friends did not attend college. By taking other Chicano courses and courses related to education, I found my professional calling and decided to enter the field of education and serve the educational needs of Latina/o/x students.

My relationship with Latina/o/x faculty has given me a sense of belonging in academia. The many Latina/o/x students I have mentored through my journey as a college access practitioner also tell me stories about how, without Latina/o/x faculty, they would have dropped out of college. My research on Latina/o/x faculty is personal and rooted in my desire to increase Latina/o/x faculty representation. Like other researchers before me, I believe tenured and tenure-track Latina/o/x faculty are the missing link to improve the educational outcomes for Latina/o/x students (Campaign for College Opportunity, 2018; Olivas, 1988; Ponjuan, 2011). Like myself, other Latina/o/x students can benefit from having access to more Latina/o/x professors in tenure-track appointments as they navigate their educational journey. Furthermore, as I aspire to become a faculty member and eventually a university administrator, I am invested in exploring how to remove the barriers that prevent faculty diversification, specifically the participation of the Latina/o/x community in the professoriate. Guided by my lived experiences and professional aspirations, I dive into data collection, methods, and procedures for my study and outline my process below.

Data Collection Method and Procedures

For this study, I used various data collection tools to answer my research questions. Although I mainly relied on the use of semi-structured interviews (Creswell, 2007; Kvale, 1996; Seidman, 2006) as the primary source of data collection, I also engaged in the use of field notes (Corwin & Clements, 2020) to examine the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty navigating tenured expectations at HSIs. Whenever possible, I collected documents provided by participants to triangulate the experiences shared regarding the nuances of the tenure process described by participants. Examples of documents ranged from participants' curriculum vitae and biographies. I detail my data collection procedures in the coming paragraphs.

I began the data collection process upon receiving approval from UCR's IRB office. I started by creating a list of all potential early career Latina/o/x faculty at research universities within my network. After meeting with my faculty advisor, who also provided other potential participants, this list was expanded. Then, I browsed local university websites and their corresponding departments to identify potential Latina/o/x faculty. This process created an initial list of 30 participants. As I looked to expand my participant reach beyond 30 participants, I focused on professional development affinity groups with a history of supporting Latina/o/x faculty members. I browsed these affinity groups' websites to identify past fellowship recipients who self-identified as Latina/o/x faculty. Through this process, I identified an additional 25 participants. My list grew from 30 potential participants to 55 prospective participants.

I did not intend to use social media to aid my potential recruitment list. However, upon updating my professional social media network via Twitter I received an overwhelming reaction from social media users who engaged with my post. Latina/o/x faculty members nationwide contacted me to participate in the study. I analyzed the social media users who interacted with my original post. In this process, I identified participants with Latina/o/x surnames and used Google to corroborate their a) affiliation with a university and b) early career status as a faculty member. Through social media, I identified an additional 295 early career Latina/o/x faculty members who I could interview. In total, I reached out to 350 potential participants for this study.

Recruiting participants for interviews

After creating a list of potential early-career faculty members, I sent an individual e-mail to all previously identified faculty members, inviting them to participate in my study. Recognizing that I was contacting multiple faculty members who operated in different time zones, I used a paid scheduling software, Calendly, to help me coordinate times for interviews. Through Calendly, I created a personalized link with access to my study's consent form and my availability to conduct interviews. Accordingly, in my outreach to participants, I included a brief description of who I was, my purpose for contacting them, and a brief description of the study. At the end of the e-mail, I asked participants whether they were interested in participating in my study by inviting them to schedule an interview via Calendly. I included a link to my Calendly account where participants could learn more about my study, review my study's consent form, and sign up for an interview if they chose to participate in an interview. After signing up for an

interview, participants received a calendar invitation with a password-encrypted Zoom link. This process lessened the e-mail exchanges and prevented me from double booking as I contacted multiple participants simultaneously. If participants did not respond to my initial e-mail, I sent a second e-mail two weeks after sending the initial e-mail. The content of the second e-mail was the same as the first. I did not contact participants beyond my second attempt. Participants appreciated my organizational skills. Some praised the effectiveness of my outreach process because it lessened e-mail exchanges and their time commitment to engage in the study.

Once participants consented to an interview and chose a convenient time to engage, I received a confirmation e-mail from Calendly. After Calendly's confirmation e-mail, I started researching participants before meeting them. I conducted a Google search to browse websites where I could gain access to participants' biographies and academic achievements. Whenever available, I browsed participants' Google Scholar and ResearchGate accounts. I collected participants' biographies, research interests, publications, awards, and recognitions. This process enabled me to gain insight into participants' academic and professional journeys. I used this information in the interviews to build rapport with participants and to formulate questions as the interview process unfolded.

Conducting interviews

In-depth, semi-structured interviews allowed me to occupy what Kvale (1996) described as "the traveler" (p.4). I conversed with research participants and invited them to tell their own stories of their professional journeys as we attempted to make meaning

of their experiences navigating tenured expectations at HSIs. This approach enabled me to create a story-telling-centered interview style and elicit multiple levels of data centered as Latina/o/x faculty reflected on traversing professional expectations.

I was free to conduct a semi-structured interview because my technique was not strictly constrained by an interview protocol. My interview protocol was influenced by Seidman's (2006) approach to in-depth interviewing. Seidman's approach to in-depth interviewing was useful for eliciting deep storytelling as participants reflected on their experiences navigating their tenure process without being controlled by a strict set of questions. My protocol contained loose questions aimed at understanding 1) participants' educational background and reasons for pursuing a career in the professorship, 2) participants' university life and responsibilities as a professor, 3) participants' reflections and the meaning they attributed to their experiences fulfilling their job responsibilities as a professor navigating their tenure process. By centering my protocol and interview process on these three main areas of inquiry, I consciously tried to understand participants' journeys to the professoriate and their sense of expected responsibilities to achieve tenure.

I conducted all interviews in the Spring of 2022. These interviews ranged in length; my shortest interview was 60 minutes, while my most extended was 150 minutes. The average interview length was 120 minutes. Due to geographic limitations and the health concerns posed by the COVID-19 pandemic, all interviews were conducted via Zoom, audio-recorded, and transcribed by a third party. Participants could terminate the interview process at any time, and their participation was voluntary.

Field Notes and Document Data

Field notes and relevant documents were complementary data collection methods to triangulate the semi-structured interviews. After completing interviews and reading an interview transcript, I created field notes as a data collection and analysis tool (Corwin & Clements, 2020). Using fieldnotes as a data collection tool, I was able to list possible themes, codes, personal reflections, main ideas, and follow-up questions to refine my understanding of tenure expectations and participants' lived experiences, beliefs, and attitudes as they navigated tenure expectations (Corwin & Clements, 2020; Emerson et al., 2011).

Before interviews, I collected document data such as participants' curriculum vitae and biographical information on public websites to become familiar with participants before the interview process. This was particularly useful in understanding their areas of research and research publications, teaching, and service work. Additionally, the collection of documents enabled me to get acquainted with a participant's educational journey in order to build rapport during the interview.

Sample

To recruit research participants, I relied on purposeful sampling (Creswell, 2007) and snowball sampling (2007). By establishing two criteria for participants to be included in this study, I used deliberate sampling. First, participants must be employed at a public or private bachelor-granting four-year HSI university. Focusing on participants employed at bachelor-granting, four-year universities enabled me to explore the three components of tenure expectations: teaching, research, and service. Typically, there is not a heavy

requirement for research at two-year institutions or community colleges, so I excluded individuals employed at these institutions from my sample. Second, in order to be included in the study, participants had to self-identify as Latina/o/x professors.

As I relied on purposeful sampling to identify participants who could inform my research questions, I also deployed snowball sampling (Creswell, 2007) by asking participants to refer me to additional Latina/o/x faculty members in their network whom I could interview. In this process, I started with my network to gain immediate access to participants. To maximize the range of experiences of Latina/o/x faculty members at HSIs, I tried to include Latina/o/x faculty members from diverse genders, academic disciplines, and geographic areas in the United States. This diversity allowed me to explore the extent to which gender, academic discipline, and geographic location contextualized the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in the tenure process.

Although my dissertation aimed not to create generalizations about a phenomenon —i.e., how Latina/o/x faculty experience their tenure expectation—my sample size was influenced by data saturation. For qualitative researchers, data saturation occurs when new participants reveal no new information to inform the research questions and the purpose of the study (Creswell, 2007; Patton, 2002). Through personal networks, social media, university websites, and professional affinity groups for Latina/o/x faculty, I invited 350 Latina/o/x faculty members to participate in my study. Out of these 350 Latina/o/x faculty members, I interviewed 50, but only 30 participants met the desired requirements for the study. The 20 individuals who were disqualified from the study did so because they worked at PWIs, or primarily white institutions. However, the interviews

with these 20 participants were critical to gaining more nuance into the tenure process, drawing comparisons between HSIs and non-his institutions, and further contextualizing the experiences of the 30 participants I included for this study. Table 3 contains more information on the 30 participants chosen for this study.

Table 3 - List of Study Participants

Participant's Name	Gender	Discipline	Research Methodology	Institution Type	Years in Tenure-Track
Alvarez	Male	Social Sciences	Qualitative	R1	3
Alba	Female	STEM	Quantitative	R2	3
Berumen	Female	Social Sciences	Mixed Methods	R2	1
Bosques	Female	Social Science	Qualitative	R1	3
Cabral	Male	STEM	Quantitative	R1	1
Calderon	Female	STEM	Quantitative	R1	3
Cano	Female	Social Sciences	Qualitative	R1	4
Cisneros	Male	Social Science	Qualitative	R1	3
Escalante	Female	STEM	Quantitative	R1	1
Fernandez	Female	Social Science	Mixed Methods	R1	5
Flores	Male	Social Science	Qualitative	R1	4
Garcia	Female	Social Sciences	Mixed Methods	R1	3
Gomez	Male	Social Sciences	Qualitative	R2	3
Jimenez	Male	Social Sciences	Qualitative	R1	3
Leon	Female	STEM	Quantitative	R1	3
Lopez	Male	Social Science	Qualitative	R2	4
Luisa	Female	Social Science	Qualitative	R1	5
Mendez	Female	Social Sciences	Qualitative	R1	3
Mejia	Female	Social Sciences	Qualitative	R1	1
Perez	Male	STEM	Quantitative	R1	5
Ramos	Female	Social Sciences	Qualitative	R1	4
Robles	Male	Social Sciences	Mixed Methods	R1	3
Rodriguez	Male	Social Sciences	Qualitative	R1	4
Rosas	Female	Social Sciences	Qualitative	R1	3
Torres	Female	STEM	Quantitative	R1	1
Vasquez	Female	Social Science	Qualitative	R1	4
Canton	Male	Social Science	Mixed Methods	R1	1
Rubio	Male	Social Science	Qualitative	R1	3
Rey	Male	Social Science	Quantitative	R1	3
Montes	Male	Social Science	Qualitative	R1	3

Participants' Confidentiality and Safety

Following ethical IRB research standards, I respected and protected participants' confidentially and their physical and emotional safety. From the beginning of this research project, I understood the sensitive nature of my conversations with Latina/o/x faculty members as we discussed their experiences in their tenure process. Additionally, I also understood the health concerns brought by the COVID-19 pandemic. As mentioned earlier, to mitigate health concerns and allow for a nationwide interview sample, I opted to conduct all interviews via Zoom—an online video conferencing platform to conduct interviews and avoid direct human contact. Zoom also helped me address confidentiality concerns. When I scheduled Zoom interviews, I used an individualized and password-encrypted Zoom link to access the Zoom meeting room; only participants accessed this link. To further protect participants' confidentiality, I used pseudonyms during data collection.

At the beginning of every interview, I gave research participants the opportunity to choose a pseudonym. If participants did not have a particular pseudonym in mind, they assigned me the freedom to select one for them. As the interview began, I referred to participants by their pseudonym if they had chosen one. As I moved to the data analysis phase, if participants did not have a pseudonym, I assigned them one. Throughout this published work, I do not include participants' real names, locations, or departments in the analysis or reporting of this dissertation. I also keep the name of their university and departments private. Instead, I use pseudonyms when referring to participants and their universities in the data analysis and reporting. I also use general descriptors such as their

field of study (STEM fields, Social Sciences, and Humanities), gender, and years in the tenure process.

Data Analysis

Although there is no standard approach or strategy for analyzing qualitative data (Creswell, 2007), I engaged in a deductive approach to data analysis rooted in ethnographic methods. Using field notes and analytic questions, I focused on data reduction in all five phases of my data analysis: developing field notes and memos, sorting through data, engaging with analytic questions, theoretical deductive coding, and crafting patterns and findings. This process helped me to organize, interrogate, understand, and present my data in a way that illustrates the conditions that influence and shape the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty navigating tenured expectations.

Data Analysis During Data Collection

As a qualitative researcher, I subscribe to the idea that data analysis begins on the first day of data collection (Huberman, 1994; Merriam, 2011). My analysis started with writing field notes after reading participants' bios and conducting interviews. This process helped me capture what I was hearing, observing, and reading as I conducted interviews and collected document data (Emerson et al., 2011). My field notes ranged in length but were at most three pages of text per participant. The use of field notes allowed me to capture my thoughts, identify emerging themes within and across interviews, create follow-up questions and adjust my interview protocol as I sought to capture data that best helped answer my research questions.

Sorting and Reviewing Data

Once I concluded my interviews, I sorted all data chronologically and broke all my data into four buckets: interview audio, interview transcripts, field notes, and document data. Upon receiving my interview transcripts, I listened to the audio files and read the interviews transcripts to check for accuracy. In this process, I also revised my field notes to effectively piece together and reflect on how each participant contributed to my research questions as they described their experiences navigating the tenure process. After exploring different analytic strategies, I became attracted to analytic questions (Neumann, 2006; Neuman & Pallas, 2015) to analyze my data and provide insight into my research questions.

Using Analytic Questions

Analytic questions (Neumann, 2006; Neuman & Pallas, 2015) helped me understand how Latina/o/x faculty described their experiences navigating tenure expectations. Analytic questions allow the researcher to "search for direct responses to research questions" while also "considering potentially relevant surrounding content" (Neumann & Pallas, 2015, p. 157). Playing the role of a data miner, the researcher asks questions about the data to extract usable chunks to formulate patterns based on that extraction (Neumann, 2006). Using analytic questions is like using a "small shovel, shaped (and iteratively reshaped)" to "scoop out" relevant data to help the researcher answer their research questions (Neumann & Pallas, 2015, p. 166).

Relying on analytic questions enabled me to analyze my data at the ground, intermediate, and general levels. At the ground level, an analytic question is asked of a

single piece of data—in my case, interviews, field notes, and document data. At this level, I asked: "What does this participant [whose voice is represented in this transcript] share about their experiences as they sought to understand their tenured expectations?" From the ground level, analytic questions help the researcher to enter the intermediate level of their data. At the intermediate level, analytic questions draw on the entire data set collected for the study. At this level, the researcher asks questions for the entire sample. Here, I asked, "What does all the data I have collected say about the ability of Latina/o/x faculty to achieve tenured at their respective institutions?" The final level, abstract, seeks to "generate a claim about the phenomenon or issue supported by the data, and possibly generalizable beyond the specific case studies. At the third level, I share what I learned about the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty navigating the tenure process.

Engaging in analytic questions enabled me to "scoop out" the data, answering my analytic questions. As I engaged every transcript and fieldnote in my analytic questions, I aggregated all excerpts into one Excel document. Using this approach allowed me to focus on direct accounts rather than infer them from the data, keeping my findings as close to the data collected as possible. From the analytic questions process, I reduced my data to 817 excerpts from 30 interviews and 30 analytic memos that helped me understand the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments. Out of these 817 excerpts, 272 exerts were related to opportunities (positive experiences) in the tenure process, while 545 excerpts were related to the challenges experienced by Latina/o/x faculty in the tenure process. So, the process of analytics questions regarding

the challenges and opportunities was particularly helpful in visualizing the extent of epistemic exclusion within my data. For a complete list of analytic questions, see Table 4.

Table 4 - Analytic Questions: Challenges and Opportunities in the Tenure Process

Analytic Questions Posed to My Data
Type of Analytic Questions: • What does this participant [whose voice is represented in this transcript] share about the challenges and opportunities they face navigating tenure expectations? • What does all the data I have collected say about the ability of Latina/o/x faculty to achieve tenure at their respective institutions? • Based on what I learned about the challenges and opportunities in the tenure process described by these 30 participants, what can I generalize about Latina/o/x faculty in higher education, particularly at HSIs?

Engaging Theory and My Research Questions in Data Analysis

After extracting data using analytic questions, I continued to engage in deductive data analysis (Brinkmann, 2013). I relied on my theory and research questions to read interview excerpts previously identified through analytic questions. After extracting data via analytic questions, I use theoretical coding (Merriam, 2011) to analyze and make sense of all data passages. In this process, guided by theoretical frameworks and research questions, I developed, defined, and collapsed codes to create a structural synthesis that answered my research questions, then I could present them as findings (Neumann &

Pallas, 2015; Yanow, 1996). I completed this process using Microsoft Excel. A simplified codebook is presented below in Table 5.

Table 5 - Simplified Codebook

Opportunities and Challenges in the Tenure: Formal Processes and Evaluations
• Positive Experiences with Research
• Challenging Experiences with Research
• Positive Experiences with Teaching
• Challenging Experiences with Teaching
• Positive Experiences with Service
• Challenging Experiences with Service
Interpersonal Relationships: Informal Processes and Interactions
• Positive Experiences with Students in Research, Teaching, and Service
• Negative Experiences with Students in Research, Teaching, and Service
• Positive Experiences with Peers in Research, Teaching, and Service
• Challenging experiences with Peers in Research, Teaching, and Service
• Positive Experiences with Department Chair in Research, Teaching, and Service
• Challenging Experiences with Department Chair in Research, Teaching, and Service
• Positive Experiences with Department Dean in Research, Teaching, and Service
• Challenging Experiences with Department Dean in Research, Teaching, and Service
Consequences of Organizational Socialization and Epistemic Exclusion
• Workplace outcomes for Latina/o/x faculty
• Psychological outcomes for Latina/o/x faculty
Coping Strategies
• Individual Coping Strategies
• Collective Coping Strategies

Crafting Findings through Patterns and Emergent Categories

In my final data analysis stage, I worked toward identifying patterns, descriptions, and events that highlighted the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in the tenure process. I collapsed coded analytic question exerts into themes such as “Mentorship and Pipeline Programs,” “High Teaching Loads,” “Vague and Contradictory Feedback,” and “Other Ways to Make an Impact,” “Lack of Support,” “Service,” “High Teaching Loads,” This helped organize my data in a way that would tell a story. I decided to highlight four

themes from these emergent categories in the data. These themes included: “Finding the “Professoriate and Developing Values as a First-Generation Faculty,” “Lack of Support in “Light of the Contradictory and Vague Nature of Tenure,” “The Saliences of the Devaluation of Research, Teaching, Service, and Microaggressions,” and “Coping Strategies to Deal with Epistemic Exclusion and Poor Socialization.” These four themes best describe the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty navigating tenure expectations.

Trustworthiness

I relied on two credibility strategies to ensure the trustworthiness of this research inquiry: reflexivity and peer examination (Krefting, 1990). To aid my reflexivity, I engaged in the usage of field notes. Through field notes, I reflected on my impressions after conducting an interview and thought about how each interview enabled me to answer my research questions. This process allowed me to identify patterns and themes as I conducted interviews. Through field notes, I also reflected on my potential biases, challenges, and limitations that could have hindered my interaction with participants.

As I sought to cement the trustworthiness of this study, I also engaged my peers and faculty supervisor in developing this research project. Instead of depending solely on interpretations that might be influenced by my personal prejudices, this technique allowed for the co-construction of findings across many realities and interpretations (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The feedback from my faculty advisor, who served as a peer reviewer as I submitted different project drafts.

Study's Limitations

This study does not come without limitations. First, while I interviewed a vast range of Latina/o/x faculty from HSIs in different states, my findings might not resonate with other Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs. Second, many participants self-volunteered to participate in this study, it is possible that self-selection biased played a role in the experiences highlighted in this study. Third, it is beyond the scope of this study to make make-cross-institutional comparisons regarding the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in the tenure process. Fourth, while participants self-identified as Latina/o, they do not represent the full range of Latinidad; thus, the findings of this study are bounded by the experiences and the identities represented within the example. Fifth, in this study, I did not engage in regional differences across types of HSIs. To address these limitations, in this study, I am not making a generalization of the experiences of all Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments, but rather a generalization based on the participants that constitute this study.

Chapter Summary

I opened this chapter by offering an overview of the theoretical frameworks guiding this research. Both organizational socialization and epistemic exclusion involve the transmission and acquisition of knowledge within an organization. Organizational socialization and epistemic exclusion help explain how organizational structures advance or hinder the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments. Once I detailed my theoretical framework, I also offered my positionality and research design.

As a college access practitioner, a first-generation Latino male from a working single-parent household, and an aspiring tenure-track faculty, I have witnessed firsthand the positive impact of Latina/o/x faculty on the educational outcomes for Latina/o/x students. Because of this, my goal to better the college experiences of Latina/o/x students and upcoming Latina/o/x scholars like myself is rooted in my want to understand the experiences of Latina/o/x teachers. By interviewing 30 Latina/o/x tenure-track faculty members, I shed light on the opportunities and challenges to increase the representation and retention of Latina/o/x faculty in the professoriate. In the next chapter, I begin to present the findings of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

Dr. Gomez is a professor in the social sciences. When he accepted my interview request, I was excited to discuss his experiences in a tenure-track appointment. We entered the Zoom meeting and introduced ourselves. As we started the conversation, Dr. Gomez apologized for the mess in his office. He informed me he was packing because he planned to leave his tenure-track appointment after three years. When we began the interview, I prompted Dr. Gomez to reflect on what it feels like to be a Latina/o/x professor in a tenure-track appointment. He shared:

> I worked hard to become what I did not have [as a student. I work hard to] be a role model for students. Becoming a professor was the perfect fit when I discovered I could teach and do research. Then, I became disillusioned with the job. This tenure process makes you feel like you are a workhorse for the university. It gives you "freedom" to work 24/7 towards an unclear [and moving goal]. The freedom for the university to abuse you by throwing you all this service and work while being made feel that you are not enough. The pay is not even great to put up with all of it. I am not sure if it was worth the sacrifice. The family time missed and the health problems I gained.

Dr. Gomez's many service responsibilities and high teaching loads, along with the lack of support he experienced from his department, make him feel overwhelmed and disenchanted with the idea of continuing with his appointment as a tenure-track faculty. He frequently thought that his department merely utilized him as a workhorse, an animal to carry out laborious tasks, and that he was not contributing enough. Dr. Gomez

expresses working tirelessly and receiving low compensation for his efforts. These experiences have driven Dr. Gomez to resign from his appointment.

In this chapter, I provide findings to answer the research questions guiding this study:

1. What educational experiences motivated Latina/o/x faculty to pursue a career in the professoriate?
2. How do Latina/o/x faculty define their experiences as they seek to obtain tenure at HSIs?

In answering this research question, I interviewed tenure-track Latina/o/x faculty who, like Dr. Gomez, had challenging experiences as they navigated tenure expectations. I also interviewed faculty like Dr. Vega, faculty in the social sciences, who shared positive experiences while on the tenure-track:

> I know the horror stories people talk about in the tenure process. At one point, I expected them, but surprisingly, I feel supported here. My department has done an excellent job protecting my time [from service and teaching high enrollment courses] and giving me clear expectations on what I need to do to earn tenure. In the future, my answer could change. So far, I have had a good experience.

Dr. Canton perceives a supportive structure in his department as he works towards securing tenure. He appears to have received clear information on what to do to earn tenure. His time has also been protected, at least for the first year, from service demands and teaching courses with high student enrollment. This supportive environment makes

Dr. Canton feel confident in navigating the tenure process. However, despite Dr. Canton's confidence in his ability to meet tenure expectations because of the strong sense of support and guidance he perceives to receive from his department, Dr. Vega expects mistreatment from his institution. He is somewhat surprised that he has yet to experience mistreatment.

Dr. Gomez and Dr. Canton expressed different experiences in their tenure process. With transparent information on tenure requirements and the freedom to learn university structures and engage in tangible outcomes to meet tenure requirements due to not being expected to engage with many service or teaching demands, Dr. Canton has an entirely different experience than Dr. Gomez, who expressed experiencing the opposite. Despite the variations in their working environments and degrees of support, Drs. Gomez and Canton are expected to accomplish the same objective: tenure. The same goal was also true for the other Latina/o/x faculty I interviewed. All participants in this study had different experiences and perceptions of the support they received to navigate their tenure process, yet achieving tenure remained the goal.

In this chapter, I answer my first research question by detailing the educational experiences of Latina/o/x faculty that led them to the professoriate. In doing so, I illustrate how mentoring and pipeline programs provided and socialized participants to develop the dispositions that led them to consider the professoriate despite not receiving much institutional support throughout their educational journeys. As I answer my second research question, I highlight how the Latina/o/x faculty I interviewed for this study

experienced disparate structural conditions that led participants to have a positive or negative experience as they navigated tenured expectations.

Respondents in my study were primarily from California, Florida, and Texas. These three states have a high population of Latina/o/x students and a low concentration of Latina/o/x professors, particularly at their HSIs. I used in-depth interviews (Seidman, 2006) to consult with 30 tenure-track faculty members employed at HSIs. The average number of years on the tenure-track for the sample was three years. I interviewed six Latina/o/x faculty members who were completing their first year in the tenure process, 15 Latina/o/x faculty who recently submitted or received notices for either their yearly evaluation or third-year review, and nine Latina/o/x faculty members who were either in the process of submitting or had submitted their dossiers—their final tenure files to the university. One Latina/o/x faculty in this latter group received tenure a day after our interview. However, at the time of our interview, none of my interviewees had obtained tenure at their respective institutions. Regarding their research methodologies, 17 engaged in qualitative research, eight did quantitative research, and five described themselves as mixed methods researchers. Regarding gender, 18 participants identified as females, while 12 participants identified as males. No participants reported a gender identity outside of the male and female binary.

Our interviews allowed faculty to reflect on their accomplishments, feelings, and beliefs regarding the tenure process. Most participants described their positive or negative experiences as connected to the support they received (or did not receive) from their department and university. Throughout the COVID-19 epidemic, all interviews were

conducted via Zoom. As such, nearly all faculty who participated in interviews did so from the comfort of their homes. Speaking about their experiences in a more private setting, instead of their university office, enabled Latina/o/x faculty members to speak candidly without fear of being overheard or judged by their colleagues.

During the interviews, I stood in solidarity with participants as they cried, cursed, and laughed during reflections on their experiences on the tenure-track. I also witnessed Latina/o/x faculty members attending to their responsibilities outside their tenure expectations in the university. In these interviews, we were sometimes joined by babies, pets, and occasional family members, unaware the participant was in the midst of an interview. After of our interviews, most participants expressed gratitude for my engagement in their experiences. They felt happy future Latina/o/x faculty members navigating the process of tenure would have access to documentation of their struggles and victories. I detail this background to give a sense of the rawness and veracity of my interactions with participants.

In what follows, I present four themes salient to the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in the tenure process. However, because participants' educational pathways are essential to contextualize their experiences in the tenure process, this findings section is divided into two sections. In the first section, I answer my first research question by providing insight into what educational experiences motivated Latina/o/x faculty to pursue the professoriate. To this end, the first theme details participants' pathways to the professoriate. Here, I highlight the importance of first-generation or working-class identities in the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in their tenure process. In part two of

the findings, I focus specifically on the tenure-track experiences of Latina/o/x faculty. In doing so, I illustrate how Latina/o/x faculty experienced uneven levels of support as they sometimes traversed ambiguous, contradictory, or vague tenure expectations combined with low levels of organizational support. This theme also pointed to a sense of exclusion in the professoriate felt by Latina/o/x professors. In the third theme, I highlight the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty navigating tenure expectations at HSIs are dominated by dehumanization as they endure the devaluation of their research, teaching, and service contributions while enduring microaggressions. My fourth finding showcases coping mechanisms. While the third finding features anecdotes of exclusion, this last finding offers stories of resilience in how Latina/o/x professors survive exclusion and poor socialization during their tenure process. Table 6 provides a definition, summary, and examples of these four findings.

Table 6 - Overview of Findings

Finding	Overview and Definition	Key Points and Examples
Finding the Professoriate and Developing Values as First-Generation Faculty	Details participant's educational background to highlight the chore educational experiences that motivated and led Latina/o/x faculty to pursue a career in academia as tenure-track professors.	Participants lacked guidance to enter and navigate higher education, especially in undergraduate and graduate school. Teachers, friends, professors, and program directors stepped in as mentors, guiding participants to access mentorships and pipeline programs. Although participants did not plan to pursue a career in the professoriate, mentorship and pipeline programs empowered participants to the professoriate—one of the few times participants were not alone in their academic journey.
Lack of Institutional Support: Contradictory and Vague Tenure Expectations	Highlights the difficulties experienced by Latina/o/x faculty with research, service, and teaching demands, as well as a lack of support and clear guidance in their tenure journey. Lack of support: Inadequate assistance, guidance, resources, and mentorship experienced by Latina/o/x faculty. Vague and Contradictory Tenure Expectations: Misalignment between stated and actual tenure criteria due to heavy service and teaching demands.	Participants experienced an absence of intentional mentorship support from department leadership and peers. They also lacked resources and onboarding mechanisms to become familiar with and carry out their work responsibilities. Participants were left to undertake heavy service and teaching responsibilities which left them with less time for research and with a responsibility to fend for themselves. Often what department leadership said about participants' performance did not match what was written in their official evaluations.
Dehumanization, Disrespect, and Devaluation in Research, Teaching, Service, and Microaggressions	Shows how participants not only grappled with the pressure to excel in research, teaching, and service while also enduring dehumanization, disrespect, and devaluation in their research, teaching, and service efforts while also enduring overt and classism and racism in the form of microaggressions.	Participants faced the pressure of proving themselves as researchers and overperforming their peers and department leadership. Participants were also assigned high enrollment courses that did not align with their expertise. Their teaching accomplishments were scrutinized while also enduring mockery and physical attacks from students.

	Dehumanization: Treating participants as less valuable with little regard for their safety and emotional being. Disrespect: The undermining of participants professional and personal dignity. Instances where participants accomplishments, expertise, contributions, and identities were belittled, ignored, or devalued. Disrespect also include instances of physical attacks, objectification, infantilization, objectification, and sexualization. Devaluation captures how the work, efforts, and contributions of participants were consistently downplayed, marginalized, or disregarded.	Participants often found their service contributions undervalued and unappreciated. They describe instances where they were asked to mentor students, but their efforts were not recognized or appreciated within their departments. They also described instances were they were assigned busy and less prestigious service work in comparison to their peers.
Coping Strategies to Deal with Epistemic Exclusion and Poor Socialization	Illustrates how participants coped and navigated the challenges they encountered during their tenure-track journey. Coping strategies refers to the specific approaches and adaptive responses or techniques used by Latina/o/x faculty as they sought to overcome demands and pressures associated with the tenure process while preserving their well-being and motivation to continue in the tenure-track.	When faced with disrespect and devaluation, participants tried to keep their emotions in check and not let anger or frustration dictate their actions while also relying on their trusted network of colleagues for advice and support. Also participants attempted to remain motivated by reminding themselves of their purpose that brough them to academia: serving students and vulnerable communities through their research, teaching, and service. Instead of letting their tenure track positions consume their lives, participants saw their tenure-track role as jobs with specific responsibilities. This perspective allowed them to set boundaries, focus on their well-being, and avoid overworking.

Part I: Finding the Professoriate and Developing Values as First-Generation Faculty

This finding addresses my first research question; I provide insight into what educational experiences motivated Latina/o/x faculty to pursue the professoriate. My interviews with Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments revealed their paths toward tenure-track appointments was neither linear nor planned. Some participants progressed in their educational journey by graduating from high school, going to a four-year university, and then pursuing graduate school, other participants graduated from high school, attended community college, earned admission to a four-year university, held odd jobs, and eventually entered graduate school where they earned their terminal degree. In this latter group, participants expressed they were not always considered "college-bound" by their high school educators and professors. Despite participants' progression in their academic journey, all admitted that they never planned to become faculty members.

As Latina/o/x faculty reflected on their pathways toward a faculty career, participants shared the importance of mentorship, research opportunities, and pipeline programs in helping them identify a potential route to the professoriate. For Latina/o/x faculty in this study, mentorship, research opportunities, and pipeline programs made tenure possible. Therefore, despite not being formally counted toward the tenure process that begins after a faculty member is employed, these experiences gave Latina/o/x faculty members the chance to develop the skills necessary to succeed in the professoriate. From the perspective of socialization, I argue that for Latina/o/x professors who decide to

pursue a career in the professoriate, their time on the tenure track begins much earlier than when they are hired.

Finding the Professoriate Through Mentorship and Pipeline Programs

Participants who reported their status as first-generation college students noted their path to higher education was possible because of counselors, college access programs, or friends. Once in college, participants benefited from the mentorship of professors and pipeline programs that exposed them and made them feel validated by the idea of becoming a professor. Out of the 30 Latina/o/x faculty members I interviewed, all 30 participants reflected on the importance of mentorship, 19 emphasized the importance of formal mentorship and pipeline programs, while 11 participants expressed benefiting from informal mentorship to help them find a path to the professoriate. Regardless of whether participants benefited from formal or informal mentorship in the path toward the professoriate, all of them agreed that mentorship assisted them in accessing higher education, envisioning themselves as professors, and developing the necessary skills even before being hired, particularly in research, service, and teaching, setting them up for success in their academic careers. In what follows, I present the experiences of Dr. Lopez, Dr. Berumen, Dr. Flores, Dr. Rey, Dr. Montes, Dr. Fernandez, and Dr. Garcia to exemplify the power of mentorship and pipeline programs in guiding participants to find the professoriate and develop the required skills and commitments to the profession.

Participants revealed that very few educators perceived them as college-bound students when they were in high school, let alone graduate education. Out of the 30 participants, only 10 received college messaging during their postsecondary education.

During my interviews, I often heard phrases such as: “Nobody talked to me about college,” “I had to figure out the college application on my own,” or “I do not think folks thought that I was college material.” Reflecting on their graduate school journey, other participants also revealed phrases such as: “Nobody told me about graduate school, I sort of learned,” “I do not recall people talking about graduate school in my circle,” “The messaging was go get your Bachelor’s and get a good job. Graduate school was not in the picture,” or “I had to figure out the graduate school game on my own. I do not know if people saw me as capable of going to graduate school, but nobody took the time to guide me.” From the participants experiences, it seems that very few educators took the time to speak to them about college and graduate school opportunities.

Whenever an educator took the time to connect participants to college opportunities and graduate opportunities, they opened a world of opportunities and a pathway to the professoriate. Recalling one of the first instances where he felt encouraged to pursue higher education, Dr. Lopez shared:

> "I credit much of where I'm now, a faculty member, to another Latino male. My Spanish high school teacher introduced me to higher education and opened a community of mentors by calling Educational Opportunity Program (EOP). He was the first to ask me about my plans and believed I was college material.”

In Dr. Lopez’s case, his Spanish teacher validated his capability to pursue higher education. Playing the role of a mentor, Dr. Lopez’s Spanish teacher connected Dr. Lopez to EOP, a robust college access program, to help Dr. Lopez gain access to and through higher education. In this EOP program, Dr. Lopez encountered a support system

that enabled him to continue to feel validation and support in his educational journey. As Dr. Lopez detailed the impact of the EOP program in finding the professoriate, he revealed:

> At EOP, I started working with students in continuation high schools and learned about graduate school. EOP gave me access to spaces and mentors who allowed me to work with students who reminded me of myself while providing opportunities to learn about research. That's when I started to think about becoming a professor.

Dr. Lopez expressed the importance of a mentor in opening the doors to a college access program in the pathways to the professoriate. For Dr. Lopez, EOP enabled him to discover a passion and a responsibility for working with students as he saw himself in the students he supported. Additionally, EOP enabled Dr. Lopez to have access to mentors who exposed him to research and the possibilities of graduate school. Much like his Spanish teacher in high school who encouraged Dr. Lopez to pursue higher education, mentors in EOP also suggested Dr. Lopez pursue graduate school and consider the possibility of life as a professor. Also, in working with students as an EOP advisor, Dr. Lopez developed teaching competencies and the ability to commit to the development of students via service—for example, through mentoring. Now, at a teaching institution, teaching and service are pivotal pillars to Dr. Lopez's tenure evaluation.

Other participants, such as Dr. Berumen, reflected on the importance of mentorship through college access programs to gain access to higher education to forge a path to the professoriate: "Upward Bound helped me get to college. Once in college, I did

not know what to do next. All my classes were big, and I did not visit professors during office hours. I thought you would only go if you were failing." Dr. Berumen reported a need for more confidence in building connections with faculty to navigate higher education. Dr. Berumen also shared feeling stressed about her future after she finished undergraduate education, but found support and guidance from the Upward Bound program. She emphasizes:

> I was stressed, and I did not know where to go next. I ran into my mentor from Upward Bound, and he remembered me. He asked me if I was interested in joining a similar program to Trio but to train students to become professors. This was the first time I heard of the McNair program. He took me to meet the director, and she explained the application process. My Upward Bound mentor coached me on asking for letters of recommendation. Eventually, I was admitted to the McNair program. In the McNair program, that was the first time I met other Latinos with PhDs. The more they talked about their jobs, I became fascinated by what they did, and I was like, "I could be a professor." I already knew I loved teaching. I have always wanted to do something with schools. I wanted to change how things work for people from my background and community. [Meeting Latinos with PhDs in the McNair program] was the first time I said, "Oh, research could impact that." They have exposed me to more research, writing, publishing, and everything. I never planned to be a professor until I met these Latino professors in the McNair program.

Dr. Berumen felt strongly inclined to use her education to serve the community. However, the ways she sought to serve were not always clear. She detailed the impact of the McNair program in discovering the professoriate. For Dr. Berumen, discovering the professoriate was possible because of the help of her Upward Bound mentor. Once in the McNair program, Dr. Berumen realized she could use research to improve the conditions of students and communities of color. This realization was possible because of the influence of Latino professors who showed Dr. Berumen the possibilities of the professoriate to blend her love for serving the community, teaching, and research. Dr. Berumen felt capable of pursuing a career as a professor because of the validation she received from mentors in the McNair program, and she could see the impact she could make through teaching, research, and service to her community. Now as a faculty member at a research university, Dr. Berumen believes that the mentorship she received from the McNair program continues to inform her research practices while also fostering a sense of responsibility to pay the mentorship she received forward through her teaching and service.

Dr. Lopez's and Dr. Berumen's pathways to higher education, and ultimately the professoriate, began with the guidance of a mentor in combination with a college access program. Mentorships was only sometimes formal. Latina/o/x faculty's pathways to higher education and a tenure- track appointment were often influenced by informal mentorship, sometimes from peers. Reflecting on how his journey to the professoriate was influenced by a peer who provided him with informal mentorship, Dr. Flores shared:

> Everyone around me was dealing drugs. [I tried selling drugs too], but it didn't work out because that's when the crack economy started shrinking. School was my second option. A friend of mine helped me apply to community college. I started to spend time with students who were serious about studying. I started to become interested in sociology. [Sociology gave the language] write all my papers on my friends in the South Bronx. I would interview friends and write my papers about them. I transferred to a four-year university. In my undergrad, I was recruited by the pipeline program, where they trained minorities for a career in teaching and research. I loved to read and write. The program taught me how to research and provided workshops to apply to graduate school. They taught me how to become a competitive applicant. I got admitted to the Ph.D. program in sociology there and that is how I got my start and wanted to become a professor. But up to that point, nothing was ever planned.

Dr. Flores detailed an academic journey influenced by a friend who helped him enroll in a community college. Once in school, Dr. Flores was drawn to reading and writing because these academic activities gave him a lens to understand and share the conditions under which he grew up. In doing so, Dr. Flores found empowerment in becoming a professor. Once in college, Dr. Flores benefited from a pipeline program that made the dream of becoming a professor possible for Dr. Flores. He received guidance to apply and navigate graduate school. As he navigated education, Dr. Flores realized that academia gave Dr. Flores the language and tools to understand his upbringing while also allowing him to create knowledge about his community. However, everything started

because of a friend's informal mentorship and then through the formal mentorship of a pipeline program.

For Latina/o/x faculty, mentorship and pipeline programs can be critical in awakening interest and empowerment to pursue an academic career, particularly a tenure-track faculty. As other participants reflected on the impact of mentorship and pipeline programs, participants such as Dr. Rey shared that: "pipeline programs provided him a stepping stone to see that going to graduate school and becoming a professor was possible. It trained me and made me competitive to apply and navigate graduate school." In Dr. Rey's case, accessing a pipeline program along his academic journey allowed him to find the professoriate. Once he decided to become a professor, his experiences in a pipeline program enabled him to learn how to apply and navigate graduate school. Like Dr. Rey, other participants, such as Dr. Montes, commented on the value of mentorship and pipeline programs by sharing, "Without pipeline program, I would not be a professor. It demystified graduate school and made me think seriously about becoming a professor by giving me the language to understand, speak, and study the things I wanted to see change." Similarly, to Dr. Rey, Dr. Montes expresses how accessing mentorship through a pipeline program sparked his intellectual curiosity to enter graduate school and see his engagement in academia as an investment in activities that he was passionate about and things that he wanted to change. As I spoke to other professors, the feeling that pipeline programs were instrumental in developing an academic identity and eventually entering the professoriate was a common theme.

Not all Latina/o/x faculty members found these pipeline programs earlier in their journey. Still, Latina/o/x faculty benefited from informal mentorship, empowering them to consider becoming faculty members in graduate school. In some instances, mentorship came from faculty advisors or dissertation chairs as in the case of Dr. Fernandez who shared:

> I entered the Ph.D. with some ideas of what I wanted to do after, but becoming a professor was not one of my ideas. My relationship with my faculty advisor was crucial to deciding to be a faculty member. She coached me and mentored me from the moment I arrived. She made me fall in love with research by coaching me to do research articles and apply for grants. Her mentorship made me feel that I belonged and could also do research and pursue meaningful research projects without losing my soul. She made me see myself through her research, teaching, and mentorship. I saw myself doing the same for others. That is when I really started thinking about pursuing tenure-track appointments once I graduated.

Dr. Fernandez experienced the impact of her faculty advisor in creating a space where she felt supported in academia. Dr. Fernandez mentioned wanting to repay the mentorship she received from her faculty advisor. To pay it forward, Dr. Fernandez sought to pursue meaningful research, teaching, and mentoring students with the same passion displayed by her faculty advisor. The mentorship Dr. Fernandez received from her faculty advisor attracted her to continue in academia—to join the professoriate and ultimately secure a tenure-track appointment.

A meaningful relationship with a faculty advisor is essential to encourage Latina/o/x faculty to pursue a career in academia as a professor. However, mentorship encouraging Latina/o/x faculty to join the professoriate only sometimes comes from a faculty advisor. Sometimes, it comes from other faculty and university members affiliated with the department. Illustrating this point, Dr. Garcia shared how she became open to becoming a professor because of a mentor:

> I was miserable for my first two years in graduate school. I was frustrated. I felt the curriculum was so white. And it was the whitest place I had ever lived. I ended up sharing that with a classmate. He recommended that I speak with the Director of Chicano-Latino Studies. I met with the director there, and it was a total shift. I continued my higher education program while taking electives in the Chicano Latino studies program. Here, I met the first two Latinas who had ever taught me. I developed a close relationship with them. They opened many doors for me in terms of [guiding me to securing funding, teaching me how to write and publish] and encouraging me to think about a career in academia as a professor. [They made the white space more tolerable.] They made things possible for me in a way that I have realized I would like to do as well with students.

Dr. Garcia struggled to find a home in academia during graduate school. Taking courses in Chicano Latino studies allowed Dr. Garcia to make her graduate curriculum more bearable. Most importantly, Dr. Garcia identified mentors who provided resources while equipping Dr. Garcia with the skills and confidence to see herself in academia. Through this experience, Dr. Garcia desired to do the same for other students. Dr. Garcia saw the

professoriate as an opportunity to realize that responsibility, so she decided to also pursue a career in the professoriate as a tenure-track faculty.

The educational journey of Drs. Lopez, Lopez, Berumen, Flores, Rey, Montes, Fernandez, and Garcia emphasize the importance of mentorship to influence them to consider a career in academia. In many instances, mentorship came from educators who acted as institutional agents (Stanton-Salazar, 2010) who validated and guided participants through higher education possibilities. Participants were introduced to the professoriate through the mentorship and guidance of these institutional agents that happened individually or through pipeline programs.

In interviewing Latina/o/x faculty, I learned that mentorship and pipeline programs were critical to exposing Latina/o/x faculty to a potential career in the professoriate. Mentorship and pipeline programs provide access to institutional support and resources that were not always available to these Latina/o/x faculty members. Mentorship through pipeline programs designed to create access to the professoriate provided a space of empowerment, validation, and responsibility for Latina/o/x faculty. Together, these experiences enabled them to see that the professoriate can be an outlet to work with students, understand the power of research to change the conditions of people of color, and create knowledge about their communities.

Overall, 19 out of 30 participants shared how mentorship through pipeline programs created the exposure and space where they first saw themselves as professors. The remaining 11 participants found a pathway to the professoriate because of informal mentorship in their graduate programs. Out of the 30 participants, all agreed that the

mentorship they received along their educational journey was critical to see themselves pursuing a career as a faculty member, whether it was formal or informal.

I detail the educational journey of Latina/o/x faculty members to highlight how Latina/o/x faculty became attracted to the elements of teaching research and service through mentorship. Regardless of whether Latina/o/x faculty members developed the conviction to pursue a career in the professoriate because of the mentorship in pipeline programs or the mentorship found in graduate programs, participants mentioned having inclinations to the core elements of tenure: teaching, research, and service. These dispositions made participants see the professoriate as a possibility to use teaching, research, and service to impact communities and students they felt responsible for. However, once on the tenure-track, the motivations that attracted Latina/o/x faculty members to the professoriate became the root of tension through the salience of epistemic exclusion in their organizational socialization experiences.

Findings Part II: Experiences in the Tenure Process and Strategies to Survive

In this section, I delve into my second research question, exploring how Latina/o/x faculty perceive their tenure process experiences. I present findings related to Latina/o/x faculty's journey in tenure-track appointments. In doing so, I shed light on the organizational conditions that advance or hinder their career development and how Latina/o/x faculty deploy strategies to navigate their tenure process. Throughout this section, I highlight examples demonstrating the challenges in organizational socialization and instances of epistemic exclusion faced by Latina/o/x faculty during their tenure process.

Lack of Support in Light of the Contradictory and Vague Nature of Tenure Expectations

The mentorship and training that attracted Latina/o/x faculty to the professoriate was absent once they entered tenure-track appointments. Although all participants reported knowing the breakdown percentages of what they needed to do to earn tenure, only a few reported needing more guidance to understand the tangible expected outcomes for earning tenure. Participants such as Drs. Calderon, Cano, Fernandez, and Torres had no problem explaining how their tenure- track appointment was split "into 60% research, 30% teaching, and 10% service." Other participants, such as Drs. Cisneros, Lopez, Mendez, and Rodriguez, explained that their appointments required their time in the tenure-track was split into "40% research, 40% teaching, and 20% service." But as they recited these percentages during our interview procedure, participants said that what is written on paper is not always what actually occurs. Encapsulating this feeling, Dr. Luisa shared, "I might understand what the percentage expectations are, but in practice, these percentages are blurry and are not representative of what happens in real life. At least not for me." Parallel to Dr. Luisa's experience, Dr. Garcia expressed: "What is written in my tenured manual is not what happens once you start doing the job." Echoing a similar sentiment, Dr. Ramos mentioned a big disconnect between written and enacted responsibilities in his tenure process as he expressed: "My university's tenured file is a lie. I am only supposed to do 10% of service and 30% of teaching, and 60% of research. In reality, I do 40% service, 50% of teaching, and only 10% research." The struggles Drs. Luisa, Garcia, and Ramos faced in seeking to reconcile what was stated in their tenure

expectations with what really transpired on a daily basis serve as an example of how ambiguous and perhaps contradictory tenure expectations may be. Participants were often pressured to assume significant teaching and service responsibilities, thus causing them not to have enough time to dedicate to research. In what follows, I provide three subthemes that help explain the vague and contradictory nature of tenure for Latina/o/x professors.

Service Demands and Tenure Expectations

According to participants, service accounted for a small share of workload expectations in their university-outlined expectations for tenure. The expectation for Latina/o/x teachers to spend no more than 30% of their time on service-related activities was practically universal among the participants I spoke with. However, most Latina/o/x faculty I interviewed felt that service-related activities occupied much of their time in their tenured roles. For example, Dr. Alba shares:

> Service loads are not distributed equally. It is supposed to account for a fraction of what I do compared to research. The reality is that as a Latina, I do more service than my white colleagues. This makes things harder to achieve and meet what is expected of me in my tenure expectations. With more service expectations, my research suffers because I have less time for it.

Dr. Alba spoke about the tension between written and enacted tenure expectations regarding service. As a Latina, Dr. Alba recognized she is subject to perform more service work than her white colleagues. Exposure to more service expectations and

engagement for Dr. Alba meant that she expected her journey toward meeting research expectations to be more complicated for her as a Latina.

Dr. Alba was not alone in recognizing the misalignment between written expectations and daily realities regarding service activities as a Latina/o/x professor on tenure-track appointments. Several Latina/o/x faculty members observed a trend where they were disproportionately engaged in service compared to their colleagues. This realization was based on their perceptions and supported by peer interactions and palpable evidence, such as documented records within the department. Highlighting the high expectations to engage in service activities and its conflict with written tenure expectations based on written documents within the department, Dr. Alvarez shared:

> Service is supposed to be a small part of what I do. But as the only Latino, sometimes it feels that there is a high expectation to engage in service work and pick up the slack of my department. I do not know if others in my department are expected or asked to be on service committees. We have a [document] to keep track of all the service committees, and I only see my name and the name of another woman in these committees. I am constantly racing from one meeting to another. The constant demand and pressure to be on service committees have made my research take a backseat. I have all this invisible service that my department does not acknowledge because if they cared, they would already know that I am doing a lot. I am honored to have the opportunity to step up for my students and my department. I also feel the flip side of that blade right where I feel like a workhorse without no support.

Dr. Alvarez detailed the contradiction of his service expectations as he enacted the responsibilities of his tenure-track contract. As a Latino in a predominantly white department, Dr. Alvarez felt trapped in the constant demand to engage in service activities on behalf of his department. As a result, Dr. Alvarez admitted his struggles to meet other parts of his tenure expectations, particularly research. Dr. Alvarez's demand for service makes him feel treated like an animal, and he is expected to do the heavy work without his colleagues' support or acknowledgment. In doing so, Dr. Alvarez showcases how a Latino in a predominantly white department is positioned to do his white colleagues' dirty work without receiving any credit or recognition for the labor.

Dr. Luisa paralleled a similar experience when she discussed the hazy boundaries between her tenure expectations as stated in writing and what actually transpires when these expectations are met. Dr. Luisa described her experiences with service expectations in tenure-track appointments by sharing:

> Some people are protected from service, but as a Latina professor, I know this protection does not apply to me. I am called to do a lot of service work that makes me give up more than 20% of my expected time to service. I do not think they see me as a woman of color or any racial-ethnic minority because they see my other colleague as that. The way they call me to do service, they see me as a *sirvienta* [maid]. Universities do not know how to make sense of a Brown body in higher education beyond tapping them to do dirty work. It is all about using us and extracting resources and emotional labor from us to make ourselves look good.

Dr. Luisa was forthcoming when she shared that her dedicated time for service-related activities to meet tenure expectations is unprotected as a Latina faculty member. Dr. Luisa believed that she went above and beyond the expectations for her tenure by devoting more time to service. As a Latina in academia, she also felt she occupied the place of a servant who is often abused and drained because of the constant demand for service she faces. Dr. Luisa alluded to the idea that colleges and universities exploit Brown bodies through burdensome service activities without providing any recognition for their work. In Dr. Luisa's experience, her university used her Brown body as a source of unprotected labor. This unprotection and exploitation results from a lack of regard for Latina/o/x faculty as knowledge producers. This undervaluation diminished Latina/o/x faculty's sense of self-worth and relegated them to the role of service laborers whose contributions are to engage in service activities that are not valued or recognized by the university. Consequently, Latina/o/x faculty encountered significant challenges meeting tenure expectations due to the overwhelming emphasis on service duties. Latina/o/x faculty members often faced service demands from students, departments, and fellow faculty members who seldom recognized the competing responsibilities and time pressures placed on Latina/o/x faculty.

As participants reflected in their experiences in service activities during their tenure journey, it was evident that within HSIs, the individuals doing the service were Latina/o/x faculty. The experiences described by Drs. Alba, Alvarez, and Luisa highlight a mismatch between written and enacted service responsibilities for Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments. In addition to creating imbalances for Latina/o/x faculty as

they try to meet other tenure requirements, like those for research and teaching, this mismatch also gave them the impression that their presence in the academy was only being used to produce unpaid and unseen labor in comparison to their white colleagues. To highlight this point, Dr. Luisa used the word "*sirvienta"* [maid] while Dr. Alvarez used the word: workhorse. Other participants who felt that their place in the academy was unprotected by misalignment between written and actual standards for achieving tenure also expressed the feeling of being a workhorse or a *sirvienta* in a largely white workplace.

High Teaching Loads and Tenure Expectations

In my interviews, Latina/o/x faculty spoke about their love for teaching while highlighting the mismatch between written and enacted responsibilities regarding teaching. The mismatch in teaching responsibilities was mainly experienced by Latina/o/x faculty as they became tasked with teaching courses with high student enrollment, which demanded more time from Latina/o/x faculty than courses with small student enrollment—usually taught by white faculty. Highlighting this point, Dr. Rosas shared:

> I find value in teaching. For many of my students, despite being in an HSI, I will be the first Latina professor in STEM. But the university takes advantage. Since I came, I have taught the courses with the highest student enrollments. As much as I love teaching, teaching 200-plus students is tiring. Between all the class preparation, class management, and the informal student mentoring that comes with teaching, I need more time for research. There is so much uncompensated

> labor that comes with teaching large courses, and as a Latina, I have taken all that labor in my department.

Although Dr. Rosas detailed her passion for teaching and her responsibility as a Latina professor at a HSI, she expressed concern regarding the university's treatment and the challenges she faced teaching courses with high student enrollment. As the only Latina professor in her department, Dr. Rosas navigated an uneven distribution of teaching responsibilities compared to other colleagues in her department. Dr. Rosas felt that she had lost valuable time for research endeavors, which is critical for tenure aspirations, by teaching courses with high student enrollment. At the same time, her department had yet to acknowledge or provide any protection from consistently assigning her to these demanding courses. As a result, Dr. Alba felt she spent time in heavy labor rather than producing new knowledge through research. Her experience highlights the disparities and contradictions in tenure expectations, particularly in teaching. Whether intentionally or unintentionally, teaching high enrollment courses required Latina/o/x faculty to undertake additional demands on their teaching labor without any recognition. The responsibility to teach high enrollment courses also hindered their ability to solidify their position as knowledge producers as their time allocation for research suffered. As expressed by Dr. Rosas, the uneven distribution of expectations in the tenure process, in this case teaching, often lead to Latina/o/x faculty sacrificing time from their research. Put it simply, high teaching responsibilities drifted Latina/o/x faculty away from establishing themselves as respected contributors to academia through knowledge production in research endeavors.

Dr. Rosas was not alone in expressing her frustration with the disconnect between written and enacted teaching responsibilities due to high teaching loads. For some Latina/o/x professors, their responsibility to teach courses with high student enrollment caused them to lose their connection to teaching despite feeling that teaching attracted them to the professoriate in the first place. For example, indicating the inconsistency between her expectations and the reality of her role within her university, Dr. Jimenez shared:

> I love teaching, but my teaching loads have taken away my spark for teaching. From the moment I arrived, I was told I had to teach the large introductory course to the department. I keep teaching these large classes. Some years, I teach them back-to-back, and they are time-consuming. Meanwhile, the other person, in my department, who was hired at the same time, like my other colleagues, teaches the graduate courses and their undergraduate courses do not go over 50-75 students because she 'needed to be protected.' But who protects me and my research from teaching a class with 300+ students?

Dr. Jimenez mentioned the unfair distribution of teaching duties, similar to Dr. Rosas. Dr. Jimenez noted that he had always had to teach courses with a large student enrollment because he is a Latino professor and had done so ever since he started at his university. Without support from his department, Dr. Jimenez lamented being burned out, losing his excitement for the classroom, and feeling treated unfairly by his department since he believed he was not allowed to teach courses with lower enrollments. These courses typically emphasize content expertise over surveying the discipline from a macro

perspective and involve fewer demands from faculty's time regarding grading and students' demand for mentoring and guidance on their work. Dr. Jimenez's exclusion from teaching small graduate courses and assignment to high-enrollment classes deprived him of the opportunity to showcase his teaching and subject matter expertise.

High enrollment courses, known, as survey classes often do not go in depth on particular subject matter topics. This was the case for Dr. Jimenez. So, he often struggled to cement himself as a knowledge producer in academia. Instead, he was overburdened with a large teaching load that took up the majority of his tenure-track time. This unfair allocation of responsibilities hindered his ability to focus on his research and scholarly pursuits, making it difficult for him to establish a strong foundation for his tenure aspirations. The department's decision not only impacted his professional growth but also contributed to increased pressure and demands on his already busy schedule. As a result, Dr. Jimenez became disillusioned about teaching despite once feeling passionate about his pedagogy and student interactions. Dr. Jimenez's experience highlights how Latina/o/x faculty perform labor for their department without any acknowledgments and support from the department while also highlighting the adverse effects this carries on job satisfaction and job performance.

During interviews, Latina/o/x professors consistently expressed frustration with the unequal distribution of teaching responsibilities and its effects on other expectations for tenure. Latina/o/x professors also expressed their department seldom recognized their labor in teaching high-enrollment courses. In the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty, carrying the burden of teaching high enrollment courses seldom came with any

recognition from their department, even as they confronted those tasked with making those decisions. Highlighting this point, Dr. Bosques stated:

> I have taught those survey courses for three years, yet my colleagues teach seminar courses with no more than 12 students. In my fourth year, I finally grew the courage to speak to my department chair and asked to teach seminar classes like my colleagues. I was nervous because of the repercussions that it could have on my tenured file, but I explained how I had been teaching large survey courses. My chair responded, 'Oh, I have not noticed that only you teach those large survey courses.' My blood was boiling. How can you not notice?

Unlike other Latina/o/x faculty burdened with teaching courses with high student enrollment, Dr. Bosques shared how she confronted her department chair about teaching responsibilities in hopes of getting a break from teaching these courses. However, Dr. Bosque's experience confronting showed the little reward for the labor conditions endured by Latina/o/x faculty in their tenure process. Her chair's response indicated a need for more awareness and recognition of the labor performed by Dr. Bosques on behalf of her department. Dr. Bosque's expertise and experiences teaching high-enrollment courses were disregarded and overlooked by her chair. Although Dr. Bosques was not pleased with her chair's answer, she could not show her disapproval out of fear that this incident could jeopardize her tenured aspirations. Instead, Dr. Bosques was left to hide her disapproval and manage her emotions, thus highlighting the emotional toll that Dr. Bosques and other Latina/o/x faculty endured as they stood disrespected because

of her department and its leadership failed to recognize her significant contributions to the program.

Navigating the Tenure Process under Absent Guidance Couple and Contradictory Feedback

In several cases, the stress of having to carry out heavy teaching and service loads was exacerbated by the lack of support Latina/o/x faculty members received when they first joined their department. Participants frequently encountered a "sink or swim" environment, leaving them to independently decipher department and university structures, perform their roles, and navigate tenure expectations. Dr. Perez highlighted this point as he shared:

> I never had an orientation to learn who does what in my department or where to go for support at my university. I have been using the graduate student handbook to learn how things work and who can help me with any requests. Most of what I have learned is because I have reached out to folks listed in the graduate student manual to ask for help. No one has ever acknowledged that I did not have an onboarding orientation.

Dr. Perez detailed a need for proper organizational socialization to assist faculty on the tenure-track in her department. She reported needing an orientation to learn about her department's structure, support systems, and resources. Dr. Perez's reliance on a graduate student manual as a source of information and guidance illustrated Dr. Perez's agency and proactive approach to seeking support. However, it also underscored the absence of a structured and comprehensive orientation support system. A lack of orientation and

subsequent reliance on personal efforts to gather information left Dr. Perez feeling overlooked and frustrated with the lack of structured support. Moreover, this exclusion made Dr. Perez rely on her agency to understand university structures and navigate tenure expectations, forcing her to sacrifice valuable time that could have been invested in research, teaching, and service. However, a lack of supportive onboarding led to delays and often disruptions as she met tangible tenure goals, thus risking her ability to meet tenure expectations. This example highlighted the precarious conditions of Latina/o/x faculty as they become onboarded into the organization. It also showed the emotional labor absorbed by Latina/o/x faculty as they navigate tenure expectations without guidance and support due to being excluded from receiving critical onboarding information.

While other Latina/o/x faculty shared a similar experience of lacking onboarding orientation, the Latina/o/x faculty members I interviewed tried to be proactive to compensate for the lack of department orientation. To fill this knowledge gap, Latina/o/x faculty shared that they often reached out to peers and individuals in their department to gather insights and understand the dynamics of their department. However, Latina/o/x faculty seldom found the support they sought from their department. Illustrating this point, Dr. Vasquez shared:

> I did not have an onboarding orientation to learn how things work and who does what. In my first few months, I reached out to different professors and people in my department to get to know them and get their perspectives on how things work. One of my colleagues put a timer for our meeting. It was the first time that

> someone had ever put a timer on me. She abruptly ended our meeting when the timer when off. That incident makes me hesitant about reaching out for help or guidance.

In this example, a Latina/o/x professor, Dr. Vasquez, shared a similar experience as Dr. Perez in sharing that she did not have an orientation within her department. The absence of an onboarding orientation marked the early exclusion from the initial knowledge-sharing process that usually occurs among peers when starting a new role or joining an organization. Understanding the impact of this exclusion on navigating her work environment effectively, Dr. Vasquez recalled reaching out to peers to better understand how things worked. Her efforts to gather information demonstrated Dr. Vasquez's agency and determination to adapt to the conditions presented by her department. But when Dr. Vasquez sought advice from a coworker, the colleague was hostile and rejected her agency. Putting a timer and abruptly ending the meeting sent a strong signal to Dr. Vasquez: figuring out what she needed to navigate the tenure process would need to be accomplished without assistance from her colleagues. After this incident, Dr. Vasquez expressed hesitation to reach out for assistance or guidance within her work environment. Dr. Vasquez's hesitancy magnifies epistemic exclusion's consequences as she was discouraged from seeking guidance.

If their departments had an orientation and workshops to support newly onboarded faculty members to the work environment and tenure expectations, frequently Latina/o/x faculty referred to these orientations as impractical. Participants frequently characterized their department and university approach to disseminating information as a

"one-way street" or "information dumping." They received information without the chance to seek guidance or make sense of it. Typically, this one-time information dumping about the tenure process needed more follow-up or scaffolding, leaving participants needing ongoing support or clarification about the information they received. Highlighting this point, Dr. Robles expressed:

> My department had an orientation, but I was overwhelmed by the information given. It felt like much information all at once without anyone to help me understand what the information meant. I have participated in some workshops for tenure that the Provost's office puts together. [These workshops] feel like they are dumping information dumping without providing any tangible guidance to understand what it all means.

Dr. Robles shared he has received some guidance to understand tenure expectations. Dr. Robles stressed the lack of support and direction for engaging with the information offered to him throughout the trainings he attended. Despite this, Dr. Robles' description of the workshops as "information dumping" implied that the information supplied on tenure expectations entails a one-way transfer of knowledge without the chance for clarification or meaningful engagement to make sense of the Information presented. This approach underscores the university's need for more care in providing impactful training on tenure expectations for Latina/o/x faculty. The one-way information dumping excludes them from receiving the necessary guidance to understand tenure expectations fully. This exclusion created additional stress as Latina/o/x faculty has to rely on peers to decipher the information provided during training. However, in some cases, seeking

clarification from peers led to hostility, further disadvantaging Latina/o/x faculty in navigating the tenure process without the necessary training and support.

Like Dr. Robles, other participants expressed their disapproval of the type of guidance they received to make sense of tenure expectations from their university. Critiquing his university's one-way information approach to provide training and guidance on tenure expectations, Dr. Cabral highlighted: "Information dumping in workshops is not the same as mentoring. Unfortunately, my university thinks that putting workshops makes up for the lack of mentoring to figure out tenure expectations. We do not need information dumping, we need mentoring." In alignment with the early views shared by Dr. Robles, Dr. Cabral felt more than workshops alone needed to fill his lack of guidance and support as he sought to understand tenure expectations. Dr. Cabral says he needed mentoring to succeed on the tenure-track, not just information dumping in the form of workshops. However, providing workshops was the university's approach to guide and socialize Dr. Cabral to meet tenure expectations. The university should have considered Dr. Cabral's needs of having access to a network of people and trusting relationships that could provide personalized guidance and support to learn, understand, and navigate the expectations and requirements related to tenure.

Regardless of whether participants received an orientation or participated in workshops exposing them to tenure expectations, the lack of guidance they received to learn, understand, and navigate tenure requirements became salient as they received contradictory feedback. Receiving contradictory feedback occurred in formal review processes, as illustrated by Dr. Leon:

> I thought the letter I received from my third-year review was positive. In the letter, my department congratulated me for my extensive service and contributions. I thought I was doing good, but I was so wrong. A trusted colleague gave me the breakdown of what happened behind closed doors. She told me that my department questioned all the service I was doing and doubted whether I was carrying out my research agenda with all those service responsibilities. Yet, the letter did not have any of that. When it comes to evaluations, you must read between the lines and pay attention to what they do not say.

In sharing his experience with the evaluation process at his university, Dr. Leon detailed how he received a positive review in his third-year evaluation only to find out later, through a trusted colleague, that his department had doubts and concerns about his performance. A gap in the review process, where relevant information on Dr. Leon's performance in the tenure process was not adequately communicated to him, is seen in the divergence between what was written in the evaluation letter and the department's concerns. By hiding information relevant to Dr. Leon's performance, the university limited his ability to make the necessary adjustments to excel in his tenure appointments. Without a reliable coworker on the evaluation committee, who was also a person of color, Dr. Leon's career could have stalled out due to his department's lack of effective communication and the exclusion of important feedback and information from the evaluation committee that drafted the letter for Dr. Leon.

Dr. Leon was not alone in expressing the disconnect between verbal and written feedback received by his department, often given during formal and informal meetings

with their dean and department chair. Dr. Escalante did not need a friend to decode the contradiction from her department as she received incongruous feedback directly from the source. Recalling the inconsistent feedback she received from her department chair, Dr. Escalante expressed that:

> The lack of guidance and clarity about what they really want me to do to get tenure makes me feel so undervalued, so I misunderstood. I already do so much service work and on my annual review, I was told that I could still do more…that they want me to do more at the university level. The other day, my chair called me to tell me how great I was doing and how proud he was of the service I was doing. He said I was the best teacher in the department. But then I received low scores on my official department evaluation for teaching. I thought it was bizarre that he had come and told me all these nice things about me and said that I was doing incredibly and then I received poor scores for service and teaching on the written evaluation, on the things that matters most because it is on my paper and part of my record.

Dr. Escalante highlighted how the lack of clear guidance and clear, consistent feedback made her feel confused and undervalued. After her department chair verbally praised Dr. Escalente's service and teaching, Dr. Escalante received an evaluation stating she needed to do more service and improve her teaching. The disconnect between positive verbal feedback and low scores in the written evaluation reinforced Dr. Escalante's feeling of being misunderstood and undervalued. It also raised questions about the transparency of her evaluation process. This made Dr. Escalante feel excluded from her department as

she felt that no matter what she did not, her efforts seemed insufficient to be considered a valuable member of her department. These interactions left Dr. Escalante feeling discouraged and questioning the worth of continuing with her tenure-track appointment, thus highlighting how exclusion through contradictory feedback impacts Latina/o/x faculty's motivation to persevere in their tenure-track positions.

Dehumanization, Disrespect, and Devaluation in Research, Teaching, Service, and Microaggressions

In the last theme, interview data revealed how Latina/o/x faculty experience vague and contradictory tenure guidance and expectations. In the subsequent finding, I highlight how a hallmark of Latina/o/x faculty navigating tenure expectations at HSIs is a general feeling of devaluation of their research, teaching, and service contributions through enduring consistent microaggressions from colleagues. In what follows, I provide examples of how these themes manifested in the experiences of the Latina/o/x faculty I interviewed.

Devaluations in Research

Part of the devaluation Latina/o/x faculty expressed facing on the tenure-track was the pressure of always having to prove themselves as researchers. Latina/o/x faculty felt despite their research engagement and productivity, they endured a constant sense their work was never enough. In what follows, I illustrate how the devaluation of teaching was salient in the experiences of Drs. Cisneros, Mejia, Rubio, and Fernandez.

Latina/o/x faculty despite being considered “legitimate” researchers in the academy, they always had to do more than their peers. Often, the pressure to do more came without recognition. Illustrating this point, Dr. Cisneros expressed:

> In research, I am always going to have to run faster or jump higher. You know just go that extra step to prove myself.…why do I have to kill myself and prove myself? And so sometimes it makes me feel disenchanted with academia. It makes me want to stop being like doing research. No matter what I do, someone's always gonna say that [I] have to do more or that's not enough.

Dr. Cisneros shared that he endured the constant pressure to surpass expectations and prove his academic worth. As a result, Dr. Cisneros shared the frustration of being socialized into a system constantly requiring more of him while making him feel his research efforts were never enough for the incessant cycle of expectations he has to face in academia. Adding to Dr. Cisneros' experience, Dr. Mejia also shares that:

> When it comes to research productivity, I know have to do a 120% just to get credit for 90%. No matter what I do, it just seems that it's never going to be enough. But then you know I always have to remind myself that this is not just me, this happens to other scholars of color.

Similarly, Dr. Mejia acknowledged that she did not expect her research efforts to be acknowledged. However, she continued to experience the pressure to overperform due to academia’s history of diminishing the labor of scholars of color. According to Dr. Mejia, recognizing the pressure to exceed while having the feeling of never being enough was a shared experience among scholars of color. She expected the socialization process in the

academic environment to perpetuate unequal standards and recognition regarding research based on her race and ethnicity. She acknowledged the need to go above and beyond expectations by putting 120% effort without expecting to be credited the same return in investment.

Dr. Cisneros and Dr. Mejia share the mental battles endured by Latina/o/x faculty as they pursue research expectations. They recognize that no matter what research they produce, their efforts will only be considered sufficient those who hold power over their tenure file and tenure evaluation process. Dr. Cisneros and Dr. Mejia felt devalued and excluded as legitimate knowledge producers because they expected to overperform to prove themselves as researchers. This feeling made them question their commitment to continue in a tenure-track appointment.

The pressure to overperform while knowing their research is devalued was a reality in participants' lived experiences through formal and informal practices. Dr. Rubio shared an example of how the devaluation of research through informal practices occurred as he detailed an encounter with a peer regarding the publication of his book:

> My book earned a lot of awards, and I was very proud because the book was based on my community. In a meeting with a colleague, [he told me] 'you have to prove that you just don't do research on your friends.' His comment was off. I wasn't an outsider to my community when I wrote my book, but that doesn't make my research any less relevant. Why do I have to be an outsider? Just because white people are usually outsiders when they study minority communities? It's almost like I had to adapt to them, and it's not fair.

Dr. Rubio detailed how, despite publishing a highly acclaimed book, his department devalued his research with disparaging comments about his study. In this incident, a white colleague in Dr. Rubio's department suggested that Dr. Rubio needed to engage in research not involving his friends—i.e., his community. This incident made Dr. Rubio feel his research was not credible and rigorous. Hence, Dr. Rubio expressed frustration with the idea that, as a Latino faculty, he needed to demonstrate that his research went beyond studying his community to be considered a legitimate researcher by his peers. In contrast, white researchers do not encounter the same type of scrutiny when studying minoritized communities.

The devaluation of research accomplishment was a reality extending beyond informal interactions with colleagues for Latina/o/x faculty. It happened in formal ways as Latina/o/x faculty pursued publications. Expressing how she encountered the devaluation of research in the quest for publication, Dr. Fernandez revealed:

> To publish in my specific field, only a few outlets align with my values and the work I want to inform. I like to do a lot of practitioner-oriented publications and work with the community. So my research does not look like top-tier journals that only academics reads. I have tried to publish with wider audiences, but a lot of my pieces were not deemed to be high quality. In the peer review process, there were a lot of comments questioning why I was doing this work with specific populations, that my English was not good enough, and my writing was not good enough. In seeking publications, I received those types of comments over and over and over again, even though my pieces are perfectly written and formatted.

Dr. Fernandez believed publishing outlets need to be more receptive to the type of practitioner research and community-rooted research she prefers to pursue. So, Dr. Fernandez' research needs to fit the mold of what is traditionally accepted in prestigious academic outlets. Despite this exclusion in research outlets, Dr. Fernandez discussed her attempts to publish with wider audiences beyond top-tier journals. However, in this process, Dr. Fernandez encountered challenges in the peer review process. In her reviews, she often received comments from peer reviewers that questioned her choice of research population, her English proficiency, and the quality of her writing. These comments perpetuated biases demanding a prescribed validity or legitimacy of research. They created frustration and exclusion for Dr. Fernandez, thus making her feel inferior and disrespected as a knowledge producer. She often felt discouraged from pursuing publications, which jeopardized her ability to establish an academic presence in the field and, ultimately, her ability to obtain tenure.

The types of journals Latina/o/x faculty find success in publishing their work can jeopardize expectations for earning tenure, so Latina/o/x faculty also expressed the devaluation in research they face as they submit their files to the tenure committee. As a person engaged in qualitative work, Dr. Flores shared his concerns about how the tenure committee would evaluate his research. He disclosed:

> Qualitative research that's not appreciated in academia and my larger university. The tenure committee does not understand qualitative research. So when you have people who are coming from STEM who do not really understand [what it takes to produce qualitative research, it is a problem]. They could easily say, well, you

> only have four articles, big deal right? Using qualitative research, four articles is a lot of work. There is a lot of work involved in those four articles. Qualitative work is not just running numbers. Without the representation of people familiar with the work, we have to articulate our research so that others can understand it, but that is a big problem. I have to do more work just because they don't understand the type of work I do. It makes me want to leave academia.

Dr. Flores highlighted the need for more appreciation and understanding of qualitative research within the academic community. Dr. Flores suggested a preference for quantitative research methodologies in the tenure evaluation process, particularly among individuals who do research in STEM. Dr. Flores felt disadvantaged as his qualitative research and expertise were scrutinized and undervalued by individuals unfamiliar with its rigor. Dr. Flores raised concerns about the fairness of the tenure evaluation, which made him contemplate leaving academia. Dr. Flores' experience highlights how exclusion through the tenure evaluation process, particularly in recognizing credible knowledge, can push Latina/o/x faculty away from academia.

Devaluations and Disrespect in Teaching

Latino/x/o faculty also expressed enduring devaluation in teaching. Examples of this phenomenon range from facing challenges with the registrar's office to underappreciating teaching accomplishments from peers, enduring physical aggression from students, and receiving lower teaching evaluations. In what follows, I present the experiences of Drs. Gomez, Cano, Rodriguez, and Calderon to illustrate the prevalence of the devaluation of teaching in the lives of Latina/o/x faculty.

For a few Latina/o/x faculty, devaluation occurred in how the university facilitated the enrollment of students into their courses. Dr. Gomez explained how he faced this issue in interactions with the registrar's office:

> When it comes to my teaching, I would say it is scrutinized. First, it is a fight for me to teach classes that are aligned with my expertise because if I teach those classes, I am not teaching those high enrollment courses I was telling you about earlier. But then, even when I get to teach these courses, they are not publicized. I have to create posters and circulate them because our registrar or whatever they're not promoting these courses yet enough. I have to post my own fliers across campus. I have to advertise my courses.

Dr. Gomez highlighted how he experienced difficulties teaching courses he felt most qualified to teach because they are not high-enrollment courses. His department prioritizes high-enrollment courses at the expense of Dr. Gomez's expertise in the classroom. Dr. Gomez felt left out as a result since he was only respected for the work he performed for his department rather than for his knowledge. Furthermore, a second layer of epistemic exclusion within the organizational socialization of Dr. Gomez occurred as he discussed the lack of marketing and visibility for his courses within the university. He mentioned creating and posting flyers to generate student interest because the registrar's office needed to promote his courses more adequately. Dr. Gomez's experience illuminated how existing organization processes at his university did not deem courses aligned with the individual expertise of Latina/o/x faculty as deserving marketing efforts to create student interest. Therefore, Dr. Gomez incurred additional labor to publicize his

courses to potential students. This needs to be improved for Dr. Gomez as his department has made adverse inferences about the value of Dr. Gomez's courses to create student enrollment.

Larger university structures and processes are one example of how teaching for Latina/o/x faculty is deflated or undervalued. Still, for Latina/o/x faculty, a devaluation of teaching also occurred through informal interactions at the department level. Recalling an instance in which her department chair diminished her teaching accomplishments, Dr. Cano shared:

> I feel my department does not acknowledge my accomplishments. For example, my department chair, I once shared that my articles received an award, and her response was, 'oh, I have one of those.' When I received my teaching award during the open reception, she told me: 'This teaching award that you got is not as competitive as the senior teaching award.' That was the first thing that she said, as I am still holding my teaching award. No congratulations, no nothing.

Dr. Cano detailed two separate instances in which her department chair debased her accomplishments. Focusing on teaching specifically, Dr. Cano shared how her department chair dismissed her teaching achievements even in the face of formal recognition by saying Dr. Cano's teaching accomplishments were less competitive than the senior teaching award. Dr. Cano experienced a public undervaluing of her teaching merit through informal interaction. Her accomplishments were dismissed and excluded as not worth recognizing. For Latina/o/x faculty, particularly in the case of Dr. Cano, receiving these kinds of remarks can cause a sense of humiliation that can erode their

motivation and sense of belonging in the work environment. They can also negatively influence Dr. Cano's relationship with her department chair, thus making the tenure process more difficult and isolating. Dr. Cano's example demonstrated how often the devaluation of teaching came from peers and department figures who were meant to serve as their guides while on the tenure track journey. However, devaluation and disrespect of Latina/o/x faculty members was also exerted by students.

Many Latina/o/x faculty members stated their enthusiasm for teaching in the classroom, but they also talked about times when students misunderstood and mistreated their efforts. This reduction was both formal and informal. Frequently, Latina/o/x faculty needed support from their department as they sought to address the issues they faced from their students. Highlighting how he experienced formal and informal devaluation from students, Dr. Rodriguez shares:

> [I had a student come up to me.] In front of everybody in the classroom, she put her hands around my neck and said: 'I want to strangle you so bad.' That sort of disrespect happened to me. [I did not know what to do,] but at that moment, I was like, 'get your hands off me, please.' I shared the incident with my dean but did not get any action taken. Those things do not happen to white faculty, but it happened to me, and I did not get any action taken. Later on in the semester, one student thought it was ok to laugh at the fact that I got COVID. I attempted to address both incidents. In return, my teaching evaluations were low that semester, and I was very ill.

Dr. Rodriguez described incidents of disrespect and physical aggression directed at him by a student. Because these incidents happened in the classroom, these instances students' low disregard for Dr. Rodriguez's authority and well-being. Dr. Rodriguez reported both incidents to his dean but received no institutional response or support to safeguard him from the blatantly dangerous behavior he encountered from students. The lack of action by the department to protect Dr. Rodriguez's well-being signals the lack of regard for his safety and the level of support he can potentially count on to navigate the tenure process. Dr. Rodriguez felt unprotected in the classroom and knew he could not count on his department to protect him or advocate for him to get tenure either.

Dr. Rodriguez was not alone in reporting devaluation or disrespect from students. Dr. Calderon also expressed a similar sentiment when reflecting on her experiences navigating tenure expectations. Dr. Calderon recalled:

> My husband and I teach at the same institution, same department. He is also Mexican, but unlike me, he is white-passing. We have compared evaluations between us. Compared to him, I put a lot of effort into my teaching, and he does not. My classes are super structured and I send reminders. I do everything you are supposed to do to increase student satisfaction. My husband does not do anything. Yet, he gets better evaluations than me. I do not know if this has to do with being a woman of color. I don't know how to explain that. I'm a good teacher, but I feel like for the level of work that I put into my classes, I feel like I could get better evaluations than the ones that I get in my department, though there is a history in my department of women getting worse teaching evaluations than men. Teaching

> in STEM, as Latina in white department, I seem to be getting worse evaluations than everyone else despite the amount of work I put into prepping.

Dr. Calderon reflected on her experiences receiving lower teaching evaluations than her husband despite putting significantly more effort into her teaching. Dr. Calderon also detailed how her department has an open history in which women faced the devaluation of their teaching by receiving lower teaching scores than men. The disparities in teaching evaluations compared to her husband, coupled with the historical patterns of gender-based evaluation disparities in the department, contributed to frustration and questioning of Dr. Calderon's worth and recognition as an instructor. Dr. Calderon's experience underscored the need for greater awareness and examination of biases in the teaching evaluation process that can jeopardize Latina/o/x faculty in their tenure and promotion process. However, from my conversation with Dr. Calderon, it was unclear whether the department has taken any action to address the recurrent history of negative biases against women of color in the department.

Devaluations in Service

Service contributions for Latina/o/x faculty were often undervalued or unappreciated. This theme emerged throughout the interviews and pointed to Latina/o/x faculty mentoring students without recognition, being interrupted in meetings, and mandatory assignments to committees yielding no rewards for their labor. These devaluations often came from colleagues within their department and the larger university structure. In what follows, I illustrate how the devaluation of service became salient in the tenure experiences of Drs. Vasquez, Alba, Rosas, and Mendez.

The devaluation of service contributions often occurred as Latina/o/x faculty made themselves available to mentor students. Expressing how she has encountered the devaluation of Latina/o/x students, Dr. Vasquez shared an incident with one of her colleagues. In doing so, Dr. Vasquez expressed:

> I teach anything that has to do with Latinos, so obviously, there are Latino students who come to my office hours. Some of them I mentor, but this is not always appreciated in my department. There was a comment made that trickled down. A fellow faculty member in my department was concerned with the *Hispanization* of our department because there were now more Latino students coming into the hallways.

Dr. Vazquez described her involvement in mentoring Latino students in her department who often come to her office hours. Although not made directly to her, the comment made by Dr. Vasquez's colleague about the *Hispanization* of the department not only expresses bias against an increase in the presence of Latina/o/x students in the department but it also expresses the disapproval of Dr. Vazquez's mentoring and service to this demographic. This comment emphasized how the department did not value Dr. Vasquez's mentoring of Latina/o/x students and have become concerned about the presence of Latina/o/x students within their department as if Latina/o/x students were a threat or made the department look less prestigious with their mere presence. Hence, this comment highlighted an on-going exclusion against the presence of Latina/o/x students and Dr. Vasquez, despite operating within an HSI.

As Dr. Vasquez detailed, the devaluation of mentoring did not always occur covertly. The devaluation of mentoring was also overtly made against Latina/o/x faculty. Dr. Alba endured an overt devaluation of her mentoring as she advised a Latina/o/x student on a job application. Remembering this experience, Dr. Alba mentioned:

> My colleague, a white male, was initially working with this student. He never gave line edits on the students' application documents. They just gave the general quick e-mail comments and said, 'This is looking great,' but it was not. The student reached out to me [because he was not getting the support he needed from my colleague], so we met to polish his application. Later in the week, I bumped into my colleague who was originally working with the student and told me: 'I can't believe how much time you spent on that application. He's not going to get the job. You must have all the time in the world to be doing that with the student.' [My colleague] had a diminishing tone and the underlying message was that I was spending my time on the wrong things as I was supporting this student.

Dr. Alba shared an experience where she provided guidance and line edits to a student's application after her white male colleague refused to offer detailed feedback on the student's application. However, instead of acknowledging the labor and dedication that Dr. Alba put into supporting the student, Dr. Alba's colleague questioned her time allocation and accused Dr. Alba of not being productive with her time. Dr. Alba's experience highlighted bias against supporting Latina/o/x students and the constant questioning of Latina/o/x faculty's efforts and investment in supporting this student

demographic. In Dr. Alba's experience, supporting Latina/o/x students is a marker for excluding what is deemed a valuable time investment for a faculty member within HSIs.

In addition to feeling undervalued when mentoring students, Latina/o/x professors have said they have also felt undervalued when serving on committees for their university and departments. This frequently happened when Latina/o/x faculty members were summoned to serve on committees but were not given the opportunity to actively participate in and contribute to the decision-making process since colleagues frequently stopped them. Dr. Rosas recounted her experiences serving on committees in order to illustrate this idea:

> In my time on committees, there have been moments where I'm interrupted when I'm speaking during faculty meetings or the different work groups that I am part of. I get interrupted all the time when I'm talking. Sometimes there's not even time to speak because, you know, all the men are talking at the same time. I do have to learn how to interrupt, but there are power dynamics that I need to be mindful. I do not want to pick up enemies who will vote on my [tenure] file.

Dr. Rosas described how she was constantly disrespected in her department and often interrupted while serving on volunteer committees. Dr. Rosas' contributions and perspectives were overshadowed, and she often felt prohibited from raising concerns in meetings. Without any regard for how her peers influenced her level of engagement in service activities in department meetings, she could be perceived as a professor who did not actively contribute to service, which could impact tenure-evaluation. Although Dr. Rosas expressed that she has learned to interrupt, she also noted concerns about power

dynamics. She feared the potential consequences that interrupting her peers could have on her tenure file. Interrupting her senior peers might come off as disrespectful and can negatively influence how colleagues rate her collegiality in her tenure evaluation. Dr. Rosa's recognition of the need to assert herself while being mindful of the power dynamic demonstrated an additional responsibility placed on Dr. Rosa as she sought to negotiate campus organizational culture and the potential risks associated with challenging established norms in the department. By being interrupted and navigating power dynamics during her service appointments, Dr. Rosas is excluded from having a voice and opportunities to be an active contributor in ongoing department conversations.

The experiences of Dr. Rosas demonstrate how Latina/o/x professors are undervalued when they attempt to participate in service activity decision-making. It illustrated how, despite being asked to do more service than their white colleagues, they were used only for their labor and not valued as contributors in the decision-making process. For many Latina/o/x faculty, not having a voice in the decision-making process was only part of the challenge in their service involvement as they lamented the lack of visibility their service involvement provided them compared to their white colleagues. Latina/o/x professors believed that when it came to service, they were forced to perform the grunt work while their white counterparts could focus on expanding their networks and gaining campus exposure through their service activities. To demonstrate this idea, Dr. Mendez said:

> When it comes to service, I get the short end of the stick. My assignments have me do a lot of the heavy lifting. With service, even with people that I got hired at

> the same time, as the only Latino, I have been rewarded with more work that keeps me busy, but my other colleagues are rewarded with committees that give them exposure to the provost and deans. Exposure to things that will help their visibility on campus and help them with their tenured files. I feel trapped doing the dirty work so that my colleagues can be free to engage in the shiny service task.

Dr. Mendez described a discrepancy in the type of service assignments he receives compared to his colleagues. He suggested feeling that his assigned service appointment were less prestigious and required much more labor in comparison to the service appointments executed by peers. As a result, Dr. Mendez expressed doing the dirty work for his department. This dirty work kept him busy and away from networks that could increase his campus visibility. It affected his ability to network with campus stakeholders who could have a say in his tenured file. Meanwhile, his colleagues had access to service appointments that enhanced their networking and visibility on campus. The differential treatment in service assignments, as experienced by Dr. Mendez, suggested a devaluation of his contributions and potential for visibility and recognition on campus. Because he was excluded from having visibility and recognition for his labor in his service appointments, Dr. Mendez ran the risk of being perceived negatively in his tenure file for not doing enough service within the larger university. Dr. Mendez's experience underscore the need for organizations to critically examine their processes for assigning and elevating service responsibilities to ensure that Latina/o/x faculty have equitable

distribution and recognition for their involvement in service activities. Otherwise, their tenure file may be negatively viewed.

Personal Microaggressions

The devaluation experienced by Latina/o/x faculty extended beyond devaluating their merits for the tenure process, as Latina/o/x faculty also report experiencing personal microaggressions. These microaggressions attacked the Latina/o/x faculty's way of being in the academy. Examples of microaggressions against Latina/o/x faculty ranged from questioning personal items such as cell phones, dressing style, and sexualization. Latina/o/x faculty who experienced microaggressions also had to deal with being treated like children and having their place in the academy questioned.

As Latina/o/x faculty recalled their experiences with microaggressions, they recalled instances where colleagues questioned their personal belongings. Dr. Bosques shared an instance in which one of her colleagues made a derogatory comment about her choice in cellphones. In evoking the incident, Dr. Boques mentions:

> We were having lunch with a colleague, and my phone rang. I took it off to silence it. My phone had a cracked pink screen. As our conversation progressed, I was not sure if it was a joke or the comment was serious, but my colleague called my phone embarrassing and unprofessional. She kindly suggested I use my technology funds to pay for a new one. Laughing, she offered to pay for my new phone. It was awkward because we did not have that type of rapport. I was perfectly fine with my device.

Dr. Bosques shared an incident in which a colleague commented negatively about Dr. Bosque's personal cellphone device by calling it embarrassing and unprofessional. In doing so, Dr. Bosque's colleagues asserted that Dr. Bosque's device did not meet the standard of professionalism in the academy. The offer to pay for the new phone, even jokingly, also reflected a sense of superiority rooted in classism. The awkwardness that Dr. Bosques felt required Dr. Bosques to remain calm even in the face of disrespect. Although Dr. Bosques felt the need to address the disrespect endured, her hands were tied. Saying something against a senior faculty member with a say in her tenure file might gain a negative vote for Dr. Bosques once her tenure file is reviewed. Additionally, addressing the situation could disrupt the department dynamics and negatively affect Dr. Bosques' standing within the department and peers. So, instead of addressing the situation, Dr. Bosques decided to remain quiet in the face of disrespect in light of the potential power this senior faculty member could have in her tenure file and within department dynamics.

Latina/o/x faculty also recounted incidents in which they experienced microaggression due to their attire. Dr. Torres described a situation in which one of her coworkers commented on how she was dressed:

> I was raised in a family where going to school was a big deal, so you always tried to look your best. So, part of how I present myself in academia is influenced by how I was raised. I was always taught to look professional, so when I lecture, I dress up. One of my colleagues told me in a demeaning way, 'If that is how you

> dress up now, I imagine how you will dress up when you get tenured.' I was shocked. That comment caught me by surprise.

Since she was educated to dress properly, Dr. Torres said she strived to dress professionally for work since she was influenced by her upbringing and was aware that maintaining a professional image can be crucial in academics. Her dressing style, however, caught the attention of one of her colleagues, who suggested Dr. Torres dressed too professionally for her current position Her colleague implied that because Dr. Torres was an untenured professor, she would not be acknowledged as such, regardless of how hard she tried to present herself as a professional. Dr. Torres is placed in a quandary after receiving this comment. Not dressing professionally could give the impression of her not caring to keep up a professional image or not caring about her image, while dressing brings disparaging negative comments. From her experience, it seemed that no matter what Dr. Torres did, her choices were scrutinized. Although Dr. Torres would have loved to address the disrespect she endured as an untenured professor, challenging the comments of a senior colleague with potential influence in her tenure file and department dynamics can bring negative consequences to Dr. Torres's tenure file. So, she did not challenge the statement as she continues to navigate tenure in the limbo of being subjected to scrutiny based on her way of being. Dr. Vasquez received the message that she did not belong in the academy as a result of this microaggression.

Latina/o/x faculty members experienced microaggressions because of how they dressed, which not only made them feel out of place in the academy but also inferior to their colleagues. Additionally, Latina/o/x teachers are frequently sexualized by their

peers, which is clear evidence of being treated as inferior. This theme was salient to Dr. Ramos, a Latina faculty member, who disclosed:

> I [received sexualized comments from my chair]. During one of early meetings she told me she wished my dress was a little bit shorter…she was like 'Oh, you are going to be so great for us. You are going to be turned into our sexy professor. [You will give our department the reputation of having a sexy professor.]' I did not know what to say at that.

Dr. Ramos detailed a microaggression rooted in sexualization at the hands of her department chair. The chair's comments disregarded Dr. Ramos' professional experiences as she focused on highlighting Dr. Ramos' physical appearance while showing no regard for Dr. Ramos' potential contributions as a knowledge producer or content expert for the department. Dr. Ramos' hesitation in responding to her chair's comment reflects power dynamics that made it challenging to address the inappropriate behavior shown by the department chair. Without any witnesses to sustain her claims, confronting the person who held direct power over her tenure file and the necessary resources to achieve tenure was daunting for Dr. Ramos. Aware of the potential consequences and the imbalance of power dynamics, Dr. Ramos endured a stressful situation where she was sexualized as the department dean dismissed her competencies and expertise. In doing so, interactions with her department dean were another barrier Dr. Ramos needed to overcome as she navigated the tenured process.

Adding to the microaggressions, Latina/o/x faculty faced objectification in the academy as they navigated tenure expectations. Other professors also disclosed the prevalence of this theme in their lives. Dr. Perez shares:

> My husband works as an academic advisor at the same university as me. I have Ph.D., he does not. Whenever I am introduced by colleagues, I am introduced as X's wife, never by my name but as an object belonging to someone else. It pisses me off and I correct them, but it keeps happening.

Dr. Perez discussed how, when presented within the institution, her colleagues objectified her by referring to her as a piece of her husband's property rather than recognizing her as a faculty member, and as a result, she did not receive the respect she deserved in the department as faculty member. This behavior implied that Perez was not valued as a peer since her coworkers prioritized gendered stereotypes and functioned under the belief that a woman's identity is determined by her connection with a man. In this situation, Dr. Perez's standing and reputation as a professor were minimized due to her marriage. This objectification diminished Dr. Perez's position as a faculty member. Although Dr. Perez could challenge these gendered assumptions, as an untenured professor, challenging these gendered norms can make her seen as non-collegial and negatively impact her chances of receiving positive votes in her tenure file. Thus, she continuously endures being excluded from being recognized as a faculty member because of the gendered norms dominating organizational interactions.

Infantilization was another salient example of how Latina/o/x faculty experienced microaggressions in the academy. Infantilization often occurred peers mistook Latina/o/x

faculty for students. Dr. Lopez shared an experience of how a white colleague infantilized him:

> The campus was closed during the pandemic, but we have a few students on campus. So, as a faculty in residence, I had to stay on campus with them. There were few other faculty in residence, so I ran into a colleague in the cafeteria. I said hi to him. After a few words into our conversation, he asked me what classes I had taken with him. He confused me for a student, yet this was not the first time we both had interacted. We had been on a committee together. I felt disrespected.

Dr. Lopez described how one of his coworkers in the cafeteria mistakenly identified him as a student. Even though they had previously interacted in a university committee, Dr. Lopez was misidentified as a student rather than a peer. Dr. Lopez felt disrespected as he is yet to be recognized as a faculty member by his peers. As an untenured professor, not being recognized by a colleague publicly signals a lack of potential support in the tenure process, as he has yet to be recognized as a member of the academic community by his peers. Despite having served on academic committees, Dr. Lopez found himself experiencing exclusion from his peers by not being recognized as a colleague and being made inferior by being mistaken by a student.

Coping Strategies to Deal with Epistemic Exclusion and Poor Socialization

In this finding, I highlight how Latina/o/x faculty dealt with vague, unclear, and contradictory tenure feedback while experiencing microaggressions along with the devaluation of their research, teaching, and service as they navigated tenure expectations. Three subthemes emerged to support this finding: “Not Letting Emotions Take Over by

Staying Calm and Silent," "Commitment to the Latina/o/x Community and Students, "The Tenure-Track: Just a Job, not My Life," and "On Being Assertive and Other Ways to Make an Impact." Each subtheme provides valuable insight into the strategies used by Latina/o/x faculty to cope with and overcome the challenges they faced in the tenure and promotion process. In what follows, I provide evidence for each of these subthemes.

Not Letting Emotions Take Over by Staying Calm and Silent

As illustrated in previous sections, Latina/o/x faculty faced disrespect and devaluation in their roles involving research, teaching, and service efforts. Additionally, they also endured personal attacks in the form of microaggressions. These collective experiences influenced how faculty members navigated their tenure expectations. To overcome these challenges, Latina/o/x faculty members had to engage in self-regulating emotional efforts to control by staying calm and not let emotions take over in the face of disrespect and devaluation. Recall a previous example of Dr. Bosques when she felt her "blood boiling" when her department chair failed to acknowledge her contributions in teaching large survey courses. Her blood boiling did not translate into Dr. Bosques acting with rage. Instead, she remained calm as she shared: "even if I was upset, I could not show it. I could not act on it. I remained calm and walked away." Although Dr. Bosques was upset at her chair's response, she remained calm and did not let her emotions take over her actions. Also, remember Dr. Rodriguez, who faced a situation where his dean did not address Dr. Rodriguez's concerns regarding his well-being. Dr. Rodriguez was physically attacked by a student in the classroom, but when Dr. Rodriguez reported the situation to his dean, the dean did nothing. Dr. Rodriguez was upset, frustrated, and

disappointed. Nonetheless, he kept his emotions in check and did not act out of character in front of his dean despite the disrespect.

Both Drs. Bosques and Dr. Rodriguez were failed by their respective department leadership. Instead of escalating the situation and confronting those in power who had direct influence over their tenure aspirations, they engaged in emotional labor by managing their emotions to remain calm and stay quiet. This strategic approach prevented Drs. Bosques and Rodriguez from altering department dynamics and jeopardizing their tenure aspirations with department leadership.

The strategy of letting emotions take over by remaining calm and silent was also critical as Latina/o/x faculty members endured microaggressions from their peers. Consider the Latina/o/x faculty members who faced personal attacks characterized by overt racism and classism in the form of microaggressions from their peers: Drs. Bosques, Torres, Vasquez, Ramos, Perez, and Lopez. Whether these faculty members endured microaggressions due to their choice of personal items such as clothing cell phones, or were objectified, sexualized, and infantilized by their peers, they all shared a common approach. These faculty recognized power dynamics. Instead of acting out of emotions, one thing they all shared was they stayed calm quiet and did not fueled the situation in order to protect department dynamics and their well-being within the department.

While the strategy of maintaining composure and not allowing emotions to take control was effective in avoiding disruptions to department dynamics or challenging those with influence over tenure decisions within the department, it is important to note

that this practice made Latina/o/x faculty members also took on the additional burden of managing their emotions. At times, managing emotions by staying calm and silent came at the cost of Latina/o/x's faculty well-being and health. By staying quiet in times of disrespect, Latina/o/x faculty members such as Dr. Calderon that: "it is a sickening feeling to stay quiet when you know you are right." Dr. Montes also said, "not saying something when you are being disrespected makes your gut hurt." Dr. Rey concluded: "Keeping all these emotions to myself does not do my body well. My body sees this place as a threat to my well-being. I cannot keep up like this." The collective experiences of Drs. Calderon, Montes, and Rey illustrate that while not letting emotions take over by staying calm and quiet was useful not to alter department dynamics and relationships, Latina/o/x faculty members put their well-being at risk by doing so.

Looking for Guidance and Clarity in "My Trusted Network"

Latina/o/x faculty relied on their trusted network to deal with the vague and contradictory feedback and the devaluation of their teaching, research, and service in the tenure process. Recall the early example involving Dr. Leon that helped her decipher the hidden feedback in her tenure letter. Like Dr. Leon, twenty other participants expressed relying on the people they trust and network to demystify and overcome the challenges they faced while navigating tenured expectations. This trusted network was often composed of senior faculty of color—usually, but not always, employed outside of their university. In what follows, I present quotes related to Drs. Mejia, Cabral, Alvarez, and Luisa, as I seek to provide evidence for this finding.

Latina/o/x faculty relied on their network to make sense of vague publishing expectations in the tenure process. Their reliance on trusted colleagues often enabled these Latina/o/x faculty to understand publication expectations better. Exemplifying this point, Dr. Mejia shared that:

> Establishing a scholarly presence in publishing can mean different things to different people. But even though I know that I will never receive the credit for all my work, having people around me who offer their tenure files has helped me to quantify how much I need to publish and work towards that number.

Dr. Mejia acknowledged that establishing a scholarly presence through publishing can have varying meanings for different academic individuals. So, she expressed her reliance on trusted colleagues, who offered to share their tenure files, which has helped her demystify how much she needs to publish to achieve tenure. Despite knowing she might only get credit for some of her work and navigating without a target of publications, creating a network of trusted colleagues enabled Dr. Mejia to at least create a target goal related to publications and feel more confident in meeting tenure expectations. In this sense, trusted colleagues made up for the need for more guidance endured by Latina/o/x faculty as they navigate tenure.

The reliance on a trusted network enabled Latina/o/x faculty to demystify publication expectations and make sense of ambiguous written and verbal feedback. Often, Latina/o/x faculty expressed they did not trust their department leadership or peers, so whenever they encountered an instance that posed ambiguity for their career

development, Latina/o/x faculty were quick to involve their trusted network to decode the feedback they received. As proof of this point, Dr. Luisa noted:

> I do not trust my chair or dean to be transparent with me in their feedback. Whenever I receive comments or feedback, whether verbally, in an e-mail, or a document, I tap into my people. If I have to put my files together, I tap into my people. It helps me get out of my head and make sense of the hidden language. I do not have a trusting relationship with my department chair or dean, so having people I trust helps.

Dr. Luisa's lack of trust in her department indicated a non-supportive relationship within the organizational structure of her department. Amid the lack of trust and support Dr. Luisa experienced, she detailed engaging with trusted colleagues from within and outside the university to make sense of the feedback and expectations of the tenure process. By seeking support and input from other trusted scholars, tenured and non-tenured, Dr. Luisa received the assistance and validation she lacked in her department to make her journey toward tenure more manageable.

While beneficial in providing space to demystify and process information, relying on scholars from outside her department and university, in the tenure process, Dr. Luisa was disadvantaged. First, she needed to spend time and energy reaching out for help. Second, scholars from outside of her university, while helpful, might not be well versed in the tangible requirement needed to meet tenured; thus, they can only provide perspective and space to process information but not always give the right advice to move to tangible action to achieve tenure. However, these networks and trusted people lessen

the limitations imposed by a lack of trust and ensure that Dr. Luisa and other Latina/o/x faculty who face a similar experience have a supportive and reliable source of guidance and understanding—or at least a space to process and brainstorm information.

In addition to relying on their trusted network to demystify the hidden messages surrounding tenure, Latina/o/x faculty often relied on their trusted colleagues to build a community and a support group within their department. Building a support group with trusted peers enabled Latina/o/x faculty to broker resources that proved to be helpful in their journey toward tenure. To emphasize this point, Dr. Cabral recalled:

> In my department, all the junior faculty agreed to form a working group to help one another put our files related to tenure or evaluation together. It is a good way to check in with other people because some questions are worded vaguely, so making sense of them together helps. We have also advocated for participating in personal meetings where files related to evaluations are discussed. So, we now have a representative who has voting power in that space and brings back information to guide us through the evaluation process as we put our documents together.

By coming together as a collective to share resources and experiences, Dr. Cabral and colleagues displayed their agency in making sense of vague questions and crowd-sourcing valuable insights. They understand the value of actively engaging in the evaluation process and advocating for their interest. Their working group served as a mechanism to counteract the potential lack of guidance and vagueness of tenure as members shared knowledge and information so no member could navigate the tenure

process in isolation. Additionally, Dr. Cabral and colleagues' ability to create advocacy and representation in evaluation meetings exemplified their engagement in influencing their department's evaluation process. Participating in personnel meetings enabled Dr. Cabral and colleagues to gain insight into the tenure process as they sought to build an infrastructure to create guidance for all junior faculty who will soon engage in the evaluation of their files.

In times when Latina/o/x faculty did not have trusted peers at their institution, they relied on people from their trusted network to make up for the lack of community they have in their institution. In collaboration with other faculty members, Latina/o/x faculty formed writing groups. These writing groups enabled Latina/o/x to engage in tangible efforts to meet tenure expectations—publishing—and receive advice from peers. Sharing the importance of writing groups to her professional development to navigate tenure expectations, Dr. Alvarez details,

> When I write with trusted colleagues, it reminds me that I do not need to do this process in isolation. We not only provide feedback to one another but also publish with one another. Whether taking turns in first-authorship or putting each other as a third author, we know that frequency in publication matters, so we support each other to make our publication resume competitive.

Dr. Alvarez showcased community's importance in making writing less daunting in the tenure process. Dr. Alverez's approach to writing in the community reflected a conscious effort to harness collective knowledge to combat the competitive nature of academic writing through collaborative writing and publication practices. Dependence on trusted

networks enabled Dr. Alvarez to find reciprocal support while strengthening her scholarly work to secure tenure. Adding to the value of writing groups, Dr. Rey said, “Writing with other experts in my field allows me to sharpen my ideas. It is like having a peer reviewer who is with me in every step of the way as I brainstorm, talk, and write my ideas.” Dr. Reyes, like Dr. Alvarez, highlighted the value of writing groups. However, for Dr. Reyes, having access to a writing group provided him access to trusted colleagues who were experts in the subject matter. These colleagues acted as peer reviewers who strengthened his writing. Thus highlighting how writing groups provided Latina/o/x faculty members with emotional support in the writing process and tangible support in the development of ideas.

Commitment to the Latina/o/x Community and Students

Recall the first finding where I introduced the experiences propelling Latina/o/x faculty to pursue a career in the professoriate. In that first finding, I emphasized how Latina/o/x faculty expressed that their desire to work as professors was influenced by the professoriate's ability to provide them with the resources they needed to advance the needs of the Latina/o/x community through research, teaching, and service. This commitment to the Latina/o/x community influenced Latina/o/x faculty to enter and remain in the professoriate despite their challenges as they navigated tenure expectations. In what follows, I detail how this commitment to the Latina/o/x community was profound in the experiences of Drs. Vasquez, Escalante, and Jimenez.

Latina/o/x faculty expressed their commitment to the Latina/o/x community as they sought to overcome the devaluation of their research. For faculty members, the

opportunity to make an impact, engage, and advance the needs of Latina/o/x faculty was far more critical than journal publications. Dr. Vasquez explains:

> "I do not write for white folks. I write for my community. I write to highlight their beauty and struggles while debunking the negative views academia has adopted as true. I can give a F*** about what a white man or woman thinks about my research. I do not write for them. So, if my research is not in elitist white journals, I am ok with that. My research is important to me and the community. That is all that matters. That helps me get through all the BS and negative comments veiled behind the peer review process.

Dr. Vasquez detailed a conscious decision to focus on writing about and for the Latina/o/x community rather than catering to the perspectives and expectations of white colleagues. This practice allowed Dr. Vasquez to cope with the epistemic exclusion that might come with pursuing publications in mainstream journals. By centering and catering her research to the needs and advancement of the Latina/o/x community, Dr. Vasquez reclaimed her agency as a researcher by asserting her autonomy in shaping her research agenda in a way to cope with the devaluation she might face in the pursuit of publications.

Centering the needs of the Latina/o/x community became a crucial tool for Latina/o/x faculty not only to overcome the devaluation of research but also to overcome the devaluation of their teaching. In their teaching, Latina/o/x faculty alluded to their responsibility towards student success, particularly Latina/o/x students. Illustrating this point, Dr. Escalante shared:

> I have been dealing with two very mean students this semester. I cannot understand why some students are deeply unkind and disrespectful. But instead of focusing on their negative comments and behaviors, I focus on the rest of my awesome students. The students tell me that I am their first-ever Latina professor. The students who see themselves in me. The students who knock on my door because I represent what they want to become. I do not take that responsibility lightly, even as I face disrespect in and out of the classroom. That is what helps me cope.

Dr. Escalante shared her experiences in the classroom with two disrespectful students. However, Dr. Escalante's response to the impertinent students was to shift her focus to the positive experiences she has with the rest of their students. Her dedication to her role as the first Latina and her impact on her students reflect Dr. Escalante's strong commitment to her role as an educator even as she faces the devaluation of her teaching. Such a strong sense of commitment and responsibility for students served Escalante and other Latina/o/x faculty to cope and overcome the devaluation they faced in their pedagogy. Additionally, her commitment to Latina/o/x students was a source of strength to maximize and manage negative teaching evaluations and remain in the tenure process despite encountering hostility from other students.

The focus on students also enabled Latina/o/x faculty to cope with the devaluation in their service and remain in tenure-track appointments. Although Latina/o/x faculty expressed feeling overwhelmed with service demands, their focus on students enabled them to find reward, joy, and purpose in their service activities even though the university

did not recognize them. In doing so, Latina/o/x faculty used their service activities to find reasons to connect them to the Latina/o/x community and find reasons to remain in tenure-track appointments. Exemplifying this point, Dr. Jimenez explained:

> There are not many of us. There are not many Latina/o/x professors. And these students, they want what you have. They want to have what we have. So they ask for mentoring, and they knock on your door. They want to be like you because they think, 'if you used teaching and research to get out of the hood, maybe I can do that too.' So to me mentoring is personal. Mentoring provides upward mobility opportunities for [Latina/o/x] students who might be the next generation of professors. So yes, I make myself available to mentor Latina/o/x students regardless of whether that counts for my tenure file or is valued for the university. The other day, I advocated for two Latina students. They both received a scholarship. I do not expect a thank you from the university or the students, but making that impact helps me cope.

Dr. Jimenez lamented the scarcity of Latina/o/x professors and highlighted the desire of Latina/o/x students to have mentors who share their backgrounds and experiences. Influenced by this commitment to students, despite the lack of recognition and value placed on mentoring activities in the tenure process, Dr. Jimenez remained committed to mentoring and advocating for Latina/o/x students. Dr. Jimenez's obligation to Latina/o/x students enabled him to show up and find fulfillment as he engaged in service activities. At the same time, as one of the few Latina/o/x faculty, Dr. Jimenez felt pressured to be a role model to Latina/o/x students through his service engagement. This was also the case

for other Latina/o/x faculty members. Recall my first finding where Latina/o/x faculty saw the opportunity to serve the Latina/o/x community through the professoriate as a significant influence to become professors. Dr. Jimenez used this pressure as a form of reassurance as to why he needed to remain as a tenure-track faculty.

There are Other Ways to Make an Impact This is Just a Job

Latina/o/x faculty became attracted to the tenure and promotion process because they were attracted to research, teaching, and serving their communities. However, Latina/o/x faculty also understood that their tenure-track appointment was merely a job. Latina/o/x faculty expressed that they could leave their tenure-track appointment and still engage in meaningful activities to impact the causes for which they feel most passionate. This understanding became a coping mechanism for Latina/o/x faculty as they endured vague, unclear, and contradictory feedback while experiencing microaggressions along with the devaluation of their research, teaching, and service as they navigated tenure expectations. In what follows, I illustrate how this theme was prevalent in the experiences of Drs. Rubio, Leon, and Rodriguez.

For Latina/o/x faculty, a helpful way to cope with the negative experiences endured in the tenure process was not letting the tenure process become anything more than a job. Being able to draw the boundaries of the tenure process and describe it as a job instead of letting it consume their existence enabled Latina/o/x faculty to draw clear boundaries. Dr. Rubio expressed this point by emphasizing:

> In the tenure process can have you work 24/7 if you let it, but I no longer do. I used to work all the time. Now, I work from 9-5 pm and take weekends off. That

> is enough. Occasionally I work and spend Saturday mornings doing some work, but I mainly work 40 hours a week. It took me a while to understand that this is just a job and I do not need to kill myself over it. I have transferable skills. I can do research somewhere else. If the tenure does not work out, I will still do research.

Dr. Rubio admitted that he internalized the expectation that he needed to work excessively to achieve tenure at one point in his tenure process. However, he has realized that he is no longer required to sacrifice all his time and well-being for tenure. He has developed a more balanced perspective and set personal boundaries regarding his work hours. By valuing his personal time and well-being, Dr. Rubio reclaimed his agency and challenged the organizational socialization that often glorifies overworking and neglects individual needs. In doing so, Dr. Rubio has also realized his tenure-track appointment is just a job that enables him to do research, but he can also do research without the tenure-track. For Dr. Rubio and other Latina/o/x faculty, the prioritization of personal time and well-being and the realization that he could still do research outside of the tenure-track were Dr. Rubio's way of coping with the challenges in the tenure process. This strategy enabled Dr. Rubio to remain in his tenure-track appointment.

For Latina/o/x faculty who coped with the challenges in the tenure process by being aware that their tenure-track appointment was merely a job and not their whole existence, they experienced more freedom to navigate tenured expectations. To overcome the challenges associated with the tenure process, Latina/o/x faculty expressed that their ability to engage in research and advance the needs of their communities was in more

than just their ability to occupy a tenure-track position. Latina/o/x faculty saw the tenure-track position as a vehicle to engage in research rather than as the only vehicle they could and should take. In doing so, Latina/o/x faculty understood their job was not their entire identity. Highlighting this point, Dr. Leon explained:

> This is just a job. As of now, it fulfills my purpose. But the moment I no longer feel fulfilled, I can do something else. For far too long, I witnessed my parents fear losing their jobs or working in jobs they did not love. They sent me to school so that I would have more options than them. The tenure process is just. I refuse to let it be my trap to stay in a job I do not enjoy doing. So, the moment things get out of hand, I do not have a problem leaving. I can still research and have the impact I want outside of academia. The tenure-track is a vehicle to research, but it is not the destination. Advancing the needs of my community is the destination.

Dr. Leon focused on prioritizing personal fulfillment and purpose over institutional expectations by asserting that she could find fulfillment and make an impact outside of academia. Dr. Leon emphasized that achieving tenure is one of many pathways or metrics for success. She was concerned with how she could influence the communities in which she had a stake. Dr. Leon challenges dominant ideas in an academic system where tenure and institutional recognition are prized over personal well-being and alternative forms of impact because she recognizes that the tenure track is merely a job. She demonstrated a shift in notions of organizational socialization in the tenure process by recognizing that her job is not a lifelong commitment if it no longer aligns with her fulfillment. This shift

enabled Dr. Leon to avoid burnout and to remain in the tenure-track process without compromising her well-being.

Latina/o/x professors were able to negotiate tenure expectations with greater assertiveness because they were liberated from the awareness that they should view tenure as a task to be completed rather than a lifelong obligation. For Latina/o/x faculty, being more assertive and challenging power dynamics allowed them to stress and claim the critical roles they play for their department whenever they faced the devaluation of their merits. Emphasizing this point, Dr. Rodriguez expressed:

> The biggest thing that faculty of color have to deal with [when experiencing devaluation in academia] is not saying something because of the fear of being dismissed from their institution. I know my value to my department and my institution. I know they need this brown body because I got the connections to the community. And when my ass walks into a room, I am the one they recognize, not them. I know my value. So if they want to get rid of me, that is fine, but I will not stay quiet and put my head down. When they find somebody who is on a two million dollar grant, somebody who is doing the work that I am doing, somebody who is leading the type of campus initiatives that I am leading. Then, I will shut up and move on to doing something else because I am comfortable doing something else too. This is not the only job I can hold.

Dr. Rodriguez acknowledged the devaluation he and faculty of color experience in academia but rejected the fear of speaking out due to potential repercussions. Without the fear of losing his job or not receiving tenure as a potential repercussion for speaking out,

Dr. Rodriguez asserted his value and worth in academia as he highlighted how his knowledge, experiences, and unique perspectives are invaluable assets to his institution. In doing so, Dr. Rodriguez also showed his ability to move on to other opportunities, if necessary. This demonstrated that his knowledge and abilities are not limited to the academic world. Dr. Rodriguez found freedom in understanding academia was just a job enabling him to be assertive and challenge power dynamics by rejecting traditional standards of conforming to institutional norms and expectations at the expense of individual empowerment. This enabled Dr. Rodriguez and other Latina/o/x faculty to navigate the professoriate with less fear while asserting their value to academia.

Chapter Summary and Next Steps

In this chapter, I presented four themes salient to the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in the tenure process. In the first section, I answered my first research question by providing insight into the educational experiences that motivated Latina/o/x faculty to pursue a tenure-track appointment. To this end, the first theme detailed participants' pathways to the professoriate. In doing so, I highlighted the importance of first-generation or working-class identities in the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in their tenure process. The first finding answers my research question by illustrating how, besides those instances when participants came across mentorships and pipeline programs, they struggled to find any encouragement, guidance, and support from their educational institutions to help them understand and take advantage of all the opportunities available through higher education. Mentorship and pipeline programs socialized participants to develop dispositions and competencies associated with research,

teaching, and service. Mentorship and pipeline programs also empower participants with the responsibility to use these dispositions and competencies to advance the needs of their communities in higher education. This first finding suggests that the socialization of Latina/o/x faculty might start long before they are hired as associate professors.

In part two of the findings, I focused specifically on the tenure-track experiences of Latina/o/x faculty. This finding answered my research question by illustrating how participants were left to figure out the tenure process on their own without significance guidance or support from their respective institutions. I illustrate how Latina/o/x faculty experienced uneven levels of support as they sometimes traversed ambiguous, contradictory, or vague tenure expectations combined with low levels of organizational support. This theme also pointed to a sense of exclusion felt in the professoriate for Latina/o/x professors. In the third theme, I highlight how the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty navigating tenure expectations at HSIs are dominated by dehumanization as they endure the devaluation of their research, teaching, and service contributions while enduring microaggressions. My fourth finding showcases coping mechanisms. While the third finding features anecdotes of exclusion, this last finding offers stories of resilience in how Latina/o/x professors survive exclusion and poor socialization during their tenure process.

The findings of this study illustrate the salience of epistemic exclusion in the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in the tenure process and in the socialization process of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs. Additionally, the findings in this study provide strategies utilized by Latina/o/x faculty to combat epistemic exclusion. In many instances,

epistemic exclusion resulted from formal and informal interactions with peers but also presented itself through formal and informal interactions with deans and department chairs as Latina/o/x faculty sought to meet different tenure expectations. In the next chapter, I will engage in an interpretation and discussion of these findings. I also present implications and recommendations to create positive change in the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

I am neither the first nor the only researcher to write about the problem within HSIs when it comes to a gross underrepresentation of Latina/o/x scholars in tenure-track appointments. As a college access practitioner-scholar, I understand the urgency to increase the presence of tenured and tenure-track Latina/o/x faculty. This urgency was first highlighted to me by Guillermo, a college-bound Latino student whom I met in a summer bridge program. In his college exploration process, Guillermo questioned and lamented the underrepresentation of Latina/o/x faculty in his college exploration process. When Guillermo observed that only white people were teaching at the university, he prompted my colleague to answer why there were no Latina/o/x professors. My colleague had no answers for Guillermo. Neither did I.

In Chapter 1, I started to take issue with the underrepresentation of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments. For the Latina/o/x community, the lack of faculty diversity in tenure-track appointments in U.S. higher education is not a new problem. However, it is a problem that has become increasingly apparent as Latina/o/x faculty representation falls short of growing Latina/o/x student diversity (Griffin, 2019). Researchers argue increasing Latina/o/x faculty representation in tenure-track appointments can significantly improve college outcomes for Latina/o/x students (Contreras, 2017). At HSIs, the main gateway for Latina/o/x students into higher education, the underrepresentation of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments raises concerns about what it means to be an HSI. Scholars contend that boosting Latina/o/x faculty diversity is critical for colleges and universities to develop a Hispanic-

serving identity (Banda et al., 2017; Garcia, 2019; Vargas et al., 2020). However, the percentage of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments has remained in the single digits for nearly 40 years—even at institutions such as HSIs with a high concentration of Latina/o/x students.

In this study, I sought to comprehend the perspectives of 30 underrepresented Latina/o/x faculty members navigating tenure expectations at HSI universities. A primary objective of this study was to explore the culture of HSIs' tenure process through the lens of Latina/o/x faculty. Using qualitative interviews guided by organizational theory and epistemic exclusion, I sought to uncover the organizational conditions, policies, and practices that promote or impede the professional development of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments by answering the following research questions:

1. What educational experiences influence Latina/o/x faculty to pursue a career in the professoriate?
2. How do Latina/o/x faculty define their experiences in tenure-track appointments at HSIs?

Four findings answered my research questions. In the previous chapter, Chapter IV, I presented my findings. In the first part of Chapter IV, I answered my first research question as I detailed participants' pathways into the professoriate. In the second part of the chapter, I answered my second research question. For example, in my second finding, I illustrated how Latina/o/x faculty experienced uneven levels of support compared to their non-Latina/o/x peers as they navigated ambiguous, contradictory, vague tenure expectations. In my third finding, I emphasized how Latina/o/x faculty members'

experiences managing tenure requirements at HSIs are dominated by the salience of having their research, teaching, and service efforts continually undervalued while dealing with microaggressions. In the fourth finding, I provided information on how Latina/o/x professors deal with organizational socialization issues and epistemic exclusion during the tenure process. While these four findings answer my research questions, more intentional and continuous research is required to address the underlying inequity in tenure expectations for early-career Latina/o/x faculty.

The findings from this study answered my research questions by teaching me that besides the sporadic moments when participants found mentorships and pipeline programs, they found no encouragement, guidance, or support from their educational institutions to navigate their educational journey, especially regarding their tenure process. The findings of this study answered my research question by teaching me that participants were left to struggle on their own throughout their educational journey. I also learned that for Latina/o/x faculty, their tenure process might start before they are hired as assistant professors if they are fortunate enough to access mentorship and join pipeline programs.

Connecting Findings to the Literature and Theory: Where Have We Been and Where Are We Now?

Although HSIs have only existed for a quarter century, they continue to capture researchers' interests because of their fast growth and concerns regarding what it means to be "Hispanic serving" (Contreras, 2017; Vargas, 2019). In 2000, there were 229 colleges and universities designated as HSIs. By 2020, this number increased to 569

colleges and universities with an HSI designation and 333 colleges and universities classified as emerging HSIs, totaling 902 colleges and universities. There has been a three-time increase in the number of colleges and universities with HSI status between 2000 and 2020 (Murphy, 2022). In recent years, scholars have begun to interrogate what it means to be an HSI. Moving beyond the benchmark of a 25% Latina/o/x enrollment and traditional academic outcomes such as student persistence, transfer, and graduation rates, scholars believe that servingness at HSIs should encompass non-academic and liberatory outcomes to include racial/ethnic identity development, critical consciousness development, community engagement, and the absence of racialized experiences rooted in racism (Abrica et al., 2019; Comeaux et al., 2021; Pirtle et al., 2021; Serrano, 2020).

As Hispanic-Serving Institutions grapple with defining their identity, scholars emphasize the pressing need to increase the presence of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments to establish an organizational culture rooted in Hispanic Servingness (Contreras, 2017; Garcia, 2019; Vargas et al., 2019). This urgency stems from recognizing that a higher representation of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs can improve educational outcomes and experiences for Latina/o/x students (Educational Trust, 2023). Latina/o/x students often rely on Latina/o/x faculty members for guidance and support as they navigate the complexities of higher education (Contreras, 2017). Furthermore, Latina/o/x faculty are likely to understand and be aware of racial dynamics affecting Latina/o/x students on campus; thus, Latina/o/x faculty have the potential to influence the campus climate for Latina/o/x students (Garcia et al., 2020).

Expanding the definition of Servingness at HSIs, Garcia (2019) asserts that indicators for Hispanic Servingness should encompass the experiences of Latina/o/x students and non-students—i.e., faculty (Garcia, 2019). Centering the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs, research indicates that Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs encounter discrimination, racism, and microaggressions at HSIs (Martinez et al., 2017; Venegas et al., 2021). The salience of racialized experiences for Latina/o/x faculty aligns with literature focused on Latina/o/x students at HSIs (Comeaux et al., 2021; Martinez et al., 2017; Ortega et al., 2023) and indicates that HSIs are not effectively serving the Latina/o/x community because of the salience of white supremacy within HSIs organizational structures (Garcia & Zaragoza, 2023). This suggests that HSIs must address white supremacy to enact Hispanic Servingness (Garcia et al., 2019).

Addressing the organizational structures perpetuating white supremacy, which manifest themselves through epistemic exclusion, during the socialization of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments is a critical step to combat white supremacy and uphold the realization of Hispanic servingness at HSIs. This involves examining the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs. However, the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments still needs to be explored (Lopez et al., 2021; Nunez & Murakami-Ramalho, 2011; Zaragoza & Garcia, 2023).

Existing literature concerning the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in the tenure process focuses on studies conducted at PWIs (Baez, 2002; Perez, 2019; Turner et al., 2008; Zambrana, 2017). Similar to how organizational socialization theory (Tierney & Rhoads, 1993) and epistemic exclusion (Settles et al., 2020) have only been applied to the

study of faculty of color at PWIs, there has been no prior investigation of these theoretical notions in the setting of HSIs. My dissertation investigated the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs, employing organizational theory and the concept of epistemic exclusion to bridge this gap in the literature. Focusing on the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty through the lens of organizational socialization and epistemic exclusion enabled me to illuminate the values and norms that dominate the organizational culture of HSIs. In doing so, the findings of this study provide evidence that HSIs, like PWIS, uphold racialized experiences for Latina/o/x faculty, particularly in the tenure process.

Like the few studies that have explored the racialized experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs (Ek et al., 2010; Martinez et al., 2017; Zaragoza & Garcia, 2023), the findings of this dissertation reveal striking parallels between the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs and the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at PWIs. At PWIs, higher education literature illustrates how Latina/o/x faculty often experience a lack of institutional support in the form of feeling like an outsider (Gonzalez et al., 2013; Carrillo & Mendez, 2016), disrespect from peers and students to their research, service, and research competencies (Nunez, 2015; Olivia et al., 2013; Zambrana et al., 2017), the prevalence of racism, academic bullying, and microaggressions (Delgado-Bernal, 2002; Olivia et al., 2013; Sotto et al., 2021), and the expectation to engage in service work (Baez, 2000; Canton, 2013; Guillaume & Apodaca, 2022). The findings of this study show that the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs are no different from those of Latina/o/x faculty navigating tenure and promotion at HSIs. Participants in my study struggle on their own while enduring betrayals and frustrations that stemmed from

epistemic exclusion manifested through the lack of institutional support in the form of contradictory and vague tenure expectations, devaluations of research, teaching, and service, and microaggressions.

A Return to the Findings: Discussion and Interpretations

Becoming a tenured professor is fraught with long hours, a heavy workload, ambiguity, and self-doubt (Cooper & Stevens, 2002; Gasman, 2021). In addition to long hours, a heavy workload, uncertainty, and self-doubt, Latina/o/x professors also deal with a lack of institutional support. This manifests through requirements to perform volunteer work, a lack of mentoring, low pay, bureaucratic funding mechanisms, high teaching loads, disrespect, the devaluation of academic and service contributions, racism, and microaggressions (Zaragoza & Garcia, 2023; Liera & Galan, 2019).

For the Latina/o/x community, some challenges they encounter while on the tenure track are not new. Their hurdles begin as Latina/o/x scholars transition into higher education after graduating high school (Rall, 2016; Tichavakunda & Galan, 2020; Tierney & Duncheon, 2015), continue as transfer students (Bensimon & Dowd, 2009; Crisp & Nora, 2010; Graves, 2023; Viramontes, 2020), throughout their undergraduate years, (Arbelo-Marrero & Milacci, 2016; Gonzalez et al., 2016; Ramirez et al., 2023), and persist during their graduate studies (Ramirez, 2011; 2021; Santa-Ramirez, 2022; Torres Acosta et al., 2023). However, upon entering the professoriate, the absence of institutional support in the forms previously outlined becomes more salient.

Competent Candidates for Tenure: Epistemic Exclusion and the Erosion of *Confianza*

As illustrated by my first finding, the few Latina/o/x scholars who chose to enter the professoriate had the dispositions, competencies, and commitments to the three pillars of the tenure process. Professors such as Dr. Lopez, Dr. Berumen, Dr. Flores, Dr. Fernandez, Dr. Garcia, and several other Latina/o/x faculty I interviewed for this study joined the professoriate fueled by a commitment to research, service, and teaching. Research, teaching, and service allowed faculty members to engage and address the issues they cared about, often linked to Latina/o/x students or the broader Latina/o/x community. Faculty members view the tenure track as an opportunity to influence change through academia. Furthermore, throughout their educational journey, these Latina/o/x faculty members were socialized under the values of *confianza* to develop research, teaching, and service competencies. *Confianza* allowed Latina/o/x faculty members to feel valued, affirmed, and empowered to pursue a career in academia by the individuals and programs they came into contact with along their educational path. *Confianza* enabled Latina/o/x scholars to be drawn to a career in the professoriate as a tenure-track professor as they became confident in their skills and developed their competencies and dispositions for research, service, and teaching throughout their academic journey.

Once in the tenure track, they seldom encountered moments of *confianza* as shortcomings in the organizational socialization of Latina/o/x faculty resulted in persistent epistemic exclusion during their tenure process. Latina/o/x faculty members never felt fully valued and respected within their academic communities. The salience of

epistemic exclusion did not let Latina/o/x faculty members have any reasons to trust their departments, universities, and peers.

The Latina/o/x faculty I interviewed struggled independently while enduring epistemic exclusion resulting from high service demands and expectations, high teaching loads, and devaluation of their merits, academic, and service contributions. Faculty members confided instances of lack of mentoring, contradictory and vague feedback, disrespect, mockery, physical harm, racism, and microaggressions. The salience of these negative experiences for Latina/o/x faculty in tenure track appointments has prompted scholars to argue that, for Latina/o/x faculty, the tenure process is more complicated as its racialized nature disadvantages people of color. For example, Urrieta and colleagues (2015) argue that the tenure process is a moving target and a tool of fear used to decline the membership of Latina/o/x scholars in the professoriate and production of knowledge.

Epistemic Exclusion and the Erosion of Confianza: Making Faculty Members Feel Inferior

Negative experiences in the tenure track prevented Latina/o/x faculty from feeling fully integrated into their department and university life. Epistemic exclusion caused Latina/o/x faculty to feel inferior to their peers. For example, Dr. Gomez and Dr. Alvarez felt abused and made feel like workhorses as they did the dirty work for the department. The same was true for Dr. Luisa, who felt like a *sirvienta.* Epistemic exclusion coupe with shortcomings in organizational socialization made the likes of Dr. Flores, Dr. Cisneros, Dr. Mejia, Dr. Rubio, and Dr. Fernandez believe that their research efforts were insufficient despite expressing that they knew that they had to overperform in comparison

to their peers. Drs. While teaching, Gomez, Cano, Rodriguez, and Calderon endured disrespect, mockery, and physical threats. Furthermore, faculty members such as Dr. Ramos, Dr. Perez, and Dr. Lopez encountered additional distress as they felt sexualized, objectified, and infantilized. These combined experiences caused Latina/o/x faculty in this study to feel unappreciated and undervalued within their work environment.

Epistemic Exclusion and Erosion of Confianza: Departments and Universities Do not Care—Burn Out and Job Satisfaction

The sense of inferiority experienced by Latina/o/x faculty because of the salience of epistemic exclusion in their organizational socialization led to burnout and lack of job satisfaction. Burnout and low job satisfaction were evident as participants grappled with establishing their presence within department and university structures that provided limited support toward their tenure aspirations. Latina/o/x teachers who had to navigate the tenure process under ambiguous, inconsistent, hazy tenure expectations without much direction felt irritated, disappointed, and disenchanted with the tenure process, whether or not this was done on purpose. Additionally, the salience of devaluations and lack of recognition in research, service, and teaching while ending microaggressions made meeting tenure expectations more challenging for Latina/o/x faculty and sent the message that they did not belong in the academic space. For example, Dr. Escalante received positive verbal feedback for teaching and service. However, she was informed she was not providing enough service and received low marks for her teaching in her yearly evaluation letter. In his third-year assessment letter, Dr. Leon received appreciation for his service, but his performance was scrutinized behind closed doors. Also, keep in mind

how, despite gaining praise for a book that was published, Dr. Rubio was advised by a colleague that he needed to show that his research went beyond looking at his friends. Similar to how Dr. Rosas had interruptions during department meetings, Dr. Mendez was made to feel like he was trapped performing "dirty work" service duties. Because of these experiences, participants frequently conveyed feelings of shock, disrespect, and betrayal.

During our interviews, as participants reflected on their experiences and feelings of burnout, they grew tired of enduring blatant disrespect and exploitation of their labor. Latina/o/x faculty believed that by not assisting them in the tenure process, their departments and universities did not care about keeping Latina/o/x teachers on staff. Faculty members questioned their universities and departments' commitment to diversifying the professoriate, and, like Dr. Mendez, they often expressed that their universities merely exploited them for their labor. These experiences only made frustration, disappointment, and disillusionment with the tenure process grow for these Latino/a/x faculty.

Epistemic Exclusion and the Erosion of Confianza: A Growing Feeling of Distrust

Convinced that their departments did not care about supporting their tenure journey, faculty members grew distrustful of their department and university structures and contemplated leaving the academy. Faculty members' experiences, like that of Dr. Garcia, who experienced a gap and mistrust between her tenure manual and the realities of her employment, served as an example of these feelings of mistrust. Similarly, Dr. Vasquez felt hesitant to reach out for support after encountering hostility from a peer who put a timer during their meeting and abruptly ended their conversation when the timer

went up. Dr. Escalante distrusted feedback from her chair, while Dr. Luisa openly stated her lack of trust in her department chair and dean. Additionally, Dr. Rodriguez did not anticipate any protective measures from his chair after experiencing physical abuse from a student in his class. These instances highlight how Latina/o/x faculty encountered and grappled with a pervasive distrust as they navigated tenure and promotion. Because of this distrust, faculty members such as Dr. Cisneros claimed to want to stop doing research or leave academia, as Dr. Flores did.

Faculty members engaged their trusted colleagues to overcome the lack of trust they experienced in department and university settings. With someone in her trusted network, Dr. Leon was able to decipher the hidden feedback she received in her tenure letter, which scrutinized her service. Dr. Mejia engaged her trusted network to quantify and gain clarity in the research expectations. Similarly, after expressing that she did not trust her department leadership, Dr. Luisa admitted that having people she trusts helps to make up for the lack of a trusting relationship with her chair. As disclosed by these faculty members, having trusted people around helped them receive guidance, support, and clarity in the tenure process. It ameliorated the negative feelings they encountered within their institutions as they navigated tenure expectations. However, a significant challenge for Latina/o/x faculty members in this study was that they often found themselves as one of the only or few Latina/o/x faculty members within their departments and universities. They had to network outside of their universities to gain access to trusted colleagues who could provide guidance, support, and clarity on tenure expectations. As a result, the advice, support, and clarity these faculty members received

were only sometimes specific to what they needed to do to navigate tenure expectations at their respective institutions. Additionally, instead of benefiting from a space where they could receive mentorship from senior scholars within their departments and universities, Latina/o/x faculty were burdened with finding their mentorship and resources externally to gain a trusted space to feel supported. This practice added frustration, confusion, and responsibility for a faculty group already strained by various duties and required an immediate trusting hand to guide them through tenure expectations.

Although Latina/o/x faculty members relied on their commitment to the Latina/o/x community and students as a source of responsibility and strength to persist in the tenure track amid unsupportive structures and frustrating experiences, they still tried to avoid becoming too attached to their tenure track appointments. When prompted about what made them stay on the tenure track, overwhelmingly Latina/o/x faculty responded: the students, particularly Latina/o/x students. For example, recall how Dr. Jimenez and Dr. Escalante reflected their awareness of how their presence in the professoriate positively influences Latina/o/x students. Similarly, Dr. Lopez, Dr. Berumen, Dr. Flores, Dr. Rey, Dr. Montes, Dr. Fernandez, and Dr. Garcia all experienced the positive influence of Latina/o/x faculty in their educational journey, so they all saw the professoriate as an opportunity to mentor other Latina/o/x students and, to an extent, to pay forward all the support she received when she was a student.

The awareness of the positive influence they had on Latina/o/x students provided faculty members with a sense of purpose to persist in their roles. However, with the

prevalence of epistemic exclusion in their organizational socialization, faculty members attempted to draw boundaries in their faculty roles by viewing their tenure-track appointments as mere jobs. This was the case of faculty members such as Dr. Rubio, Dr. Leon, and Dr. Rodriguez. Adopting the mindset of viewing their tenure track appointment as part of their careers rather than letting it define their existence and career goals allowed Latina/o/x faculty members to draw healthy boundaries as they navigated tenure expectations despite the lack of institutional support they endured. However, this coping mechanism also indicated that Latina/o/x faculty continued to distance themselves from their institutions, thus signaling a trust gap between Latina/o/x faculty and their respective universities because of the salience of epistemic exclusion in their socialization. It implies that beyond their perceived relationship with Latina/o/x students, Latina/o/ faculty were not full members of the departments and universities in which they operated. Beyond students, Latina/o/x students, faculty members did not trust their departments and organizations.

Combating Epistemic Exclusion: Creating a Culture of *Confianza* to Make Tenure Viable

Existing literature on HSIs continues to expand and redefine what it means to be an HSI (Garcia et al., 2019; Gonzalez et al., 2020; Ortega et al., 2023; Vega et al., 2022). Hubbard and Stage (2009) highlight that the normative structures of historically white institutions create challenges for HSIs to support and diversify their faculty. My findings support Hubbard’s and Stage's observations and provide evidence to an emerging body of

literature highlighting that Latina/o/x faculty have negative racialized experiences at HSIs (Martinez, 2017).

Similarly to PWIs, the salience of epistemic exclusion in the organizational socialization of Latina/o/x faculty prevents HSIs from engaging in authentic servingness for the Latina/o/x community in higher education. By perpetuating racialized experiences for Latina/o/x faculty, HSIs need to fulfill their commitment to serving Latina/o/x faculty and, by default, Latina/o/x students. Concerned with advancing servingness at HSIs by combating epistemic exclusion, I echo the sentiments of Garcia and Zaragoza (2023) in advocating for HSIs to confront and dismantle the ingrained white supremacy within organizational structures and practices within their tenure process. In doing so, I assert that fostering an environment of servingness for Latina/o/x faculty is predicated on cultivating *confianza*—respect, validation, and empowerment—within the organizational structures and practices governing the tenure process.

In what follows, I present how HSIs can combat epistemic exclusion by fostering confianza in the organizational socialization of Latina/o/x faculty through symbolic, material, and rational commitments.

Fostering Confianza: Symbolic Commitments and Symbolic Gestures

Making Latina/o/x faculty feel valued, and part of the organization, requires colleges and universities to make symbolic commitments. Symbolism communicates and establishes a college or university's tone, values, and intentions regarding racial equity and its campus climate (Tichavakunda, 2022). Symbolic commitments and gestures require colleges and universities to engage in acts that make Latina/o/x faculty feel seen,

validated, and respected within organizational structures as they enact tenure expectations—teaching, research, and service.

Colleges and universities can deploy formal and informal communication channels to engage in symbolic commitments and gestures to support Latina/o/x faculty. A welcome message from department leadership and peers can make a newly hired Latina/o/x faculty feel seen and excited as they become onboarded in their organization. By utilizing social media platforms and official communication channels, universities and department leadership can spotlight the achievements and contributions of Latina/o/x faculty in research, teaching, and service. Recognizing Latina/o/x faculty with departmental and university awards for their teaching, research, and service is another form of expressing a symbolic commitment to Latina/o/x faculty and their contributions to the university. These practices can increase the visibility of Latina/o/x faculty on college campuses and make them feel that their work is respected and validated by the university community. Dr. Luisa, who felt like a sirvienta, or Dr. Alvarez, who felt trapped doing the dirty work without any recognition for their labor, could have benefited from this practice. Through symbolic commitments, university leadership could have signaled that their efforts mattered.

Colleges, universities, and their tenure committees can use symbolic commitments to support Latina/o/x faculty by using their communication channels to share statements that explicitly value diverse research, teaching, and service perspectives in the tenure process. These statements should explicitly prioritize research focusing on qualitative, non-traditional methodologies, race-centered, practitioner-oriented, and

community-centered research. The teaching and service elements of tenure should pay special attention to courses and volunteer endeavors that highlight racial diversity, equity, and inclusion. Although Latina/o/x academics frequently participate in teaching and volunteer activities during the tenure process, their accomplishments are not given enough credit. Through these symbolic commitments, Dr. Flores, Dr. Vaquez, Dr. Gomez, and Dr. Fernandez could have felt protected and safe from the devaluation of their research, teaching, and service.

On a personal level, department and university leadership can embody symbolic gestures through their interactions with Latina/o/x faculty. These gestures can start by displaying an authentic desire and curiosity to get to know Latina/o/x faculty behind their professional roles within and beyond the university context. Offering validation and supportive comments as Latina/o/x faculty meet different milestones in their tenure journey can make Latina/o/x faculty feel supported in their tenure process. Additionally, to make Latina/o/x faculty feel respected and valued, whether in public or private settings, department leadership can engage in symbolic gestures by acknowledging the significant efforts put forth by Latina/o/x faculty in teaching high-enrollment courses, undertaking high demands for their services. These symbolic gestures can communicate to Latina/o/x faculty that department leadership recognizes, values, and respects their work.

While not inclusive of all the symbolic commitments that HSIs can deliver, these symbolic commitments and gestures can show Latina/o/x faculty that their presence and contributions are valued and respected. Symbolic commitments can be the start to

dismantle barriers and biases that have historically devalued research, teaching, and service orientations by espousing value to the research, teaching, and service activities carried out by Latina/o/x faculty. By actively engaging in symbolic commitments, colleges and universities can cultivate an environment of *confianza* where Latina/o/x faculty feel valued, supported, and integrated into their universities and departments.

Fostering Confianza: Material Commitments

Material commitments provide much-needed resources such as equipment, people support, and funding, turning symbolic rhetoric into a reality (Felix, 2023). Espousing material commitments to instill *confianza* and improve the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in the tenure process requires colleges and universities to ensure equitable access to essential resources during their onboarding and throughout their tenure journey. During onboarding, material commitment can range from ensuring that Latina/o/x faculty can access adequate office space and conducive working conditions; this includes having access to phone services, air-conditioning, fully functional computer equipment, and adequate office lighting. Once in the tenure track, Latina/o/x faculty can benefit from material commitments to advance their research, teaching, and service. In what follows, I illustrate how instilling *confianza* through material commitments in these areas can look.

Material Commitments in Research

In research, material commitments demand that colleges and universities invest in resources to facilitate the research endeavors of tenure-track Latina/o/x faculty. These investments include granting access to qualitative research analysis software to alleviate the financial burden that such tools may impose on Latina/o/x faculty. Many colleges and

universities only have quantitative data analysis software, but overwhelmingly, Latina/o/x faculty focus on qualitative research. Faculty members like Dr. Flores can modify their perspective on his claim that qualitative approaches are not valued in their university by having tools and resources that support them.

As part of their material commitments to support Latina/o/x faculty in their research, colleges and universities can provide unrestricted access to research funds to assist them with their research projects. These research funds can empower Latina/o/x faculty to secure necessary resources, such as research assistants and funding for recruiting doctoral students to assist them with their research projects. In many instances, funds to hire research assistants and recruit doctoral students are scarce, requiring pre-tenured faculty to compete with senior scholars, which may alter department dynamics. As Latina/o/x faculty, such as Dr. Alba, Dr. Rosas, and Jimenez, became overwhelmed with research and service responsibilities, having access to a research assistant could have provided Latina/o/x with the support needed to continue to make progress within their different research projects as they met high teaching and service loads.

In order to provide pre-tenure Latina/o faculty members time to develop their research agendas or take a vacation from the onerous teaching and service commitments that began the moment they were employed, colleges and universities can also offer course releases. Dr. Alvarez, Dr. Luisa, Dr. Bosques, and many other faculty members could have benefited from material commitments in course releases to recognize the often uncompensated labor they endured as they engaged in high teaching and service responsibilities that frequently prevented them from advancing their research projects.

Material Commitments in Teaching

Material commitments can safeguard pre-tenure Latina/o/x faculty from excessive teaching responsibilities. Many faculty members felt overwhelmed and frustrated by their teaching responsibilities, mainly when teaching high-student enrollment courses. Material commitments, such as course releases for excessive teaching, can protect tenure-track Latina/o/x faculty from these daunting teaching responsibilities. For instance, course releases can give Latina/o/x faculty the chance to prioritize their well-being while taking a break from burdensome teaching obligations or engaging in crucial tenure-related tasks that may have been postponed as a result of those expectations. Alternatively, if course releases are not viable, colleges and universities can consider pairing pre-tenure Latina/o/x faculty with teaching assistants and readers to help with the teaching loads. Participants describe that access to teaching assistants and readers is a competitive process in many of their departments. Without materials commitments to support Latina/o/x faculty, competing with senior scholars for teaching assistants and readers with senior faculty in the department can alter faculty dynamics and put Latina/o/x faculty at a disadvantage. For instance, faculty members like Drs. Rosas, Albra, Jimenez, and Bosque, who faced heavy teaching loads, as well as those like Drs. Gomez, Cano, Rodriguez, and Calderon, who encountered teaching devaluations, could have greatly benefited from course releases or the support of teaching assistants to help manage their workload, frustrations and advocate against teaching devaluations. A course release or a teacher assistant could have made Latina/o/x faculty feel they were not alone and had

some support from their department. Feeling that they were not alone and perceiving support is critical to developing *confianza* as colleges and universities

Material Commitments in Service

Material commitments in service require colleges and universities to safeguard Latina/o/x faculty from service and recognize their service contributions. Participants frequently stated that they felt called to perform more services than their peers as they reflected on their service activities. No participant expressed receiving a reward or recognition for service contributions. As a result, some Latina/o/x faculty felt frustrated and devalued as they were doing the dirty work or acting as the *servienta* of their departments. Through material commitments to support Latina/o/x faculty in their service activities, colleges, and universities can explore releasing Latina/o/x faculty from service responsibilities during their first year in the tenure track. This initial year without heavy service commitments would allow them to better acclimate to tenure expectations while becoming familiar with their university and department environment before taking on significant service demands.

If a break from service during the first year of the tenure track is not feasible for Latina/o/x faculty, colleges, and universities could offer material rewards for service contributions. For instance, providing course releases in exchange for undertaking demanding service activities can demonstrate recognition and appreciation for the extra effort Latina/o/x faculty put into their service roles.

Material commitments in research, teaching, and service can enhance the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in the tenure process. By providing the necessary

support through resources, colleges and universities can create an environment that enables Latina/o/x faculty to thrive academically and professionally. These material commitments can foster confianza among Latina/o/x faculty as they navigate tenure expectations by making them feel that the university values, respects, and recognizes their work.

Many Latina/o/x faculty members argued in favor of these material obligations during my interviews, admittedly recognizing these promises are already part of the tenure start-up package when faculty are hired. They pointed out that during the negotiation process, information regarding the kinds of resources that may or cannot be gained is not always offered to them. Many participants mentioned that it is challenging to identify what they might be missing out on resources without knowing what is possible to request.

Fostering a *Confianza:* A Commitment to Cultural Safety

Latina/o/x faculty, reflecting on their tenure track experiences, often express the need for a safe space where their culture and identity are respected, validated, and supported by organizational structures. Establishing cultural safety requires a commitment from department and university leadership to implement anti-bias training programs. Investing in anti-bias training programs can educate both organizational leadership and members of the organizations to recognize and address their own biases and prejudices that make Latina/o/x faculty experience epistemic exclusion in their organizational socialization. For example, by investing in anti-bias training, colleges and

universities can prevent and address microaggression, sexualization, and infantilization experienced by Drs. Bosques, Lopez, Dr. Perez, Ramos, and Torres.

Implementing anti-bias training to create cultural safety can mitigate participants' devaluation and disrespect in their research, teaching, and service roles. Anti-bias training can free Latina/o/x faculty from the pressures and frustrations of having to prove themselves because their research is often misjudged or not understood by university leadership, peers, and tenure committees, as was the case of Dr. Cisneros, Dr. Mejia, Rubio, Fernandez and many other faculty members who expressed enduring research devaluation and disrespect.

In teaching and service, anti-bias training can also create cultural safety for faculty members who face devaluation and disrespect in their teaching and service roles. Implementing anti-bias training would have benefited department and university leadership, as well as peers in the colleges and universities where professors like Drs. Gomez, Cano, Rodriguez, and Calderon taught high-enrollment courses. With proper anti-bias training implemented, they could have celebrated their accomplishments as teachers, been allowed to teach courses in line with their areas of expertise, and avoid physical harm and emotional distress. Similarly, in service, anti-bias training can recognize the valuable service contributions of Latina/o/x faculty and prevent the frustrations and discouragement they experience as their service contributions are unrecognized and devalued, as detailed by Drs. Vasquez, Alba, Rosas, and Mendez.

Creating cultural safety for Latina/o/x faculty navigating tenure-track appointments also requires colleges and universities to develop supportive structures.

During our interviews, participants expressed that in order to properly meet and navigate tenure expectations, there was a need for more guidance to prevent conflicting feedback and stop circulating vague information. This lack of clarity often left many faculty members struggling to interpret and decode the steps they needed to follow to progress in their tenure journey.

When departments and universities attempted to guide Latina/o/x faculty members with information regarding tenure expectations, some participants, such as Dr. Robles, described these efforts as “informational dumping.” This practice of informational dumping left Latina/o/x faculty members confused and signaled that the department and university's efforts to support in guide Latina/o/x faculty needed to be more genuine. For many Latina/o/x faculty, informational dumping created the feeling and perception that colleges and universities were merely following procedures rather than offering meaningful support.

Latina/o/x faculty often sought guidance from university leadership and peers to overcome the challenges of the lack of guidance and vague information to meet and navigate tenure milestones. However, this approach often proved ineffective. Recall Dr. Vasquez, whose colleague abruptly ended a meeting when a timer she set went off as Dr. Vasquez requested her guidance. Think of Dr. Rodriguez, who sought guidance and support from senior leadership after experiencing a physical attack in the classroom but received no assistance. Remember Dr. Leon and Escalante, whose peers and university leadership failed to provide feedback on what steps they needed to follow when their contributions faced scrutiny behind closed doors. As a result of these experiences, faculty

members endured the additional task of involving their trusted network. However, this practice was only sometimes effective as their trusted network was able to provide general advice but not advice specific to their department or university.

Disrupting oppressive structures in higher education requires collective activism and solidarity to create cultural safety for Latina/o/x faculty (Delgado Bernal et al., 2018). This collective activism towards cultural safety through supportive program structures starts with demystifying tenure expectations by providing clear, consistent, and honest feedback throughout the tenure process. Additionally, colleges and universities must actively engage in collective efforts that promote coalition-building and shared responsibility for driving the change needed to improve the conditions of Latina/o/x faculty as they navigate the tenure process. This can be accomplished through institutionally financed initiatives that can link faculty members with mentors and are grounded in cultural competency and cultural humility (Duntley-Matos, 2014). Nearly all faculty members in this study could have benefited from clear and consistent communication channels while accessing safe spaces via mentoring. In this study, mentoring rooted in cultural humility could have guided while creating a safe space for Latina/o/x faculty to process frustrations and emotional labor arising from conflicting feedback, microaggressions, and the devaluation and disrespect of their work and presence in higher education.

Concluding Thoughts on Creating a Culture of *Confianza* to Make Tenure Viable and Recommendation for Policy

Throughout my interviews with Latina/o/x faculty, they often expressed the need for colleges and universities to show their commitment to the Latina/o/x community. The Latina/o/x faculty I interviewed wanted colleges and universities to show they could be trusted. Proving colleges and universities can be trusted starts by fostering *confianza* by investing in symbolic, material, and cultural safety commitments. These commitments can foster validation, respect, and empowerment in the organizational socialization of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure-track appointments while diminishing instances of epistemic exclusions.

Symbolic, material, and cultural safety commitments are critical to foster *confianza* and supporting Latina/o/x faculty in their tenure journey. Realizing these commitments requires the active involvement of university and department leadership. However, to fully achieve these commitments, changes at the national policy level are urgently needed. Expanding federal designations for (HSIs) and allocating additional funds to HSIs through Title V should require colleges and universities to show investments in supporting Latina/o/x faculty. To encourage HSIs to prioritize and develop programs that explicitly benefit Latina/o/x teachers, Title V should be strengthened. Latino students cannot be properly supported in their academic journeys without helping Latinx academics on their path to tenure. Hence, HSIs cannot enact servingness.

Areas for Future Research

There is a pressing need to continue to engage in research to capture the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in the tenure process at HSIs. While this study provides evidence of the prevalence of epistemic exclusion in the tenure experiences of Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs, it is crucial to undertake additional studies that delve deeper into the tenure process for Latina/o/x faculty. Future studies should attempt to capture the extent to which different identities, such as gender, country of origin, disability, and immigration status, influence tenure experiences. Also, given the underrepresentation of Latina/o/x faculty in STEM disciplines and quantitative methodologies, future studies should capture the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure track appointments engaged in this type of work. Moreover, future studies should focus on exploring the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in Research Intensive Hispanic Serving Institutions (RIHSIs)—longitudinal studies with Latina/o/x faculty throughout their tenure track appointments. Future studies can benefit from involving different stakeholders' in supporting Latina/o/x faculty in their tenure appointments. Studies involving department chairs, deans, and provosts can help illuminate how university leadership perceives their support towards early career Latina/o/x faculty.

In the current political climate, tenure is under attack. Scholarships and initiatives dealing with diversity, equity, and inclusion are also under public scrutiny. Future studies should explore whether the current political climate influences Latina/o/x faculty members to enter and remain in tenure-track appointments. Furthermore, future studies also offer a more nuanced approach to understanding the strategies employed by

Latina/o/x faculty to navigate the challenges they may encounter during the tenure process and the existing political climate. Understanding how these faculty members effectively manage these obstacles can provide valuable insights and inform the development of supportive policies and practices.

Concluding Thoughts

In this study, I explored the experiences of 30 Latina/o/x faculty navigating tenure expectations at HSIs. The findings of this study have direct implications for supporting Latina/o/x faculty in their tenure process and improving educational outcomes for Latina/o/x students in higher education. In recent years, colleges and universities nationwide have faced pressures to increase their diversity and confront their complacency in addressing systemic racism in the professoriate as tenure track appointments remain overwhelmingly white (Settles et al., 2021).

Racial and ethnic groups, such as Latina/o/x faculty, are routinely excluded from the academy through tenure (Urieta et al., 2015). The findings of this study continue to provide evidence of how the Latina/o/x community continues to operate in a sink-or-swim environment through their educational journey, particularly in the tenure process. Increasing the number of tenured Latina/o/x faculty cannot be left to the luck of who learns to swim within a sink-or-swim environment. Increasing the number of tenured Latina/o/x faculty requires institutionalized efforts to support the Latina/o/x community in their educational journey and certainly once in the tenure track.

Without institutionalized efforts to improve the conditions under which Latina/o/x faculty navigate the tenure process by combating the salience of epistemic exclusion in

the tenure process, diversifying the professoriate cannot be achieved. To improve the conditions under which Latina/o/x faculty navigate their tenure process, the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty can no longer stay written in peer review journals or visible to Latina/o/x faculty only. Higher educational institutions must act proactively to learn and rectify the organizational conditions that lead Latina/o/x faculty to endure negative experiences in their tenure process. As more scholars continue to document the lack of institutionalized support endured by Latina/o/x faculty, higher education institutions, particularly HSIs, can no longer afford not to take action. The experiences of Latina/o/x faculty in the tenure process need to move beyond y(our) eyes only into tangible steps to support their journey and increase the number of tenured Latina/o/x faculty at HSIs.

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APPENDIX A: GENERAL INTERVIEW GUIDE AND PROTOCOL

IRB-SB Number: HS-21-165

Main Research Questions:

1. What educational experiences influence Latina/o/x faculty to pursue a career in the professoriate?
2. How do Latina/o/x faculty define their experiences in tenure-track appointments at HSIs?

To Do Before Beginning and Interview

- Thank interviewees for their time, introduce the project, and ask if they have any questions.
- Thank them for signing the consent form. Offer to answer clarifying questions about the consent form.
- Provide an estimate of how long the interview will last.
- Ask for permission to record.

Interview Protocol

Background/Faculty Life

1. What attracted you to pursue a career in academia?
2. What are the main duties/roles that you have as a faculty member at this institution?
    a. Probe: Are there any informal responsibilities that you carry as a faculty member at this institution?

Tenure Expectations

1. What are your expectations for tenure at your institution?
    a. Probe: Research Expectations
    b. Teaching Expectations
    c. Service Expectations
    d. Are these policies the same or different at the department level?
2. How do you understand your institution's department policies regarding tenure expectations?
3. How and when did you learn about these expectations for tenure?
    a. Probe: How has it been meeting these expectations?
        1. After your review, would you say that your university/department prepared you to meet the expectations for tenure?
4. When you have questions about the tenure process, who do you speak to?
5. What type of committee/service activities do you participate in?

    a. Probe: How did you learn/become involved in these committees/service activities?
        1. In what ways, if any, do you feel that your colleagues value your contributions in these spaces?
6. The literature on faculty of color highlights how the epistemologies of faculty of color are devalued in research, teaching, and service by white colleagues. Reflecting on your experiences as Latina/o/x faculty in the tenure process, can you speak to this point?
    a. Probe: colleagues, department, university (policies and practices)
7. The literature on faculty of color underlines the prevalence of biases in the workspace via formal and informal processes. Reflecting on your experiences as Latina/o/x faculty, can you speak to this point?
    a. Probe: Gender biases?
8. The literature on faculty of color emphasizes how faculty of color are often socially excluded from support institutional and peer support groups that can be useful to navigate tenure. Reflecting on your experiences as Latina/o/x faculty in the tenure process, can you speak to this point?
    a. Probe: What have you done to overcome this?
9. What advice would you give to departments seeking to support Latina/o/x faculty in their tenure process?
10. The literature mentions the dismal number of Latina/o/x faculty in tenure appointments, what do you attribute this to?

Closing

1. In what ways as Latinx scholar helped you navigate academia?
2. I aspire to become a university faculty, given what we discussed what advise, if any do you have?
    1. Probe: As Latina/o/x in higher education, what should we navigate with?
    2. What should we navigate against?
    3. What should we continue to build upon?
3. The purpose of my study is to understand the experiences of Latina/o/x faculty nabigating tenure expectations. I also seek to explore the ways, in which Latina/o/x faculty experience biases, and racism during their journey to tenure. Reflecting on your experiences, is there anything I ask that you think is important for me to capture as it relates to the purpose of this study?