UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SANTA CRUZ

BIPOC FG GRADUATE STUDENTS TRANSFORMING ACADEMIA WITH THEIR FUNDS OF KNOWLEDGE

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

PSYCHOLOGY

by

Paulette D. Garcia Peraza

June 2022

The dissertation of Paulette D. Garcia Peraza is approved:

_____
Margarita Azmitia, Ph.D., chair

_____
Rebecca Covarrubias, Ph.D.

_____
Moin Syed, Ph.D.

_____
Peter Biehl
Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

Table of Contents

List of Tables and Figures

Abstract

BIPOC FG Graduate Students Transforming Academia with Their Funds of Knowledge

Paulette D Garcia Peraza

Black, Indigenous, People of Color first-generation (BIPOC FG) graduate students bring unacknowledged strengths into graduate school. These strengths can come from their lived experiences and the skills, goals, or values from their families and communities, also known as funds of knowledge. This dissertation drew on an extant data set to investigate how BIPOC FG graduate students acquire, convert, and apply their funds of knowledge within the context of a public Hispanic-Serving Institution. Thirteen BIPOC FG students (7 Latinx, 4 Multiethnic-racial, and 2 Asian American) participated in a semi-structured interview about their transition into graduate school, and current lived experiences in their graduate program. The narratives were analyzed, and their themes were used to create profiles that captured variations in the processes and strategies by which BIPOC FG graduate students acquire and convert their funds of knowledge. Findings revealed four different profiles that highlight the unique ways participants navigated graduate school. This study adds to the scarce literature on how graduate students convert their funds of knowledge to navigate their graduate programs.

Acknowledgements

A whole *communidad* of mentors, peers, colleagues, family, and participants made this dissertation possible.

To my advisors and mentors, Dr. Margarita Azmitia, and Dr. Rebecca Covarrubias, thank you both for allowing me to be a part of wonderful labs and spaces, continually giving your time to share your knowledge, and for being so supportive and amazing throughout my whole journey at UCSC. Also, thank you Dr. Angela MinhTu-D. Nguyen for your continual mentorship and guidance. I look forward to have you all as my *collegas* and to be able to return the kindness and support.

To my cohort, I love you all and can't imagine going through the past few years without y'all. I'm going to miss doing puzzles together, hanging out, and just spending time together! I look forward to continue visiting each other and celebrating life together. Also, a special thanks to the grads who were so supportive and kind!

To my really wonderful friends, Ellice Kang, Azucena Lucatero, and Brenda Gutierrez. I feel so lucky to have you all as my friends and look forward to having more *chisme* sessions and vacations together!

Zu meinem cariño, Ich danke dir für deine Liebe und Unterstützung. Vom ersten gemeinsamen Unterricht, bis zum Abschluss von unserem Programm. Ich kann es kaum erwarten dieses Kapitel von unserem Leben zu beenden, und gemeinsam ein neues zu beginnen.

A mi familia, las quiero mucho y ustedes son la razón porque he podido seguir y luchar. Mama, desde pequeña me dijistes que lo mas importante es el estudio y que haci me podía independizar. Pues hoy ya llegue a la ultima etapa de mis estudios pero sin tus esfuerzas y sacrificios, yo no lo hubiera logrado. Te quiero mucho.

BIPOC FG Graduate Students Transforming Academia with Their Funds of Knowledge

Hispanic-serving institutions (HSIs), where at least 25% of the undergraduate population identifies as Hispanic (U. S. Department of Education, 2016), recruit and serve more students from minoritized groups. Unfortunately, HSIs do not serve graduate students from minoritized groups in the same way they serve undergraduate students (Garcia & Guzman-Alvarez, 2021). From 2005 to 2015, HSIs increased their enrollment of Latinx undergraduate students from 26% to 37%, whereas enrollment of Latinx graduate students only increased from 6% to 11% (Garcia & Guzman-Alvarez, 2021). For students accepted into an HSI, the university's efforts to diversify the academy are not always coupled with efforts to include minoritized students' backgrounds and needs. Universities continue to lack diverse faculty, hire faculty that are untrained in how to mentor students from minoritized backgrounds, and lack sufficient financial assistance for students to continue their studies (Davis & Fry, 2019; Gonzalez et al., 2020).

My dissertation aimed to investigate the experiences of BIPOC FG graduate students at a Hispanic-Serving Research Institution (HSRI). First, I will discuss the context of the study. Second, I will introduce the integrative framework that guided this research and combines social capital theory and funds of knowledge. Third, I will delve into prior research on Black, Indigenous, People of Color[1] (BIPOC), and/or FG

[1] For this study, I will utilize the term BIPOC to highlight the unique experiences of Black and Indigenous people (Pham et al., 2021). This term will be used when talking about the overall experiences of graduate students, but when discussing graduate students' individual experiences, I will explicitly name the specific intersectional identities of each student.

students. Finally, I will present and discuss this study's methods, findings, and implications for future work.

Academia as a Context for Graduate Students' Professional Development

Academia is at the intersections of White supremacy, patriarchy, and capitalism (Cabrera et al., 2016). These systems of power allow academia to promote dominant ideologies around meritocracy, colorblindness, and equal opportunity (Vaccaro, 2017), and privilege White, middle-class male norms, values, and practices (Bourdieu, 1986; Margolis & Romero, 1998; Stephens et al., 2012). For example, one institutional practice might include viewing learning as an objective process rather than acknowledging that it is affected by the relationship and dynamics of faculty and students (Bondi, 2012). For marginalized students, if faculty members and peers ignore or dismiss students' comments in a classroom discussion, this might relate to how they view and understand learning within a class. Specifically, they might assume that only certain voices are heard and valued in the learning process. Over time, this lack of validation may result in disengagement from the class or leaving the university if the issue is widespread in their program.

These dominant ideologies and practices can be perpetuated by administration and faculty that are mostly White, middle-class individuals who already know how to navigate the system and have not faced discriminatory practices in higher education (Abdul-Raheem, 2016; Taylor et al., 2020). In their positions of power, administrators make the budgetary and governance decisions that impact what resources are allocated to departments and minoritized students and what agenda items are most

important to the university. Because they work more directly with students, faculty can become gatekeepers on who gets to continue in the programs or receive financial support (McCoy et al., 2017). Administrators and faculty also decide who gets hired and who gets tenure, therefore impacting faculty diversity (Abdul-Raheem, 2016; White-Lewis, 2021). Taken together, these decisions perpetuate the systemic issues that exclude BIPOC individuals in higher education (Orelus, 2020).

Privileging a dominant culture and ideology creates inequities in academia and institutions of higher education. It can be especially damaging to BIPOC graduate students, particularly those in HSIs that primarily focus on undergraduates. These structural systems and policies affect graduate students' daily experiences and their future lives and careers in academia. For example, one study explored the experiences of BIPOC graduate students in the classroom (Curtis-Boles et al., 2020). Researchers found that BIPOC graduate students faced several incidents like being told they were communicating in a way that was unacceptable in academia or students were unable to stand up for themselves because of the power that faculty had over their careers. These experiences were attributed to the embedded racism in academia and faculty-student power differences. Other studies have also found that learning the academic culture might make BIPOC FG graduate students feel like they are stuck between two worlds. One study investigated the experiences of Mexican American FG graduate students (Leyva, 2011) and found that these students felt in-between graduate school and their home life because of the conflicting roles and expectations. Overall, these experiences might inhibit BIPOC FG graduate students' success (Brunsma et al.,

2017; Griffin et al., 2020). Nevertheless, because some BIPOC FG graduate students persist and enter the professoriate, it is important to understand variations in BIPOC FG graduate students' support systems, skills, values, and goals.

Hispanic-Serving Institutions and Graduate Students' Professional Development

The data for this proposed dissertation were collected at a Hispanic-serving public institution with a very high research activity (R1). The HSI designation permits institutions to apply for funding to meet the needs of their Latinx students (Cuellar, 2019), although not all colleges apply for funding for this reason (Aguilar-Smith, 2021). Some colleges might apply for funding to garner prestige, fulfill a decline in funding from other sources, and serve the needs of all students (Aguilar-Smith, 2021). Much of the HSI funding is also focused on addressing students' deficits, such as low enrollment or graduation rates (Garcia & Koren, 2020; Garcia & Ramirez, 2018), rather than highlighting their strengths. Importantly, the HSI label is not based on already having programs in place to serve the Latinx population. HSIs struggle to serve their students and might lack financial resources to support them, not have programs tailored specifically for graduate students, and not hire and retain sufficient Latinx faculty (Gonzalez et al., 2020). In 2018, for example, only 6% of full-time faculty identified as Latinx (National Center for Education Statistics, 2022). Therefore, these institutions might be more "Latinx-enrolling" rather than "Latinx-serving" (Santiago & Andrade, 2010). Furthermore, larger systems of oppression, like white supremacy, might still influence these institutions' ideologies and practices (Garcia et al., 2019; Wilder, 2013).

The HSI designation plays a different role for graduate students attending these institutions. The designation does not require a certain percentage of Latinx graduate students; therefore, they might still be in spaces where many of their peers are white. Moreover, most of the HSI funding has been geared toward assisting undergraduate students; currently, only one federal funding program supports Latinx students to attain their graduate degrees (U. S. Department of Education, 2016). Because the focus of HSIs and their funding has been on undergraduates, prior research has also focused on the experiences of undergraduate students, largely ignoring the experiences of graduate students. However, most graduate students at HSIs might be teaching and conducting research with more Latinx students and might not have more diverse peers or receive financial/programming support. Because they are committed to mentoring minoritized students, BIPOC FG graduate students may also carry out more invisible labor than their white peers.

Another issue with the HSI designation is that it prioritizes Latinx students while not supporting other ethnically-racialized minoritized students (e.g., Black, Indigenous, Asian American; (e.g., Black, Indigenous, Asian American; Abrica et al., 2020; Comeaux et al., 2021; Serrano, 2020). Although HSIs attract many Latinx students, they usually also enroll a large percentage of other BIPOC students (Santiago et al., 2020). Some universities may have other designations as Minority-Serving Institutions, Historically Black Colleges and Universities, or Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander-Serving Institutions. These designations might include other types of funding for these students, but not all institutions have these

designations. This dissertation will expand on the literature by investigating the experiences of graduate students, examining how BIPOC students might experience an HSI, and highlighting the strengths of these students as they navigate their academic and social spaces.

Theoretical Frameworks

This dissertation is informed by Kiyama and Rios-Aguilar's (2017) framework that integrates social capital theory (Bourdieu, 1986; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) and funds of knowledge (Ramos & Kiyama, 2021; Vélez-Ibáñez & Greenberg, 1992). Combining both theories allows for a more thorough investigation of students' experiences from a structural and asset-based individual perspective. This section provides an overview of these theories and discusses the integrative framework.

Social Capital Theory

Capital, the relationship between making an investment and reaping the profits from that investment, provides a set of resources for students to navigate and be successful within academic settings (Lin, 1999). Two types of capital, social and cultural, require learning the practices or values embedded in these forms of capital. Social capital is the available resources from one's social connections (Baron et al., 2000; Bourdieu, 1986), whereas cultural capital is the middle- and upper-class cultural signals and standards (e.g., language skills, credentials; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Lamont & Lareau, 1988). Having access to and knowledge of these signals and standards allows individuals to navigate social, linguistic, and cultural competencies (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). Graduate school values social and cultural capital from

middle and upper social classes and implicitly requires that students gain this capital to navigate the system (Gopaul, 2011). For example, parents who have attended undergraduate and graduate school might use different jargon, teach their children how to network, or provide graduate school or job advice. Graduate students socialized with this knowledge are better equipped to navigate the educational system, such as using their networking connection to get an advantage in gaining a job position or being aware of grants and fellowships and how to apply for them successfully. Therefore, higher education perpetuates inequities among social classes, which gives students from middle and upper classes more power. This theory also emphasizes that the middle and upper social classes resist changing their values and practices because this change would acknowledge their dominance and relinquish some of their power. Instead, individuals from middle and upper social classes continually reproduce the social class hierarchies in society (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Lamont & Lareau, 1988) and the academy (Kosut, 2006). Therefore, the focus of this perspective is that middle- and upper-class individuals have this capital to maintain their power and prevent others from gaining this capital. Thus, individuals from working classes might lack these resources. Researchers have suggested that this theory is a deficit narrative and that an alternative framework like funds of knowledge emphasizes that working-class individuals have capital, but it is not valued in society.

Funds of Knowledge

The funds of knowledge framework was developed to counter deficit narratives of U.S. Mexican youth's resources in the educational system (Vélez-Ibáñez

& Greenberg, 1992). Funds of knowledge are the strategic and cultural resources vital to an individual's daily life and well-being in response to the unequal access to institutional resources (Moll et al., 1992; Ramos & Kiyama, 2021; Vélez-Ibáñez & Greenberg, 1992). The knowledge sharing, which is dynamic and constantly evolving, may take the form of daily practices, skills-building, modeling how to manage challenges, or passing on of values and perspectives (Moll et al., 1992; Ramos & Kiyama, 2021; Vaccaro et al., 2019; Vélez-Ibáñez & Greenberg, 1992). Knowledge sharing occurs through the trusted social relationships within interconnected contexts, including home, the neighborhood/community, and institutional communities (Ramos & Kiyama, 2021; Vélez-Ibáñez, 1988). For example, youth might have to pay the household bills and navigate the banking system because their parents cannot do so. In the learning process, they might call the bank to ask how certain things work, incorporating individuals outside the family into the knowledge sharing. In this example, youth gain budgeting and business skills from their experiences at home. In this way, they can integrate home and school in ways that benefit them and their families.

Vélez-Ibáñez and Greenberg (1992) developed this framework for Mexican youth in the classroom, but it has been adapted to other marginalized groups and contexts. Increasingly, funds of knowledge studies examine the knowledge BIPOC (Kiyama & Rios-Aguilar, 2017) and FG students (Delima, 2019; Smith & Lucena, 2016) draw from when navigating the college system. Less work has examined funds of knowledge of BIPOC FG students (Luedke, 2020; Vaccaro et al., 2019) and

graduate students (Cutri et al., 2011). For this dissertation, I will be focusing on BIPOC FG students in their graduate school context. Funds of knowledge will be defined as the skills, values, and goals that are dynamic and which BIPOC FG graduate students incorporate from their lived experiences, familial, community, and academic contexts.

The Integrative Framework of Social Capital & Funds of Knowledge

Social capital theory and the funds of knowledge framework have their strengths and limitations, when examined independently. Social capital theory is rooted in the deficit framing of ethnically-racially and social class minoritized communities and the reproduction of inequality. Examined alone, a focus on social and cultural capital perpetuates the idea that working-class and communities of color lack resources and opportunities that make it difficult for them to attain upward mobility. While the funds of knowledge approach focuses on assets, it does not provide a practical application of how students might convert their knowledge into tangible support to help students achieve their aspirations.

One reason the funds of knowledge concept might not make the application of assets explicit is that power and social contexts can affect whether the knowledge can be applied. For example, a student may know how to transition into new environments; however, if institutional barriers make it challenging for the student to fit in, then that power structure prevents the student from harnessing their funds of knowledge. Unfortunately, funds of knowledge does not explicitly integrate systems of power and how systems of oppression like racism, sexism, or classism affect

individuals' experiences and the knowledge that gets valued (Rios-Aguilar et al., 2011). To address these limitations, Kiyama and Rios-Aguilar (2017) proposed an integrative framework that combines funds of knowledge and social capital theory. This framework allows funds of knowledge to provide an asset-based approach to understanding the experiences of students but also recognizes the systems of power in which students must negotiate how they use their values, skills, and goals.

In this integrative framework, there are four states of engagement for funds of knowledge to become capital. First, students themselves must recognize the funds of knowledge they carry, as educational spaces often (mis)recognize students' home norms and values. Institutions might misrecognize students' funds of knowledge because they conflict with the everyday practices that have been normalized in the educational system (James, 2015). Through misrecognition, institutions purposely use their power to perpetuate inequalities and maintain the middle- and upper-class social and cultural capital. Second, students must access the forms of knowledge and capital transmitted to them from their family, community, or institutional mentors (Ramos & Kiyama, 2021). Third, students must convert their funds of knowledge into social or cultural capital (e.g., converting values of hard work into skill-building in their professional development). By the time BIPOC FG graduate students enter graduate school, they might know what type of capital is legitimate in academia. This awareness stems from the successful navigation of their undergraduate studies and their understanding that graduate training is required for their career goals. The fourth stage is mobilization, or the active use of social and cultural capital (e.g., using their

social networks to achieve the goal of completing graduate school). Not all capital can be activated because institutional power might prevent some aspects of that capital from being used. This dissertation contributes empirically to this integrative framework by exploring the mobilization of funds of knowledge and capital among BIPOC FG graduate students, an underrepresented population in the capital and funds of knowledge literature.

Assets of BIPOC and FG students

Scholars have begun to build on this integrative framework and expand on the strengths of marginalized students. Luedke (2020) examined the exchange of funds of knowledge between Latinx FG undergraduate students at a Predominantly White Institution (PWI). Findings indicated two states of engagement in the integrative framework: how students accessed capital through *dichos* and *consejos* and how students converted that capital into funds of knowledge. Some students received funds of knowledge from their family's values of persistence and hard work, and others received direct social and cultural capital from older college-attending siblings. Other students gained social and cultural capital from attending college and then transformed the experience into funds of knowledge by advising their siblings and bringing that knowledge back to their homes.

Ramos (2018) also identified other types of funds of knowledge that BIPOC low-income FG undergraduate students might access and enact. Through interviews and focus groups, they found that the students' funds of knowledge included managing different parts of their lives, being resourceful, and asking for help. For

example, students actively asked questions in college because they needed help and did not know what to do. Many mentioned that this stemmed from their family's encouragement to ask questions or because life circumstances forced them to ask for help early on.

Vaccaro et al. (2019) also highlighted the importance of funds of knowledge, focusing on women of color undergraduate FG students at a PWI. Their findings suggested that students used their parent's experiences and values to guide them through college. For example, students took their immigrant parents' experience of learning to navigate a new environment and transformed it into a way to learn how to navigate the individualistic college context. Other students applied their family's values of getting an education by focusing on college and succeeding academically.

The Proposed Dissertation

This study aims to fill a gap in funds of knowledge and graduate student literature. Prior studies have focused on the undergraduate experience, which is valuable to understand. However, navigating the graduate experience is different because of the hidden curriculum embedded in academia (Margolis & Romero, 1998). There are also fewer BIPOC peers, the workload requires balancing research, teaching, and service, and it requires greater independence to balance this workload (Lovitts, 2005). Little is known about how funds of knowledge have or have not served as assets for graduate students' educational outcomes (Ramos & Kiyama, 2021). Additionally, few studies have investigated how power relates to funds of knowledge.

This dissertation adds to the literature by exploring how BIPOC FG doctoral students maneuver their funds of knowledge within academia, which relies heavily on social and cultural capital. The analysis provides a unique contribution by focusing on the integrative framework process rather than prior work highlighting only one state of engagement (Contreras & Kiyama, 2022; Luedke, 2020; Patrón, 2020; Vaccaro et al., 2019). This analysis will provide further information on whether students can go through the process and what systemic issues might prevent them from mobilizing their funds of knowledge into capital. Additionally, this dissertation focuses on the experiences of graduate students who have successfully converted funds of knowledge to tangible capital by completing a college degree (Rios-Aguilar et al., 2011) and then attempted to use their funds of knowledge to navigate graduate school. Finally, scholars have also called on researchers to understand FG students' experiences through their intersecting identities (Nguyen & Nguyen, 2018). This study will address this call to understand FG students' experiences from their multiple identities (e.g., ethnicity-race, gender, social class).

The principal research question in my dissertation was: how do BIPOC FG graduate students mobilize their funds of knowledge in the university system? To answer this question, I analyzed extant interview data of FG graduate students at an HSRI. Given this study's qualitative nature, no a priori hypothesis will be provided (Lieblich et al., 1998).

Method

Researcher Positionality

My interest in the topic stems from my personal experience of navigating graduate school as a Salvadoran female FG graduate student from a working-class background. Trying to figure out what it means to be a woman of color FG student in academia and how to best contribute to the community has been a challenge as I have moved through graduate school. My experience of community spaces for women of color and FG students, in general, helped me continue in graduate school. While helping develop and foster those spaces, I heard about the challenging experiences of others. However, I also saw all the strengths and ways in which these students resisted the everyday challenges of academia. Wanting to highlight the voices of my community has been a driving factor in my work. Additionally, my previous research on social support and belonging of FG undergraduate students from minoritized backgrounds (e.g., Latinx, working-class) increased my knowledge of the literature on FG students. This personal and academic understanding of the women of color FG experiences influenced my decision to contribute to the literature on women of color FG students to underscore that the graduate experience is different from the undergraduate experience.

Participants

Data for this dissertation were collected in 2019 and 2020 as part of a collaborative study on FG graduate students' lived experiences. Participants were 27

graduate students attending a selective public HSRI[2] in northern California. Participants were identified and recruited through announcements on graduate and FG student listservs, referrals from other FG graduate students and professors, and campus flyers. Due to my involvement in FG and student of color groups and the limited population of BIPOC FG graduate students at this HSRI, I already knew a few participants. Throughout data collection, I wrote memos on similar themes brought up by participants, and once my research team and I noticed that we had reached saturation, we stopped data collection.

The two eligibility criteria for inclusion in the dissertation were (1) status as an FG graduate student, defined as students whose parents did not graduate from a four-year college or university, and (2) identify as Latinx, Asian American, African American, or Multiethnic-racial. Fourteen participants from the larger dataset did not meet the eligibility criteria or had unique situations (e.g., they completed their bachelor's degree concurrently with a parent). Thus, the sample for this dissertation included 13 BIPOC FG students (see Table 1 for demographic information). Their ages ranged from 23 to 33 years old (M = 26.85, SD = 3.11). Most participants were born in the US (n = 12). Participants' year in their graduate program ranged from two to seven.

We measured socioeconomic status with the MacArthur Subjective Status scale (Adler et al., 2000). This scale measures the belief in social class mobility and

[2] After data were collected, the institution also attained the ANNAPISI designation where at least 10% of the undergraduate population identifies as Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander (U. S. Department of Education, 2014).

subjective socioeconomic status. Participants indicated their past, current, and anticipated future social class status on a picture of a ladder with ten rungs. Many participants grew up in a lower socioeconomic status (n = 12), and one participant grew up in a middle to upper socioeconomic status. Most perceived themselves as currently being lower in their socioeconomic status (n = 9), while others viewed themselves as being middle to upper class in their socioeconomic status (n = 4).

Procedure

Prior to data collection, I pilot-tested the interview on three BIPOC FG graduate students who had extensive experience conducting interviews. They provided feedback on how to conduct interviews and edit and reorganize the interview questions. Following these pilot interviews, my project colleagues and I revised the interview protocol to account for this feedback and remove any questions that were not directly related to the focus of the study.

Participants completed a two-hour semi-structured, in-person or virtual interview focused on their graduate school experiences. I conducted the in-person interviews in my lab or alternate locations on campus, and the virtual interviews were conducted over Zoom. All interviews were audio-recorded. During the interview, participants were asked questions about their transition into graduate school, recent experiences in their graduate program, how they translated their home skills into graduate school, social support systems, and identities (See Appendix for the complete interview protocol). After finishing the interview, participants completed a demographic questionnaire and the MacArthur Subjective Status scale. Then, they

were given a flyer that included a list of on-campus resources (e.g., counseling, food and housing resources, resource centers, and spaces to meet other graduate students). Participants were compensated $20 in cash for their participation.

Throughout data collection, I took notes about my reactions and noted prominent themes after each interview. Some stories resonated with my own experience, like facing microaggressions from colleagues and faculty, making it difficult to hear that other students had also been through similar negative experiences. Debriefing with participants after the interview, validating their experiences, and writing personal memos helped me put the participants and my own graduate school experience in context.

Interviews were transcribed verbatim either by the research assistants or the Temi transcription service. Transcripts were also checked for accuracy. The research assistants who transcribed and checked the transcriptions included six ethnic-racial minoritized (i.e., African American, Latinx, Pilipinx, Asian American) women and two Latinx men. They were all FG undergraduate students with experience in navigating academic spaces as FG students.

Coding and Analysis

I adopted a contextual constructionist approach in our coding and analysis. This epistemological view assumes that knowledge depends on surrounding situations and the larger context, and that each researcher's positionality and subjective experience plays a role in analyzing the data (Madill et al., 2000). Based on this view, I did not try to get consensus coding, but the other coder and I accounted for each of

our thoughts about the interviews. The other researcher and coder on this project was a Central American FG immigrant faculty member.

The data was analyzed using a case-based, person-centered analysis (Syed, 2010; Thorne, 2004). This analytical approach allowed us to understand the individual lived experiences and cluster cases based on shared experiences and processes. The unit of analysis was the entire interview focusing on excerpts highlighting the participant's overall experience. To conduct this analysis, we first read an entire interview to familiarize ourselves with a participant's experience. After the initial reading, we wrote a summary of the interview that included: (a) our observations of the student's strengths, (b) how they related their experiences to their family, general community, or the academy, (c) whether these discussions were related to their BIPOC FG identity, (c) how and whether their experiences conflicted with the university or academia, and (d) a general sense of the participant. Our observations also focused on how the student talked about these topics at the beginning versus the end of the interview.

After reading and writing summaries for 3-4 interviews, we started a preliminary map of profile configurations. Using Jamboard, we grouped participants who had similar experiences while noting any individual differences in their experiences. Then, as we continued reading each interview and writing the summaries, we mapped each one onto the profile configurations. Once we did this for the majority of the participants, we went back to some interviews that did not initially fit the profile configurations to reread their transcripts and rethink the configurations.

Following the integrative framework, we also looked for specific skills, values, or goals that highlighted funds of knowledge. We noted funds of knowledge that were specific to each profile and funds of knowledge that were similar across the interviews.

Once the initial profile mapping was complete, we reread all the interviews to define the process as they aligned to the four categories of the integrative framework process: misrecognition, transmission, conversion, and mobilization. To differentiate between conversion and mobilization, we coded conversion as experiences related to the cognitive process of understanding funds of knowledge as valuable sources of capital and coded mobilization as active ways of using the funds of knowledge as social and cultural capital. This iterative process of rereading the interviews, defining the process, and editing the profile configurations continued until it seemed like we had fully defined everyone's process and developed configurations that best captured their experiences. We also observed how ethnicity-race, gender, and social class related to the configurations. One participant could not be classified into one of the four profiles and thus, the results are based on the interviews of 12 participants.

Results

The integrative framework focuses on four states of engagement that include (a) misrecognition or institutions not recognizing student's funds of knowledge, (b) transmission, which is family, community, or others passing on funds of knowledge, (c) conversion, which involves changing funds of knowledge into social or cultural capital, and (d) mobilization wherein students use their social or cultural capital (see

Figure 1). Using the person-centered approach, four profiles were identified. To illustrate the integrative framework process, each profile only focuses on one or two funds of knowledge that distinguish it from the other profiles. However, many of the participants held many other types of funds of knowledge. As seen in Figure 2, the first profile focuses on participants that successfully moved through the entire process and mobilized their funds of knowledge into capital. The second profile included participants that attempted to convert their funds of knowledge into capital but faced barriers in this mobilization process. The third profile focuses on participants who received funds of knowledge from institutional members like faculty or peers and were much more aware of the institutional culture. Finally, the fourth profile included participants that also converted and mobilized their funds of knowledge into capital; however, the institution's misrecognition conflicted with their ability to continually use their capital to navigate their graduate training and professional ideology and goals successfully.

Across these profiles, participants did not mention how their experiences were unique in an HSI. Only one participant, Padma[3], discussed that being in an HSI made her feel unsupported:

> We're a Hispanic Serving Institution right, so like there's a lot of spaces like for that community, right, but I think that there's other communities that still feel a disconnect and like lack of sense of belonging. Like I know that like South Asians on campus, there's a smaller community of us. I know there's

[3] All of the participants' names are pseudonyms

like an undergrad Indian Student Association and different groups like that, but for a grad student it feels uncomfortable to be in those spaces, right, because half of them must have been at some point my student or are going to be, right? So that disconnect I still feel, um, actually now I'm thinking about all the things the university can fix, um, and I think that's especially salient for me is because I try to focus on the experiences on South Asians like in my research, and there's not really any other faculty in the program that does that, or that I could, yeah, that I could reach out to, um, collaborate with and what not right?

As a South Asian woman, being in an HSI felt unsupportive because there were no spaces that recognized her community. Other participants might not have talked about the campus as an HSI because it still functioned similarly to other graduate institutions. The culture still promoted very white, middle-class practices and values that make it challenging for students to use their funds of knowledge.

Profile 1: Ability to Convert and Mobilize Their Funds of Knowledge into Capital

The first profile embodies the experiences of five BIPOC FG graduate students. One student was a Latinx woman from the Physical and Biological Sciences Division, but the other four participants were in the Social Sciences Division. These participants included a Latinx man and three women who identified as Asian American, Latinx, or Multiracial. Overall, these students' narratives showed that they could move through the integrative framework process effectively. There was a clear

translation of how their family's funds of knowledge were integrated throughout the process. For these students, the value of family and community was central and directly transmitted from their families. This value guided their goal of attending higher education and bettering their community and family. However, they believed that these two funds of knowledge were not recognized by academia, the university, or their respective departments. In the conversion process, students recognized that their funds of knowledge and lived experiences were a valuable contribution to their academic goals and that they needed to form a source of support and community that believed in their goals. They actively formed a community of support and also converted their knowledge of their communities into cultural capital. Then they mobilized their social capital and activated their cultural capital by directly applying their work to their own academic and personal communities. The main difference between this profile and the others is that participants were explicitly able to convert, activate and mobilize their capital to their advantage to succeed in academia.

In the first part of the process, students recognized they had a goal of contributing to their community and family. This goal drove them to pursue higher education because a higher degree was required to make the contributions they wanted to make in society and their careers. However, participants realized once they were in graduate school that academia and the university valued producing knowledge through publications and research more than teaching or community activism. In this way, the institution is a vehicle for individual social mobility, which was at odds with the participants' values and goals for attending graduate school. In

this instance, the institution assumes that graduate school is for individual self-interests and has not recognized that for some students, school also includes being accountable to the populations they study or their families and communities. This misrecognition of their funds of knowledge made it challenging for students to move through graduate school. To illustrate this finding, Laura talks about how this misrecognition was prominent during her qualifying exam, which made it challenging for her to complete this graduate school milestone:

> I do remember like a specific like first-gen frustration with quals because, a lot of it felt like, how do I make my research academicky enough? And that made it feel less applied, to me, and especially since the population I research with is so connected to my own background that it just felt really frustrating, um, to pull it farther and farther from an application to their circumstances. Um, and so I remember feeling like that was a very, specifically like first-gen sort of thing, that I still don't quite get this academia thing. Like there's still something, that I'm not understanding there. Um, which I don't think has to be the case… and even though…I've chose to work with them [research population] because I think in a lot of ways…they try to be very applied in what they do, but um … there are norms and ways that we structure the institution that pushes it towards this like … Ivory towery sort of, you know, has to be abstracted and not too applied. And it makes sense that that comes out in these like, forced moments of the exams, or the defense, or whatever it is. Um, but I remember feeling that very acutely after the qualifying exams.

Families valued and relied on familial and community support and found it important to have a sense of obligation to their family and community. Sometimes this value was transmitted through a direct conversation with the student, whereas other times, it was implied through actions or behaviors. For one student, Jamie, when he mentioned wanting to go to college, he was directly asked by his family, "How are you going to make money, and how are you going to help the family?" He was also given certain familial obligations like sponsoring his undocumented parents for citizenship. These obligations and his family's background shaped his experience and how he approaches life and graduate school. For example, Jamie had "done [his] best to try and, you know, use [his] experience and, um, identities to help advocate for things, you know, so as somebody who's a U.S. citizen but who grew up in a mixed status family, um, immigration is, you know, like a key issue for [him]."

In sum, these students carried two funds of knowledge, (a) the goal of contributing to their family and community and (b) the value of family and community support. Students were aware that because of the institution's value on producing knowledge and self-interests, they were not going to easily be able to apply these funds of knowledge. In attempting to convert these funds of knowledge into capital, these participants realized that they had to adapt them to fit into the cultural and social capital that allowed them to succeed and continue in graduate school. One student, Ines, highly valued her family's support and encouragement and realized that she would need similar emotional support within the graduate school setting. She expanded her funds of knowledge value to include a value of community within the

graduate school context and used her skills to build and nurture that type of community. She viewed it as "I don't have my actual family, but it's kind of like I'm building one here. So I think that's what's really been helping me realize that this is where I want to be." She was able to create a social network of academic peers, faculty, and mentors and build the social capital needed to navigate graduate school and fulfill her goal. In addition, students tried to fulfill their goals by focusing their research and service on their communities. They converted the knowledge and experiences of their communities into legitimate academic value, like presentations and publications. Through this strategy, students' lived experiences and knowledge became cultural capital because they had insider knowledge of that specific community.

Once students converted their funds of knowledge into social and cultural capital, they utilized this capital to succeed in graduate school. For example, Selena built a broad social network that included a diverse group of individuals. She drew on her social networks based on whether she needed certain advice around academic topics or needed more emotional support:

> I ask my advisor questions like right now we have weekly meetings set up, so I like bring all my questions to her and usually it's like something I'm working on at the moment, so I don't necessarily ask her questions about like the future after grad school. Um, I usually ask her like, "Oh this data I'm working on isn't working. What classes should I take, like who should I talk to about my qualifying exams?" Things like that. Um, but for like, um, more

> personal things, that's more of a friend network thing that I discuss, um amongst people who feel like they will understand where I'm coming from, who are probably going through similar things. It's more of the like *comadre/compadre* [buddy or friend] thing.

This ability to strategically use her social networks allowed Selena the opportunity to feel academically, socially, and emotionally supported. Additionally, students used their cultural capital by actively discussing their knowledge and experience in their communities within the classroom or in research spaces to educate their peers and faculty. One way Jamie did this is "if we're talking about social movements, I'll talk about, you know, some of the things that work in theory better than, you know, in practice. Um, and some of my experience organizing when we talk about radical flanks and moderates and you know, how context really matters."

Profile 2: Lack of Cultural Capital Conflicts with Their Ability to Fully Mobilize Their Funds of Knowledge

The second profile represents the experiences of 3 BIPOC FG students. Two women were from the Social Sciences Division, one identified as Latinx and the other as Asian American. The other student was a Latinx woman from the Physical and Biological Sciences Division. For these participants, their fund of knowledge was the value of balancing graduate school with the other parts of their lives. However, participants perceived that the institution failed to understand their experiences holistically and only viewed them as employees and students. Their value of wanting a work-life balance contradicted with how the institution viewed graduate students.

Participants' fund of knowledge was transmitted from their family, who either modeled that value or reminded them that graduate school is just one piece of their lives. Participants were aware that the university and academia required that students continually be productive. They though that perhaps seeking a social network outside of the university would help them find that balance. Students mobilized this form of capital but still faced the challenge of having to be productive consistently.

The university requires students to juggle teaching, service, and research and be highly productive and competent across all areas. However, having these multiple roles without any expectations on what is required for each area creates a culture of always needing to be productive. This was a struggle for Josie because her advisor expected her to work constantly, whereas she wanted a more manageable workload. Josie expressed:

> So, and you know he's [advisor's] like chemistry is, everything, like I don't wanna be him…I don't need a Nobel Prize. I just want job security and to be able to support my family. Um, so, I definitely feel like that contradicts, how, my boss [advisor] thinks, because for me, I wish chemistry could be an eight to five. I wish I could go home and not think about what I need to do tomorrow.

Universities also fail to recognize that the role of student, teacher, and researcher is only one part of the graduate student experience. Outside of graduate school, participants also had other responsibilities and relationships that were important to them. However, the demands from school take so much time that

participants felt like it was not realistic and conflicted with their ability to take care of themselves and enjoy life. Isabella said she "value[s] time and like I realize, like I work at a slower pace, so, and that's not meets deadlines. I value like a good work and life balance and that's not it [graduate school]."

Family was the primary source that transmitted this value of work-life balance. They transmitted this value by modeling one way of navigating a work-life balance or reminding participants that graduate school is just one part of their lives. Adeline noted how she grew up watching her father balance work and life:

> And my dad has always worked like a lot more and he like really loves it though. So kind of seeing the like balance between being really passionate about your job and like that being a motivator for not only like self, a filament, but also like supporting a family. Um, but also like taking time with family. Like, we're all always like doing stuff together. Having like meals together like that, that type of balance is something that like I would want to replicate in my life.

This modeling helped Adeline realize that balancing life and a fulfilling career is possible. For other participants like Isabella, her mom constantly reminded her that there is more to life than graduate school, although it may seem like her whole world. Isabella said:

> I think having someone to vent to who cares about you and just reminds you of like, you know, my mom has been through life, so I think she's like, yeah, it's [graduate school's] stressful, but it's not the end all be all.

All the participants knew that their funds of knowledge value can be challenging to bring into academia. As Adeline mentioned, “I know that it [work-life balance] can be really difficult when you’re going into academia and that’s very all encompassing.” It might be challenging to incorporate a work-life balance because participants are spending extra time figuring out graduate school rather than already having that cultural capital. Adeline, for example, wants the work-life balance, but constantly worries that she is not doing enough because she does not have the cultural capital to navigate graduate school:

> Like I don’t have the solid roadmap of like what I’m going to do next after the qualifying exam. Um, and I am always like kind of thinking about like, what am I not doing enough of?... Like there’s at least one other person there that like has really strong mentorship with like people from previous institutions. It like seems to have like a really strong awareness of like how many publications or presentations or whatever it is, it’s going to make you a really viable candidate on the job market. And like, I really don’t know much about what that looks like and I when I know we’ll find out, but, um, that’s just something that I do like worry about. Like if I’m just not making the right choices, I’m not like seizing enough opportunities, you know, whatever the language is around that just because I don’t know what I should be doing.

Because participants did not have the cultural capital, they found other ways to convert their value into social capital. They developed social connections that helped them achieve the work-life balance by either reminding them that there is life

outside of academia or helping them manage their academic work. These social connections included supportive people in their program that made work seem less daunting or friends or colleagues' partners that were not in academia. For example, Josie is "very, very good friends with the wife of a postdoc" whereas Isabella "ended up finding a group of friends. So I think we, ended up navigating towards other women of color, um and, they became a huge support system."

Participants' social capital acted as support for creating that work-life balance. On the one hand, Adeline mobilized her partner's support to reach that balance: "So, having him like as an outside form of support has also been really helpful in maintaining work-life balance, which I did not have at all in the beginning. And I'm slowly achieving [work-life balance]." On the other hand, Josie activated her relationship with her postdoc's family whenever she needed to feel like her life was not all academic:

> I remember after my Qualifying Exams, like that's the first place I went [the postdoc's house]. You know after we popped the champagne and all that stuff, I'm like, "I need to go to her house. I need to lay on her couch and play with her son." Like that is the one place that feels normal in Santa Cruz. Like, we don't talk about grad school. Even though I see my postdoc there, he's like, "Josie, it's dinner time. It's not chemistry time." And like, her and I go shopping and I play with the son and I babysit him. He's 2 years old and he's like, "Aunt Josie is here," like things like that. So it's the one place in Santa Cruz that feels normal, like a normal life.

Participants activated their social capital to create a life outside of academia. However, the requirements of academic work, their lack of cultural capital, and the academic culture of constantly being productive made it challenging to activate their funds of knowledge value fully. For example, Josie reached out to her social network outside of graduate school, but her advisor's expectations continued to prove a challenge in maintaining a work-life balance:

> I'm taking two days off on top of the three days you give me for Thanksgiving…But like, I'll still be like, "What if he [advisor] gets mad at me cause I didn't work that weekend."… So I try to work as hard as I can, so that I can, like, guilt free say I'm taking time off. Yeah. So like I'm taking a week off, well, like 10 days type thing. I'm taking 10 days-ish to go on a trip out of the country with my mom, and my grandparents, and my boyfriend this summer so I need to make sure in May, besides like this weekend conference that I have, I don't take any, really any days off. Like I might not work every single Saturday and Sunday, but I need to make sure that I'm coming in on the weekends and doing work.

Profile 3: Transmission Primarily from Individuals Outside of the Family Environment

This third profile represents the experiences of two BIPOC FG graduate students. One student identified as Multiethnic-racial non-binary from the Social Sciences Division. The second student identified as a Latinx male in the Humanities Division. These participants attended higher education to engage with projects that

focused on conceptualizing theory and advancing knowledge in their field. This goal was not transmitted from family; instead, academic mentors and peers transmitted it. Although participants' goals aligned with academia's purpose of advancing knowledge, their identities as BIPOC FG students conflicted with the type of people (i.e., white, middle class, continuing generation) that usually made these contributions. Both participants were familiar with the academic culture, including how to act within the academic spaces. Therefore, they could convert their funds of knowledge into cultural capital to navigate higher education. Unlike the previous profiles, these participants' funds of knowledge were transmitted from other institutional agents like faculty or peers, but not from family.

Participants noticed that in their departments there was a lack of diversity. Alicia noticed that "there aren't as many people from working-class backgrounds here now…I think I'm the only person in [my department]?" Jonathan also noticed that "my cohort is very white." Although the university and departments made statements supporting diversity efforts, there were still very few BIPOC FG working-class individuals in these graduate divisions. This misrecognition made it challenging for participants because they were one of the few BIPOC FG working-class students in their departments. For Alicia, this resulted in feeling disconnected from their peers:

> Um… I'm guessing it has to do with like sense of belonging, cultural differences. Just like subtle cultural differences that aren't things that we think about everyday but like you sort of discover. When talking to friends like oh wow your life was really different. Your parents were really different…I think

before it used to really stress me out. Um, it still does actually and I have moments where I like, after it happens I feel less connected to the person and then I have to like find a way to have a talk with myself about it.

Jonathan also mentioned that this misrecognition prevented him from connecting with his peers. However, he also viewed the lack of diversity as even more problematic because it limited the perspectives of how theory and literature were interpreted and advanced. He described one time when his perspective conflicted with the perspective of the class because everyone else was white:

> I remember this moment, my first quarter, oh my god, where we're reading this book on, it was called the Wilsonian Moment. It was about, um, struggles of decolonization around the time of WWI in the Middle East and South Asia…The argument is basically that the points speech that Wilson gave around that time was kind of like an impetus for a lot of people in the third world to demand, um, you know, self-autonomous governments that were divorced from the colonial experience. And I remember thinking like, that's really presumptuous that this author thinks that what is responsible for those movements is this white president who was saying like, we should give you all freedom–like we should decolonize, right. I just remember thinking like, you know, you don't think it's possibly the experience, the 200-hundred-year experience of, um, the colonized people themselves, and the frustrations that come with that and the violence and terror that is possibly motivating their desire to, you know, engage in decolonizing activities or to, you know, have

> their own autonomous governments. And I remember saying this in class and everybody's white in that class, including the professor, minus myself. And I just remember like, people getting really mad that I would dare cause people really liked this book.

This event signified that his views and goal of advancing and expanding knowledge were not valued. Rather, only certain perspectives, particularly those from white middle-class individuals, were valued. This was the problem of having a department that lacked diversity, where the department's faculty and graduate students all held the same perspectives. Therefore, this misrecognition conflicted with his funds of knowledge of engaging with projects that advanced theories and concepts.

The goal of advancing theoretical knowledge was transmitted from individuals already within the higher education institution. Faculty, peers, and mentors were critical in passing on this fund of knowledge. Jonathan explicitly talks about how his mentor and graduate students fueled this goal:

> My main advisor for my undergrad thesis was a historian of Mexico, um, who did like urban spaces, um, post-revolution. But he was a Marxist. And, um, I think that that kind of helps foster a lot of that, um, again, those political ideologies that I had just started to pick up…Um, and I think that, you know, I think they [graduate students] became, like, my role models. Like these were, um, you know, I was probably around 20-21 and they were, like in their mid to late twenties and I really, like, identified with what they were doing right?

> That there was this very clear purpose behind their academic interests and their political interests. And, um, I think, you know, that was kind of like the last thing that needed to happen, right? Was wedding this pursuit of the PhD to, um, this, um, the political philosophy that was kind of like motivating my, um, you know, my ideas about what I should be doing with this education.

Although this transmission process primarily derived from individuals in the institution, family also played a role. Participants wanted to separate themselves from their family because of conflicting values and goals or because of childhood experiences. For example, Alicia mentioned that in their experience they:

> Had kind of like a stressful childhood. Because of that I'm really interested in abstract ideas that are like away from reality, and so I think it influenced my life in that way where I'm just interested in things that are a little bit removed from sort of direct application.

In addition to motivating their goals in graduate school, faculty and peers were also vital to the socialization process into academic culture. Alicia distinctly remembers how one of her advisors actively socialized them into academia:

> One of my advisors didn't just help with like, oh you need to get publications and get posters, but he really had an eye also towards the socialization process of like how to, um, sort of fit in an academic world weirdly. So like how to do like elevator pitches and he sort of modeled himself a very like, a very formal east coast academic vibe and so I think that like rubbed off on us to be like very formal, very professional, um, and I think through modeling and

sometimes explicitly he helped like, um, transfer some of the like academic culture.

For both participants, this socialization meant that they were aware of the type of cultural capital that is legitimate in higher education and how to succeed in academia. This awareness allowed them to convert their funds of knowledge goal into cultural capital. They were aware that publications were vital to advancing knowledge in their respective fields. They also knew how to engage with theory and readings to have those theoretical discussions and think about more abstract topics.

To mobilize their cultural capital, participants produced several publications, utilized and learned the jargon to engage in theoretical discussions, and were selective in their choice of research topics. For example, in their prior master's program, Alicia used that period to "still like produc[e] during that time. So that's what I ended up doing was just extending it for six years and then having a lot of publications to like make up for that." In another example, Jonathan used his cultural capital to be selective in his program of study: "It was something that I felt not a lot of people in history were doing, and it felt like I could put my, both my intellectual, um, work and, um, efforts into it, but I could also put my political and my, you know, moral, ethical interests, um, at work in the same space." This way, he could contribute to an area of study that was not commonly investigated. From mobilizing their cultural capital, both participants successfully navigated the academic part of being in graduate school. Yet, despite being able to mobilize their capital and being familiar with the

culture, Jonathan planned on leaving his program because of the problematic academic culture.

Profile 4: Converted and Mobilized their Funds of Knowledge but Mobilization Conflicted with Institutional Misrecognition

This final profile includes the experiences of two women BIPOC FG graduate students who identified as Multiethnic-racial from Latinx and White ethnic-racial backgrounds. One student was in the Physical & Biological Sciences Division, and the other student was in the Social Sciences Division. They had the skill to recognize systemic issues that affected BIPOC FG students and openly bring them forward. This skill was transmitted from their family's life experiences and provided the foundation for their goals of making systemic changes in academia. Unfortunately, faculty and peers did not value this skill because it contradicted their academic culture. These participants were acutely aware that academia did not want to recognize their issues but felt they were important for them to persist in their studies and for academia to become more inclusive. Therefore, they transformed this skill by changing how they addressed these issues to fit in with the cultural capital of academia. Using this cultural capital, they actively worked to change the culture of academia by being involved in groups that had the power to change the culture. For participants in this profile, their primary distinction from the other profiles is that even after mobilizing their capital, the larger systems of power still made it challenging for them to continue in graduate school, which led to them feeling disengaged or explicitly pushed out from the university.

Both participants identified several ways in which they perceived academia and their respective departments failed to recognize systemic issues. These misrecognitions conflicted with the participants' funds of knowledge skill of being able to recognize, discuss, and address these systemic issues. One type of misrecognition was academia assuming all students enter graduate school already knowing how to navigate the system, which related to disparities with BIPOC FG students like them. This situation was very present in Judith's experience. Her advisor provided very little guidance for navigating graduate school, and she attributed this issue to being FG:

> And so it just like again like going back to my first three years not being very supportive and like I don't know if it was intentional, I'm sure my advisor at the time would tell you it wasn't intentional. She probably would say it wasn't intentional that she basically left me swimming in the water and drowning by myself but it's just like yeah. I think maybe there's assumptions about what I know and like I just don't know anything, like I don't know like I really wish there was more like a class.

Part of this issue might derive from institutions hiring faculty from privileged backgrounds that might already be familiar with academia and therefore do not understand the experience of BIPOC FG students. Karolina stated that her advisor did not understand her experience because "she didn't grow up poor. She grew up very well-to-do. Her brother is also in academia. Her parents had upper-level jobs. So for me, the ability to find common grounds with my advisor is few and far between."

Another way departments failed to recognize systemic issues is by not acknowledging and addressing problematic power dynamics between faculty and students. For example, Judith got denied opportunities to teach her class and potentially earn more money because a faculty member disliked her. Judith said, "It broke my heart that this opportunity that I wanted so bad, that I knew I was qualified for, someone decided to leverage their power so that I didn't get it just because they didn't like me."

For both women, their funds of knowledge skill in pinpointing and addressing systemic issues were transmitted from their family's lived experience. Their mothers had experienced systemic barriers in society. Karolina watched as her Latinx mother had to navigate the legal system to gain custody of her children:

> In order for the law to see her as a parent that deserves their children, she had to be making an income. And the quickest way for her to do that was to just enlist in the army… Because again, in the eyes of the small-town court, they were taking the side of my white father who had a job, who didn't get pregnant at 18, to raise three children. He, you know, was the more responsible one.

From this experience growing up, she realized that her mother "didn't [leave], she was making a sacrifice for us to prove to a bigger system that she was a woman that was deserving of her children." Therefore, she experienced standing up to legal system to fight for your rights. Similarly, Judith watched her mother stand up for herself in an abusive relationship with a white man because "Um, and he [father] just

like, was really abusive, said lots of racist things… Um, but like, my mom was always afraid that he would kill her, but one day he like, just beat the crap out of us and like, she called the police and said like, this is enough." For Judith, this experience allowed her to see the strength in standing up for oneself and also allowed her to notice systemic issues like she "sense[d] like white fragility and white supremacy, things that come from a sense of white supremacy, very easily because I grew up with it and I notice it and I pick on it really quick… Like in the one sense I'm glad cause I feel like I can see the world a little bit differently."

From these familial experiences, both participants recognized the importance of standing up for and voicing concerns with the systems of power. However, they understood that the skill of being honest and open is not something that academia or the department values. Judith explains she "still struggle[s] a lot because I feel like I have a negative reputation in the department as a someone who like, um, ruffles feathers too much." In order to adapt this skill to academia, the participants changed how they approached issues and the type of language they used. Judith was very aware that not being able to use her funds of knowledge stemmed from not "learn[ing] how to speak elite white." So, both participants converted their funds of knowledge into cultural capital by learning the language and practices in which academics talk about issues. For example, Judith mentioned, "I'm learning how to pick my battles a little bit better and how to push and challenge people, but still sound professional, which is really hard to do." Therefore, as these quotes illustrate, they

both found ways to convert their funds of knowledge into more legitimate forms of cultural capital in academia.

Both participants mobilized their cultural capital and found ways to bring up the important systemic issues in spaces that academia deems as more appropriate for those types of conversations. Karolina brought up the topic of graduate students' mental health in a group dedicated to inclusivity in her field. In that group, they discussed a published paper that focused on the mental health crisis among graduate students. Karolina said:

> Um, so I went to the meeting and we were discussing this paper and I remember speaking up, I was like shaking, but I did it in front of like 15 of my peers, was a brand new grad student and just told them how my family suffers from, uh, personality disorders, namely my grandmother from bipolar disorder. So how, for me to mitigate against the highs and lows that I experienced, what are some of the activities I do? How do I notice when I'm going really high or how do I prevent myself from going really low? And that was a really cool time for all of us to just connect and talk about mental health as graduate students.

Karolina was open enough to share her personal experience of navigating mental health issues as a graduate student in a space meant to hold those types of conversations. Unfortunately, she still faced a negative response to her comment:

> After that, I was in the, it's like a common space in our department and a person who attended, another student, was just bad thing, the meeting that we

had and you know, stating like, 'Oh, I don't think that there's a [mental health] problem [in graduate students].'…Like I thought this meeting was really great and was positive, but to another person it was like offensive to them.

This is just one example where despite both participants mobilizing their cultural capital in ways that were legitimate in academia, they still faced conflict with institutional agents. Therefore, the larger misrecognitions and systemic environment presented problems even though they successfully moved through the funds of knowledge process. Karolina decided to leave the PhD program with her master's rather than continue to finish the program because of these issues. Judith only had about a year left to attain her PhD, yet these challenges made her feel pushed out of her department.

Across all the profiles, there were a few differences based on race-ethnicity, gender, and year in graduate school. These differences were visible for both profile 2 and profile 4 in which participants had a more challenging time in mobilizing their funds of knowledge or facing conflict with the institution's misrecognitions. Participants in profile 2 were earlier in their graduate school career, in either their 2nd or 3rd year. It is possible that they were still learning about the cultural capital needed to navigate graduate school. Additionally, participants in profile 4 both identified as Multiethnic-racial. Their experiences as Multiethnic-racial individuals may have provided them with the ability to notice systemic issues like whiteness early on in their lives. There were only two men in this sample, but both of them fit into profiles

where they successfully transformed and used their funds of knowledge. Finally, these profiles captured the strengths and funds of knowledge of BIPOC FG graduate students.

Discussion

The goal of this dissertation was to apply the integrative framework (Kiyama & Rios-Aguilar, 2017) to investigate how BIPOC FG graduate students navigated the academic and social spaces in the university. Within this framework, the four states of engagement include (a) misrecognition, which involves higher education institutions perpetuating systemic inequalities by not recognizing students' funds of knowledge, (b) transmission, passing on funds of knowledge from family, mentors, or institutional agents, (c) conversion, which embodies changing funds of knowledge into social and cultural capital, and (d) mobilization or the active use of the social and cultural capital (Kiyama & Rios-Aguilar, 2017). I identified four different profiles based on how BIPOC FG graduate students moved through this process. The first profile included participants who could convert their funds of knowledge into capital and then mobilize that capital. The second profile embodied participants who mobilized their social capital, but faced challenges in the institution because they lacked cultural capital. The third profile included participants who did not get their funds of knowledge from their family but rather from institutional agents. The fourth profile included participants who converted their funds of knowledge and used their capital but then faced systemic issues that prevented them from continuing to use their capital. Taken together, these profiles showcase that BIPOC FG graduate

students might go through the process differently depending on their context and family relationships.

In all the profiles, participants converted their funds of knowledge into social or cultural capital and then used that capital. However, the timing of when participants were able to convert and mobilize their funds of knowledge into capital varied. Some participants came into graduate school already familiar with the types of social or cultural capital expected in graduate school. This familiarity is often derived from the socialization of mentors, peers, or programs at their prior institutions. In contrast, other participants learned how to do this conversion and mobilization process throughout their graduate school careers. This finding suggests that BIPOC FG graduate students start graduate school with varying knowledge of the graduate school system. For BIPOC FG graduate students to successfully convert and use their funds of knowledge, they must first learn how the graduate school system works.

The funds of knowledge that were present across the different profiles included the value of family and community, the value of work-life balance, the goal of giving back to family and the community, the goal of advancing the knowledge in their fields, and the skills of recognizing and discussing systemic issues faced by BIPOC FG graduate students. Some of these funds of knowledge (i.e., the value of family and the goal of giving back to family and community) have also emerged in studies with BIPOC FG undergraduate (Luedke, 2020; Patrón, 2020) and BIPOC graduate students (Park & Bahia, 2022; Yi & Ramos, 2021). However, many of the other funds of knowledge were unique to the graduate school system (i.e., the value a

work-life balance, the goal of advancing knowledge, and the skill of discussing systemic issues). Graduate school culture, particularly at an R1 institution, is different because there are expectations to manage different roles as a researcher, teacher, and university member. This culture allows students to bring in other types of funds of knowledge that would not be relevant or possible to incorporate in undergraduate education. This finding suggests that studies focused on BIPOC and FG undergraduates do not generalize to BIPOC FG graduate students. Therefore, the experiences of BIPOC FG graduate students need to be studied further.

This dissertation study was conducted within the context of an HSRI, which is meant to serve minoritized students, particularly those from Latinx backgrounds. Many of the participants in this study identified as Latinx, yet only one student discussed how the HSI context affected her experience. Additionally, the misrecognitions that students faced, like others assuming students already knew how to navigate graduate school, have also been documented in other institutions (i.e., PWIs; Brunsma et al., 2017; Gardner & Holley, 2011). Students not mentioning the HSI context and the institutional misrecognitions might suggest that academia has larger systemic issues that are pervasive even within HSIs. These factors also support the proposal that HSIs promote the problematic inequalities and systemic issues that are unsupportive of graduate students and are rampant in academia (Bonilla-Silva & Peoples, 2022; Greene & Oesterreich, 2012). HSIs need to do a better job of tackling this issue and serving their BIPOC FG graduate students.

Theoretical Implications

The results from this study have several implications for advancing research on funds of knowledge and the integrative framework. Rios-Aguilar et al. (2011) developed the integrative framework to combine funds of knowledge and social and cultural capital. Central to this integration is considering the power structures that impact how individuals can (or not) convert and mobilize their funds of knowledge into capital. Within academia, those that hold power, like administrators and faculty, might continue to uphold ideologies around whiteness and meritocracy. They might perpetuate systemic inequalities that prevent BIPOC FG graduate students from succeeding and thriving in graduate school. The results demonstrate how the use of power by institutional agents like faculty can impact how BIPOC FG graduate students convert and mobilize their funds of knowledge and capital. To exist within academia, students had to learn to "play the game" and figure out what type of social and cultural capital was legitimate. Otherwise, they faced being pushed out of their department, having conflicts with advisors, or lacking the same opportunities as others.

This study further supports the proposal that researchers cannot investigate funds of knowledge without considering how power is enacted in societal institutions, societal interactions, and relationships. In this study, students entered graduate school with funds of knowledge, but when institutional agents pushed back and told students that their funds of knowledge were unacceptable, then students were limited in how they could use their assets in their post-graduate education. Using the integrative

framework allowed me to extend prior work on funds of knowledge to reveal how resistance and power affect students' conversion and mobilization. Future studies should continue to study how the power systems in higher education impact the experiences of graduate students and their use of their funds of knowledge.

The integrative framework also suggests four mechanisms that are important to the integration of funds of knowledge and capital. Prior studies have investigated these mechanisms separately (Contreras & Kiyama, 2022; Patrón, 2020; Vaccaro et al., 2019) or focused only on a few different mechanisms (Luedke, 2020). I contributed a different approach to this literature by studying the integrative framework as a process. This type of analysis captures the dynamic state of negotiating funds of knowledge within the graduate school context relative to the power systems. From each profile, we better understand how students think about one fund of knowledge and how it gets transformed and mobilized in graduate school. This approach allows researchers to see how BIPOC FG graduate students respond to institutional agents and then actively find their ways to resist. Researchers must recognize that the funds of knowledge process is continually changing depending on the institutional context, who has a say in the graduate student's career, and the student's past experiences. Future research should continue to advance work in this area to capture the dynamism of this process.

Importantly, several students mentioned how the conflict with the institution or their department, advisor, or peers made them feel left out of academia. Despite these challenges, most students chose to continue in their programs. Their acts of

resistance stemmed from their commitment to benefit their communities, career goals, or their passion for their chosen field. Only two students disclosed that they had decided to leave the institution. Both students were in their 2nd year, so it is possible that the decision to stay in a program, despite conflicts, might depend on whether students are earlier or later in their graduate school career. Exit interviews of students who leave their programs will help researchers understand why graduate students leave the university and help develop support systems that promote retention.

Practical Implications

For institutions of higher education, graduate students hold knowledge from their lived experiences, families, and communities that are important to their success. Some students found ways to convert these funds of knowledge into legitimate cultural and social capital to remain and exist in graduate school. Others who faced conflict from the institutions decided to leave academia. Institutions should reimagine graduate school so it does not continually reproduce inequalities that require graduate students to mold themselves to fit into this very white, middle-class culture. Instead, institutions should acknowledge other types of capital (e.g., navigational, resistant) that are also valid types of capital that go beyond the white, middle-class social and cultural capital (Yosso, 2005). Institutions should also support and encourage students to bring in their funds of knowledge and be able to apply them in ways that highlight other types of capital because it is vital to their success and persistence in higher education (Ramos, 2018; Ramos & Sifuentez, 2021; Vaccaro et al., 2019).

Limitations and Future Research

There are a few limitations to this study. One limitation is that our understanding of the transmission process was primarily from the student's perspective; yet this process is reciprocal. As family, communities, or mentors impart certain funds of knowledge, students also actively mold and change those funds of knowledge. Therefore, by only including the student's perspective we are only getting one piece of the picture. Future studies should conduct interviews with families and mentors fully understand how the transmission process works.

Another limitation is that participants were all currently enrolled in their graduate program, the majority identified as women, and many were in the Social Sciences Division. It is possible that BIPOC men and students in other fields like the Physical and Biological Sciences would have different experiences. Future studies should recruit more gender diverse and program diverse BIPOC FG graduate students. Additionally, only two participants were going to leave their program. This limited our understanding of students who had been pushed out of their programs or who left their programs. These graduate students may not have been able to convert their funds of knowledge or activate their capital because of the academic culture and expectations. Future studies should conduct exit interviews of graduate students that chose to leave academia to capture how the integrative framework might look different for these students.

Conclusion

This dissertation study illustrates how BIPOC FG graduate students negotiate their funds of knowledge through the process of misrecognition, transmission, conversion, and mobilization. The findings provide an alternative way to conceptualize the integrative framework. Specifically, the findings highlight how different students move through the process depending on the power structures that might hinder their ability to mobilize their funds of knowledge. The findings contribute to the literature by considering how graduate students navigate academic and social spaces at the university and coordinate them with family and community. Prior research has focused only on institutional spaces or the links and tensions between academic and family contexts. Additionally, the experiences of BIPOC FG graduate students are vastly different from the experiences of undergraduate students. Although some of the literature on undergraduates can inform graduate students' experiences, graduate students need to be studied independently. Future research should investigate BIPOC FG graduate students in non-HSRIs and understand how variations in their intersectional identities might impact their experiences. The dissertation provides further information on the assets of BIPOC FG graduate students and institutions should promote and encourage students to carry these strengths into graduate school.

Table 1

Participant's Demographics and Pseudonyms

Pseudonym	Ethnic-racial identity	Gender identity	Division	Socioeconomic status
Laura	Multiethnic-racial/Arab, White	Woman	Social Sciences	Middle to upper class
Judith	Multiethnic-racial/Latinx, White	Woman	Social Sciences	Working-class
Padma	Asian American/Indian	Woman	Social Sciences	Middle to upper class
Alicia	Multiethnic-racial/Asian, White	Non-binary	Social Sciences	Working-class
Selena	Latinx/Mexican	Woman	Social Sciences	Working-class
Josie	Latinx/Cuban	Woman	Physical & Biological Sciences	Working-class
Isabella	Latinx/Mexican	Woman	Social Sciences	Working-class
Adeline	Asian American/ Filipino, Indian	Woman	Social Sciences	Middle to upper class
Jamie	Latinx/Mexican	Man	Social Sciences	Working-class
Ines	Latinx/Mexican	Woman	Physical & Biological Sciences	Working-class
Karolina	Multiethnic-racial/Latinx, White	Woman	Physical & Biological Sciences	Middle to upper class
Jonathan	Latinx/Guatemalan	Man	Humanities	Working-class
Josefina	Latinx/ Mexican	Woman	Humanities	Middle to upper class

Figure 1

Integrative Framework from Funds of Knowledge to Capital

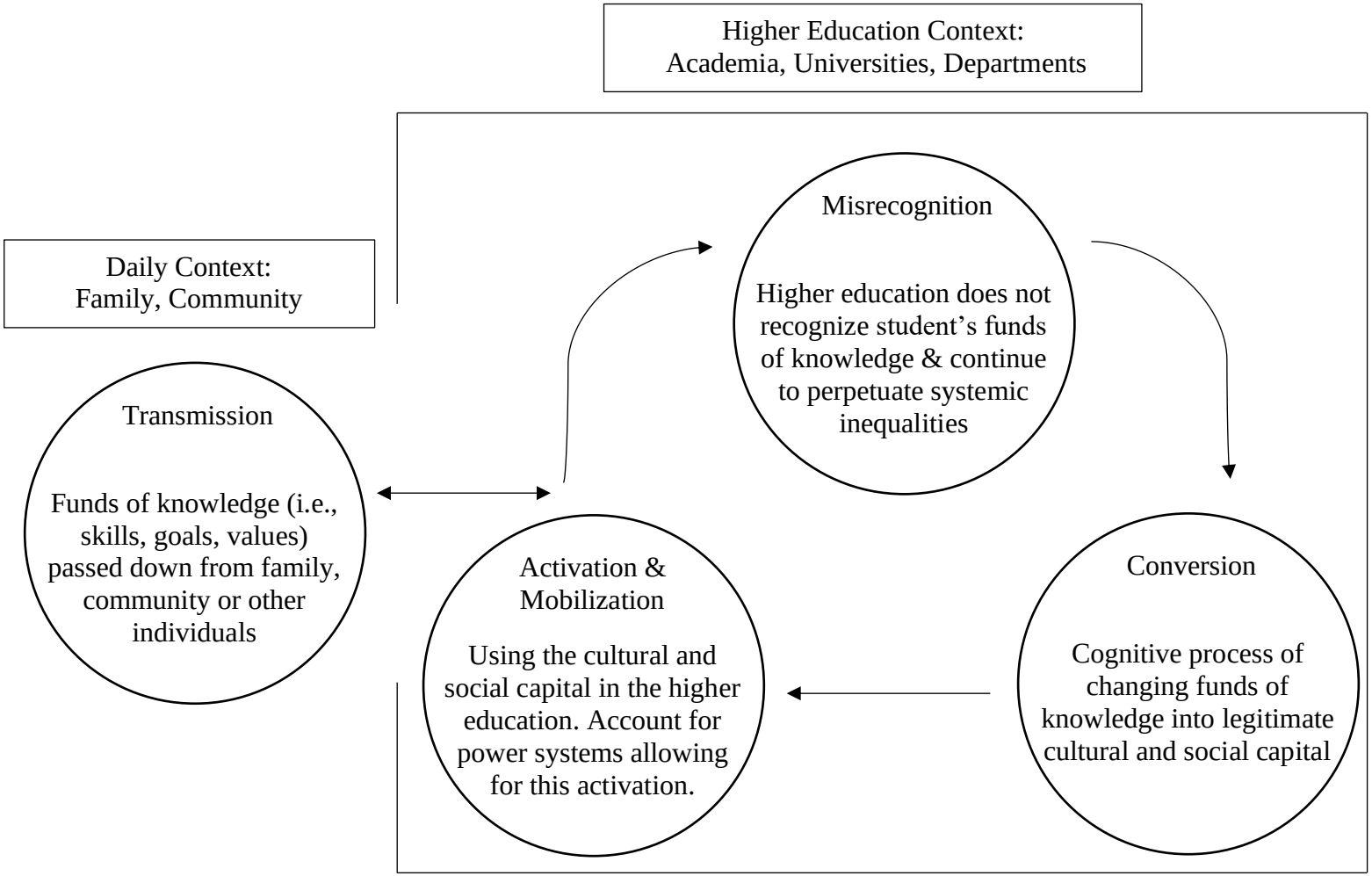
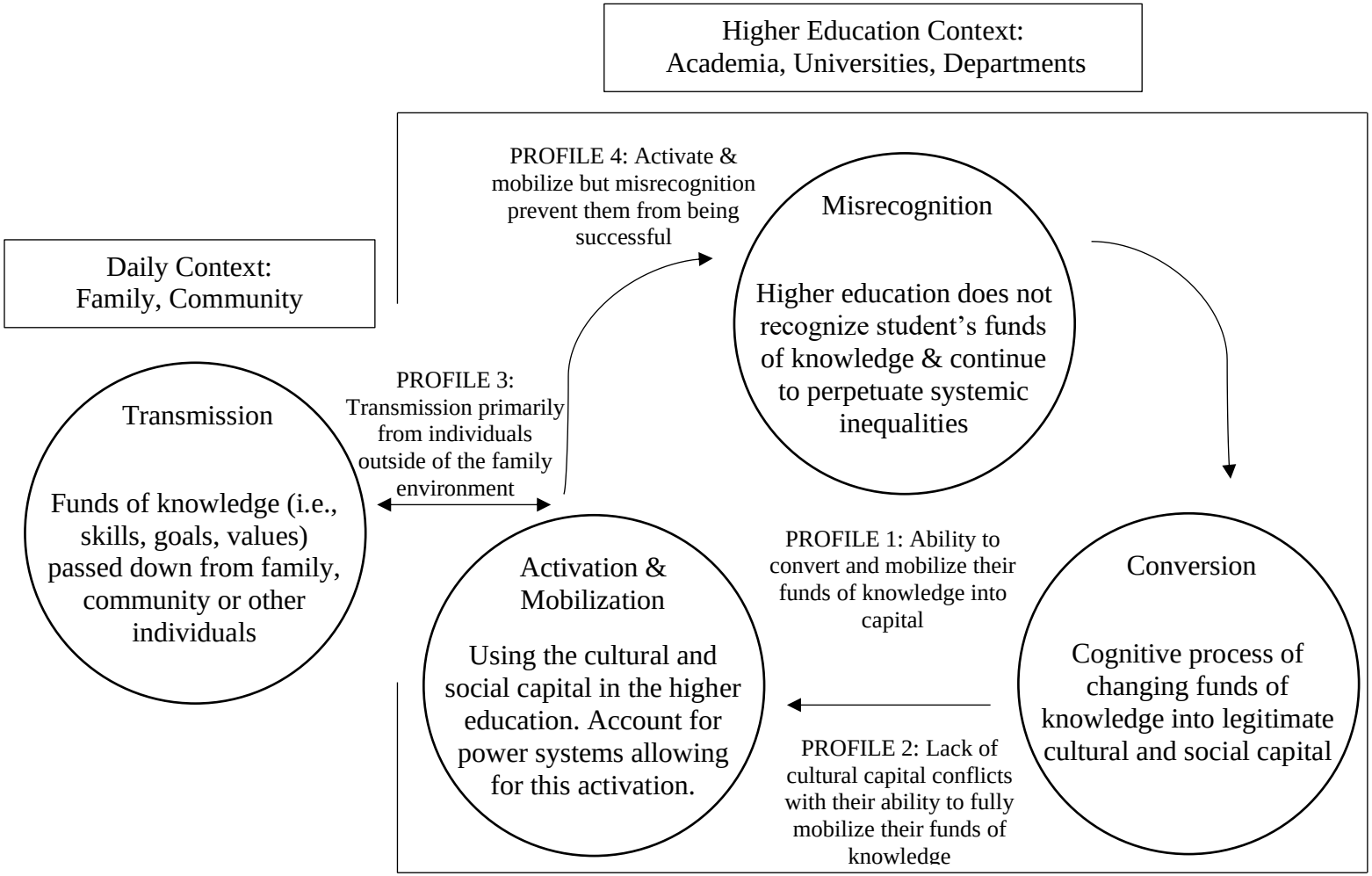


Figure 2

Integrative Framework Highlighting the 4 Profiles



Appendix

FG GRADUATE STUDENT INTERVIEW (< 2 hours)

Project Title: Educational Pathways and Experiences of First-Generation Graduate Students
Researchers: Paulette Garcia Peraza, MA, Ibette Valle, Dr. Rebecca Covarrubias, and Dr. Margarita Azmitia

Introduction to Study

Thank you for being willing to participate in our study. We know that as a graduate student your time is valuable, so we appreciate your help. Through this study we would like to understand your experience in graduate school as a first-generation student.

Our conversation will take no more than 2 hours. I will ask you about your transition to graduate school and experiences in your graduate program. You can skip any questions that you don't want to answer, just say "pass." Additionally, you can stop the interview and leave the room at any point during the conversation.

I will audio record the interview. What you say will be strictly confidential. I plan to transcribe the interview verbatim, but in order to protect the identity of others I will ask that you try to avoid using names and instead only mention your relationship with other individuals.

Please let me know if you ever want me to turn off the recorder. Before we start, do you have any questions? [Take time to answer any questions]. If you have questions during the interview, please feel free to ask.

GETTING TO KNOW YOU

I would like to get to know you a little better.

1. Where did you grow up?
2. Can you tell me a little about the family you were raised in?
    a. What do your parent(s)/legal guardian(s) do?
3. Do you have any siblings?
    a. What do they do?
    b. What role do you think you play in your siblings' lives?
    c. What role do you think your sibling(s) play in your life?

4. Are you the first person in your immediate family to attend both graduate school and to graduate from a 4-year college?
    a. [If say no]: Who else in your family has graduated from a 4-year college?

5. Does your advisor know that you are a first-generation graduate student? If so, do you discuss your experience as a first-generation graduate student with them?
    a. Is your advisor a first-generation college student too?
6. How do you think your first-generation identity influences the research, classwork, and teaching you do as a graduate student?
    a. [Probe]: classwork or teaching if don't respond.

REASONS FOR ATTENDING GRADUATE SCHOOL

Let's talk about your journey to graduate school.

1. Did you consider other career paths before attending graduate school at UC Santa Cruz?
    a. [Follow-up if had other career paths]: Why did you decide on graduate school?
2. What factors did you consider in deciding to attend graduate school at UC Santa Cruz?
    a. [Follow-up if not mention family]: What role did your family play in you deciding to attend graduate school?
3. Was there someone who encouraged you to go to graduate school? If yes, who was this and how did they encourage you?
    a. Was there anybody in your family that was encouraging and if so, how?
    b. Were there others you knew that were attending graduate school that you could talk to?
4. Did anyone express concern about you going to graduate school? If yes, who was this and what concern did they express?
    a. [Follow-up if not mention family]: Was there anybody in your family that expressed concern and if so, how?

TRANSITION INTO GRADUATE SCHOOL

I would like to know more about your experience as you transitioned into your graduate program.

1. Tell me about your experiences when you first arrived in Santa Cruz and UC Santa Cruz. Please include personal, social, and academic experiences.
    a. [Probe, if don't mention]: Did you come here from another graduate program or directly from undergraduate?
    b. [Probe if from another graduate program]: What were some of the reasons you left your previous graduate program?
2. Did you experience any barriers or challenges during your transition to graduate school?
    a. How did you manage these barriers or challenges?
3. [If they attended a previous graduate program] Did you experience any barriers or challenges in your previous graduate program?
    a. How did you manage these barriers or challenges?

4. During your transition to graduate school, did you receive support from particular people, programs, or groups?
    a. [Follow-up if said yes]: Can you elaborate on how [include relationship of people/name of programs] supported you?
    b. [Follow-up if said no]: Can you elaborate on why you felt like you weren't supported? What support would you have liked?

NAVIGATING CURRENT GRAD EXPERIENCES

Thanks for talking about your transition into UCSC. Now, I would like to know more about how you are currently navigating graduate school.

1. Tell me about your current experience in graduate school at UC Santa Cruz. Please include personal, social, and academic experiences.
2. Can you talk about what barriers or challenges you are currently experiencing in graduate school now?
    a. Are these similar or different from what you were experiencing when you first got to UC Santa Cruz?
    b. How are you managing these barriers or challenges?
3. [Prompt if they don't mention FG graduate student challenge] What barriers or challenges have you experienced as a first-generation graduate student?
    a. How do you as a first-generation student manage these barriers?
4. In what ways, if at all, has managing these challenges made you stronger?
5. In your transition to UC Santa Cruz, you mentioned [insert relationship of people/name of programs/groups] provided you with support. Do they continue to provide you with support?
    a. Are there any other people, programs, or groups that are currently supporting you?

6. Do you get support from other first-generation students either in your department, the university, or the community?
    a. Do you talk to these students about being first-generation?
7. What role has your advisor played in your graduate school experience?
    a. Do they provide you with support in graduate school?
8. Has your family been able to support you? If yes, how? If not, why do you think that is?
    a. [If they've already talked a lot about family]: You've previously mentioned that you family has been supportive in a variety of ways. Is there anything else you would like to mention about your family providing you with support?
9. If you have conversations with your parents, grandparents, and others about your graduate school experiences, what do you talk about?
    a. How do they respond?
10. Do you ever bring what you learn *in graduate school* into your home life? If yes, how so? If not, can you elaborate?
    a. Do you ever bring what you learn or have learned at *home* into your graduate school life? If yes, how so? If not, can you elaborate?

IDENTITIES

Now, let's talk about some of your identities. [Take out spaces/identity worksheet]. First, I'd like you to think about places that are important to you and to your experiences as a first-generation graduate student. Spaces can be both physical spaces like your office or they can be interactions with others like a graduate student group. I'd like you to write down up to 4 spaces.

1. Can you tell me a little bit about why you chose these spaces?
2. Who are the key people that you usually find in these spaces? I don't want their names, but can you tell me about their first-generation status, ethnicity, or gender?
    a. Do these people integrate and overlap into other spaces? Or are each of the people separate from each other in these spaces?
3. In which of these spaces do you feel like you belong?
    a. What makes you feel like you belong in these spaces?
4. [If belong in all their spaces]: Is there a space you feel like you don't belong that you didn't mention on this list? What makes you feel like you don't belong in these spaces?
    a. [If don't belong in a few of their spaces]: Is there a space you feel like you don't belong? What makes you feel like you don't belong in these spaces?

5. Is there a space you avoid going to? It can be a space that you didn't mention on your list.

Now I'd like you to take some time to think about some identities that are important to you. For example, if I was to ask you to describe yourself starting with "I am…" how would you respond? I'd like you to write down identities that are important to who you are on the worksheet.

Overall, it seems that you hold a variety of identities. In certain spaces, one of these identities or several of these identities might be more present. [Take out intersectional identity activity, only lay out the mat. Present the rest of the materials one by one]. So we are going to do an activity now to look at the spaces and identities that you previously wrote down. Here are 4 strings that represent the 4 spaces. These different colored shapes represent your various different identities. I'd like you to put the identities that you think are more present for you in each of the different spaces. If you have more identities than there are shapes, feel free to use the same shape for multiple identities. You can also have the same identities in multiple places. You can arrange and rearrange it as you see fit, just let me know when you are done.

1. Can you tell me a little bit about how you arranged your identities?
    a. [If they didn't mention a space]: How do your identities fit together in your [insert spaces here] space?
    b. [If they didn't mention]: How did you decide to arrange your spaces (e.g., away from each other, touching/overlapping)?
    c. Would you like to rearrange your identity/space configuration?
2. Are one or more of these identities more important to you than others?
3. Are there any identities that are made invisible or that you feel like you have to hide in certain spaces?
4. You mentioned similar identities in different spaces. Do you ever feel as if some of these identities conflict in certain spaces? How?
5. Do you ever feel like you have to navigate and move between various identities?
6. After we have now talked a bit about identities, are there any identities that are important to you but which you might not have mentioned?
    a. [Probe]: I noticed that you did not mention your gender identity, is that important to you?
    b. [Probe]: I also noticed that you did not mention your social class identity, is that important to you?
7. Do you perceive any conflict between your priorities and what you value and those of the university, your department, or your discipline?

CONCLUDING QUESTIONS

Thank you so much for your responses. Now I only have a few more questions that I would like to ask you.

1. If a first-generation undergraduate student from your [lab, class, or mentoring experience] was applying to graduate school what advice would you give them?
    a. Or if you were to give your undergraduate self some advice about applying to and navigating graduate school, what advice would you give yourself?
2. Do you have any recommendations on how to improve experiences for first-generation graduate students in your department or at the larger university?
3. What do you want to do when you finish graduate school?

End of the interview

We are now at the end of the interview. Thank you for taking the time to participate in this interview and for sharing your experience. Is there anything that you would like to add or any questions you might have for me?

References

Abdul-Raheem, J. (2016). Faculty diversity and tenure in higher education. *Journal of Cultural Diversity*, *23*(2), 53–56.

Abrica, E. J., García-Louis, C., & Gallaway, C. D. J. (2020). Antiblackness in the Hispanic-serving community college (HSCC) context: Black male collegiate experiences through the lens of settler colonial logics. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *23*(1), 55–73. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2019.1631781

Adler, N. E., Epel, E. S., Castellazzo, G., & Ickovics, J. R. (2000). Relationship of subjective and objective social status with psychological and physiological functioning: Preliminary data in healthy, White women. *Health Psychology*, *19*(6), 586–592. https://doi.org/10.1037/0278-6133.19.6.586

Aguilar-Smith, S. (2021). Seeking to Serve or $erve? Hispanic-Serving Institutions' Race-Evasive Pursuit of Racialized Funding. *AERA Open*, *7*, 233285842110570. https://doi.org/10.1177/23328584211057097

Baron, S., Field, J., & Schuller, T. (Eds.). (2000). *Social capital: Critical perspectives*. Oxford University Press.

Bondi, S. (2012). Students and institutions protecting Whiteness as property: A critical race theory analysis of student affairs preparation. *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice*, *49*(4), 397–414. https://doi.org/10.1515/jsarp-2012-6381

Bonilla-Silva, E., & Peoples, C. E. (2022). Historically White colleges and universities: The unbearable Whiteness of (most) colleges and universities in America. *American Behavioral Scientist*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1177/00027642211066047

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). Greenwood Press.

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. C. (1977). *Reproduction in education, society, and culture*. Sage Publishing.

Brunsma, D. L., Embrick, D. G., & Shin, J. H. (2017). Graduate students of color: Race, racism, and mentoring in the White waters of academia. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, *3*(1), 1–13. https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649216681565

Cabrera, N. L., Franklin, J. D., & Watson, J. S. (2016). Whiteness in higher education: The invisible missing link in diversity and racial analyses. *ASHE Higher Education Report*, *42*(6), 7–125. https://doi.org/10.1002/aehe.20116

Comeaux, E., Grummert, S. E., & Cruz, N. A. (2021). Strategies of resistance among racially minoritized students at a Hispanic-Serving Institution: A critical race theory perspective. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *92*(3), 465–498. https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2020.1851569

Contreras, L. R., & Kiyama, J. M. (2022). “There are obstacles...but we can do it.” Latina/o/x activate community cultural wealth and funds of knowledge in the college transition. *Journal of the First-Year Experience & Students in Transition*, *34*(1), 9–26.

Cuellar, M. G. (2019). Creating Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs) and emerging HSIs: Latina/o college choice at 4-Year institutions. *American Journal of Education*, *125*(2), 231–258. https://doi.org/10.1086/701250

Curtis-Boles, H., Chupina, A. G., & Okubo, Y. (2020). Social justice challenges: Students of color and critical incidents in the graduate classroom. *Training and Education in Professional Psychology*, *14*(2), 100–108. https://doi.org/10.1037/tep0000293

Cutri, R. M., Manning, J. M., & Chun, M. (2011). Poverty PhDs: Funds of knowledge, poverty, and professional identity in academia. *Studying Teacher Education*, *7*(3), 299–314. https://doi.org/10.1080/17425964.2011.617137

Davis, L., & Fry, R. (2019). *College faculty have become more racially and ethnically diverse, but remain far less so than students*. Pew Research Center. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/07/31/us-college-faculty-student-diversity/

Delima, D. G. (2019). Making a case for a funds of knowledge approach to teaching and learning for first-generation college students. *College Teaching*, *67*(4), 205–209. https://doi.org/10.1080/87567555.2019.1630355

Garcia, G. A., & Guzman-Alvarez, A. (2021). Descriptive analysis of graduate enrollment trends at Hispanic-Serving Institutions: 2005-2015. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, *20*(2), 196–212. https://doi.org/10.1177/1538192719835681

Garcia, G. A., & Koren, E. R. (2020). Connecting research, practice, and policy to define "servingness" at Hispanic Serving Institutions. In G. A. Garcia (Ed.), *Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs) in Practice: Defining "Servingness" at HSIs* (pp. 1–20). Information Age Publishing.

Garcia, G. A., Núñez, A.-M., & Sansone, V. A. (2019). Toward a multidimensional conceptual framework for understanding "servingness" in Hispanic-Serving Institutions: A synthesis of the research. *Review of Educational Research*, *89*(5), 745–784. https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654319864591

Garcia, G. A., & Ramirez, J. J. (2018). Institutional agents at a Hispanic Serving Institution: Using social capital to empower students. *Urban Education*, *53*(3), 355–381. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085915623341

Gardner, S. K., & Holley, K. A. (2011). "Those invisible barriers are real": The progression of first-generation students through doctoral education. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *44*(1), 77–92. https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2011.529791

Gonzalez, E., Ortega, G., Molina, M., & Lizalde, G. (2020). What does it mean to be a Hispanic-Serving Institution? Listening to the Latina/o/x voices of students. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *33*(8), 796–809. https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2020.1751896

Gopaul, B. (2011). Distinction in doctoral education: Using Bourdieu's tools to assess the socialization of doctoral students. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *44*(1), 10–21. https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2011.539468

Greene, D., & Oesterreich, H. A. (2012). White profs at Hispanic-Serving Institutions: Radical revolutionaries or complicit colonists? *Journal of Latinos and Education*, *11*(3), 168–174. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348431.2012.686351

James, D. (2015). How Bourdieu bites back: Recognising misrecognition in education and educational research. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, *45*(1), 97–112. https://doi.org/10.1080/0305764X.2014.987644

Kiyama, J. M., & Rios-Aguilar, C. (Eds.). (2017). *Funds of knowledge in higher education: Honoring students' cultural experiences and resources as strengths*. Routledge.

Kosut, M. (2006). Professorial capital: Blue-collar reflections on class, culture, and the academy. *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies*, *6*(2), 245–262. https://doi.org/10.1177/1532708604268222

Lamont, M., & Lareau, A. (1988). Cultural capital: Allusions, gaps and glissandos in recent theoretical developments. *Sociological Theory*, *6*(2), 153–168. https://doi.org/10.2307/202113

Leyva, V. L. (2011). First-generation Latina graduate students: Balancing professional identity development with traditional family roles. *New Directions for Teaching and Learning*, *2011*(127), 21–31. https://doi.org/10.1002/tl.454

Lieblich, A., Tuval-Mashiach, R., & Zilber, T. (1998). *Narrative Research*. SAGE Publications, Inc. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412985253

Lin, N. (1999). Building a network theory of social capital. *Connections, 22*(1), 28–51.

Lovitts, B. E. (2005). Being a good course-taker is not enough: A theoretical perspective on the transition to independent research. *Studies in Higher Education*, *30*(2), 137–154. https://doi.org/10.1080/03075070500043093

Luedke, C. L. (2020). Developing a college-going habitus: How first-generation Latina/o/x students bi-directionally exchange familial funds of knowledge and capital within their *familias*. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *91*(7), 1028–1052. https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2020.1726702

Madill, A., Jordan, A., & Shirley, C. (2000). Objectivity and reliability in qualitative analysis: Realist, contextualist and radical constructionist epistemologies. *British Journal of Psychology*, *91*(1), 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1348/000712600161646

Margolis, E., & Romero, M. (1998). “The department is very male, very White, very old, and very conservative”: The functioning of the hidden curriculum in graduate sociology departments. *Harvard Educational Review*, *68*(1), 1–33. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.68.1.1q3828348783j851

McCoy, D. L., Luedke, C. L., & Winkle-Wagner, R. (2017). Encouraged or weeded out: Perspectives of students of color in the STEM disciplines on faculty interactions. *Journal of College Student Development*, *58*(5), 657–673. https://doi.org/10.1353/csd.2017.0052

Moll, L. C., Amanti, C., Neff, D., & Gonzalez, N. (1992). Funds of knowledge for teaching: Using a qualitative approach to connect homes and classrooms. *Theory Into Practice*, *31*(2), 132–141. https://doi.org/10.1080/00405849209543534

National Center for Education Statistics. (2022). Characteristics of Postsecondary Faculty [Data set]. In *U. S. Department of Education*. https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator/csc#suggested-citation

Orelus, P. W. (2020). The cost of being professors and administrators of color in predominantly White institutions: Unpacking microagression, isolation, exclusion, and unfairness through a critical race lens. *Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education*, *14*(2), 117–132. https://doi.org/10.1080/15595692.2020.1719063

Park, A. S. J., & Bahia, J. (2022). Examining the Experiences of Racialized and Indigenous Graduate Students as emerging researchers. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 233264922210989. https://doi.org/10.1177/23326492221098953

Patrón, O. E. (2020). "The revolution begins at home:" Exploring educational aspirations between Latino male collegians and their families through a reciprocity of relationships. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *33*(4), 446–464. https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2019.1681545

Pham, A. V., Goforth, A. N., Aguilar, L. N., Burt, I., Bastian, R., & Diakόw, D. M. (2021). Dismantling systemic inequities in school psychology: Cultural humility as a foundational approach to social justice. *School Psychology Review*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2021.1941245

Ramos, D. M. (2018). *Funds of knowledge and the college success of first-generation students, low-income students, and students of color: A transformative mixed methods study* (Publication No. 10823984) [Doctoral dissertation, University of Denver]. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses A&I.

Ramos, D. M., & Kiyama, J. M. (2021). Tying it all together: Defining the core tenets of funds of knowledge. *Educational Studies, 57*(4), 429–449. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131946.2021.1904932

Ramos, D. M., & Sifuentez, B. (2021). Historically underrepresented students redefining college success in higher education. *Journal of Postsecondary Student Success*, *1*(2), 91–110. https://doi.org/10.33009/fsop_jpss127615

Rios-Aguilar, C., Kiyama, J. M., Gravitt, M., & Moll, L. C. (2011). Funds of knowledge for the poor and forms of capital for the rich? A capital approach to examining funds of knowledge. *Theory and Research in Education*, *9*(2), 163–184. https://doi.org/10.1177/1477878511409776

Santiago, D. A., & Andrade, S. J. (2010). *Emerging Hispanic-Serving Institutions: Serving Latino students*. Excelencia in Education.

Santiago, D. A., Laurel, J., & Labandera, E. (2020). *25 years of Hispanic-Serving Institutions: A glance on progress*. Excelencia in Education. https://www.edexcelencia.org/Excelencia-25-Yrs-HSIs-Glance-On-Progress

Serrano, U. (2020). 'Finding home': Campus racial microclimates and academic homeplaces at a Hispanic-Serving Institution. *Race Ethnicity and Education*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2020.1718086

Smith, J. M., & Lucena, J. C. (2016). Invisible innovators: How low-income, first-generation students use their funds of knowledge to belong in engineering. *Engineering Studies*, *8*(1), 1–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/19378629.2016.1155593

Stephens, N. M., Fryberg, S. A., Markus, H. R., Johnson, C. S., & Covarrubias, R. (2012). Unseen disadvantage: How American universities' focus on independence undermines the academic performance of first-generation college students. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *102*(6), 1178–1197. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0027143

Syed, M. (2010). Developing an integrated self: Academic and ethnic identities among ethnically diverse college students. *Developmental Psychology*, *46*(6), 1590–1604. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0020738

Taylor, M., Turk, J. M., Chessman, H. M., & Espinosa, L. L. (2020). *Race and ethnicity in higher education: 2020 supplement*. American Council on Education. http://1xfsu31b52d33idlp13twtos-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/REHE-2020-final.pdf

Thorne, A. (2004). Putting the person into social identity. *Human Development*, *47*(6), 361–365. https://doi.org/10.1159/000081038

U. S. Department of Education. (2014, January 5). *Elgibility*. U. S. Department of Education. https://www2.ed.gov/programs/aanapi/eligibility.html

U. S. Department of Education. (2016, April 11). *Definition of Hispanic-Serving Institutions*. U. S. Department of Education. https://www2.ed.gov/programs/idueshsi/definition.html

Vaccaro, A. (2017). "Trying to act like racism is not there": Women of color at a predominantly White women's college challenging dominant ideologies by exposing racial microaggressions. *NASPA Journal About Women in Higher Education*, *10*(3), 262–280. https://doi.org/10.1080/19407882.2017.1348303

Vaccaro, A., Marcotte, M. A., Swanson, H., & Newman, B. M. (2019). Using familial funds of knowledge to transition and develop a sense of belonging: Reflections from first-generation college women of color. *Journal of the First-Year Experience & Students in Transition*, *31*(2), 29–44.

Vélez-Ibáñez, C. G. (1988). Networks of exchange among Mexicans in the US and Mexico: Local level mediating responses to national and international transformations. *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development*, *17*(1), 27–51.

Vélez-Ibáñez, C. G., & Greenberg, J. B. (1992). Formation and transformation of funds of knowledge among U.S.-Mexican households. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, *23*(4), 313–335. https://doi.org/10.1525/aeq.1992.23.4.05x1582v

White-Lewis, D. K. (2021). Before the AD: How departments generate hiring priorities that support or avert faculty diversity. *Teachers College Record*, *123*(1), 1–36. https://doi.org/10.1177/016146812112300109

Wilder, C. S. (2013). *Ebony & ivy: Race, slavery, and the troubled history of America's universities* (First U.S. edition). Bloomsbury Press.

Yi, V., & Ramos, D. M. (2021). Collective achievement and resistance: Understanding the motivations of doctoral women of color. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*. Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1037/dhe0000296

Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *8*(1), 69–91. https://doi.org/10.1080/1361332052000341006