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Exploiting the margins in higher education: a collaborative autoethnography of three foreign-

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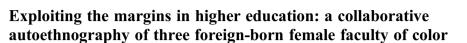


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In a collaborative autoethnographic process, we, three foreign-born female professors from the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, Kenya, and Korea explore how our personal status as immigrant women of color and social–institutional factors in US higher education affect our experiences in the academy. Based on experiences as graduate students and later as faculty and leaders, we trace the development of three empowering and transforming navigational strategies we utilized to survive and thrive at a US institution – exploiting multifocal lenses, reconfiguring identities, and engaging tempered radicalism. We discuss how the cultivation of a unique standpoint as outsiders/within can be a valuable resource for foreign-born women of color to advance active research agendas and to leverage their position in the academy.

Keywords: women of color; immigrant; collaborative autoethnography; intersectional identities

Introduction

Women of color are under-represented in faculty and administrative ranks within the academy (American Association of University Women Educational Foundation & American Association of University Women Legal Advocacy Fund, 2004; Asher, 2010); they find themselves at odds with the dominant culture and struggle with tokenism, micro-aggression, subtle discrimination, and associated stress (Aguirre, 2000; Alfred, 2001; Essien, 2003; Stanley, 2007, 2009; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Turner, 2002). We¹ refer to *women of color* as women who self-identify with one or more of the US Census categories of race/ethnicity, except for solely White. They include Black, Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander, and American Indian/Aleut. The intersection of gender and race/ethnicity – called the double bind syndrome (Alfred, 2001; Bowie, 1995; Gregory, 2001; Opp & Gosetti, 2002; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Turner, 2002) – creates unique challenges for these women in the academy. Yet, their presence in higher education is indispensible. Women of color contribute to the academy as they challenge unicultural perspectives in predominantly White colleges and universities (Essed, 2000, p. 891). They advance new theoretical frameworks (see, e.g., Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1991), represent the voices of other women of color in their scholarship, and perform a critical function

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as mentors and role models for female students aspiring to academic leadership positions (Essed, 2000; Grant & Simmons, 2008; Jaime, 2008). Their experiences are important to document and deserving of more empirical exploration.

In several studies targeting women of color, little or no distinction is made between foreign-born² and native-born women (Aguirre, 2000; Essien, 2003; Finkelstein, Seal, & Schuster, 1998; Stanley, 2007). Alternatively, as in the case of one of the few studies that addresses this distinction, the experiences of White and non-White immigrant women are analyzed collectively (Skachkova, 2007). Whereas foreign-born women of color undoubtedly experience similar issues of marginalization in the academy as their native-born counterparts, the unique challenges they encounter as a result of the confluence of their gender, nation of origin/immigrant status, and non-White phenotype are not well-represented in the literature (Asher, 2001, 2010; Chun, Lipsitz, & Young, 2013; Li & Beckett, 2006; Rhee, 2008; Subedi & Rhee, 2008). For those still in the evolution of embracing US status, they may face the challenge of adjusting from majority to minority status in the USA, from indigenous legacies to newfound group legacies under broad labels such as Asian American, African American, and Hispanic (Asher, 2010; Rhee, 2008). Those who are Black must now position themselves and their historical legacy against the inheritance of slavery and racial discrimination of their African-American sisters (Osirim, 2008). Confronting the "triple threat" of being foreign-born, female, and non-White can be a daunting task.

In this collaborative autoethnography, we, three foreign-born female faculty of color – Hernandez from Trinidad and Tobago, Ngunjiri from Kenya, and Chang from Korea – interrogate our experiences as women of color in the US academy. We consider how our status informs/complicates negotiations for advancement within a US (predominantly White teaching) university. The study is guided by two research questions:

- (1) How do we, three foreign-born females of color, position ourselves, and navigate advancement in US higher education?
- (2) How do our gender and cultural ethnicity intersect as we identify, fulfill, and negotiate our roles in traditionally White-male dominant academia?

Intersectionality as an interpretive framework

We employ intersectionality (Collins, 1998; Crenshaw, 1991) as an overarching interpretive framework to make sense of our experiences in US higher education. The following dimensions of intersectionality are considered: (1) race and gender; (2) personal identities and institutional factors; and (3) insider/outsider positionality.

The first dimension of intersectionality is based on Crenshaw's argument that for minority women, the sources of discrimination and oppression in society, education, and the workplace are a combination of two or more of their social identities, at a minimum, race and gender (Crenshaw, 1991). Socially and culturally constructed categories create patterns of oppression or an interlocking matrix of domination in the lives of minority women (Collins, 1998, 2004). Race, class, gender, national origin, and other social identities become interlocking systems of oppression (Collins, 1998, 2010). Race and gender have received increasing attention in leadership studies, some focusing on racial issues (Romo, 2004; Valverde, 2003) and others on

gender issues such as sexism (Valverde, 2003), male-dominant institutional culture (Blackmore & Sachs, 2000), and gender-differentiated management style (Gillett-Karam, 2001; Hanson, 1995; Stelter-Flett, 2007). Albeit valuable, these single-focused studies neglect the impact of the complex interplay between race and gender on women of color positioned in the double-minority status (Jaime, 2008).

The second dimension of intersectionality relates to the interplay between personal and contextual (social-institutional) factors as they converge in the lived experiences of minority women and impact such women's opportunities to advance and engage in academic leadership. Whereas personal factors such as skills, knowledge, and abilities are important for women to develop as leaders, individual advancement in the institution does not depend solely upon individual efforts (Meyerson & Tompkins, 2007; Stanley, 2006; Tillman, 2001). In the academy, an intersectional approach to studying women's experiences necessitates an exploration of contextual factors that combine with social identity factors to create systems of inequality. In this study, we expand personal identity factors to include ethnicity and personal immigration history.

The final dimension of intersectionality acknowledges the value of combining outsider-insider perspectives in understanding the experiences of minority women in the majority culture of higher education institutions (Collins, 2004; Jean-Marie, Williams, & Sherman, 2009; Stanley, 2009). We are insiders in the US higher education arena having earned our degrees and later becoming faculty in American institutions. As we explore our own experiences, we offer insider (emic) perspectives. At the same time, we are originally outsiders to the US culture as immigrants. Our accents, worldviews, and interpretive lenses are rooted in our cultures of origin, which differ from the context in which we currently operate. Although we have gained working knowledge of the culture and comfortably function in the US higher education context as social scientists, we can offer outsider (etic) perspectives to the interpretation of minority women's experiences. As Geertz (1974) acknowledges, the significance of both emic and etic perspectives in understanding of culture intersecting insider and outsider perspectives enables us to compare our experiences with each other, to interpret our perspectives within a social science framework, and to juxtapose our immigrant experiences with other women of color in the US higher education arena.

Intersectionality then offers a critical interpretative framework to analyze and interrogate our lived experiences as immigrant women faculty of color in a predominantly White institutional context. Our study joins the small body of research that uses an intersectional framework to interrogate the experiences of minority women in various contexts (e.g. Alston, 2005; Byrd, 2009; Horsford & Tillman, 2012; Jean-Marie et al., 2009; McClellan, 2012; Stanley, 2009; Tillman, 2012).

Collaborative autoethnography as method

Autoethnography is a qualitative research method through which researchers collect, analyze, and interpret their autobiographical data to gain a cultural understanding of connectivity between self and others (Chang, 2008). Carolyn Ellis has popularized the version of autoethnography evoking emotion of others through self-narratives (Ellis, 2004, 2009). In response to this approach, sociologist Leon Anderson proposes "analytical autoethnography" in which researchers study not only themselves

but also others as informants. This orientation of autoethnography tries to "rescue" the research method from a single-subject, self-centered, and self-narrative approach. Instead, it makes a commitment to "theoretical analysis" of social phenomena (Anderson, 2006).

Most of the published autoethnographies present solo works centering lives of single autoethographers. However, collaborative works, albeit growing, are still sparse (see, e.g., Norris, 2008; Toyosaki, Pensoneau-Conway, Wendt, & Leathers, 2009). For this research, we adopted a concurrent model of collaboration (Chang, Ngunjiri, & Hernandez, 2013). Taking advantage of our physical proximity as colleagues at the same university, we met several times for face-to-face interactions after having collected our autobiographical data separately and concurrently. Figure 1 (Ngunjiri, Hernandez, & Chang, 2010) illustrates the dialogical process of divergence and convergence.

We conducted three phases of data collection and analyses. In Phase 1, we constructed culturegrams (Chang, 2008), concept maps that visually present how we self-identify and the priority we give to various socio-identity markers, for example, race/ethnicity, gender, profession, and marital status. We also wrote individual recollections about critical incidents relevant to the following writing prompt: "What are some critical incidents that have shaped our understanding of gender, cultural ethnicity, and leadership experiences in our native contexts and here in the United States?" We shared these sources of data and wrote follow-up questions. In Phase 2, we met in an audiotaped group discussion to answer the questions that had emerged from Phase 1 of the study: (1) What does it mean to be a woman? (2) What does it mean to be a successful woman? and (3) What factors have shaped our understanding of womanhood? In response to these questions, we each elaborated on our writings and shared more about ourselves from the intersecting standpoints that we occupy: foreign-born women of color in the USA (our adopted home). In Phase 3, we returned to individual writings about our negotiation strategies within the academy, and then met for the third audio-taped group discussion. Once all the data had been pooled,

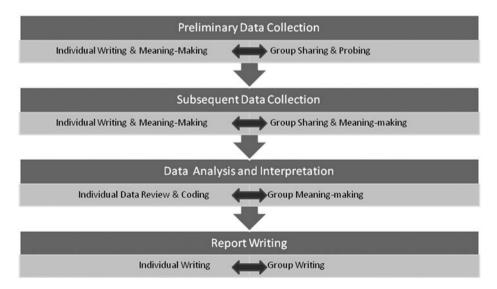


Figure 1. Concurrent collaborative autoethnography process.

we did individual open coding and met to engage in collective analysis and interpretation/meaning-making.

We characterize our collaborative autoethnography as autobiographic, dialogic, and ethnographic. First, it is autobiographic in that we began by individually writing personal stories relating to experiences with/of gender, culture, race/ethnicity, and leadership. Second, it is dialogic because we then met to discuss our writings and cultural meaning-making in focused audio-recorded sessions which also served as a form of data collection. This dialogical process enabled us to be both more selfreflexive as well as more rigorous in our meaning-making process, allowing us to probe deeper into individual narratives and co-construct meaning about the unique and common experiences that we shared. Third, we have employed ethnographic methods in the data collection, analysis, and interpretation to gain the cultural meaning of our personal experiences as our understanding of collaborative autoethnography is "self" ethnography. We employed qualitative data-coding techniques common to ethnography to identify emerging themes from the collected data. This involved both individual coding and group coding: we brought together our individually created codes and dialogued about the commonalities and divergences in our cultural meaning-making processes. The intense discussions involved in the meaning-making (i.e. hermeneutic) process enabled us to eventually reach common themes. For ethical considerations, we were cognizant of our relational responsibilities to one another, as well as to the unnamed, unwitting participants who are implicated in our self-stories (see Ellis, 2007; Hernandez & Ngunjiri, 2013). Further, our efforts to ensure the credibility and trustworthiness of data collection and analysis were embedded in our research process in three ways: (1) triangulating a variety of data from different sources and types (individual data of personal memory, self-reflection, and external data); (2) challenging and probing each other's perspectives and experiences through multiple interactive interview among ourselves; and (3) contextualizing our experiences within the larger body of the literature.

Our stories

Hernandez: I am a native of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago. I first came to the United States in 1996–1998 to pursue a master's degree in educational administration, and I returned to the United States in 2000 to complete a doctoral degree in educational psychology. Upon completion of my studies, I accepted a faculty position at my current university. In 2006, I married an African-American man and we now have two daughters. My immigration status is permanent resident of the United States. I am also a Professor and Director of Research in the School of Education at my university.

Although I acknowledge that my children are African Americans, I do not selfidentify as one. Several friends accuse me of trying to negate my "Blackness." This is not the case. As the product of a mother of African Caribbean descent and a father of Hispanic ancestry, I see this not as a denial of my Blackness but as an affirmation of my own heritage – an act of homage. Yet, here in the United States, I have been both offended and mystified by others' attempts to classify me into a particular racial grouping and my own vociferous opposition to the labels Black or Hispanic. In this fluid space, I do not see myself as either/or but as both/and. "I am Trinidadian," I counteract. On several occasions when I have walked into a room, people have given me a quizzical look (I kept my paternal last name). Some have actually said: "You are not Hispanic," to which I often respond cheekily, "Yes, I am." Identification with the country of my birth and my father's heritage are salient, as I was raised in that context, by my single-parent father and my paternal grand-mother. Why then should I be forced to divest my own heritage to occupy this space? I do recognize that I am in the process of adapting to this new home – but I am not there yet. I do not fully own the experience of being an African American, and I cannot take that label unless it fits me well.

Ngunjiri: I am a Kenyan African and I came to the United States for further studies in 2003. As a Kenyan of African origin (i.e. my ethnicity is rooted in one of Kenya's 40+ language groups), I had never identified as Black. I hadn't consciously identified as African either, until my immigration to the United States. I took my Kenyan and African identity for granted because where I come from, being of a particular ethnic group and social status are more significant markers of identity than phenotype/race since more than 90% of the population is of African descent, including 100% of the people in positions of power in politics. But as an international student and later immigrant faculty, I soon came to the realization that I needed to figure out how to identify myself – to situate myself as African, as Black, and as a minority.

Having lived in the United States for a decade now, I identify as African. Being married to an African-American man has furthered my understanding and identification as African, even as I have come to recognize the many ways in which we as people of African descent share certain cultural elements. I also recognize the ways that we differ – Africans' deep culture of patronage, respect for elders, and communal identity being the most salient as I observe the fractured nature and lack of communal identity in any of the US cities that I have called home. Yet even as my African identity becomes more pronounced, I find myself getting restless and homesick when I travel to my home country of Kenya. For instance, after two and a half weeks in the continent in 2011, I called my husband and told him I was ready to come "home." Yet only a few months previously I had been yearning to go "home" to Kenya. I inhabit two worlds – the United States that is my work and marital home, and Africa, which is where my roots are buried. I am an African in America.

Chang: I am a Korean by birth, a German by marriage, and an American by residency and citizenship. I spent the first 23 years of my life in Korea. Growing up in a middle-class scholars' family, I was part of the mainstream culture. Everyone looked like me with black hair and almond-shaped eyes. Back home, I was not defined by my ethnicity or race although other elements such as nationality, religion, education, social class, and regionalism shaped my cultural identity. Since coming to the United States as a graduate student 30 years ago, I have gradually become "Americanized." By that I mean, I have acquired racial consciousness; I have been racialized by others and have racialized others as well into newfound cultural/ethnic labels. Through marriage to a German man who grew up in post-Nazi Germany, I have an intimate understanding of the German sense of guilt associated with the holocaust. I have also become sensitive to the racial and ethnic strife in his homeland. Moreover, giving birth to two Eurasian (mixed-race) Americans has *sewn* me more tightly into the racial/ethnic fabric of US society.

In addition to living multiple cultures at my present home, I also teach and research on multiculturalism and leadership in a US higher education institution. Although my scholarship has informed me of ethnic and racial stereotypes, prejudice, and discrimination in the United States, most of the time I have been protected by book covers and my sense of security for having grown up as a member of the majority in Korea. However, my sense of security can be easily shattered, especially when a neighborhood kid calls me a "chink" or a colleague dismisses my educational accomplishments from Korea. Occasionally I am subjected to the "model minority" stereotype (Lee, 2009). In a private gathering, for example, one of my faculty colleagues blurted out, "You Asians do well in academia." He did not seem to realize that this remark was not complimentary to me or other Asian colleagues. I am more than my ethnicity and race. Yet when a curve ball such as this hits me out of the blue, I am diminished to an "Asian thing." Working in a US academy as a "foreignborn" academic is like walking on a balance beam. While keeping balance, I need to watch out for curve balls that threaten to knock me off the beam.

Navigational strategies

Our personal stories provide contexts for our experiences as faculty in the US higher education arena. We drew from our memory, self-reflective and self-analytical data collected in the three phases of individual and collective data collection and analysis. Through this collaboration process, we identified three navigational strategies undergirding our survival experiences as foreign-born faculty of color in our adopted country: exploiting multifocal lenses, reconfiguring identities, and engaging tempered radicalism.

The central navigation strategy is the unique multifocal lens we possess as outsiders within the US academy. It is the part of our identity that we guard most aggressively. From this critical standpoint, we discern how best to reconfigure our identities and engage in tempered radicalism as *acts of resistance* against systems that seek to marginalize us, including the institutional context in which we work. Whereas each of us attended a graduate research university, and we currently engage in active research agendas, we are employed at a predominantly White teaching university where teaching is valued over scholarship. In that respect, our institutional context represents another layer of border crossing that accentuates our differences. Each of these strategies is discussed in turn in the following sections.

Exploiting multifocal lenses

The most salient aspect of our positionality as foreign-born female faculty of color in a predominantly White teaching institution is a function of our status as outsiders/ within. Yet, we do not occupy the same spaces as American-born women of color. As Caribbean, African, and Korean immigrants, we interpret our experiences through distinctive multifocal lenses. We define these lenses as critical standpoints that are both developmental and intersectional. Consistent with bioecological models of human development, they are evolutionary products of our psychological selves and the ecological spaces we have occupied (Bronfenbrenner, 1989; Vygotsky, 1978), especially during critical periods of growth in our formative years. Additionally, we are learning to be intentional about using this standpoint for advancement within the academy.

As we interrogated the evolution of this perspective, several commonalities emerged. Our experiences in our countries of origin socialized us into "cultures of academic excellence"; positioned us as members of the dominant cultural/ethnic group with attendant privilege and status; and defined our gendered relations, social standing, and responsibilities as women. In the following paragraphs, we illustrate some of these contextual experiences.

We were raised in households where academic excellence was highly valued. Hernandez recounts that although her father did not finish high school, he expected a report card of "all A's" from his daughters. Similarly, if Ngunjiri failed to bring home a report card where she was "number 1" in class rankings, her father would question her as to why she had slipped. In Chang's household, parental expectation for academic excellence was indirectly expressed when her sisters were scolded for poor grades. She understood that doing well in school was considered "normal."

As members of majority groups within our home countries, we did not confront issues of marginalization based on our cultural/ethnic status. For Hernandez and Ngunjiri, Blackness was normative. In fact, Ngunjiri has often said of her entry into the US academy, "I did not know I was Black until I came here." In other words, she did not have a racialized identity while living in her country of birth where more than 90% of the population looked like her. For Chang, until entry into the USA, her Asian, in particular, Korean ethnicity did not play any role in defining her social standing. In our countries of origin, we interpreted our experiences from a majority perspective. Within the US context, this position has been challenged. Hernandez shared a critical incident that helped define the duality of her ethnic status when she first came to the USA:

I remember driving through Gary, Indiana with one of my Caucasian professors en route to Chicago ... when I heard him say almost to himself, "These people, hmmph! I just don't understand them. Look at this neighborhood ... look how run-down it is! They will not take care of their houses ... or their yards. I just don't understand them." Then as if he suddenly remembered I was there, he added quickly, "Oh, but not you. You Caribbean people are different."

In that moment, I did not know what to think? "Oh!" was all I said But inside I was conflicted. I felt happy that he did not include me in the group of "these people." Yet at the same time, I was disturbed by his characterizations of people who looked just like I did. Several years later, as I reflect on that encounter and my time here in the United States, I know now that when I am walking down the streets, when someone sees me, I am "these people." I am judged by those standards – based simply on the color of my skin.

All three of us described this developing competence of viewing our experiences through the dual lens of an indigenous majority position of prestige and power and the inherited lens of a minority position of imposed marginalization and disenfranchisement.

In our respective contexts, we were each challenged to navigate constructions of gender that conflicted with our own self-definitions. Chang found herself at odds with Korean culture where to be female is synonymous with docility. She recalled a critical incident that etched in her mind her position in Korean society:

One day, my father said to my mother, "Why do you talk in public?" Even though my mother worked professionally, my father scolded her for talking before him I had a problem with being expected to serve men. I had resistance to my father who exercised authority over me.

Similarly, when Ngunjiri began her academic preparation for the ministry in Kenya, she defied normative expectations. She recalled being told by one of her male classmates that, "women have smaller brains than men ..., all these women in

the class are in the wrong place, they should be in the women's programs learning to support their husbands." In reflecting on this experience, she noted:

For the first time in my life (and I was in my late twenties) I had someone telling me there was something I couldn't do or be because I was a woman Growing up, my parents treated the children the same. There was hardly ever any "boys do this, girls do that" kind of behavior. I, therefore, had no way of knowing that there were different roles and different expectations – and that there were some things left to men alone, such as being leaders and pastors When I graduated at the top of the class, I was really glad to shake this man's hand at the ceremony, as if to say, "And you said my brain was smaller than yours!"

Conversely, Hernandez, who was raised by a single-parent father, described her early socialization as "rough and tumble." If there were labor-intensive chores to be done at home, she and her sister had to do them. She struggled to understand what it meant to be female in the absence of a female caregiver:

I didn't know what it meant to be a woman \dots I just felt a void, as if something was missing. We had female housekeepers, but they did not help. I guess my sense of womanhood came from me trying to fill that void \dots trying to be what my mother was not – caring. I learned how to be a woman from books and watching other women. My father just did not have a feminine touch.

These early socialization experiences crafted the foundational frame in our understanding of womanhood. In the US context, we are each confronted with a more egalitarian view of gender which is becoming a part of our identity. As with our cultural ethnic status, we are now able to think of our gendered experiences from these differing frames of reference.

Embedded in these stories relative to our ethnic and gendered statuses are glimpses of our multifocal lenses – an epistemological and axiological standpoint guided by a continuing quest to advocate for a genuine self. As we continue to live and work in the US context, this standpoint continues to bifurcate. The ability to interpret our experiences by juxtaposing dual perspectives is unique to our experience as foreign-born women of color. Whereas our positionality is somewhat analogous to Du Bois' description of a double consciousness that African Americans face in their attempts to navigate both the White and the Black world (1903), this consciousness emerges from a position of marginality for African Americans in the US context. Similarly, Collins (2000) describes the experiences of Black women in the White academy as a struggle to live these two lives. As foreign-born women of color, the salient distinction we make with respect to our "double consciousness" in this context is that our consciousness and the interpretation of our experiences in the academy emerge from the juncture of our majority/minority and immigrant/American statuses.

This is the intersectional aspect of our positionality. The stories we share illustrate how these differences are manipulated to keep us in an "interlocking matrix of domination": student evaluations that critique our accents with comments such as: "This teacher continually mispronounces words"; for Hernandez and Ngunjiri, the reticence to passionately articulate a point of view for fear of being dismissed as an "angry black woman." Consistent with the account of other immigrant faculty, we grapple with issues of credibility on the basis of our appearance and accents (Rong, 2002). Other research has identified undergraduate student perception of an instructor's accent as a strong predictor of teacher evaluations (Rubin, 1992; Rubin & Smith,

1990). By virtue of our unique status among faculty of color in the academy, we are vulnerable to severe marginalization (Skachkova, 2007).

Existence in the margins is often pathologized as a point of victimization. However, as we shared our experiences, we recognized a common resilience and a refusal to be victimized. To succeed in the academy, we have chosen to cultivate an intentional political standpoint for our exploitive ends. As Ngunjiri describes:

I refuse to be subjugated and be silenced, part of my work becomes representing that identity. When I choose to still do a lot of work on African women and leadership that is intentional I am using my position of "advantage" as a faculty member in a North American institution to represent the people I left behind even as I represent myself. The fact that I am Black and African becomes my positionality that I use to my advantage – not as a position of being marginalized ... I am aware of marginalization around me, but I do not feel that.

To exist in the margins is to have access to a unique vantage point. Current iterations of feminist standpoint theory acknowledge dominant and underrepresented perspectives (Allen, 1998; Collins, 2000, 2004). As female immigrants of color, our perspectives are at the margins of this discourse. Our views are recognized but not yet legitimized and fully represented.

Reconfiguring identities

Even as we recognized the salience of our multifocal lenses, we acknowledged that they are vulnerable to changes as we adjust to our inherited status in the US context. Social identities transform over time as people change social roles and move into new life circumstances (White, 2008). For example, since we had begun our academic journey in the US higher education system as "foreign students" about 14, 8, and 30 years ago respectively, our standpoints have been constantly evolving. During this time, Chang has become a naturalized citizen of the USA, and Hernandez and Ngunjiri are "permanent residents" and on the way to acquiring citizenship status. All of us have become wives and two of us mothers. Professionally we have changed from students to professors. Changes in our life experiences in the USA require continual reconfiguration of our dominant identities. As our primary identities continue to reconfigure, we found it useful to interrogate them and scrutinize who we *are becoming* in this context.

In retelling our stories, one consistent theme that emerged was the social pressures that are continuously coalescing to divest us of our cultural/ethnic status and our spirited resistance to becoming anything other than our personal self-definitions. In the US professional setting, we have been ascribed racialized identities that do not quite fit and this requires us to reconstruct who we are. In particular, for Hernandez and Ngunjiri, the US construction of *Blackness* and attendant stereotypes were foreign constructs. While we have chosen to accept labels such as African American and Asian American as appropriate formal descriptors of us in our professional setting, we wear them as loose garments which we readily discard in private settings. Moreover, in our scholarship we make a point to acknowledge our distinctive statuses. For example, Hernandez still self-identifies as a "Trinidadian female scholar of Black-Hispanic origin," Ngunjiri as a "Kenyan-African female spiritual scholar," and Chang as a "female professor of Korea-United States-German multicultural heritage." In this way, we seize the power to move in and out of multiple identities at our own discretion. The most troublesome reconfiguration of identities is that of majority vs. minority status. Each of us grew up as the racial, cultural, and linguistic majority in our countries of origin. Therefore, the alignment with minority status is unnatural to us. Yet, minority status is also now a part of our developing identity and our family connections in the case of Hernandez and Ngunjiri who are married to African-American spouses. In spite of these connections, our early socialization experiences enable us to resist assimilation to the social hierarchy of majority and minority based on physical features, the minority mentality of victimization, and subjugation by the hegemonic majority, but to exploit that position for our advantage. Ngunjiri notes:

Coming to the United States and finding myself *minoritized*, I had to reconfigure – I no longer consider the fact that I am black and African as a disadvantage ... instead of thinking that I will not get through because I am a Black female and African, I think I might get through because I may be the only one like me in this group – therefore, I have something to say. I consider my *minority* status as an important standpoint.

Our gender identity is also being reconfigured in this context. Growing up in our respective countries, we experienced internal struggles with traditional sex roles. Chang states, "My ideal type of gender roles are closer to that of the Western culture than Korean culture ... That is why I felt quite stifled and restricted as a young woman in Korea." Ngunjiri concurs as she states:

When I was younger, I was described as a tomboy, as an adult, as being too assertive. Though no one told me I couldn't do anything by virtue of my gender, it was clear that I wasn't a typical female either. I still remember my father telling me, "You are just like Wangari Maathai." Only later did I understand this meant I was a mannish female, too strong and impossible to control.

We have found our feminist standpoints to be more accepted in the USA. Crosscultural marriages allow us to distance ourselves from traditional gender roles and to usher in new personal expressions of gender roles within African-American and German contexts.

These newfound gender-based liberties at the personal level have not always translated into gender equity in the professional sphere. Our authority as teachers and scholars has been challenged openly and implicitly by students. We have been passed over for leadership positions in favor of male colleagues. We have provided valuable service to the institution under male leadership, sometimes without being properly recognized. In seeking a balance between our ability to tap into multiple constructions of gender in our private and professional lives, we have adopted a pragmatic approach to our alignment with masculine and feminine traits. We spoke often of *playing femininity*, assuming a more socially acceptable feminine role – soft-spoken and humble – to effect change at our institutions. Chang's statement illustrates this well:

I'm assertive and direct, but sometimes I play femininity when working with men. I feel the need to stroke their egos before presenting my proposal or to play dumb when I know the answer. It may have something to do with my Korean sensibility emphasizing modesty. However, I recognize that it happens mostly when I am interacting with male rather than female colleagues.

Critiquing the studies that differentiate male and female leadership styles (Eagly & Carli, 2003; Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001), we agree that both men and women can adopt the androgynous style of leadership and management (Parker &

Ogilvie, 1996; Prime, Jonsen, Carter, & Maznevski, 2008). Reconfiguration of gender identity is born of the pragmatic need for survival and success.

Engaging tempered radicalism

The term tempered radical tends to elicit either resonance or derision because it brings two opposites together, tempered meaning moderated, and radical meaning extreme. Tempered can also mean "toughened" as by challenges, while radical can also mean "conscious of the roots of injustice," thus producing a critical consciousness toward changing the status quo (Bell, Meyerson, Nkomo, & Scully, 2003; Meyerson, 2001; Meyerson & Scully, 1995). The term tempered radicals emerged from the work of Meyerson and Scully (1995). Meyerson (2001) explains that tempered radicals are:

people who operate on a fault line. They are organizational leaders who contribute and succeed in their jobs. At the same time, they are treated as outsiders because they represent ideals or agendas that are somehow at odds with the dominant culture. (p. 5)

To advance in the academy given our "triple threat" status - foreign-born females of color – we have become tempered radicals. Meyerson and Scully (1995) explain further that *tempered radicals* are people who, because of their social identities and/or value system, find themselves at odds with the dominant organizational culture. They proposed that such people may find it necessary to engage in resistance and attempt to change the institutions and organizations of which they are a part, as we have been doing. Meyerson (2001, 2004) conceptualized a spectrum of strategies employed by tempered radicals in their change efforts: resisting quietly and staying true to one's self; turning personal threats into opportunities; broadening impact through negotiation; leveraging small wins; and organizing collective action. Further research by an African women scholar done within an African context added more strategies that tempered radicals use as change leaders: intercultural boundary spanning; and resourcefulness and creative problem solving (Ngunjiri, 2010). Additionally, people who act as tempered radicals may vacillate amongst the various strategies, moving from more tempered to more radical and back again, depending on the situations at hand and guided by prudence/practical wisdom (Ngunjiri, 2010). Most important for effectiveness as agents of change, tempered radicals need to be able to leverage their outsider/within positionality in organizations, choosing to view their marginal positions in organizations as a place for advocacy and direct action (Ngunjiri, 2010). Tempered radicals are "radical in their desire to change the status quo and tempered in the way that they have been toughened by challenges and anger at injustice" (Bell et al., 2003, p. 383).

The emergence of the theme of "engaging tempered radicalism" as a navigational strategy that we each employ, albeit in different ways, came after analysis and reanalysis of the data and intense discussions. Initially, we disagreed about whether our attempts at changes were for broader impact or simply in order to remain true to who we are. We concluded that since the term tempered radicals fits both of those ends, our efforts along that expanded continuum achieve both authenticity for us, and small but significant institutional changes. Our actions are propelled by the need to be authentic and holistic women faculty, even as we attempt to fit within our institutional setting. The succinct examples below will suffice to illustrate our tempered radicalism.

We have employed quiet resistance based on "practical wisdom" and "critical spirituality" (Dantley, 2003; Paris, 1995), whereby we have found it necessary to remain true to our values in various institutions. In our current institution, we have sometimes found it necessary to resist a dominant "teaching" culture, which often seems to mean awarding "easy" A's. Instead we choose to advocate for excellence and high expectations consistent with the academic standards to which we are accustomed; we expect our students to earn the grades that they receive at the end of their courses. Hernandez articulated her resistance:

I will not conform! You cannot make me what I am not in terms of giving easy A's or making it easy for them. I will be who I am ... the culture will not change me, I will change the culture.

However, this stance is counter-cultural. As Hernandez further articulates, raising the issue publicly resulted in being shut down:

I was asked to give a presentation at a faculty workshop about grade inflation and so I talked about it from what I knew and have experienced, such as how to increase test item difficulty and the importance of having high academic standards ... as I was speaking, I saw the look on the face of the department chair ... her body language told me clearly that she did not appreciate what I was saying.

Rather than submitting to the dominant culture, Hernandez chose within the confines of her own classes to emphasize academic rigor and high student expectations. Practical wisdom helped her recognize that quiet resistance was the best place to start. All of us shared similar experiences and have utilized our practical wisdom to take a stand of both quiet resistance and advocacy for change when the opportunity arises.

On the other end of the spectrum, we have found it necessary to pool our limited resources to engage in collaborative research in an institution where research is hardly recognized and barely rewarded. We have engaged in creative and resourceful problem solving collectively, and lead by example through our research and scholarship. In the process, each of us is able to pursue our professional development goals. Through our joint efforts at doing research, writing, publishing, and presenting at conferences, we find that we are broadening the impact of our change efforts because our collective actions have gained visibility at our institution that might not have been as evident had each of us engaged in scholarship alone. The personal threat of not having enough resources for research and conference participation is turned into an opportunity because we pool our limited resources.

Further, individually and together, we have found ways to leverage our outsider/within positionality in our institution, by working on autoethnographic research about our multiple identities as researchers/professors in a teaching institution, and as immigrant women faculty of color in a predominantly White institution. In the process, we find some of our colleagues are more interested in engaging in scholarship too. As tempered radicals then, we belong, yet we choose to resist becoming acculturated to those aspects of our institutional culture that do not fit with our backgrounds, training, and experience. For us, tempered radicalism involves adopting practical wisdom in order to gauge the best strategy to employ for each new challenge that we face and for each change effort in which we engage.

Lessons learned

Before we began our collaborative work, we were merely colleagues at the same institution. This journey of interrogating our experiences in a scholarly effort has allowed us to find our voice in ongoing narratives about the experiences of women of color in the academy, provided important personal and professional insights and tools for advancement in the academy, birthed a supportive community, and highlighted the utility of collaborative autoethnography as a powerful approach to qualitative inquiry.

As foreign-born female faculty of color, our race/ethnicity and gender statuses have created significant challenges for us in the US academy, which are not fully represented in the research relevant to the experiences of women of color in the academy. As we have illustrated here, although we experience some of the same issues of racism, sexism, xenophobia, and discrimination in teaching, research, and service in the academy as native-born faculty of color (Stanley, 2006), our immigrant status marks us as a Caribbean, African, and Asian woman, respectively. Through the process of migration, we have become superficially "minoritized," yet we discovered that each of us is at a different place in accepting this status change. To navigate within the academy, we are learning how to leverage our unique position at the intersection of outsider/within and majority/minority immigrant statuses for advancement within the academy. Through the process of collaborative autoethnography, we have found convergence of our experiences and the strategies we employ to survive and thrive.

Our experiences in the academy have coalesced into these three navigational strategies: exploiting multifocal lenses, reconfiguring our identities, and engaging tempered radicalism. We acknowledge that our multifocal lenses birthed in the early socialization process within our respective countries of origin are continually being reconstructed within our new sociocultural context. Our early socialization experiences into cultures of academic excellence, majority mentality, and gender perspectives laid the foundation for our developing identities. This foundational frame has bifurcated in this context and allows us to interpret our experiences and direct our actions in the academy through unique multifocal lenses. Through a reciprocal process, we also continue to reconfigure our personal and professional identities and temper our activism as we engage in personal and institutional transformation.

We have also found a supportive community that motivates us to exploit the marginality of our position as outsiders/within and turn a perceived disadvantage to our advantage. This autobiographical, dialogical, and ethnographic journey built on crosscultural and sisterly synergy has enabled us to grow professionally, culturally, and personally. Since this research was completed, we have continued to collaborate on several other projects – a coauthored book (Chang et al., 2013), a special journal issue on autoethnography (Ngunjiri et al., 2010), conducted workshops, and applied for several grants. Culturally each of us has gained depth of understanding about the cultural specificity of the others' experiences and also the generality of our experiences as female academics of color in the traditionally male-dominant US academy. The professional and cultural understanding among us has created community that sustains us as we navigate the cacophony of tenure, politics, complacency, and bureaucracy. This community provides a safe place for us to give voice to our authentic selves and to fully embrace our status as outsiders/within. We have made an intentional decision to exploit this standpoint to advance an active research agenda about our experiences as foreign-born female faculty of color in the academy.

Implications

One of the important methodological implications of this study is the utility of collaborative autoethnography for other scholars, especially those whose identities are not well represented in the research literature, to engage in self-reflective and narrative studies to interrogate their own experiences. As recommended by Black feminist (e.g. Collins, 2000) and critical race/feminist scholars (Stanley, 2006, 2007; Wing, 2003), it is imperative that women of color and minorities engage in studies that appropriately represent them and provide counter-narratives to the hegemonic representations of Whiteness as the norm. Such studies would provide a platform for them to voice their experiences and articulate the impact of racism, sexism, and other forms of marginalization in institutions.

On a practical level, our study underscores what other studies have already pointed out (e.g. Stanley, 2007) – the need for continued interrogations of the experiences of minorities in the academy, in order to make the necessary structural and climatic changes to foster a culture that is supportive of diversity, while simultaneously adding voices from foreign-born women of color to the ongoing narratives of women of color in the academy. Our study, along with other published collaborative autoethnographies, provides evidence that collaborative autoethnography can assist scholars of color in at least three ways: (1) creating communities that render professional and psychosocial support; (2) advancing scholarship through collaborative research and publication opportunities; and (3) effecting changes by bringing to scholarly and public attention social justice and equity issues involving people of color (Chang, Longman, & Franco, in press; Espino, Munoz, & Marquez Kiyama, 2010; Murakami-Ramalho, Piert, & Militello, 2008; Toyosaki et al., 2009). In sum, it demonstrates how collaborative autoethnography can be an important tool whereby scholars can create community, advance scholarship, and be empowered to effect changes at their institution even as they negotiate their own advancement.

Notes

- 1. Regardless of the order in which our names are listed, each author equally contributed to the process and production of this collaborative autoethnography. Hereafter, "we" will be used when all three authors are collectively referenced. Otherwise, last names will be used.
- 2. We use the term "foreign-born" in reference to ourselves to clarify that we are members of the US immigrant population that were born and socialized in their respective countries and migrated here as adults.

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