

FACTORS INFLUENCING CAREER EXPERIENCES OF SELECTED CHINESE
FACULTY EMPLOYED AT A RESEARCH EXTENSIVE UNIVERSITY IN TEXAS

A Dissertation

by

YAN ZHANG

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

August 2009

Major Subject: Educational Administration

FACTORS INFLUENCING CAREER EXPERIENCES OF SELECTED CHINESE
FACULTY EMPLOYED AT A RESEARCH EXTENSIVE UNIVERSITY IN TEXAS

A Dissertation

by

YAN ZHANG

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of
Texas A&M University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Approved by:

Chair of Committee,	Bryan R. Cole
Committee Members,	Yvonna S. Lincoln
	Christine A. Stanley
	Dianzhi (Daniel) Sui
	Ping Xiang
Head of Department,	Jim Scheurich

August 2009

Major Subject: Educational Administration

ABSTRACT

Factors Influencing Career Experiences of Selected Chinese Faculty Employed at a
Research Extensive University in Texas.

(August 2009)

Yan Zhang

B.A., Beijing Normal University, China;

M.A., Beijing Normal University, China

Chair of Advisory Committee: Dr. Bryan R. Cole

Whereas research related to the experience of faculty of color is increasing, little attention has been focused on Chinese faculty's career experience in the United States. The purpose of this study was: (1) to identify and describe factors which influence Chinese faculty decisions to apply for, accept, and remain in faculty positions at a Research Extensive University in Texas; and (2) to determine the challenges and support Chinese faculty have experienced with respect to promotion, tenure and recognition at a Research Extensive University in Texas. To address the purpose of the study, four research questions were used as guidance for collecting and analyzing the data.

The purposive sample consisted of sixteen Chinese faculty members (four female and twelve male) across different disciplines, ranks and genders, from seven different colleges at the studied university. All participants are first generation Americans who obtained at least a bachelor's degree in China, received their doctoral degree or

postdoctoral training in the United States, and found faculty positions in the United States.

This study used a qualitative research design with in-depth interviews, observations and document reviews as the major tools for data collection. Constant comparative method was adopted to analyze data.

Major findings concluded that factors such as traditional Chinese culture, family influence, the ability to access American academic freedom, advanced research environments, flexibility and job security, have significant influences in determining Chinese faculty decisions to work within academia in the United States. Additionally, Chinese faculty tended to regard individual barriers (i.e. challenges in mastery of English language, a lack of teaching experience, no undergraduate educational background in the United States, an unfamiliarity with the American culture, and insufficient communications skills in general) rather than institutionalized barriers (i.e. occupational discrimination, stereotypes and prejudice) as primary factors that impeded their professional development. Furthermore, Chinese women faculty experienced racial and gender issues in their lives and faced more challenges than their male counterparts in developing their career in the United States.

The researcher hoped that this study could contribute to the scant literature on Chinese faculty's career experiences in the United States, shed some light on understanding what factors influenced their career development, and provide some implications for practice and recommendations for further research.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my Mom, who lost her life by a car accident when I was three years old, who brought me into this beautiful world, whose unfailing love sustains, inspires and encourages me to live optimistically and bravely every day. Without these, I could have never achieved what I have today. For these, I am forever grateful.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to those who helped me in many ways throughout this study.

First and foremost, I must thank Dr. Bryan R. Cole, my chair of the committee, for your patience, encouragement and for your help with editing and revising my dissertation, and for teaching me so many things in both my professional and personal life through all the years I have studied in the United States. I could not have picked a better chair! Thank you more than I can say!

I would like to show my sincere appreciation to the 16 Chinese faculty members who enthusiastically participated in this study. By exploring your stories with happiness, disappointments, struggles and dreams, I experienced the journey with each participant every day while working on my dissertation. Thank you all for your tremendous support and assistance, otherwise I could never have completed my research.

My thanks also go to my committee members for your support, advice and inspiration. Dr. Yvonna Lincoln provided me guidance and expertise on the methodology that I used in this study. Dr. Christine Stanley helped me frame the review of the literature for my dissertation, and always encouraged me to finish my research. I like you very much, particularly your sense of humor! Dr. Dianshi Sui, as a gateway person in my study, opened the doors for me and helped me identify those Chinese faculty members who might participate in this study. I give a special thanks to Dr. Ping Xiang, who joined my committee without any hesitation when I needed her, who spent a

lot of time in reviewing my dissertation and providing many constructive suggestions throughout the course of this research, and who was always available for any questions from me as a professor, mentor and friend. Thanks to all my committee members. Without your support and guidance, this research could never have been accomplished.

I would like to particularly thank Dr. Frank Ashley, my supervisor at work when I was working at the Texas A&M University System as a Research Assistant. He gave me the maximal freedom and flexibility to complete my dissertation. He always reminded me to set up the completion of my dissertation as the priority and encouraged me to pursue an academic career. Without his strong support, I would not have been able to have my dissertation done today.

I would also like to acknowledge Dr. Elsa Gonzalez y Gonzalez's contribution for serving as the peer debriefer throughout my dissertation study and for providing her dissertation as guidance when I wrote the methodology of my dissertation.

All my friends, faculty and staff in my department, who helped, encouraged and supported me in many different ways, deserve my thanks as well. They are: Mei Wu Hoyt, Jenny Huang, Liqing Wei, Barry Soltani, Mike Holt, Verna Dewees, Yuming Ai, Marie Shelfer, Bill Ashworth, Joyce Nelson, Kelli Peck-Parrott, and many others.

Finally, thanks to my beloved elder sister for your encouragement, support, care and love in my life.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	iii
DEDICATION	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	x
LIST OF TABLES	xi
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION.....	1
Statement of the Problem	2
Purpose of the Study	3
Research Questions	4
Operational Definitions	5
Assumptions	6
Limitations	6
Significance of the Study	8
Contents of the Study	9
II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE.....	11
Faculty of Color in American Higher Education	11
Asian Americans in American Higher Education	34
Chinese American Faculty in American Higher Education	49
Summary of This Chapter	56
III METHODOLOGY.....	58
Theoretical Framework for the Methodology	58
Research Design.....	61
Data Collection.....	68
Data Analysis	76

CHAPTER	Page
Ensuring Trustworthiness.....	81
IV DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS	87
Context of the Study.....	87
Research Questions	119
V SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	240
Overview of the Study.....	240
Summary of Findings	242
Conclusions	260
Implications for Practice	262
Recommendations for Further Study	263
REFERENCES.....	267
APPENDIX A	275
APPENDIX B	281
APPENDIX C	285
APPENDIX D	287
VITA	289

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1 Example of a Unit Card and Coding	78

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1 Demographic Information of the Participants	64
Table 2 Demographics Profile of the Research Extensive Research University in Texas in Fall 2007	89
Table 3 Fall Semester Faculty by Ethnicity and Gender	92
Table 4 Fall Semester Student Enrolment by Ethnicity	93
Table 5 Fall Total Student Enrollment by Gender	94

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

With the open door policies implemented by China in 1978 and the United States' new immigration policies after World War II, the number of Chinese students and scholars coming to pursue career-related graduate study and employment in the United States has increased dramatically. The Ministry of Education of China reported that 792,000 Chinese students were studying abroad in 2007, among which 583,000 were abroad for undergraduate, master, PhD, or postdoctoral research or academic visits, etc. The United States is the country where most Chinese choose to study abroad. The Council of Graduate Schools (CGS) announced in May, 2007 that compared with 2006, students who were from China enrolled in master's and doctoral programs in American universities increased by 17%.

Among Chinese students and scholars studying in the United States, those who are supported by the Chinese government are obligated to return to China. Many self-supported individuals, however, decide to stay after graduation. Academe is one of the career paths that many Chinese choose after achieving doctoral degrees. The existing study related to Chinese faculty on American campuses proffers that Chinese faculty experience marginalities working in academic positions in the United States (Seagren & Wang, 1994). Contributing to this marginality may be American students lack understanding of multicultural and diversity issues, and lack of acceptance of

This dissertation follows the style of *Journal of Educational Research*.

Chinese faculty. In addition, inadequate English proficiency, two different instructional cultures and lack of knowledge and understanding of interpersonal norms and strategies in the United States create challenges and marginalities for Chinese faculty in their professional development (Seagren & Wang, 1994). After more than one decade, do these concerns continue to apply to Chinese faculty or Chinese American faculty in the United States contemporaneously? Do Chinese faculty experience racial/ethnic related issues and occupational barriers similar to other faculty of color in seeking tenure, promotion and recognition within the academy in the United States? What are major factors influencing Chinese faculty's career development experiences, especially those who are first generation and obtained at least their bachelor degree in China, received their doctoral degree in the United States and now are faculty members at American higher education institutions?

Statement of the Problem

The status of faculty of color, which often refers to faculty members of African American, Chicana/o/Puerto Rican/other Latina/o, American Indian, and Asian/Pacific American, has been a concern in American higher education for many decades (Antonio, 2002). One of the major issues, in particular, is lack of effective recruitment and retention of faculty of color across the United States (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998). Recruiting faculty of color to colleges and universities is not enough to obtain diversity and ensure the quality of education. Developing, retaining and supporting faculty of

color after recruiting must also be a priority when they experience problems and issues during their career development.

Generally the research on faculty career paths has been primarily focused on white male faculty, although some has been conducted on women (Kauper, 1991). Although descriptive data related to the experience of faculty of color are increasing, little theory has been applied to faculty of color career experience (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998; Stanley, 2006a). National trend data for the career experiences of faculty of color are limited and an understanding of faculty of color career experiences remains incomplete (Bower, 2002). The only case study focusing on Chinese faculty on an American campus was conducted more than ten years ago in 1994 (Seagren & Wang, 1994). Virtually no research can be identified that has been done on first-generation Chinese faculties who obtained at least a bachelor degree from China and a doctoral degree or postdoctoral training from the United States and then chose to work in academe in America. Consequently, there is a void in research relating to Chinese faculty career experiences. Exploring the factors that influence the career experiences including the process of recruitment, tenure and promotion, and retention of Chinese faculty will contribute to the scant research regarding Chinese faculty's career experience in the United States.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was twofold:(1) to identify and describe factors which influence Chinese faculty decisions to apply for, accept, and remain in faculty positions

at a Research Extensive University in Texas (recruitment process); and (2) to determine the challenges and support that Chinese faculty have experienced with respect to promotion, tenure and recognition at a Research Extensive University in Texas (retention process).

Research Questions

To address the purpose of the study, four research questions were used in this study to guide the data collection and analysis:

1. What factors do Chinese faculty members consider important in influencing their decisions to apply for, and accept faculty positions at a Research Extensive University in Texas?
2. What support do Chinese faculty members receive as they seek promotion, tenure and recognition within a Research Extensive University in Texas?
3. What challenges do Chinese faculty members face as they seek promotion, tenure and recognition within a Research Extensive University in Texas?
4. What factors do Chinese faculty members consider important in influencing their decisions to remain in faculty positions at a Research Extensive University in Texas?

Operational Definitions

The findings of this study were to be reviewed within the context of the following operational definitions:

Accept— Agree to take a job offer.

Apply for— Be interested in a position and followed with the submission of a job application.

Career decisions— Decisions to choose academe as the career choice and decisions to apply for, accept, and remain in the employment in a Research Extensive University in Texas.

Career Experiences— Experiences of applying and accepting faculty positions and experiences of challenges and support with respect to promotion, tenure and recognition at a Research Extensive University in Texas.

Challenges— Difficulties and barriers confronting faculty while they are seeking promotion, tenure and recognition within American higher education institutions.

Chinese faculty— In this study, Chinese faculty refer to individuals who were born in China, have completed at least a bachelor degree in China, and obtained their doctoral degrees in the United States, are employed in institutions of higher education in the United States, and are engaged in teaching, research and service. For purpose of this study, Chinese faculty refer to full-time and tenure-track Chinese faculty only.

Research Extensive Universities— Institutions typically offer a wide range of baccalaureate programs, and they are committed to graduate education through the doctorate. During the period studied, they awarded 50 or more doctoral degrees per year

across at least 15 disciplines (The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 2001, p1).

Remain in— Be willing to remain employed in a Research Extensive University in Texas.

Support— Encouragements, opportunities and help received by faculty members while they are seeking promotion, tenure and recognition in a Research Extensive University.

Assumptions

This study was based on the following assumptions:

1. Issues concerning the ethnicity of an individual may have influence(s) on Chinese faculty's career experiences in applying for and accepting faculty positions and their promotion, tenure and recognition processes;
2. Qualitative research design, using an in-depth interview method is a more suitable approach to identify, and better understand the factors influencing Chinese faculty's career experiences.

Limitations

There are several limitations to this study. The first limitation is that the researcher is Chinese, was born in China and gained graduate education in both China and the United States. The researcher might assume that she can better understand the participants' experiences than other researchers who do not have the same background.

Additionally, the participants may have the assumption that the researcher should have more familiarity with many of their experiences than others. Although this may help with mutual understanding between the researcher and participants, the assumption itself may limit the efforts of participants to describe their experiences deeply and thoroughly and limit the efforts of the researcher to explore the participants' career experiences objectively.

The second limitation is that this study was conducted at one research extensive university in Texas. The result of this study may not necessarily be valid for Chinese faculty in other American higher education institutions.

Another limitation is the participants themselves who were selected for this study. This study is limited to selected full-time, tenure-track Chinese faculty at one research extensive university in Texas, and excludes those who are part-time, non-tenure-track Chinese faculty members. This may limit the amount of information and may only demonstrate a partial or incomplete picture of Chinese faculty's career experience in the United States. Moreover, the generalizations of this study are limited to the faculty who agreed to be interviewed and participated in the study. In addition, this study focuses on Chinese faculty from mainland Chinese backgrounds so that Chinese faculty members from other backgrounds for instance, Taiwan are excluded.

The fourth limitation is from the qualitative methodology used to conduct the study. Thus this study is limited to the information gathered through the literature review and interviews, but does not include quantitative data or national trend data.

Last but not the least, there is a resulting limitation from the language for the interviews. Participants were allowed to choose either English or Chinese for the interview. The researcher needed to transcribe the results of the interviews into English, if participants chose Chinese or mixed Chinese with English. Although every effort has been made to minimize this, some specific meaning of the language may be lost during the translation and transcription process.

Significance of the Study

This study may have significant social importance in exploring and investigating what Chinese faculty members' career experiences are in the United States, as many more Chinese students and scholars who have come to the United States to pursue graduate studies have chosen to stay in academe in this country.

Accordingly, by providing information to administrators of the attitudes, beliefs, and career experiences of Chinese faculty, this study may contribute to the understanding of issues in recruiting and retaining Chinese faculty in American colleges and universities. It may also provide insights and an understanding of the challenges and support issues involved in attracting and retaining Chinese faculties -- as a result may contribute to increasing the diversity of an institution and the professional and personal satisfaction of Chinese faculty.

Moreover, this study may provide information useful to higher education administrators in making personnel policies and practices aimed at the recruitment and retention of Chinese faculty. It may inform American higher education administrators of

the kinds of services and support faculty of color, particularly Chinese faculty, may need for their career development.

In addition, this study may provide information helpful for administrators and policymakers of higher education in China to understand the perceptions and experiences of Chinese faculty in the U.S. and to know the reasons why they choose to stay in higher education institutions in the U.S. instead of returning to China. Administrators and policymakers in China may use the results of this study for reference to reform and improve faculty development in China.

Furthermore, by providing relative comprehensive information to Chinese faculty in regard to their career experiences, this study may increase their awareness of these career issues and may be beneficial for them to develop coping strategies in the future.

Lastly, this study may contribute to the scant body of the literature related to the career paths of faculty of color, particularly Chinese faculty in the United States.

Contents of the Study

This study consists of five chapters. Chapter I is introduction of the study, including statement of the problem, purpose of the study, research questions, operational definitions, assumptions and limitations, and the significance of the study.

Chapter II is review of the literature that is related to faculty of color in American higher education with respect to research, teaching, service, tenure and promotion, mentoring systems, racial/ethnic discrimination, women faculty, etc.; Asian/Pacific

Island Americans and Asian in American higher education; and Chinese faculty in American higher education.

Chapter III is the description of the methodology utilized for this study. It includes the rationale for a qualitative research design, description of site, respondents, purposive sampling of the research design, instrumentation and interview protocol, data collection and analysis, as well as the trustworthiness of data.

Chapter IV is the detailed description of the collected data through in-depth interviews, observations, reflexive journals and records and documents. It is followed by comprehensive data analysis.

Chapter V provides the summary of findings and results, draws conclusions from the findings and results, and suggests the implications for practice and the recommendations for further studies.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Faculty of Color in American Higher Education

Faculty of color often refers to faculty members of African American, Chicana/o/Puerto Rican/other Latina/o, American Indian, and Asian/Pacific American (Astin, Antonio, Cress, & Astin, 1997; Stanley, 2006a; Turner, Garcia, Nora, & Rendon, 1996; Turner & Myers, 2000; Turner, Myers, & Creswell, 1999). The status of faculty of color has been a major concern in American higher education for many decades (Antonio, 2002). Although descriptive data related to the experience of faculty of color are growing, little theory has been applied to the faculty's of color experience (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998). National trend data for the career experience of faculty of color are limited and an understanding of faculty of color's experience remains incomplete (Bower, 2002).

Stanley (2006a) addresses several reasons why only a few nationwide studies have been conducted on teaching experiences of faculty of color in predominantly White colleges and universities.

First, they [faculty of color] present a small number of overall full-time faculty; second, many scholars of color refrain from participating in such studies because their numbers are so small that they are easily identifiable; third, prior to the 1960s, they were not viewed as an important focus of research; and finally, these studies are often conducted by faculty of color, and many majority White faculty do not believe that these individuals can be objective when researching their own community (p. 703).

Some scholarly interdisciplinary meetings and conferences have been held to discuss the issues of faculty of color's successful recruitment and retention in higher education and to challenge the system of tokenism, marginalization, isolation, and caste existence in predominantly white institutions (Essien, 2003; Turner, 2003). Topics include examining factors that concern hiring faculty of color and incorporating them into the higher ranks of the academy and dealing with the legal system's marginalization of Black women's experiences, etc. These meetings and conferences have offered a forum to promote scholarship and diversity in academia. However, the recruitment, development and retention of faculty of color still remain a major challenge to American higher education. The status of faculty of color still shows a continued pattern of underrepresentation and racial/ethnic bias (Turner, 2003; Turner et al., 1999).

A 1997 report entitled "Race and ethnicity in the academic professoriate 1995-96" by Astin, Antonio, Cress, & Astin shows that faculty of color accounted for less than 9 percent based on nationwide survey of 33,986 faculty respondents. Compared with White faculty, African American faculty were more likely to teach at historically black colleges and universities, and American Indian and Latino/a faculty are much more likely to be employed at two-year colleges. Faculty of color, except the Asian American group, are mostly concentrated in the humanities academic field. In 1995, there were 32 percent of African American faculty in humanities or in education, and less than 2 percent were in the physical sciences fields. What's more, almost 37 percent of all Chicana/o faculty were in the humanities or in education, while only 2 percent held positions in physical sciences. According to Astin et al. (1997), faculty of color are also

likely to occupy the lower academic ranks. The higher the rank, the lower is the proportion of faculty of color. For example, African American faculty are most represented among the assistant and associate ranks and American Indian faculty accounts for the largest percent in the lowest academic ranks. Villalpando and Bernal (2002) determined this consistency of the status of faculty of color by using thirty-year national trend data across all institutions, academic departments, and academic ranks from 1972-1998. Data shows the representation of faculty of color varies only slightly across different types of higher education institutions. The largest and less prominent public two-year institutions have had the largest representation and the growth of faculty of color since the 1970s. On the contrary, the smallest and more prestigious institutions, like private four-year colleges and universities have had the lowest representation of faculty of color since the 1970s (Villalpando & Bernal, 2002). Faculty of color are not only disproportionately represented across types of institutions, but also are unevenly represented among different academic departments. Not surprisingly, faculty of color are more concentrated in departments such as humanities, education, social science and women's studies, which are considered lower prestige in higher education (Villalpando & Bernal, 2002). In addition, according to Villalpando and Bernal (2002), faculty of color are unevenly represented among academic ranks. The largest representation of faculty of color has consistently been in the lower and less prestigious academic ranks, and has been relatively unchanged in almost twenty-five years. What is more, White faculty have consistently received tenure and promotion at a higher rate than all faculty of color, regardless of academic discipline. Faculty of color have more difficulty than

their White colleagues in achieving tenure and the professor rank (Astin et al., 1997; Villalpando & Bernal, 2002).

Conventionally, many scholars explain the underrepresentation of faculty of color as the doctoral production “pipeline problem”, which means there are not enough qualified candidates of color of Ph.D. students to fill vacant faculty positions (Astin, 1982; Turner et al., 1999). They allege that higher education universities and colleges are eager to hire more faculty of color, but there are just so few students of color in the doctoral pool and even fewer who are qualified to become faculty. Villalpando and Bernal (2002) do not adopt the conventional explanation. Instead, they analyze the racialized structures and practices that contribute to a cycle of exclusion for faculty of color by institution, academic department and academic rank and tenure rate, although higher education insists that its academic structure is a neutral, objective, and meritocratic process. Another important factor that contributes to the underrepresentation of faculty of color is the working environment and campus life that higher education institutions provide for faculty of color. Terms as “chilly climate,” “marginality,” “alienation,” “isolation,” “tokenism,” “invisibility,” “lack of mentoring,” “racism,” and “subtle discrimination” are often used in the literature to describe the working environment and campus climate for faculty of color as well as their experience with academic life (Alfred, 2001; Essien, 2003; Niemann, 1999; Sadao, 2003; Stanley, 2006a, 2006b; Turner, 2003; Turner et al., 1999). At most stages of their academic careers, faculty of color appear to encounter many visible and invisible barriers and challenges across teaching, research and service areas in higher education institutions.

Teaching

Faculty of color experience challenges with teaching inside and outside the classroom. For instance, some students often question their authority, credibility and validity of teaching in the classroom. Other students resist listening to the course content related to multicultural and diversity issues. As many scholars indicated, race matters in the classroom. Students treat faculty of color differently than they treat White faculty members (Stanley, 2006a; Stanley, Porter, Simpson, & Ouellett, 2003). For example, students challenge black faculty members' qualifications, place either unrealistically high or low performance expectations on them, and question their competence in the classroom (Kauper, 1991). Studies show that faculty of color believe students' evaluations of their teaching have a negative impact on their career development (Bernal & Villalpando, 2002; Stanley et al., 2003). Many times, faculty of color are expected to have a heavier load of teaching (Astin et al., 1997; Niemann, 1999; Turner & Myers, 2000). Faculty show the same degree of interest in teaching as the White faculty, and even tend to spend more time engaging in teaching and teach more courses, however, they do not receive equal rewards nor achieve tenure as frequently as their White peers (Villalpando & Bernal, 2002).

Stanley (2006a), in an autoethnographic qualitative study of 27 faculty of color in predominantly White colleges and universities, notes that faculty of color enjoy teaching although they encounter challenges in as well as outside of the classroom. Many of them mention the job of teaching as one of the important reasons they stay in academia.

Research

In terms of research, faculty of color appear to face barriers as well, which are often racially biased double standards that punish them for not performing better than their White peers (Turner et al., 1999). Oftentimes, faculty of color are expected to have a higher quantity and quality of publications (Astin et al., 1997; Niemann, 1999; Turner & Myers, 2000). Although available research comparing the publication performance of faculty of color and White faculty shows no significant difference, it is often cited that faculty of color are not as productive as majority (Blackburn, Wenzel, & Bieber, 1994). In addition, many faculty of color concentrate in women's studies, social science, diversity and student outcome, culture and climate, etc., which are often perceived as lower prestige within higher education and are not always rewarded in the academy (Stanley, 2006a; Villalpando & Bernal, 2002). Villalpando and Bernal (2002) find that faculty of color share the same extent of interest in research as their White colleagues, and seem to be as productive in research as their White peers across all institutions. However, they do not seem to be rewarded equitably when compared with their White colleagues.

As an example, Matsuda (Matsuda, 1988) notes "politics of citation" as one means that contributes to the unequal rewarding and recognizing of faculty of color. Some institutions and academic fields evaluate the academic contribution and prestige by looking at how many people cite an individual's articles and books in a given field of study. However, faculty of color are often invisible, limited and unrewarded in terms of

being cited by others, since people intend to cite what they have read and discussed with their academic friends and faculty of color friends are limited.

Service

Stanley (2006a), from narratives of faculty of color who participated in her study, discovered that there are several service activities in which faculty of color need to be involved.

(a) mentoring students of color, (b) serving on university and national recruitment and retention committees focusing on diversity, (c) helping local communities in their educational efforts, (d) mentoring faculty of color, and (e) educating majority White faculty, administrators, students, and staff about diversity (p718-719).

Many studies support this assertion and show that faculty of color are more likely to spend time in providing services to the community, engaging in outside activities, and promoting racial understanding among faculty and students. They are required to be visible when the department, college or institution's best interest is to have a "minority" scholar and "token" membership on "diversity" committees (Astin et al., 1997; Niemann, 1999; Turner & Myers, 2000).

Therefore, compared to White faculty, faculty of color are burdened with heavy service loads to contribute to the colleges and universities, and the community.

However, these services were often not rewarded in counting toward tenure and promotion process (Stanley, 2006a).

Faculty of color are often at a crossroads: On the one hand, they are recruited to diversify the faculty and further the university's diversity agenda (because of perceived or real expertise), and, on the other hand, they often engage in these

activities only to be told that they are of little value in merit and personnel decisions. Participation in service activities remains a critical area to which many faculty of color fall prey, and it is often a component that costs them greatly when they are being evaluated for promotion and tenure (p721).

Tenure and Promotion

When going through the tenure and promotion process, faculty of color often report that they are being held to different expectations than their White colleagues although higher education insists they use neutral, objective, and meritocratic tenure processes. This may be referred to as a double standard for faculty of color (Nakanishi, 1993). Villalpando and Bernal (2002) also support this assertion that the double standards often occur for faculty of color during the tenure and promotion processes. Although tenure and promotion are normally determined through a formula based on faculty members' performance in teaching, research, and service, this formula actually can be very subjective for faculty of color when it is implemented in practice. The subjectiveness of the tenure process certainly contributes to some degree to the exclusion of faculty of color in academe.

Oftentimes, faculty of color are expected to work harder and have a higher quality and quantity of publications, teaching load, and serve on more committee services than White faculty (Astin et al., 1997; Turner et al., 1999). They have more burdens with additional challenges and are denied or overlooked in tenure and promotion in ways that are unknown to their White colleagues. Stanley (Stanley, 2006a, 2006b) points out one particular area of concern in the tenure and promotion literature is the research agenda pursued by faculty of color and whether these agendas are rewarded

in tenure and promotion processes. Many faculty of color concentrate their research agendas on such areas as diversity and multicultural affairs, affirmative action, institutional climate, and racial/ethnic issues, which benefit community of color and most higher education institutions. However, these research agendas are considered non-mainstream research areas and are not always rewarded in the tenure and promotion process, wherein the mainstream research is considered more important (Stanley, 2006a, 2006b).

What is more, data show that faculty of color representation has changed little since the 1970s (Astin et al., 1997; Villalpando & Bernal, 2002). In the academic profession, faculty of color represent less than 9 percent, among which women of color comprise only 39 percent. Faculty of color continue to be concentrated in less prestigious institutions, and continue to hold the lowest academic ranks and have lower rates of tenure than White faculty (Astin et al., 1997). Faculty of color continue to be underrepresented in the academy (Astin et al., 1997; Villalpando & Bernal, 2002).

Many studies in the higher education literature reveal that the continuing, deep racial and ethnic bias, and gender stratification still exist in tenure and promotion practices and policies for faculty of color and that many faculty of color are devaluated or undervalued in the academy (Stanley, 2006a, 2006b; Turner & Myers, 2000; Turner et al., 1999; Villalpando & Bernal, 2002), even though higher education continues to assert neutrality and objectivity in its reward system (Villalpando & Bernal, 2002).

Discrimination

Overt and covert racism, sexism, tokenism and isolation are experienced by many faculty of color (Alfred, 2001; Bower, 2002; Niemann, 1999; Stanley, 2006a, 2006b; Turner et al., 1999). Discrimination, which is subtle most of the time, appears across many areas of the academy such as teaching, research, service, and overall experiences of faculty of color in higher education. Women faculty of color face additional challenges, including discrimination related to gender as well as race (Stanley, 2006a; Turner, 2002).

Bower (2002), through both quantitative and qualitative data, finds that minority faculty are aware of and experience the presence of discrimination on campus. They indicate how ethnic/race influences their reception by students and White colleagues. Many faculty members are the first minority faculty on their campus for many years, and have experienced a long-time of isolation, alienation, and overt discrimination by colleagues and students. Although recently hired minority faculty may not experience overt racism on campus, they express that race/ethnicity still has a negative influence on their career, especially when they interact with students. White students challenge the capability of minority faculty and doubt their expertise in the classroom as just one example cited by so many. Although some of the faculty members interviewed in Johnsrud and Sadao's (1998) study do not want to label their experiences as discrimination, most of them described ethnic and gender tokenism and stereotyping in higher education. They feel devalued, unappreciated, angry, and isolated. This status as outsiders gets worse when they show up at committees, commissions, or panel

discussions because they feel they are not called on based on their academic competence, but rather on their ethnicities.

Turner et al. (1999) conducted a study which is the first one to examine the workplace environment for faculty of color in Midwestern colleges and universities. It is a study concerning successes. All faculty of color interviewed for this study were currently holding either tenure-track or tenured faculty positions in higher education. Many positive career experiences attracted them to remain in higher education. However, even these successful faculty of color still experience continued exclusion and isolation. Among 64 faculty members participating in this study, only a few of them (5% of the total) reported that they have not encountered racial and ethnic discrimination in their faculty life, however, most of them recognize the on-going racial and ethnic challenges in their workplace environment. In addition, even though over 95% of the faculty members participating in this study decided not to leave academe, they repeatedly point out the feelings of isolation, lack of mentoring and information of tenure and promotion, gender bias, language barriers, and lack of support from their superiors. Faculty of color often feel devalued in their professional credentials because the first thing people will see is their color and not their academic credentials. To many universities and colleges, having color seems to become more important than academic credentials. The attitude of hiring one person of color in a department as being enough (“token hire conception”) contributes to the isolation of being “the one” faculty of color in a department. Devaluation of faculty of color’s research on non-mainstream fields further leads to charges of racial and ethnic bias in the tenure and promotion processes.

Faculty of color consider racial and ethnic bias as the most burdensome challenge in their working environment.

Stanley (2006a) identifies in her study that faculty of color experience two forms of racism that influence their teaching in predominantly white colleges and universities: institutional racism and individual racism. Institutional racism is often subtle in the majority White culture and seldom realized publicly. Although many institutions promote and value diversity, they often do not see that some institutional policies and practices actually disadvantage faculty of color in their campus lives. Individual racism is often invisible to the majority White culture. Majority White faculty often claim that faculty of color are playing the race card so quickly and are too sensitive (Stanley, 2006a). Thus, when minority faculty face the barriers to be included in the majority White culture, it may be difficult for them to speak up for themselves. Faculty of color, such as African Americans, Latina/os, American Indians, and Asian Americans who are born and raised in another culture, experience the negative influence of institutional and individual racism day in and day out (Stanley, 2006a). Discrimination is rarely overt these days, but it is still manifested in faculty's of color daily experience, which is not realized or encountered by their White colleagues in higher education (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998).

Mentoring

Sorcinelli and Yun (2007) recently reviewed published resources since 2000, that offer fresh insights, concepts and thinking about mentoring in higher education, faculty

development programs and practices that promote mentoring, and gender/race issues related to mentoring. This review draws a clear picture of the development of the mentoring relationship in higher education in the past seven years.

Literature cites that mentoring plays an important role and has a crucial influence on the academic career of women and faculty of color. Some are positive and others are negative (Stanley, 2006a). There is nothing more isolating and alienating than to be the first or only person of one's race and/or ethnicity to be hired in a department or a college. One way to adjust to this isolation and alienation is to look for a constructive mentoring relationship (Stanley & Lincoln, 2005). Traditionally, a new or early-stage faculty member is assigned to an experienced senior faculty member in the department. They establish a one-to-one mentoring relationship in which the senior faculty member (mentor) provides and guides the new faculty member (mentee/ protégés) with career development. A new mentoring relationship, however, has become popular recently in which a mentee/protégés no longer has only one assigned mentor, but has multiple mentors to help him/her develop and navigate the scholars' career. Mentoring has changed from a one-to-one to a multiple, non-hierarchical, collaborative and cross-cultural relationship (De Janasz & Sullivan, 2004; Mathews, 2003; Sorcinelli & Yun, 2007). In fact, in an increasingly complex and changing academic environment, the traditional hierarchical model of a single mentor is no longer realistic, therefore a new model such as "multi-mentor network", peer mentoring, team mentoring, and e-mentoring must be developed (De Janasz & Sullivan, 2004; Johnson, 2007).

There is still considerable evidence of the benefits of traditionally defined mentoring in higher education. However, recent studies report that having a network of mentoring relationship enhances career success and personal well-being even more (Cawyer, Simonds, & Davis, 2002; Peluchette & Jeanquart, 2000; Van Emmerik, 2004). Having multiple mentoring contacts is not a substitute for a single mentor but should be in addition to that core relationship (Van Emmerik, 2004). A successful mentoring relationship is characterized by trust, honesty, a willingness to learn about self and others, and the ability to share power and privilege. On the one hand, mentors recognize protégés strengths and weaknesses, create opportunities for the challenges and growth, and help with the development of some specific areas such as research, teaching, and working towards tenure. On the other hand, mentors can also learn from protégés and other members in the mentoring network, since all members of an academic community have something to teach and learn from each other (Sorcinelli & Yun, 2007; Stanley & Lincoln, 2005). This mentoring relationship becomes a reciprocal partnership, which not only benefits mentee/protégés, but also benefits the mentors.

Literature indicates that researchers are still struggling to determine which mentoring models best support faculty of color and women (Gibson, 2006; Harley, 2005). Majority and senior faculty members may at times be confused by the task, because they may have no previous experience with mentoring faculty of color. Consequently, faculty of color may feel a lack of warmth and constructive mentoring relationship and continue to feel isolation (Stanley & Lincoln, 2005). Some scholars suggest that mentoring is more beneficial when mentor and mentee/protégé are of the

same gender, or race/ethnicity, as some women faculty/ faculty of color may feel uncomfortable to address some issues particularly salient for women or for their racial identity's group (Gibson, 2006; Smith, Smith, & Markham, 2000). Others argue that mentors do not have to be the same gender or race/ethnicity, even in the same department or colleges with the mentee/protégé. On the contrary, they encourage faculty of color to obtain as much mentoring as possible and build up a broader relationship of mentoring. Mentors can be the same gender or a different gender, and can be same-race or cross-race (Harley, 2005; Stanley & Lincoln, 2005). Stanley and Lincoln (2005) address that a "one size fits all" mentoring model is problematic for faculty of color, because faculty come with different values, beliefs, and needs, especially when they are underrepresented in the department and the university. More attention should be given to mentoring networking, since mentoring is one of the key successes in recruiting and retaining faculty of color at predominantly White colleges and universities.

Women Faculty

Since 1984, the number of women in graduate schools has exceeded the number of men (National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), 2008). Between 1983 and 1988, the number of male full-time graduate students increased by 6 percent compared with 18 percent for full-time women. Among part-time graduate students, men increased by only 1 percent compared with 16 percent for women (National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), 1991). Between 1995 and 2005, the number of male full-time graduate students increased by 27 percent, compared to a 65 percent increase for female

graduate students. Among part-time graduate students, the number of males increased by 4 percent and the number of females increased by 18 percent (National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), 2008). The number and percentage of women attaining the doctoral degree has been increasing accordingly. Forty-five percent of all conferrable doctoral degrees in academic year 2000-2001 were given to women, which increased from approximately 31 percent in 1980-1981, and 10 percent of doctorates in the early 1900s (National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), 2003).

The combined number of women faculty and women (full-time and part-time) in higher education executive/administrative/managerial positions more than doubled from 1976 to 1997. In the same time span, full-time women faculty increased from 25% to 36%, and full time executive/administrative/managerial positions increased from 26% to 45%. These two numbers increased continually to 41% and 51%, respectively in 2007 (National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), 1998, 2001, 2008).

Consistent with the NCES statistics reports, Gerdes (2006) interviewed 98 senior women faculty across different disciplines, who have witnessed and experienced important changes during their careers in American higher education. These respondents included current or recent presidents or chancellors, academic deans, vice presidents for academic affairs, and faculty members. Most of these women started an academic career between the late 1960s and early 1970s. Respondents in this study mentioned the increased number of women faculty or increased access to positions since the 1970s, and improved institutional policies such as affirmative action and family-friendly policies in

general. Respondents believe life is easier for women in higher education nowadays than the time when they began their academic career (Gerdes, 2006).

Although there is a significant increase in the percentage of women who enter graduate schools, attain doctoral degrees, and become faculty members in academia, women continue to be underrepresented in traditional male fields, the upper ranks and more prestigious institutions if you look at the women's percentage of total number of faculty (Conley, 2005; Gerdes, 2006; National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), 2008). For example, in 1995-96, women holding the lower academic ranks were disproportionately lower than men, especially at the full professor level, which men represented almost three times more than women (Astin et al., 1997). In addition, a large difference still existed between the proportion of men and women with tenure in the past 20 years (National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), 1991, 2001, 2008). Seventy percent of men held tenure compared with 50 percent of women in 1987-1988, 71 percent of men held tenure compared with 52 percent of women in 1998-1999, and 55 percent of males held tenure compared to 41 percent of females in 2005-06. Women continue to have disproportionately lower tenure rates than men.

What is more, women faculty members' salary is also lower than men. According to the report of National Center for Education Statistics (2008), the average faculty salary for males on 9-month contracts in 2006-07 (\$74,167) was higher than the average for females (\$61,016). Although the average salaries of both men and women faculty have grown at a stable rate, average salaries of full-time instructional faculty on 9-month contracts in degree granting institutions from 1970-71 through 2006-07 for men

have been considerably and continually higher than the average for women. This phenomena has not changed in the past forty years (Snyder, 2008).

Compared to men, women faculty members experience continuing disadvantages and difficulties in achieving professional success (Gerdes, 2006). One of the major difficulties is that women carry more responsibility for family caretaking. Even for women who are not focusing priorities on their family, the traditional expectation still prevails that women should and will devote more time and energy to family. Pregnancy, child care, and furthering a husband's career are often the reasons that interrupt women's careers, including a delay of graduation and first appointment or getting tenured, and the decrease of possibility of being tenured (Clark & Corcoran, 1986; Conley, 2005; McElrath, 1992). Many areas remain biased against women in academe. Subtle or underground discrimination, male rules, male standards, and glass ceiling are some of the alternative words that are often used to describe the remaining discrimination (Gerdes, 2006).

If women do not enroll in the best graduate programs, do not receive parity in financial aids, do not become protégés of productive, established academicians, do not have resources to carry out their research and scholarly work, do not penetrate the collegial networks where useful advice, advocacy, and patronage are dispensed, and so forth, they may begin with initial disadvantage and find that it grows with time. When they are reviewed for tenure and promotion, their publication records may be inferior to those of men; in turn, if they have not accomplished much research, the funding gatekeepers may decide that there is little justification for granting financial support since the record of accomplishment is marginal (Clark & Corcoran, 1986, p. 24).

Although it is ever easier for women to access faculty positions in academy, disadvantages and difficulties may still hinder women faculty's potential career success.

Women Faculty of Color

The lives of women faculty of color are usually hidden within studies of the experiences of women faculty and within studies of experiences of faculty of color (Turner, 2002). Since women faculty of color fit both categories, they experience living and working with multiple marginalities in the academy (Alfred, 2001; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Turner, 2002). hooks describes this marginalization experience as being “part of the whole but outside the main body” (Hooks, 1990). Generally, faculty of color experience racial and ethnic bias in academe. However, women faculty of color have to face the interlocking of race/ethnic bias and gender bias, and it is often difficult to tell whether race/ethnic or gender stereotyping is playing a key role (Stanley, 2006a; Turner, 2002). Being both minority and female puts more pressures on women faculty of color to succeed in higher education. The following narratives from separate studies indicate the manifestation of the interlocking race/ethnic and gender bias in academe:

A [university administrative] position opened up and there were a lot of names mentioned-it was clear that an active [internal] person would be named. I would hear on the grapevine ‘so-and-so’s’ name...I felt that if I were a white male, my name would have been out there. I mean I am sure of that. But it never was and, you know,...there is no question in my mind that race and gender influenced that (Turner, 2002, p79).

The answer to the question if I experienced any barriers in academe is yes. I think for me personally, it is hard to know if it is because I am a woman or because I am Asian, or both (Hune 1998, p11).

Although exclusion and glass ceiling influence all women, women faculty of color must overcome more obstacles to gain support for academic advancement and

success than White women faculty (Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001). Women faculty of color are disproportionately represented in humanities, education, ethnic studies, women's studies, and social science, which are considered less prestigious fields in higher education. For example, in 1995-96, there were 34 percent women of color teaching in the humanities or in education, and only 3 percent in the physical science fields (Astin et al., 1997). They receive less respect and recognition from their colleagues for their scholarship and research agenda (Aguirre, 2000; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001; Turner & Myers, 2000). Oftentimes, women faculty of color are asked to change their research agendas in order to better fit in their academic fields, and they usually have to work harder than their White male colleagues to be considered as qualified scholars. Women faculty of color also report they are expected to follow the unwritten rules and meet the requirements, which are often not directly told to them (Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001). In addition, although all women benefit from affirmative action, benefits from the affirmative action to white women faculty are not reflected for women of color. White women, not women of color, have been the primary benefactors of affirmative action (Turner, 2002, Women's Environment and Development Organization, 2000).

In classroom teaching, faculty women of color are more likely to be challenged by students about their authority and credibility than White male faculty (Turner, 2002).

The followings are narrative data from Turner's study to support this assertion:

If a white male professor says something that's wrong in class, my observation is that even if the students perceive that it's wrong, they may say something outside

of class, but they hesitate to challenge a 50+ white male professor. They feel quite comfortable challenging an African American woman in class.

Regarding interaction with students, there's a different expectation for us when we walk in as a minority, they automatically assume that we know less than our colleagues in the same department...It doesn't matter whether it's undergraduate level or graduate level...They challenge females more... So, I wear dark, tailored suits and I am very well prepared. They don't hire us unless we're prepared anyway, but students think we are here because of our color (Turner, 2002, p83).

In terms of service, women faculty of color express that they are often burdened with dealing with minority and gender affairs, mentoring students of color and junior faculty of color, as they are representing two aspects (Alfred, 2001; Stanley, 2006a; Turner, 2002).

Biculturalism

Even though women faculty of color experience multiple marginalizations, racial and/or gender bias/ subtle discrimination, which hinder their professional success, they still have a strong desire to succeed, and find strategies to cope with these obstacles/challenges and succeed in the academy (Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001).

First of all rely on yourself...[Y]ou have to have confidence in your skills as a teacher and a researcher, and...you have to not let whatever goes on shake that confidence. You're going to have to learn how to deal with criticism and figure out what parts of that criticism are constructive and [that] you can use, and what parts of that criticism you should simply ignore and not let it bother you. You need to have a personal life and you need to have a professional life, and these two things can operate on very divergent paths. But I think you need a personal life to sustain yourself. You need to find the community of color in [your local area] so that you can look at some people and see yourself reflected, because in your professional life at [a predominantly White] university, you will not see that(Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001, p175).

One of the coping strategies is to develop a bicultural attitude and competence—biculturalism (Alfred, 2001; Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998; Sadao, 2003). These scholars proffer that faculty of color live in “two worlds” with two distinct cultures: their ethnic culture where they were born and raised and the university culture where they have their successful professorate. *Bicultural* literally means “two cultures”. Biculturalism (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998; Sadao, 2003) refers to the situation where individuals keep and use both their ethnic cultures and the dominant White cultures of America. It is different than acculturation, where individuals give up their ethnic culture in order to integrate into the dominant culture.

The politics of biculturalism must address not merely how cultural identities are constructed differently, but also how they are produced, sustained, and transformed within the structures of power at work in a deeply hierarchical and exploitative society...Biculturalism involves the ongoing process of identity definition, construction, and reconstruction, driven by the collective efforts of subordinate cultural groups to build community solidarity, renegotiate the boundaries of subordinate cultures, and redefine the meaning of cultural identity within the forces of oppression and majority power and domination. (Darder, 1995, p. x)

One of the key reasons that faculty of color succeed in their professional careers is that they have *bicultural* characteristics and attitudes (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998; Sadao, 2003). Faculty of color still encounter racism, subtle discrimination and experience the sense of “otherness”, but they could develop a bicultural attitude, which is integrity of the ethnic culture along with adjusting to the dominant culture, to overcome the challenges and become successful. So, bicultural attitude is a strategy for faculty of color to face the challenges and be able to address these challenges. They can jump in and out between two cultures in order to achieve academic success. When it is necessary, they

are able to quickly and easily use “code switching” to incorporate into the dominant White western university culture by adjusting it with their own cultures (Sadao, 2003).

Furthermore, the degree to which faculty of color experience integration into, or marginalization in the American dominant culture at colleges and universities plays an important role in their career success and their attitude to stay, or leave the academic world. Most faculty interviewed by Alfred in her study expressed their biculturalism as a successful strategy to balance their own cultures and beliefs and the values of the colleges and universities, and to make them successful in their fields. This bicultural ability stems from their childhood’s education that influenced them to be aware of cultural differences and how to cope with the conflicts and differences (Sadao, 2003). They, thus, have the ability to float in and out of both their ethnic and racial worlds and White cultural worlds, interact competently with both worlds and still maintain their cultural and racial identity (Alfred, 2001).

Although bicultural competency could be a survival skill and significant strategy to help faculty of color enter and advance successfully in the academic world, they also mention that it comes at a cost. Ethnic and racial minority faculty members often feel that they constantly compromise their cultural values and norms out of deference to dominant White culture of American universities and colleges (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998).

Asian Americans in American Higher Education

Definition of Asian Americans

In this study, Asian Americans are a complex and diverse racial population of American-born, indigenous Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders, and newcomers from Asia. These groups of people trace their ancestry to the Asian continent, subcontinent, and islands within the Pacific Rim. Terms of Asian American, Asian or Pacific Islander, or Asian Pacific American are exchangeable and used as synonymous in this study.

The reasons for the majority of Asian settlement in America can be explained by two large-scale waves of immigration from Asia and the Pacific Rim (Chan, 1991). The first wave included a great large number of Chinese and Japanese labors recruited to develop the American West and Hawaii which began in 1840s and continued through the 1930s. The second wave started in 1965 when the U.S. Immigration Act eliminated discriminatory national origin quotas that had previously restricted Asian immigration. Large numbers of people from Asia, such as China, Korea, and India, and the Pacific Rim immigrated to America after this Act was issued.

Some Asian Americans, who were born in a country other than America, have limited English skills, which oftentimes limit them in education and career choices. Others, on the contrary, are American-born, or even not the first immigrant generation, and consider English as their first language. These two groups of Asian Americans are different in terms of incorporating into American cultures in higher education (Hune, 1998).

Trends of Asian American Students in Higher Education

In the 10-year period between 1991 and 2001, Asian-American enrollment in U.S. institutions increased by 328,000 students, a 53.7 percent expansion. The enrollment growth was similar at both four-year and two-year institutions, 53.1 percent and 55.0 percent, respectively (Harvey, 2005, p.11). From 2000 to 2001, Asian-American enrollment increased by 3.6 percent, or 33,000 students, continuing an annual pattern of increases during the 1990s (Harvey, 2005, p.14).

As noted, women are pursuing higher education at all levels and are the majority of the total higher education enrollment. Similarly, Asian-American female enrollment surpassed Asian-American male enrollment. The number of Asian-American men increased by about 130,000, or 41.8 percent, while enrollment of Asian-American women swelled by 198,000 students, or 66.0 percent (Harvey, 2005, p.11). In 2000-2001, the number of Asian-American men who were enrolled increased by 12,000, significantly less than the increase posted by Asian-American women (whose ranks swelled by 21,000). With this larger growth, women maintained their majority position among Asian-American students (Harvey, 2005, p.14).

In terms of graduation rates, Asian-American students were the only minority group with more than half of each cohort earning a bachelor's degree, 62.7 percent in 1994 and 62.3 percent in 2000. Conversely, they had the lowest percentage of students leaving college without a degree (Harvey, 2005, p.19).

Asian Americans experienced growth in every degree category between 1991-92 and 2001-02. Over that 10-year period, Asian Americans earned 96.5 percent more

associate degrees, 87.8 percent more master's degrees, and 70.3 percent more bachelor's degrees (Harvey, 2005, p. 23). Although both male and female Asian Americans made tremendous progress in earning bachelor's and master's degrees, Asian-American women earned 128.8 percent more master's degrees in 2001–02 than they had in 1991–92, compared with a 54.8 percent growth for Asian-American men. The higher rate of growth for women allowed them to surpass their male counterparts in the total number of master's degrees earned in 2001–02 (Harvey, 2005, p. 23).

There is a trend emerging among Asian American students with respect to choosing their field of study. Over the period of 1991–2001, Asian Americans recorded dramatic increases in all bachelor's degree fields, except for engineering. Business has become the leading major for Asian American's bachelor and master students. Accordingly, business has seen the greatest increase in the number of bachelor's degrees earned by Asian Americans, up by 89.6 percent. In 1991–92, Asian-American women earned bachelor's degrees more than men in all of the selected fields, except for biological/life sciences. Ten years later, however, Asian-American women doubled the number of bachelor's degrees they earned in biological/life sciences to surpass their male counterparts, who experienced an increase of only 32 percent (Harvey, 2005, p. 31). In 2001–02, Asian Americans earned 18 fewer master's degrees in engineering than in 1991–92. However, in all other selected fields, Asian Americans saw tremendous growth. They more than quadrupled the number of master's degrees they had earned in the health professions, and more than doubled the number of master's degrees they had earned in education, business, and public administration (Harvey, 2005, p. 31). As noted,

like all students, Asian American students were inclined to choose business as their leading major, which indicated they perceive that the business degree will provide them with gainful employment. Hune and Chan differentiate that more American-born Asian Americans are likely to choose majors in social sciences, while newcomers of Asian Americans (immigrants) are more likely to select majors in science, as they see majors in science will offer them employment with greater financial security (Hune & Chan, 1997).

At the two highest degree levels, first-professional degree and doctoral degree, the number of degrees that Asian Americans earned increased dramatically among minority groups (Harvey, 2005). First-professional degrees (also referred to as professional degrees) include dentistry (D.D.S. or D.M.D.), medicine (M.D.), optometry (O.D.), osteopathic medicine (D.O.), pharmacy (D.Pharm.), podiatric medicine (D.P.M.), veterinary medicine (D.V.M.), chiropractic (D.C. or D.C.M.), law (J.D.), and theological professions (M.Div. or M.H.L.). In 1991-2001, Asian Americans nearly doubled the number of first-professional degrees they earned. The additional 4,400 first-professional degrees that Asian Americans earned was the largest numerical increase of any group. Their surge in first professional degrees earned during the 1990s was led by Asian American women, up 134.4 percent, compared to an increase of 62.2 percent for Asian American men (Harvey, 2005, p. 37). In 2001-2002, Asian Americans gained 182 additional first-professional degrees, with Asian-American men responsible for only 33 of those additional degrees (Harvey, 2005, p. 39).

The percentage of doctorates granted by American higher education institutions has increased more than that of first-professional degrees since the 1980s (Hune, 2006). Moreover, international students make up a significant proportion of total doctoral recipients. Over the period of ten years between 1991 and 2001, Asian-American women led Asian-American growth in doctoral degrees earned, with a 103.6 percent increase, compared with an increase of only 11.7 percent for Asian-American men. The tremendous growth in the number of doctoral degrees earned by Asian-American women moved them close to parity with their male counterparts (Harvey, 2005, p. 37). Furthermore, during the same period between 1991 and 2001, Asian Americans nearly tripled the number of doctoral degrees they earned in the humanities, increasing by 95 degrees to stand at 147 degrees by the end of that 10-year period. They also dramatically increased the number of doctoral degrees they earned in the biological/life sciences (rising by 158.7 percent) and in social sciences (up 111.3 percent) (Harvey, 2005, p.37).

Trends of Asian American Faculty and Administrators in Higher Education

For the Asian-Americans receiving doctorates, academe is one of their main career choices. From 1993 to 2001, Asian Americans contributed largely to the 40 percent increase in faculty of color as full-time faculty members in America. They experienced the highest numerical increase in faculty positions among minorities, steadily increasing from 25,269 positions in 1993 to more than 38,026 positions in 2001, a 50.5 percent gain. Moreover, Asian Americans gained 3,500 assistant professorships, almost 3,000 associate professorships, and nearly 2,000 full professorships, respective

increases of 47.9 percent, 37.3 percent, and 33.0 percent in the same period. They also experienced strong gains in the number of tenured faculty, rising by 36.3 percent during that period (Harvey, 2005, p. 43). In 1999-2001, Asian Americans made the largest numerical gains at all faculty levels among minorities: 1,500 at the assistant professor level, 647 at the associate professor level and 571 at the full professor level. They also led all minority groups in gains at each tenure status level: 1,600 additional tenured faculty and 1,900 additional non tenure-track faculty (Harvey, 2005, p. 45).

In the period of 1993-2001, Asian-American women nearly doubled their share of faculty positions, up 89.5 percent, compared with men's 37.4 percent gain (Harvey, 2005, p. 43). In 1999-2001, Asian-American women dramatically outpaced Asian-American men, increasing the number of positions they held by 18.3 percent, compared with an increase of 8.6 percent for men (Harvey, 2005, p. 45). However, although there are dramatic gains of Asian American women among college and university faculty, Asian American men still outnumber Asian American women, and there remains a big gap between them in full-time positions (Harvey, 2005, p. 43, 45). Compared to Asian American men, Asian American women faculty are more likely to be concentrated at the junior faculty level, and much less likely than their male counterpart to be at tenure rank of associate professor and above.

Among the positions of administrators, minorities also made strong increases in colleges and universities in America, with the number holding administrator positions rising by 24.4 percent. Most of the growth is attributed to minority women, whose numbers increased by 37.3 percent, compared with an 11.9 percent growth rate for men

between 1993 and 2001. Furthermore, minorities made significant increase at the presidential level as well, increasing the number of positions held by 36.0 percent during the same period. Most of these new presidential positions were at private four year institutions. However, this significant and strong growth had little effect on the minority share of total college presidencies. In 1994, minorities held 12.1 percent of presidencies. Ten years later, the share of presidencies held by minorities had increased to only 14 percent in 2004 (Harvey, 2005, p. 41).

Among all racial and ethnic groups, Asian Americans experienced the second largest increase in administrative positions, rising 57.9 percent from 2,243 positions in 1993 to more than 3,500 positions in 2001 (Harvey, 2005, p. 43). Moreover, Asian American men outpaced their female counterparts in terms of the increase in number of administrative positions (Harvey, 2005, p. 45).

Asian Americans also gained 19 presidencies, a 50 percent gain, over the 10 year period between 1994 and 2004. However, Asian American men still outnumber their counterparts-Asian American women holding presidencies. Compared with the 44 Asian-American male presidents, Asian American women held only 13 presidencies, although they more than doubled their numbers between 1994 and 2004 (Harvey, 2005, p. 43). Asian Americans gained 24 presidencies from 2003 to 2004, among whom 16 were men and 8 were women (Harvey, 2005, p. 45). Therefore, Asian Americans in general, and Asian American women in particular, are still severely underrepresented as college and university presidents, even though Asian American women are near parity with their male counterparts as total full-time administrators (Hune, 2006).

Myth of “Model Minority”

Beginning in the late 1960s, Asian Americans, once viewed negatively as the “yellow peril”, were considered as a successful “model minority” among all minorities (Chun, 1995; Osajima, 1988). Asian Americans were described as not only having overcome the racial discrimination, but also as having become an ethnic group of people who are diligent and hardworking, willing to make sacrifices and uncomplaining, have relatively high educational levels and “over” represented in higher education, and with relatively high family incomes. They deserve to serve as a model for other minorities (Chun, 1995; Crystal, 1989; Hune & Chan, 1997).

The “model minority” perception quickly spread out and dominated the stage for decades. It has deepened into the thinking of policy makers, the general public, and even at the high levels of the Federal government in the U.S. that Asian Americans do not need assistance and help (Chun, 1995). For instance, when universities have put more efforts to recruit and retain faculty of color, they pay attention primarily on “underrepresented minorities”, which are African Americans, Native Americans and Hispanics, but intentionally neglect Asian Americans because the belief of their “model minority” (Sands, Parson, & Duane, 1992). The perception that Asian Americans no longer occupy a minority status, but fully participate in American society has become a consistent image embedded in people’s minds (Chun, 1995). However, this perception of Asian Americans as the model minority is a “myth” (Chun, 1995; Crystal, 1989).

As noted above, three indicators—education, occupation, and income—have typically been used as measures of Asian Americans’ success. However, these indicators

are full of problems if only based on a narrow context (Chun, 1995). Firstly, there are multiple interpretations of the level of educational attainment for Asian Americans. Simply looking at the statistics but not clarifying the meanings by putting them in a proper context appears too arbitrary (Chun, 1995). Harvey (2005) cites that Asian Americans are well represented as students, and they also advance and persevere in greater numbers in graduate and first-professional degrees. Moreover, Asian American women have significantly increased in higher education as students (Harvey, 2005). However, Numbers and rate of increase only provide an incomplete picture of Asian Americans relatively high education levels and presence. The deeper meaning behind the numbers needs to be understood. Cultural values of family support and Confucian values related to respect for education are generally used as explanations for Asian Americans high level of education attainment. Nevertheless, not all Asian Americans are raised with Confucian families. Many of them have grown up in families with Buddhist, Hindu, or Catholic values. Moreover, the value of respect for education is also adopted by non-Asian people (Hune, 1998). Besides explanations of cultural value influence, scholars demonstrate Asian Americans view education as the means of social mobility and invest heavily in their children's college education at a disproportionate sacrifice to family finances. Most of them believe that a college education is race neutral and will protect Asian Americans against racial discrimination. Many parents, particularly the immigrant generation, encourage their children to find occupations that are both financially secure and likely to be resistant to racial discrimination, such as accounting, medicine and business (Hune, 1998). Therefore, high education levels cannot be regarded necessarily

as a sign of success of Asian Americans. Furthermore, unlike their “model image”, not all Asian Americans achieve their education and occupation goals, and successfully find protection from racism. Some Asian American students drop out, experience personal problems, or perform poorly in academic studies. Meanwhile, like other minorities, Asian Americans encounter racism in colleges and universities as well (Chun, 1995; Hune, 1998; Osajima, 1991).

Secondly, using household income as one of the success indicators is also not completely dependable unless methodological controls can be implemented to avoid misinterpretation (Chun, 1995). Asian Americans today are very diverse and varied in household income. For instance, the average poverty rate for Asian Americans was 14.1 percent in 1990, but this ranged from 63.6 percent for Hmong Americans to 7.0 percent for Japanese Americans (Hune & Chan, 1997). Furthermore, high income may be caused by working longer hours every day or even sacrificing on weekends. It is overly-simplistic to put all Asian Americans into one category when viewing their socioeconomic status. There are not only serious socioeconomic differences among Asian American groups, but also differences within each group (Chun, 1995).

Last, but not least, it is problematic as well to overgeneralize occupation as the success indicator for Asian Americans, which asserts them as the “model minority” only because of their proportion of white-collar workers in the labor force (Chun, 1995). There are different occupational concentrations among Asian Americans groups. For example, Asian Indians made up 43.6 percent of all Asian Americans in managerial and professional positions and Laotians were only 5 percent (Hune & Chan, 1997). In

addition, Asian Americans are underrepresented in occupations such as journalism, law and social sciences, but are heavily concentrated in engineering and life sciences that do not require as proficient language skills and social skills (Chun, 1995). Moreover, unlike the image of so-called “model minority”, there are more difficulties for Asian American faculty and administrators in order to move up to a upper level professorate rank or administrative position at higher education institutions in the U.S. (Hune, 2006). There is still a glass ceiling for Asian Americans in academia and other occupations (Woo, 2000).

In sum, the Asian American population, a racial group as a whole, is very complex, diverse with differences in language, cultural values, religion, class, generation, education, occupation, and household income in the United States. Their complexity and diversity uncovers Asian Americans as a heterogeneous racial/ethnic group. In higher education, their complexity and diversity disputes the perception of Asian Americans as a homogeneous population and a “model minority” that has overcome racial discrimination and eliminated education and financial issues (Hune, 1998). Asian Americans find they have to pay a high price for their so-called success and the perception of “model minority” (Chun, 1995; Crystal, 1989).

Racial and/or Gender and Other Issues Facing Asian Americans in Academe

There are various career choices after getting the doctoral degree, such as industry, corporations, self-employment, and the public sector as well as academia.

Although Asian Americans are statistically gaining representation and moving up in the faculty and administrative ranks in American colleges and universities, they are not yet a “model minority” in the higher education environment (Hune, 2006). Viewing Asian Americans as a successful minority and as especially successful and talented in academics is indeed a mistake (Hune, 2006; Nakanishi, 1993). Like any other minority group, Asian Americans, especially Asian American women encounter daily challenges such as racial discrimination, feelings of otherness and isolation, and lacking a mentor and other support, in their work place. In the meantime, they suffer harm from the image of their success story as a whole group and have to deal with the perception of the “model minority” in higher education institutions (Hune, 1998, 2006; Nakanishi, 1993; Sands et al., 1992).

Likewise, Asian American faculty also experience unfair and potentially covert and overt racial discriminatory treatment in higher education like any other minority groups and women scholars (Nakanishi, 1993). They are often challenged and receive hostile evaluations of their research work that focus on ethnic and gender studies. Those research agendas by Asian American faculty in the relatively new interdisciplinary fields of studies, such as feminist studies, racial/ethnic studies, diversities, etc., are not fully accepted and are not rewarded in their tenure and promotion processes (Hune, 2006; Nakanishi, 1993). Moreover, many Asian American faculty represent “the only one” Asian faculty of color in their department, which makes it more difficult for them to enter the new workplace. The seemingly over representation of Asian American faculty in higher education hides the racial and ethnic discriminations and challenges that they

encounter (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998; Nakanishi, 1993). Asian American faculty, especially women, report that they are visible when they are needed to deal with diversity matters and to provide services to students of color in their department and across the institution. However, they are oftentimes treated as invisible or marginalized when they need support because the institutions believe Asian Americans are “overrepresented” and doing well in academe which means institutions do not need to recruit them and offer them help (Hune, 1998, 2006). Consequently, Asian Americans are neglected as a minority group, particularly in the fields and institutions where they are severely unrepresented, such as social sciences, arts, journalism and humanities, especially in more prestigious institutions, such as four-year colleges and universities and private universities (Hune, 1998).

Many Asian Americans, particularly those for whom English is their second language, have limitations in their English proficiency and also have Asian accents. Many of them may encounter language bias and severe accent discrimination in the academic workplace, which limits their career development. They discover Americans readily accept English spoken with European accents, but resist accepting someone with Asian accent. Asian Americans with English language limitations and an Asian accent consequently feel discriminated against by Americans in their academic lives. They often receive poor student evaluations, miss opportunities to serve on key committees and suffer during recruitment, tenure and promotion. They often feel their teaching and student advisement are not fully recognized (Hune, 1998).

The perception of their “model minority” also excludes Asian American faculty from mentoring services and other support from their department and institution. They often report that they have not had as much affiliation and mentoring services in their professional development as their White colleagues (Hune, 1998; Sands et al., 1992). It is true that Asian American faculty, especially Asian American women faculty, have received a place in the academy, but they do not yet feel at home and still have the feeling of being “outsiders” and “strangers” in their workplace (Hune, 1998, 2006).

Asian American women faculty, like all women, generally experience more biases and challenges than most Asian American male faculty do. Besides disputing the stereotype of “model minority”, Asian Americans also struggle daily against the stereotype of gender that interlocks with racial stereotypes (Hune, 1998). Traditionally, Asian Americans in general and Asian American women in particular, have been viewed as passive and are expected to be quiet when they are denied tenure or promotion. However they state that they are uncomfortable with this passive stereotype and have stood up and fought for their own rights (Hune, 1998; Nakanishi, 1993). Moreover, Asian American women faculty experience radicalized sexual harassment in the form of verbalization from their colleagues in their workplace.

It wasn't until my third institution and I was hit upon again by a White male colleague that I realized there was a pattern here. I mean, he's married, and he's making excuses to come to my office, and he's asking me out...We're [Asian American women] seen as easy prey(Hune, 1998, p.11).

Asian American women are also more likely than their male counterparts to be challenged inside and outside of the classroom. Their research work is frequently devalued and underestimated by their colleagues, which becomes an obstacle for their professional development. Not surprisingly, Asian American women faculty often cannot tell which is operating more strongly than the other, when they experience such challenges of the interlocking of racial and gender discrimination stereotypes (Hune, 1998).

Furthermore, like all women, Asian American women faculty face the challenges of balancing their families and careers in academe where policies and practices are still male-dominant. They are assumed to take more responsibilities in family, child-care, and helping their husband's career than their male counterparts do. Women, especially those with children, find their work and family obligations conflict and tend to drop out of academe, choose a less competitive career track, or delay their tenured time (Hune, 1998; Mason & Goulden, 2002).

Taken altogether, Asian American women, and men may participate in higher education at many levels, but they are not fully integrated in all its components, such as the classroom, research, publication, and decision making. There are more difficulties for Asian American faculty and administrators to move up to an upper level professorate rank or administrative position in academia. Asian Americans, especially Asian American women, are very much underrepresented at the highest administrative positions, such as presidents or chief executives (Hune, 2006). The glass ceiling still exists in academe for Asian Americans (Woo, 2000).

Moreover, many Asian Americans report encountering racial and gender discrimination, class and cultural biases, language barriers and accent bias, and an unsupportive academic environment. Asian American women experience more difficulty and biases than their male counterparts do in the academic world. Asian American women are far from being a complete “model minority” in the high ranks of professorates and high level administrators across American colleges and universities. Asian Americans view themselves as a minority group that needs help and have legitimate concerns about access and equity (Hune, 1998, 2006).

Chinese American Faculty in American Higher Education

A Brief History of Chinese Immigrants

Chinese Americans are the largest Asian group in the United States and have a history in the Americas that dates back to the 1800s (Min, 1995; Yung, Chang, & Lai, 2006). Since the gold rush in California in 1848, Chinese have begun to arrive and generations of Chinese have been born and raised in the United States. They came not only as miner-prospectors, but also as merchants, artisans, and students. In 1854, the first Chinese, Yung Wing, graduated from an American college (Yale). Later in 1872, Chinese Educational Mission, headed by Yung Wing, sent the first of 120 students from China to the U.S. to study science and technology. By the time Congress passed the first Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, suspending immigration of Chinese laborers for ten years and denying naturalization rights to Chinese in the United States, over 300,000 Chinese entered the United States (Yung et al., 2006).

In 1910–40, immigrants from Asian countries were processed at the Angel Island Immigration Station, but only the Chinese were singled out for long detentions and harsh interrogations because of the Chinese Exclusion Act. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, Chinese in the United States had to live with not only the legal limitations set by discriminatory legislation but also racial bias as a fact of their daily lives. Many second-generation Chinese Americans experienced cultural conflicts in attempting to follow both Chinese and American customs and values. Although they could speak fluent English, they found themselves excluded from participation in mainstream American society. The exclusion acts remained in force until World War II, when China and the United States became allies. American attitudes toward the Chinese turned favorable. In 1943, Congress repealed the Chinese Exclusion Act and assigned the Chinese an annual quota of 105. With repeal came the right for Chinese to become naturalized U.S. citizens. The exclusion era had finally come to an end (Yung et al., 2006).

The lives of Chinese Americans changed dramatically as changes in immigration and domestic and foreign policies occurred during the second half of the twentieth century. Congress passed the War Relocation Authority Act in 1945 and Alien Wives in 1946, allowing over 7,000 Chinese women to enter the United States as non-quota immigrants and join their husbands. Meanwhile, domestic policies, such as anti-Chinese laws, were revoked one by one. New policies opened up opportunities for Chinese to move out from the shadows of exclusion and enabled them to become fuller participants in American life. The Chinese population in the United States swelled from 117,629 in 1950 to

237,292 in 1960. Many of these newcomers were well educated, cosmopolitan, spoke the Mandarin dialect, and came from central and northern China. Not all immigrants arriving to America after 1965 had to start from the bottom. Many of them were able to find well-paying jobs, and many of them initially came as foreign students and were able to get status as permanent residents upon graduation by finding jobs in certain professional fields (Yung et al., 2006).

Open door policies issued by the Chinese government in 1978 caused the number of Chinese Americans to increase dramatically in the United States (Pearce & Lin, 2007; Seagren & Wang, 1994). Later, the Immigration Act of 1990 raised the annual immigration from all countries of the world to 700,000 and the revised system of preferences encouraged immigration of professionals and business investors. People who came with capital and entrepreneurial skills were able to invest profitably in restaurants, supermarkets, hotels, shopping centers, real estates, and computer technology. In 1992, in response to the Tiananmen Square Incident of 1989, President George Bush issued an Executive Order granting over 60,000 students and scholars permanent residence status in the United States (Yung et al., 2006). According to the U.S Census, Chinese Americans are the largest Asian ethnic group, numbering 2.8 million, about 0.9% of the entire U.S. population in 2000, an increase of 1.2 million, about 0.5% percentage from 1990 (U.S. Bureau of the Census Current Population Reports P25-1092, 1992; US Department of Commerce, 2000). The trend is also reflected in the 1988-2000 National Educational Longitudinal Survey data (National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), 2000).

A Brief Introduction of Chinese Culture

Cultures and family influence play important roles in academic achievement, attainment and career development (Leong, 1991; Leong & Chou, 1994; Pearce & Lin, 2007). China has a depth of culture and history stretching back more than 5,000 years. It is found that Chinese culture is heavily influenced by Confucianism and profoundly established in family life (Wu, 2001). Confucianism is an ethical and philosophical system named after Confucius (551-479BC) who consolidated earlier teachings and founded the philosophy. It has four fundamental principles including ren (humanism), yi (faithfulness), li (propriety), and zhi (wisdom), which contrast differently with American culture (Seagren & Wang, 1994). The basic teaching concepts of Confucianism focus on the importance of education for moral development of the individual, for love of older people, respect for family, and filial piety of parents.

In Chinese culture, family influences including family expectations, family support and family obligations have greatly shaped one's career development (Fouad et al., 2008). Many Chinese parents sacrifice their own interests for their children's successes and better future (Wu, 2001). At the same time, they place high expectations on their children, for example one should choose a particular major, attend certain universities for advanced education, choose a specific career and achieve prestige and social status (Fouad et al, 2008). Therefore, children often carry heavy pressures and expectations from their family, especially their parents. They have the obligations to take care of their family, bring honor on their family and meet their parents' expectations. In other words, in Chinese culture, pursuing a career is not just a personal issue of simply

depending on individual's interests and bringing it into reality, but a decision-making process made under the consideration of the person's life, family and community expectations. One chooses a career to fulfill both their own interests and to satisfy their parents (Leong & Chou, 1994; Pope, Cheng, & Leong, 1998).

For Chinese Americans, cultural values influence on American Born Chinese (ABC) and new immigrant Chinese are different (Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2000). ABC are born in an American society and influenced by American culture particularly at school and work. Meanwhile, they are also influenced by Chinese culture since they are born to Chinese parents, especially at home and in the Chinese community. Thus, in specific contexts, ABC are influenced by Chinese culture, while in other contexts, they are influenced by the dominant American culture. They can easily switch their culture value system in terms of different contexts. For new immigrant Chinese, the Chinese culture is rooted in their lives prior to their migration. They are Chinese in all kinds of contexts and they have to adopt certain aspects of American culture and give up certain aspects of Chinese culture in order to handle different situations effectively. As new Chinese immigrants are influenced more by American culture, they may be less influenced by Chinese culture.

Chinese American Faculty

There has been little study on the career experiences of Chinese or Chinese American faculty in the United States. A literature review reveals only one study that focuses on Chinese faculty on American campuses, entitled "*Marginal men on an*

American campus: A case of Chinese faculty” by Dr. Alan T. Seagren, professor and Director of Center for Study of Postsecondary Education at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln and Dr. Han Hua Wang, Research Director at Gallup Organization, Princeton, New Jersey. It was presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE) in 1994 and included in the ERIC collection of ASHE conference papers later.

Seagren and Wang (1994) applied the “marginal man theory” to Chinese professors in a Midwestern university. Park (1928) (Park, 1928) proffered years ago that marginal man is,

cultural hybrid, a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples; never quite willing to break...with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the new society in which he now sought to find a place. Marginal man is a man on the margin of two cultures and two societies, which never completely interpenetrated and fused (Park, 1928 p.892).

The personality of the marginal man was described by Stonequist (1935) as,

They all involve some cultural conflict and racial prejudice, and have an unsettled problematic character. There is a pull and pressure from both sides...His awareness of the conflict situation, mild or acute, signifies that in looking at himself from the standpoint of each group he experiences the conflict as a personal problem (p.6).

Through ethnographic interviews with five professors (all males) with Chinese surnames, Seagren and Wang (1994) identified Chinese professors’ marginality on an American campus. One of the marginalities identified was the conservative working environment that was considered as unfavorable by participants. Another factor identified was that students lack of training in multiculturalism and do not accept

Chinese faculty easily. Moreover, the conflict between the Chinese and American instructional cultures causes frustration and dissatisfaction for both students and Chinese professors. For instance, American instructional culture is more task-oriented instruction that is carried out through projects, discussions and problem solving. Chinese instructional culture is generally conducted by lecture, and in a more structured format. Two instructional culture differences create challenges and marginality to Chinese faculty as well. In addition, lack of knowledge and understanding of interpersonal norms and strategies in the United States also generates marginality for Chinese faculty, who often feel uncertainty or are uncomfortable about how to build relationships with colleagues. The Chinese faculty participants in the study also reported that they sometime receive discrimination and feel isolated from their American colleagues. Furthermore, Chinese faculty experience marginality because of their English as the second language, which impedes them in fully understanding and fully expressing themselves.

Seagren and Wang (1994) offer that experiencing the marginality on an American campus does not mean Chinese professors are not happy about their career. In fact, Chinese professors are happy about working at a university setting which can enable them to work with academic freedom, advance knowledge, have flexibility, and utilize advanced research facilities, have decent salaries, and communicate with scholars around the world. Thus, being marginal men does not necessarily mean disadvantages for Chinese professors. This marginality may be viewed as a challenge that Chinese

professors can take as an opportunity to develop strategies to cope with the marginal social situations based on their bicultural knowledge and experiences.

Summary of This Chapter

This chapter focuses on the review of literature on the important dimensions which affect faculty of color, Asian American and Chinese faculty in particular, in their career development experiences in the United States.

For this purpose, the researcher first reviewed the existing research on faculty of color career experiences in general relating to research, teaching, service, tenure and promotion, racial/ethnic related occupational discrimination, mentoring system and biculturalism. Women faculty especially women faculty of color career experiences associated to racial/ethnic and gender issues were also reviewed.

Secondly, the researcher reviewed the studies especially focused on Asian American faculty's career experiences in the United States. For example, it included the perception of "Model Minority" and racial/gender issues in academia facing Asian American faculty.

Finally, the researcher reviewed the existing literature on Chinese faculty and Chinese American faculty's career experience on American campuses relating to Chinese social cultural influences and marginality. Several theoretical models on the career development of faculty of color as well as on Asian Americans' acculturation and biculturalism were also reviewed.

The following chapter describes the research methodology for this study including the rationale for a qualitative research design, description of site, respondents, purposive sampling of the research design, instrumentation and interview protocol, data collection and analysis as well as the trustworthiness of data.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Theoretical Framework for the Methodology

Qualitative research methods were adopted in this study on career experiences of Chinese faculty in American academe. Many scholars have called for the use of qualitative research to help increase our understanding of the human experience (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994). Because the focus of this study was to understand the career experiences of Chinese faculty at colleges and universities in the United States, qualitative research design using an in-depth interviewing method was chosen as the most suitable approach for this study. Qualitative inquiry (naturalistic inquiry) used in this study was primarily exploratory and descriptive as it is rich in detail and description, and provided a methodology to explore a deeper understanding of the participants' lived experiences in a particular context, without looking for generalizations.

Five axioms of the naturalistic paradigm were embedded into this study through the process of research design, data collection, and data analysis. The first axiom is that "there are multiple constructed realities that can be studied only holistically; inquiry into these multiple realities will inevitably diverge (each inquiry raises more questions than it answers) so that prediction and control are unlikely outcomes although some level of understanding can be achieved" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.37). Because of the complexities of each Chinese faculty member's different education and family backgrounds, and different personal experiences while he/she pursued their academic

career in the United States, this study assumed the existence of multiple realities and intended to achieve some level of understanding but not to control or predict every aspect of outcomes. It is more concerned with process rather than simply outcomes and products accordingly.

The second axiom is that “the inquirer and the ‘object’ of inquiry interact to influence one another; knower and known are inseparable” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.37). In a naturalistic inquiry study, it is almost impossible for the researcher to fully understand the complex context if the respondents are not willing to cooperate with the researcher during the study. The researcher and the participants must have interaction and influence on another, and then impact the outcomes of the study. For instance, the researcher’s Chinese background and higher education received from both China and the United States, and the researcher’s interest in this research area could create the interaction with participants and influence the study’s outcomes. Human beings are always in relationships—with one another and with the researcher as well (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.105). The relationship between the researcher and other respondents exists inevitably and must be taken into account throughout the study.

The third axiom is that the aim of naturalistic inquiry is “to develop an idiographic body of knowledge in the form of ‘working hypotheses’ that describe the individual case” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.38). It states that there is no generalization. So many factors, such as local conditions, make research impossible to generalize. “Only time-and-context-bound working hypotheses are possible” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.37), as there are always differences in context from situation to situation, and even one

single situation may vary over time. The axiom is applicable to this study as well. The career experiences of selected Chinese faculty existing in one southern research university in Texas cannot be generalized to all Chinese faculty members' career experiences in every other university and college in the United States. Everyone constructs his/her realities based upon his/her own experiential knowledge. Naturalistic inquiry, thus, does not provide generalizable conclusions that are always and forever true, but instead can only be viewed to be true under certain contexts and situations (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The fourth axiom is about the possibility of causal linkages, stating that "all entities are in a state of mutual simultaneous shaping so that it is impossible to distinguish causes from effects" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.38). One of the important reasons that naturalistic inquiry reflects a mutual simultaneous shaping concept is because it focuses on human phenomena, which inevitably involves human experience, perceptions, and judgment. Human behavior may exhibit a great deal of recurrent regularity that cannot be ascribed to causes (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.143). Therefore, all elements in a situation are in mutual and continual interaction and it is very difficult to have linear causality. The researcher is interactive with participants and tries to explain, understand and describe perceptions of people under particular situations.

The fifth axiom states that "inquiry is value-bound" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.38). Naturalistic inquiries are impacted by the values of the researcher personally, the values undergirding the methodological paradigm that guides the investigation into the

problem, the values of the respondents and the context or situation of the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.175).

The five axioms briefly described above frame the basic guidelines for this study. Additionally, the following operational characteristics of naturalistic inquiry based on the axioms as outlined by Lincoln and Guba (1985) provide a more detailed framework for this study:

- 1) The research is carried out in the natural setting or context;
- 2) The researcher is a human instrument to gather and analyze data;
- 3) It uses tacit (intuitive, felt) knowledge as well as the knowledge expressible in language form;
- 4) It adopts purposive or theoretical sampling;
- 5) Data are analyzed inductively;
- 6) Its research design emerges multiple realities and phenomenon unfold;
- 7) Its outcomes are negotiable and its applications are tentative; and
- 8) Research needs particular trustworthiness criteria.

This study follows every aspect of the above framework which is also the reason why qualitative research methods were chosen as the most suitable methodology for this study.

Research Design

The population for this study was selected Chinese faculty members across various academic disciplines and different genders from a research extensive university

in Texas. Selected Chinese faculty members were all born in China, got at least a bachelor's education in China, pursued their doctoral degree or postdoctoral training in the United States, and then chose a faculty position as their career in the United States. Additionally, selected Chinese faculty members were all holding full-time, tenure-tracked or tenured positions at the university at the time they participated in the study.

Site, Respondents and Sampling

This study used purposive sampling to define the population and choose participants from the directory of the research extensive university at Texas. Purposive sampling is not a random method of choosing respondents. It begins with the assumption that context is critical, and then purposely selects a sample (respondent or event) that is expected to provide rich information. By using this method, the researcher can maximize her ability to devise grounded theory that takes adequate account of local conditions, local mutual shaping, and local values (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The purposive sample of this study was determined by several criteria such as discipline, gender, rank, and accessibility to the researcher. The accessibility to the researcher was determined by (1) researcher was a Chinese doctoral student at the university where the study was conducted; (2) the senior Chinese faculty member whom the researcher already knew at the university was chosen as the “gatekeeper” to provide the first round of potential eligible respondents; (3) the researcher had a good reputation among most Chinese faculty since she had established a close connection with the China Faculty Association (CFA) of the research university; (4) the researcher was quite

visible among Chinese on campus as she had been involved in numerous campus services and local community services which were recognized and highly praised by many Chinese students and scholars including faculty members at the university; and (5) respondents were willing to participate in this study.

Moreover, initial respondents were interviewed and asked to suggest other potential respondents, thus creating a loop of purposive “snowball” sampling that identified participants who otherwise might have been neglected (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Sixteen Chinese faculty members from different disciplines, ranks and genders at the research extensive university in Texas were selected and agreed to participate in this study. All of them were born in China with at least a bachelor degree received from China. All completed their doctoral degrees or postdoctoral training in the United States. Some had education and work experiences in other places such as Europe before moving to the United States. In the selection of respondents, the attempt of the researcher was to balance gender, age, and different disciplines. However, due to time conflicts and other constraints, the number of Chinese faculty in the university, and the emphasis of the university as an engineering institution, only four women Chinese faculty were selected out of sixteen participants, and most of them were from engineering or hard science disciplines.

Table 1 presents information of the selected participants for this study, including their age, rank, gender, discipline, and years of working in the selected university.

Table 1—Demographic Information of the Participants

Partici pants	Age	Gender	Rank	Field	Number of years in the university
1	42	Male	Professor	Science	11
2	52	Male	Professor	Liberal Arts	10
3	52	Male	Associate Professor	Liberal Arts	10
4	53	Male	Professor	Engineering	18
5	56	Male	Professor	Science	21
6	50	Male	Associate Professor	Veterinary Medicine and Biomedical Science	7
7	45	Male	Professor	Science	11
8	35	Female	Professor	Science	9
9	45	Female	Assistant Professor	Veterinary Medicine and Biomedical Science	2
10	52	Male	Professor	Liberal Arts	21
11	38	Male	Associate Professor	Engineering	7
12	48	Male	Professor	Science	18
13	47	Female	Associate Professor	Social Science	12
14	45	Female	Associate Professor	Health Science	7
15	43	Male	Assistant Professor	Engineering	4
16	45	Male	Associate Professor	Science	7

Instrumentation

This study used the researcher herself as the primary data-gathering instrument, as only the human instrument is capable of grasping and evaluating the meaning of differential interactions among the investigator and respondents and the context; only a human can understand and evaluate the multiple realities and many entities in the state of mutual simultaneous shaping; and only the human instrument is capable of mastering the confusion of the phenomenon and its surrounding context as a whole and in one view

(Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.39, 194). Although other forms of instrumentation may be used later, the human is the initial and continuing mainstay in a naturalistic inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.236).

The researcher is more like a learner instead of a knowledgeable investigator through the data collection process of interviewing and observing. Other than holding a faculty position with completion of the doctoral degree in the United States, the researcher had a similar personal background with respondents. She was trained in higher education both in China and the United States, was born in China and has bilingual language competency (Chinese mandarin and English). The researcher thus was able to understand the respondents' experiences and could easily communicate with them as an instrument. Trained in solid qualitative and quantitative methodology, the researcher was capable of appreciating the respondents' tacit values and beliefs, and of evaluating the interaction between the researcher and the respondents in this study.

Introducing the Study to Respondents

In order to identify enough Chinese faculty members and complete the data collection process (interview and observation as major techniques), the researcher adopted the following steps:

First, the researcher contacted a senior Chinese faculty member, a gatekeeper, whom the researcher had known and who had already received tenure from the selected university and who also had a good reputation among the Chinese community. The researcher made an appointment with him and explained the purpose of the study and

asked for his cooperation in this study. The researcher got a list with 20 Chinese faculty members from the gatekeeper and selected about 10 people who met the minimum criteria for this study.

Second, invitation letters to participate in this study were sent out through emails to each of the ten potential Chinese faculty members who were selected out of the first 20 names. The letter described the nature and purpose of the study and requested their participation through an interview. It also explained that the approximate duration of the interview was around one hour and would be audiotaped. Participation in the study was entirely voluntary and consent was obtained through signing a consent form.

Additionally, participants had the right to withdraw from the study at any time without any reason, and the researcher would make sure there was no harm to them if they did so. All names of participants in this study are pseudonyms to ensure confidentiality.

Eight out of ten Chinese faculty members readily agreed to be interviewed at the beginning. Interviews were scheduled according to the participants' convenience. A sample of the invitation letter is in Appendix D.

Third, in order to select enough faculty and ensure a diverse sample for this study, the researcher checked on each Chinese faculty member's profile through the university's website, and also asked each participant to recommend additional potential respondents at the end of their interview. Invitation letters were sent to every potential participant who met the requirements of the study during the entire data collection process. Most interview locations were selected as a neutral setting such as a coffee shop or library. Some interviews were conducted in the participants' office.

Developing Interview Questions and Emergent Design

An interview protocol was developed and presented to the participants in order to frame the most relevant questions related to the purpose of the study. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), naturalistic inquiry's design is emergent but not fully predictable as the meaning is determined by complex context with the existence of multiple constructed realities and the interaction among the researcher and respondents and the context. The design must unfold and emerge (p.208-209). Besides, the data gathering process interweaves with the data analysis process (Spradley, 1979). Thus the investigator carried out a much more open-ended approach with profound tacit knowledge so that the interview protocol constantly changed as a consequence of analyses of previous interviews and as the result of emergent research design. Consequently, the researcher utilized the original interview protocol as a baseline set of questions, but flexibly interacted with respondents, analyzed the collected data in a timely manner, and then made the revision of the interview protocol as needed. Throughout the process, the interview questions were designed to become more and more focused and to provide more clarity and to obtain more detailed answers. The salient elements began to emerge as well. Appendix A and Appendix B are the sample final version of the interview protocol in English and Chinese respectively.

Data Collection

Data for this study were collected from in-depth interviews with the respondents, observations of the respondents during the interviews and analysis of records and documents over the period of study.

Interviews

One of the purposes of conducting interviews is to obtain here-and-now constructions of persons, events, activities, organizations, feelings, motivations, concerns and other entities; to gain reconstructions of such entities as experienced in the past; and to achieve projections of such entities as they are expected in the future (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.269). The major advantage of doing interviews is that it permits the respondent to move back and forth in time-to reconstruct the past, interpret the present, and predict the future, all without leaving a comfortable armchair (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.273). The researcher then took advantage of the interviews and used unstructured and in-depth interviews as one of the major qualitative methods in this study for collecting data, including respondents' perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, and the constructions, reconstructions and projections obtained from these sources.

Interviews were guided by an interview protocol with open-ended questions, which were focused on the most important factors that influence the career experiences of Chinese faculty at a research university in Texas. The interview protocol was expanded and revised as the research progressed. A consent form was sent to each respondent by email with the invitation letter before scheduling the interview, and was

presented to respondents for them to sign before the interviews started. The consent form described the nature and purpose of the study; explained that confidentiality was ensured and participants were voluntarily involved in the study and that they could withdraw from it at any time without any reason; and asked permission to contact respondents later for further information. Even though these items were stated clearly in the consent form, the researcher briefly reviewed the key points for the respondents before they signed the form. Additionally, the researcher gave respondents some “warm up” questions, such as “what is your typical day like?”, “what does your work normally look like?” at the beginning of the interviews. This provided an ice breaker and created a relaxed environment for respondents to talk and share more valuable information. Once the interview was ended, the researcher asked each participant to go through an informational member check process, in which the participant was asked to verify, revise, and supplement the constructions, reconstruction, projections collected from the interview. A thank you letter was sent to each participant by email following the interview.

Most interviews lasted an hour and a half, while a few lasted more than two hours and one continued for over four hours. Interviews were all audiotaped as was indicated in the consent form and agreed to by each respondent. There were many advantages for using a tape recorder during interviews. For instance, it provided an unimpeachable data source; assured completeness; provided the opportunity to review as often as necessary to ensure that a full understanding was obtained; and provided the opportunity for later review for nonverbal behaviors such as significant pauses, raised or

lowered voices (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.271-272). All taped interview responses were transcribed into an electronic document within 24 hours after the interview.

Besides collecting the information through interview questions guided by the interview protocol, the researcher also gathered demographic information from the respondents, including but not limited to, age, gender, years of professional experience, and graduate education in the United States. These data could provide the researcher a valuable resource to understand the context and the experiences of each respondent and to appreciate further their responses.

Most interviews were carried out in Chinese (Mandarin), or mixed Chinese primarily with English spoken occasionally. Two interviews were conducted in English as the preference of the respondents. For most respondents, it was easier to express their feelings, perceptions and emotions in Chinese than in English. It also enabled both the respondents and the researcher to communicate and interact more naturally and comfortably in Chinese. However, it was an undeniable fact that it took the researcher much more time to transcribe and then translate the interviews into English than if English was mainly used during the interviews. Conducting interviews in English was also feasible because the respondents had been studied and worked in the United States for quite a long time, and they have used English on a daily basis. The language of choice was largely determined by the extent that the respondents and the researcher had mastered English as a second language. It was unavoidable that sometimes in using both languages that it might have affected certain meaning of the responses throughout the translation from Chinese to English.

Observations

Observation was used in this study for the data collection because of several reasons addressed below (Guba & Lincoln, 1981):

Observation maximizes the inquirer's ability to grasp motives, beliefs, concerns, interest, unconscious behaviors, customs, and the like; observation allows the inquirer to see the world as his subjects see it, to live in their time frames, to capture the phenomenon in and on its own terms, and to grasp the culture in its own natural, ongoing environment; observation provides the inquirer with access to the emotional reactions of the group introspectively—that is, in a real sense it permits the observer to use himself as a data source; and observation allows the observer to build on tacit knowledge, both his own and that of members of the group (p.193).

In this study, observations of the respondents were carried out at the same time of the interviews. Detailed field notes of each interview were kept as the form of reflexive journals, including the researcher's experiences during the study, description of the respondents and interviews' natural settings, length of interviews, and the nonverbal cues such as particular gestures, suddenly increased or lowered voices, long pauses, and other body language. All observations' sources provided the researcher with the respondents' constructions, reconstructions and projections of their career experiences in more in-depth, and allowed the researcher to understand and interpret the responses and cultural contexts better. Observations, along with interviews, were important tools used in this study to gather data.

Records and Documents

Many documents and records opened to the public by law were used in this study as an extraordinarily useful source of information to help the researcher understand the

context of the study better. There are many reasons for using documents and records as a valuable resource. For instance, they are always available and accessible on a low cost or free basis; they are a stable source of information without ongoing changes in the short term; and they are a rich source of information grounded in the contexts (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.276-277).

Documents and records used in this study for data collection purposes included, but were not limited to, participants' curriculum vita and institutional policies and procedures for faculty (Faculty/Staff Handbook). These documents and records, the researcher could better understand each individual participant's unique background and career path, and better interpret the data within the context wherein participants' live and work.

Researcher Reflexivity

The researcher kept reflexive journals throughout the study. A reflexive journal is a kind of diary that the researcher records a variety of information about her mind process, philosophical position, and the methodological log (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

According to Lincoln and Guba's suggestion (1985), in the study, the researcher recorded the daily schedule and logistics of the study, such as date and time of day when interview was conducted, location of the interview, and interviewee's basic information. At the same time, the researcher also wrote entries, which were reflexive and introspective concepts about personal values, beliefs, frustrations and anxieties during the interviews, expectations about what would be happening next, and the hypotheses

and questions that would be useful to follow up with the researcher's peer debriefer.

The researcher kept all methodological logs as needed, which displayed methodological decisions made and the reasons for making them that were in alignment with the emergent research design.

These techniques helped the researcher organize the raw data; record the process and the constructions of the study; develop a "thick description" of respondents and the institution's context; and more importantly develop the trustworthiness of the inquiry study.

Peer Debriefing

Peer debriefing is "systematically talking with a noninvolved professional peer through research experiences, findings and decisions" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.109), and "for the purpose of exploring aspects of the inquiry that might otherwise remain only implicit within the researcher's mind" (p.308). The peer debriefing technique is useful in establishing credibility of the study by helping keep the researcher "honest" and explore biases in the best manner. Peer debriefing also provides an opportunity to test working hypotheses and is an opportunity to develop the design of the next steps, etc. A debriefer must be "someone who is in every sense the inquirer's peer, someone who knows a great deal about both the substantive area of the inquiry and the methodological issues" (p.308).

A research associate who was a visiting assistant professor working in education at a research university of the United States was selected as the peer debriefer for this

study. Several aspects made this research associate best suited for the study as a peer debriefer. She had rich qualitative methodological research experiences demonstrated in many publications. Her dissertation used qualitative method in studying the leadership competencies for university administrators in Mexico and was recognized as the Dissertation of the Year in the university where she graduated from in the United States in 2004. She had great understanding and appreciation of the dynamic academic environment as she had been working at the university for three years as a faculty member of color. In addition, she also had experience in how to conduct and compose a study as a foreigner with English as the second language, as she was not a native English speaker.

The researcher scheduled with the peer debriefer and met with her periodically during the week of intensive data collection and data analysis. The researcher discussed with the debriefer the research interview protocol, methodology, emergent themes and patterns, researcher's questions, concerns and frustrations, and reviewed the records and documents collected for this study.

Assurance of Confidentiality

All data were kept strictly confidential and reported anonymously for the purpose(s) of the study. Ensuring the confidentiality was very important to ensure the researcher's access to the respondents, data, and ultimately the study's success. In this study, a written consent form including the information regarding confidentiality was provided to each respondent before the interview and each respondent was asked to sign

the form which established an agreement between the researcher and the respondent (sample of consent form in English can be found in Appendix C). All respondents were provided pseudonym and all detailed information that could identify any of the respondents and the institution were coded and omitted. Moreover, all raw data including field notes, tape recordings of interviews, and reflexive journals were not made public and kept safely by the researcher.

Member Check

Member checks provide the direct testing of findings, interpretations, conclusions with respondents from whom the data originally came. It also provides an opportunity for the researcher to summarize, which is actually the first step in data analysis (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Throughout this study, member checks were conducted informally by asking follow-up and clarifying questions of each respondent during and after the interview. Relative formal member checks were carried out by emailing each respondent the interview data after transcribing them from tape records to computer files, and asked the respondents to confirm. Most of respondents confirmed the data. Some participants added additional comments, which were kept to assist further in data analysis. The process of member checks is very important in establishing trustworthiness, particularly the credibility of the study.

Data Analysis

Data, within the naturalistic inquiry, are considered as constructions that come from both human and non-human sources. Data analysis reconstructs those constructions (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The data analysis process occurs simultaneously and interweaves with the data collection process (Spradley, 1979). In this study, previous interviews were always used as important information in the next interviews and influenced the development of the emergent research design. Changes to the interview protocol, for example, were necessarily made once the data collection began.

The gathered data for this study—interviews, observations, field notes, and documents and records — were analyzed by means of constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The constant comparison process was a means to stimulate the researcher's thoughts that lead to both descriptive and exploratory categories. Analysis of data used the constant comparative method which included unitizing, categorizing, and developing and identifying themes and patterns (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Unitizing Data

Unitizing data is a very important step throughout the process of data analysis. Units are chunks of meaning that come out of the data itself, including observational notes, records and documents, and interviews. A unit should have two characteristics:

First, it should be heuristic, that is, aimed at some understanding or some action that the inquirer needs to have or to take. Unless it is heuristic, it is useless, however intrinsically interesting. Second, it must be the smallest piece of information about something that can stand by itself, that is, it must be

interpretable in the absence of any additional information other than a broad understanding of the context in which the inquiry is carried out (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.345).

Such a unit may be a simple factual sentence, or as much as a paragraph.

Unitizing data for this study was carried out through several steps. First, the interview data were transcribed into computer files from the tape recordings. Transcribed data were all in the original languages that respondents used during the interviews, which meant two were in English and the other sixteen were in Chinese. Second, transcripts were broken into units of data, the smallest pieces of information that can stand by themselves as independent thoughts. Third, the units were numbered and coded by source of information, respondent, date, site, and gender. Fourth, the units of data were transferred to 4x6 index cards in two different colors indicating different gender, male or female. Then, units were printed out on the index cards. Through this process, a total of 1769 cards were generated from the raw interview data, which were displayed in 220 pages of transcripts of the 16 interviews. All data units were sorted into categories and sub-categories, identifying the number of units of data from male and female participants. Consequently, 1349 units were generated from male respondents and 420 were from female respondents. With time and effort, themes and patterns emerged.

Coding

Throughout the data analysis process, all units of data on index cards were coded to ensure confidentiality and also to provide a track to locate the original source for the

researcher. Each index card was given a number as well as the information of source, respondent, date, site and gender. Two colors of index cards were used to differentiate the gender of the respondents. The third color represented the category's name.

Figure 1 is an example of a unit card and coding used in this study.

#IN	I1. 102808; P.20; 230-233-M
Unit	_____

Figure 1.—Example of a Unit Card and Coding

The unit card represented above includes:

#	Card number
IN	Interview data (OB-observational data, DO-Documents and records, RE-reflexive journal data)
I1	Interview number
102808	Date of the interview (month, day, year)
P.20	Page number in the transcript
230-233	Line numbers

M or F	Gender of the respondent (M-male, F-female)
Unit	Unit of itself

Categorizing and Discovering Patterns and Themes

Essential tasks of categorizing units of data include (1) bringing together those index cards that apparently relate to the same content into provisional categories of issues, concerns, and factual information; (2) devising rules that describe category properties and that can be used to justify the inclusion of each card which remains assigned to the category, and to provide a basis for later tests of replicability; and (3) keeping the category internally consistent (Linclon & Guba, 1985, p.347). Categories are developed by means of constant comparison. According to Lincoln and Guba's (1985) suggestion, the process of categorizing units of data and discovering patterns and themes took several steps in this study.

First, the researcher selected the first card from the pile of thousands of cards, read it and noted its contents, and then placed it in the first yet-to-be-named category.

Second, the researcher selected the second card, read it and noted its contents, and then decided to place it with the first card if they had similar content or to place it in the second yet-to-be-named category if they did not.

Third, the researcher continued the above steps and studied each card. Each card was placed either in an existing category or in a new category, unless it didn't fit any of the established categories nor seemed to create a new category. In that case, a

miscellaneous pile of cards was generated. This process was repeated until all cards had been analyzed.

Fourth, the researcher reviewed all categories including the miscellaneous stack of cards after all cards had been exhausted. At this point, a card may have been placed into a different category or the card was rewritten to ensure it was unambiguous. This was a very crucial step in the whole process of categorizing. The more homogeneous internally and heterogeneous externally the categories were, the clearer the categories.

Fifth, a name in English was given to each category to identify the essence of the characteristics that represented the cards contents and these were combined into a decision rule. After a thorough review, cards that were not related to any of the categories in this study were discarded at this point. As the study became more and more focused, fewer cards remained that did not fit into a category.

Patterns and themes emerged as the categorizing process continued. The peer debriefer also assisted the researcher in identifying emerging patterns and themes that might have been overlooked initially, and made sure the researcher categorized each card objectively. Different research memos kept by the researcher, including her thought process, methodological decisions, discussions about the categories and patterns with the debriefer, also helped not only to provide a thick description but also in categorizing the units of data and identifying themes consistently and thoroughly.

Ensuring Trustworthiness

Both conventional inquirers and naturalistic inquirers have to establish trustworthiness of the research. The basic issue related to trustworthiness is to answer the following questions: How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences (including their self) that the findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to and worth taking account of; what arguments can be mounted, what criteria was invoked, and what questions were asked that would be persuasive on this issue (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.290)?

A variety of techniques can be used to establish trustworthiness in the naturalistic research. Lincoln and Guba (1985) replace the conventional concepts and terms of internal validity, external validity, reliability, and objectivity with the four naturalist's equivalent criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability to establish trustworthiness.

Credibility

There are five major techniques that Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested to establish credibility:

- 1) activities that make it more likely that credible findings and interpretations will be produced (prolonged engagement, persistent observation, and triangulation);
- 2) activities that provide an external check on the inquiry process (peer debriefing);

- 3) activities aimed at refining working hypotheses as more and more information becomes available (negative case analysis);
- 4) activities that makes possible checking preliminary findings and interpretations against archived “raw data” (referential adequacy); and
- 5) activities that provide for the direct test of findings and interpretations with the human sources from which they have come—the constructors of the multiple realities being studied (member checking). (p.301)

In order to establish the credibility in this particular study, the researcher adopted some techniques, such as prolonged engagement, triangulation, peer debriefing, and member check.

First, the researcher conducted prolonged interviews and observations to engage more deeply into the context where the respondents were working and interacting daily. Interviews lasted normally one and a half hour, some lasted two hours, and one lasted more than four hours. Before, during, and after the interviews, the researcher continually observed the respondents’ responses including nonverbal cues, and the environment of their offices where some interviews were conducted. Most of the respondents were very interested in the methodological design besides the study topic and asked me many questions before the interviews through emails or face-to-face. The researcher spent thirty minutes with the respondents in general and two hours with one participant in particular before or during the interviews in answering their questions and clarifying their concerns. Prolonged engagements and observations allowed the researcher to learn

the context of the study, to test the misinformation both from the researcher and the respondents, and to build trust between the two.

Second, along with the prolonged engagement and observation, the researcher adopted the triangulation technique to improve the probability that credible findings and interpretations would be found in this study. Triangulation was achieved through the use of multiple data sources and methods, such as interviews, observations, and documents and records. The same or similar information obtained from different sources, methods, and individuals participating in the interviews made it more likely that credible findings would be produced.

Third, peer debriefing and member checks, as described previously, provided an external check on the inquiry process and the direct testing of findings and interpretations with the human sources respectively.

Taken altogether, techniques of prolonged engagement, triangulation, peer debriefing, and member check were substantively used to build and ensure the credibility of this study.

Transferability

Transferability is a criterion to test if the researcher's working hypotheses established for the study and the findings and interpretations may be applicable in other settings. However, it is not the naturalist's task "to provide an index of transferability; it is his or her responsibility to provide the data base that makes transferability judgments possible on the part of potential appliers" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.316). The researcher

is responsible to provide (a) enough “thick description” of the respondents and contexts; and (b) the widest possible range of information regarding their findings for inclusion in the “thick description” in constructivist research.

In this study, the researcher thoroughly described the interviews with the respondents including their attitudes, perceptions and emotions during the interviews, and the cultural context of the institution. It is left to other people, who might be interested in making a transfer, to determine whether the working hypotheses and the findings can be “transferred” or applied in some other context at some other time.

Dependability

Dependability is a criterion to test if the findings and interpretations of the study can be replicated with same respondents within same context. The naturalist sees dependability being associated with phenomenal or design induced change, consisting of multiple and constructive realities (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Triangulation, peer debriefing and member checking for this study also helped establish dependability of the research.

Moreover, the inquiry audit is one of the most important trustworthiness techniques to examine both the research process and the product of the inquiry in order to provide certain attestations (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The chair of the investigator’s research committee as well as the committee members were the primary inquiry auditors of this study, and approved or disapproved the findings. The peer debriefer also served as an outside auditor of the inquiry to determine the dependability of interpretations and

recommendations of the data. The attestations processed through the auditor of inquirer established the confirmability of the study simultaneously.

Confirmability

Confirmability is a standard to test whether findings, interpretations, and recommendations of the data are grounded in the context of the data sources (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Confirmability audit is the primary technique to establish confirmability in qualitative study. The researcher is responsible for providing the audit trail which includes ample evidence so that someone outside the inquiry can agree with the reasonableness of the process and the results of the research after reviewing it. In this study, an audit trail was established with the following files:

- Interview protocol;
- Raw data including tape recordings of interviews, field notes taken during interviews and transcriptions, and records and documents;
- Write-ups of field notes, summaries of unitized information from the index cards, methodological logs, and reflexive journals;
- Decision rules including coding definitions, and categories and themes descriptions;
- Unitized pieces of information; and
- Notes from member checks

Besides the confirmability audit, triangulation and the keeping of reflexive journals were also techniques used in this study to improve the confirmability (Lincoln

& Guba, 1985). As indicated earlier, the researcher kept journals to reflect the researcher and the respondents' attitudes, perceptions, beliefs and emotions and to record the researcher's mental paradigm about the research design as well as discussions with the debriefer. These methods enabled the researcher to establish and maintain the confirmability of the data, findings, interpretations, and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

This chapter provides the context of the study including the description of the university and participants, followed by the analysis of data and results providing answers to each research question.

Context of the Study

In qualitative study, context plays an important role in interpreting the data (Gonzalez y Gonzalez, 2004). The participants expressed their thoughts, ideas and perceptions based upon the context that surrounds their realities and within which they have learned. Context is composed of various elements, among which is people's culture. Without an understanding of the context where the participants live, the results could emerge with no clear interpretation of the data (Gonzalez y Gonzalez, 2004, p69). Therefore, the researcher of the qualitative study should give attention to constructing a comprehensive, holistic portrayal of the social and cultural dimensions of a particular context (Erlandson et al., 1993, p85).

In this particular study, the researcher had to work very hard to translate the responses provided in Chinese in order to enable the American reader better understand the context from the Chinese participants. As a Chinese speaker, the researcher faced more challenges to ensure the meaning's completeness and accuracy while translating the data. The process not only included translating the language, but also translating and

interpreting the people's culture (Gonzalez y Gonzalez & Lincoln, 2006). As Spradley (1980) explained,

A translation discovers the meanings in one culture and communicates them in such a way that people with another cultural tradition can understand them. The ethnographer as translator has a dual task. For one, you must make sense out of the cultural patterns you observe, decoding the message in cultural behavior, artifacts, and knowledge. Your second task is to communicate the cultural meanings you have discovered to readers who are unfamiliar with that culture or culture scene (p.161).

Given the importance that context plays during the interpretation of the data and how language plays an important role in the context, data of this study were presented in the language in which it was collected through the interviews. In other words, data were presented in both English and Chinese in several cases to keep the richness of the data in the initial language and not overlook any meanings. Consequently, a Chinese-speaking reader would understand the exact meaning of the data and its context, in some cases better than the English-speaking reader.

In this sense, the researcher provided the description of the participants, the university and its surrounding community where the participants live before she analyzed the data and presented findings of the results in the remaining chapter.

University and the Community

In order to understand the analysis of the data, readers need to have a clear picture of the context of the Research Extensive University in Texas where the participants live, work and socialize. Additionally, the researcher needs to establish the

shared understanding of the university context with the participants in order to better frame the interview questions and conduct the qualitative research.

A description of the context of the university and its surrounding local community are provided in the following section. The demographic profile includes many aspects such as type of the institution, its history, total number of the faculty, graduate, undergraduate and international students, total number of undergraduate and graduate programs, etc. The description also provides the mission and vision of this institution, and information about the surrounding community. Table 2 shows a summary of demographic data followed by a narrative description in order to offer the readers some insight into the research context and findings.

Table 2:
Demographic Profile of the Research Extensive University in Texas in Fall 2007

Descriptor	Fact
Type of the Institution	Public
# years old	132
# of undergraduate students	46,000+
# of graduate students	8,500
# undergraduate programs	120+
# graduate programs	240
# faculty	3700+

The Research Extensive University of this study was established in 1876 as Texas's first public institution of higher learning. Its mission is to provide the highest quality undergraduate and graduate programs, to develop the new understandings

through research and creativity and to develop leaders of character dedicated to serving the greater good. The university's core values are loyalty, integrity, excellence, leadership, selfless service and respect. With a history that extends back over 130 years, the university has an 11,000 acres' campus. It is a research flagship university and one of a select few universities in the nation to hold land-grant, sea-grant and space-grant designations.

Faculty

With membership in the prestigious Association of American Universities (AAU), the Research Extensive University in Texas in this study seeks to attract the best and brightest faculty who exemplify the highest standards in teaching, research and scholarship. Faculty are nationally recognized. They include winners of the Nobel Prize, Wolf Prize, Pulitzer Prize, and National Medal of Science, as well as more than 2,800 other award-winning teachers and researchers in 10 colleges.

Almost 90 percent of the faculty hold doctoral degrees or terminal degrees in their field and 300 hold endowed professorships or chairs. Twenty-seven faculty are members of the National Academy of Sciences, National Academy of Engineering or Institute of Medicine. More than 500 hold the title of fellow or a title of equal significance in their respective fields. Each year, 2,500 faculty of the university conduct approximately \$400 million worth of sponsored research projects, assisted by more than 5,000 paid graduate students.

Table 3 (next page) presents the total number of faculty by ethnicity and gender at this university in the fall semester in 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000 and 2007 respectively. It includes all ranks, full-time, part-time, tenure-track and tenured faculty. It shows the total number of faculty at this university has increased 39.6% from 2695 to 3763 since 1980, among which male faculty has increased 14.8% and women faculty has doubled their number. Asian male faculty's number has gained from 65 in 1980 to 162 in 2007 (increased 2.5 times), and Asian female faculty has gained number from 7 in 1980 to 51 in 2007 (increased 7 times). In addition, Asian faculty represents 5% among the total number of faculty in 2007, in which 4 percent is composed of male and 1 percent is composed of female.

Students and Academic Programs

The university enrolls one of the 10 largest student bodies in the nation and the largest outside a major metropolitan area. In fall 2007, student enrollment was a record 46,542, with a record 8,085 entering freshmen. In addition, more than 8,500 graduate students attend this university. More than 4,000 enrolled students are international students from about 130 countries, most of whom are involved in graduate studies and research. Students can choose from 120-plus undergraduate degree programs and 240 master's and PhD programs in 10 colleges, among which many programs are ranked in the top 10 nationally. A great number of students major in the college of engineering which has many top-ranked programs. Moreover, the university ranks consistently

among the Top 10 universities in the number of science and engineering doctorates produced.

Table 3: Fall Semester Faculty by Ethnicity and Gender

(Faculty includes all ranks, full and part-time, tenured and non-tenured faculty. Non-Tenured faculty includes tenure-track faculty.)

Faculty -- Total	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2007
White						
Male	2,001	2,061	1,972	1,983	1,700	1,724
Female	430	456	505	531	655	805
Black						
Male	8	29	27	35	33	60
Female	3	15	13	18	25	58
Hispanic						
Male	40	64	59	83	78	120
Female	11	21	23	38	37	80
Asian						
Male	65	159	85	107	117	162
Female	7	25	19	25	22	51
Indian						
Male	6	8	10	7	12	11
Female	1	0	1	1	2	3
International						
Male	60	0	252	200	307	480
Female	12	0	42	71	116	205
Unknown						
Male	50	0	0	0	0	4
Female	1	0	0	0	0	0
Total	2,695	2,838	3,008	3,099	3,104	3,763
Male	2,230	2,321	2,405	2,415	2,247	2,561
Female	465	517	603	684	857	1,202

Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board: 09/01/2008

This university was established as a military institution and up until 1967 the university was an all-male military college. Its Corps of Cadets has played an important role in its history and development. Although membership became voluntary in 1965, this university historically has produced more military officers than any other institution in the nation, except for the service academies. More than 200 of its graduates have become generals or admirals. The 2,200 men and women of the Corps of Cadets remain the largest uniformed body of students in the nation outside the U.S. military academies. Although cadets can earn commissions as military officers, membership in the Corps itself carries no military obligation. In fact, only about 30 percent of graduating cadets are commissioned, while the rest pursue civilian careers.

The university has encouraged and increased student diversity by recruiting underrepresented students such as American Indian, Black, and Hispanic since 1980.

Table 4 outlines the changes in the demographics of the student body.

Table 4: Fall Semester Student Enrollment by Ethnicity

Student Enrollment	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2007
White	30,348	29,209	31,629	29,746	33,673	33,697
Black	296	605	1,175	1,223	1,065	1,413
Hispanic	996	1,614	2,938	3,738	3,684	5,282
Asian	243	494	1,093	1,330	1,381	1,875
Indian	91	51	82	100	191	252
International	1,396	2,083	2,429	2,517	3,338	3,836
Unknown	0	0	0	0	694	187
Total	33,370	34,056	39,346	38,654	44,026	46,542

Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board: 09/01/2008

As shown in Table 4, the total student enrollment has increased 39% to 46,542 in 2007 since 1980, among which Black, Hispanic and Asian student enrollment has increased at least 4 times in the past 27 years.

In addition, student enrollment at the university has become to have about half men and half women over the last decade (Table 5).

Table 5: Fall Total Student Enrollment by Gender

Student Enrollment	1994	1999	2006
Male	22,661	23,288	23,924
Female	16,513	20,154	21,456
Total	39,174	43,442	45,380

Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board: 08/19/2008

Community

The university is located in the south central Texas within relative short drives to three major Texas cities—Houston, Austin and Dallas. The community has about 170,000 residents. It has a healthy economy with strong job growth, one of the state’s lowest unemployment rates and an affordable housing market. Additionally, it provides educational opportunities for all ages with both public and private elementary, intermediate and high schools and a two-year community college.

The local weather is fairly temperate and mild with low temperatures in the winter lasting only a couple of months. Typical lows during the winter are in the low 40s and typical highs during the summer range in the 90s.

Vision 2020

Vision 2020 was initiated in 1997 by the then-President of the university and formalized in 1999 after the work of more than 250 faculty, staff, students, former students, local residents and others. It is the university's roadmap for attaining its quest to be recognized as a consensus "top 10" public university, while at the same time maintaining and enhancing its distinctiveness. Since its founding, the university has distinguished itself by producing great leaders, scholars and citizens for the world while extending the boundaries of knowledge and understanding through excellence in teaching, research and innovation. It now aspires to a higher level of excellence, with Vision 2020 as its guide for achieving recognition among the nation's top 10 public universities by the end of next decade.

Research Study Participants

Sixteen Chinese faculty members from the Research Extensive University at Texas participated in the study. All of them are first generation who obtained their doctoral degrees or postdoctoral training in the United States, and then found a faculty position in the U.S. Demographic data for the participants, including the age, gender, rank, field, and length of service at the university are presented in Table 1 (see Page 64).

Of the 16 Chinese faculty members participating in the study, 12 were male and four were female. Their ages ranged from 35 to 56 years old. All participants held either a bachelor's degree or a master's degree from China when they came to the United States for further study and research. Only one participant obtained her PhD in China before she came to the U.S. Except for this participant who received her doctoral degree in China, all the rest received their terminal degrees in the United States. Among the 16 participants, seven of them were Professors, seven were Associate Professors, and two were senior Assistant Professors and had passed their third year tenure review at the interview time. Participants were selected across different disciplines from seven colleges including the colleges of science, engineering, liberal arts, social science, veterinary medicine and biomedical science and health science. The number of years these Chinese faculty members had been in the Research Extensive University in Texas ranged from two years to 21 years. Five participants received early promotion from assistant professor to associate professor, and six participants had early promotion from associate professor to full professor.

Most interviews with the participants lasted one-and-a-half to two hours, except for one that lasted more than four hours. Of the 16 interviews in the study, 14 were carried out in Chinese and the other two were in English. The analysis of the data and the presentation of the results required significant effort by the researcher to ensure that the reader understands and makes sense of the data from the foreign participants. The process involved a translation, which is not only of the language, but also and mainly of the culture (Gonzalez y Gonzalez & Lincoln, 2006). The researcher translated the

interviews from Chinese to English while working to keep the real meaning of the cultural tradition. At the same time, the researcher also hoped to communicate the cultural meanings with the local readers who are not familiar with the Chinese culture. Along with the interviews, the researcher kept observations and reflexive journals throughout the interviews to collect richer data and present a more complete picture.

A brief description of the sixteen participants in this study is as follows. Their real identities have been disguised in order to protect their confidentiality.

Participant #1: Dr. Han

Dr. Han, 42 years old, a professor in the College of Science, is the first interviewee in the study. He has worked at this Research Extensive University in Texas for 11 years.

Dr. Han obtained his bachelor's degree in China in 1989 and then came to the United States to pursue his Masters degree in 1991 and started his doctoral degree later in 1993. When he applied for going abroad in 1991, it was very difficult to obtain a passport after the "June 4" student movement happened in Tiananmen Square of Beijing in 1989. Dr. Han changed his major for his doctoral study after he got his Masters degree. Because he has the experience of switching majors, he mentioned many times during the interview he would love to admit non-traditional students.

Dr. Han established his career goal of being a faculty member at a research university long before he came to the United States. As he said:

I must work at a university. I knew it long time ago that I did not want to go to industry. So I must go to [work at] a university. It is just a matter of which university. I knew it [I1-21].

我肯定去大学，我以前就知道我不想去公司。所以我一定会去大学，只不过是去哪个大学的问题。我知道的[I1-21]。

Dr. Han did not have many difficulties in obtaining a faculty position at this Research Extensive University in Texas in 1996. His career has developed smoothly as well since then and he is now a full professor in his department. From Dr. Han's perspective, the most joyful thing for him is to continue to have new students and to help them grow. Throughout the interview, Dr. Han showed his enthusiasm to support and encourage young people and provide service to the community.

Participant #2: Dr. Yang

The second interviewee, Dr. Yang, 52 years old, is a professor in the College of Liberal Arts. He obtained his masters degree in a science major in China in 1986 and his doctoral degree in liberal arts from the United States in 1991. Dr. Yang actually received his doctoral degree from this Research Extensive University in Texas. Since then, he had worked in Canada for eight years and then returned to the department at this university in 1999 from where he graduated. He has worked here for ten years.

Dr. Yang mentioned the university he worked in Canada is also located in a college town, similar to where he lives now. Over the period of time working in the academy in Canada, he was promoted to associate professor after two years in 1993 and to full professor two years later in 1995. Both were early promotions. It was primarily because of his strong research background including productive publications. For

instance, he had published eight articles at the time when he graduated with the doctorate. He returned to this University in the United States in 1999 as an associate professor and one year later was promoted to full professor in 2000.

Dr. Yang's career decision of being a faculty member was largely affected by his parents who both work in education. He wanted to become a professor since he was little. Thus, although some industrial companies tried to recruit him, he was not interested in them and only loved to work in the university's environment. He perceives Chinese faculty face more difficulties than their white counterpart within the academy in the United States.

From the conversation, Dr. Yang showed his strong quantitative research background. He expressed his concerns and curiosities about how to analyze the qualitative data throughout the interview. For example, he challenged the researcher how to ensure the validity and the generalization of this study.

Participant #3: Dr. Liu

The third interviewee, named Dr. Liu, is an associate professor in the College of Liberal Arts. He is 52 years old and received his masters degree from China in 1985. After that, he worked in a southern Chinese university for seven years until 1992 when he came to the United States as a visiting scholar. Soon after he decided to further his study and research by applying for graduate school in the United States, He changed his immigrant status from J1 (visiting scholar) to F1 (student) and started his masters and then doctoral study at a prestigious northeast university in America. Dr. Liu obtained his

PhD and joined this Research Extensive University in Texas in 1998. Since then he has worked at this university for ten years.

Dr. Liu mentioned he decided to work at a university because of his study background and work experience in China. Even if he could not find a faculty position in America, he would go for it in China. He enjoys doing research very much.

Throughout the interview, Dr. Liu showed his full understanding of the research method used for this study.

Participant #4: Dr. Zhao

The fourth interviewee, Dr. Zhao, 53 years old, is a Professor in the College of Engineering. He has worked here for 18 years since he joined this University as an Assistant Professor in 1990.

Dr. Zhao experienced a special time compared with other participants. He left the city and went to teach in a rural area in China for three years right after he finished his middle school because of the government policy issued between 1970 and 1977. During that time, individuals who were 16 or 17 years old could teach at the elementary school. In 1978, Dr. Zhao started college and then moved to the United States for further study after he obtained his bachelor degree in 1982. Dr. Zhao believed that the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) in China had a great influence on his decision to go abroad and to become a professor at a university. Chinese people in his generation highly valued education and considered education as the most important thing after the Cultural Revolution. They thought that only the smartest people could go to college, graduate

school and then become a faculty member at a university. As a result of his strong desire, Dr. Zhao worked hard and successfully received two doctoral degrees within seven years from two different universities in the United States in 1990.

One thing should be noted that the interview with Dr. Zhao lasted about two hours, however the researcher spent 30 minutes with him at the beginning of the interview in discussing the qualitative method of the study. He questioned if the qualitative methodology has a criteria or standard to follow because quantitative method needs to follow the matrix standard as an example. Additionally, he perceives that Chinese have focused on qualitative thinking a long time ago while western cultures have emphasized quantitative thinking.

Dr. Zhao enjoys teaching very much and has received several teaching awards. He appeared to be a humorous person, liked making jokes and laughing. Perhaps that is an important reason that he was able to attract and interact with students while teaching in the classroom.

Participant #5: Dr. Pan

Dr. Pan, a Professor in the College of Science, is the fifth interviewee participating in this study. He is 56 years old, and has worked at this University for 21 years since 1987. Dr. Pan came to pursue his doctoral degree in the United States in 1982 and then obtained it in 1986. After serving as a postdoctoral scholar for one year, he joined this Research Extensive University in Texas in 1987.

Dr. Pan shared that he applied for faculty positions because he loved doing research and working in the university's environment. He mentioned that Americans did not know too much about Chinese scholars at that time because there were only a few Chinese students studying in doctoral programs in his field in the United States. It was not easy for Chinese to find a faculty position here in America because people were not sure about their credentials. Fortunately, he had not encountered many difficulties while looking for a job in the academy. Since he was among the first group of Chinese faculty members recruited to this University in Texas in the late 1980s, Dr. Pan said he had witnessed how this university had changed over the past twenty years.

Dr. Pan appeared to be a very hard-working person. He said that he always took one-step ahead of everything. That is probably an important reason that he was able to pursue his doctoral degree in less than four years, which usually took others more than five years at that time; and that he could be promoted early as well.

Participant #6: Dr. Chang

The sixth interviewee, Dr. Chang, 50 years old, is an Associate Professor in the College of Veterinary Medicine and Biomedical Science. He joined this University seven years ago in 2001 and got tenured (promoted to associate professor) in 2007.

Dr. Chang obtained his masters degree in China in 1985 and had taught at one university for one year. After that, in 1986 he came to the United States for further study and research. He received his PhD from a northeast university in the United States in 1993. Dr. Chang pointed out he was always interested in working within the academy

rather than industry. He wanted to be a professor at a university in the United States a long time ago. After he got his doctoral degree, he first took a postdoctoral position in Canada for less than one year and then moved back to a medical school in the United States as a post doc from 1993 to 1998. In 1998, he was promoted to assistant professor at the medical school. However, it was not a tenure-track position. Therefore, he moved to the current university in Texas as a tenure-track assistant professor in 2001.

The core value of Chinese Confucianism appeared to significantly influence Dr. Chang's career decision in becoming a university professor. From early on, he has been inspired by world famous scientists and has been passionate about scientific research. That was one important reason he applied for doctoral study in the United States where there was advanced technology and a good research environment. His father, who was a military soldier, also influenced Dr. Chang in having a sense of confidence and also a sense of equality. Dr. Chang emphasized the importance of one's mentality quite a few times throughout the interview.

From the interview responses, Dr. Chang seemed to be a very confident, open-minded person, and he was willing to contribute his knowledge and share his experience. He has a clear life goal in his mind. He appeared to be emotionally and culturally well-grounded and so proud of being a Chinese with rich traditions and cultures.

Dr. Chang's English language skills are at a very high standard. There is no barrier for him to communicate with people in English.

Participant #7: Dr. Wei

Dr. Wei, 45 years old, is the seventh interviewee of the study. He was a Professor in the College of Science and the Director of a research center in his field at this University at the interview time. Dr. Wei received his PhD from one of the most prestigious universities in the northeast of the United States in 1993. Since then, he has been a postdoctoral scholar in a university in California for three years in 1993-1996. Later, he returned to the university where he received his PhD as a research associate and worked there for another year. In 1997, he joined this Research Extensive University in Texas as an Assistant Professor, and then got tenured as an Associate Professor in 2002. Three years later, he was promoted to full professor in 2005. Thus, he has worked at this University in Texas for 11 years.

In 1983, Dr. Wei obtained his bachelor degree in China. He started his master program in 1983-1986, but he did not complete it as he decided to go abroad. Influenced by his friends who all applied for universities in foreign countries including the United States, United Kingdom, etc., and he followed the trend of going abroad at that time. Dr. Wei came to the United States in 1986 with the hopes of furthering his study and research. He received his masters degree in 1989 and then obtained his PhD in 1993.

Dr. Wei mentioned that he never thought he would enjoy working in industry. Doing research is his priority. It probably was the most important reason why he established his career goal as a university professor. Throughout the interview, Dr. Wei appeared to be very confident about his research capability. He shared with the researcher that he actually got quite a few job offers even before he finished his PhD

because of his good research work. From his curriculum vita, the researcher found Dr. Wei had published about one hundred refereed journal articles, presented numerous conference papers, and been an invited speaker at many institutions since he was a doctoral student. His research accomplishments were perhaps the significant reason he was tenured and promoted successfully in his career working in the academy.

The interview with Dr. Wei was conducted in English as he thought it might save some time for the researcher to transcribe the data. It showed he was a thoughtful person on one hand, and manifested his excellent command of the English language on the other hand. The interview lasted two hours, among which 30 minutes was to discuss the questions related to this study. Dr. Wei showed great interest in this study and would like to see the report of the findings and asked for a copy of the dissertation.

Participant #8: Dr. Jin

The eighth interviewee, Dr. Jin, is the first female Chinese faculty member participating in this study. She is only 35 years old. However, she was promoted to full professor in the College of Science a few years ago in 2004. She has worked at this university for nine years since 1999. Before that, she had been a postdoctoral scholar at a northeast university for two years in 1997-1999 after she obtained her PhD from one of the top universities in the United States in 1997.

Dr. Jin started to pave the way for a future career in academia in 1993 when she came to the United States for further study and research after receiving her bachelor degree from one of top two universities in China. She told the researcher that it was

natural for most students in her field to pursue graduate study in the United States once completing undergraduate study in China because of the advanced research and science in America. Therefore, almost everyone chose this path and applied for American graduate schools at that time. Dr. Jin was one of them.

Four years later, in 1999, Dr. Jin joined the Research Extensive University as an assistant professor. Her career has gone exceptionally well since then. In only three years, she was promoted to an associate professor and got tenure in 2002. In 2004, she received another early promotion and became a full professor. Surprisingly, over the period when she obtained early promotions twice, Dr. Jin had two babies. Many of her friends who also worked in the academy could not believe it. Dr. Jin had not experienced any challenges and difficulties in seeking the tenure and promotion at this university. As she said:

It seems amazing to others. I also feel very surprised. Therefore, I did not work very hard to get the tenure. It was always beyond my expectation when they [tenure and promotion committee] wanted to promote me [I8-63]
对阿，呵呵。在别人看来都很 amazing，但是，呵呵。我也觉得我为什么挺奇怪。所以我也没有说为了 tenure 弄得自己很辛苦。都是在我还没预料到的时候，他们就说要 promote 我了 [I8-63]。

However, from her curriculum vita and the interview, Dr. Jin showed solid research background and rich experience. That was perhaps the most important reason she was able to pursue her real interests successfully and the department tried to promote her early and to retain her. Over past years, Dr. Jin had served on the tenure and promotion committee in her department and has been involved in a number of other services.

Dr. Jin showed strong interest and curiosity in the study and asked many questions, such as, what is the purpose and significance of the study, how to keep the data valid and why qualitative methodology was suitable to the study. In fact, she and the researcher had a lunch meeting before the interview in order to discuss these questions and exchange opinions.

Participant #9: Dr. Ouyang

The ninth interviewee, Dr. Ouyang, is a 45 year-old woman Assistant Professor in the College of Veterinary Medicine and Biomedical Science at this university. Although she just started to work as a full time employee at this university two years ago in May 2006, she has 20 years of working experience.

Dr. Ouyang's career goal to be a professor at an American university was affected largely by her experience and people around her. In 1985, she received her Doctorate of Medicine (M.D.) degree from a north medical college in Liaoning, China. Since then, she had remained at that medical college and worked for 12 years until 1997. Over the period of those 12 years, Dr. Ouyang was promoted from a Teaching Assistant to a Lecturer in 1990, and was promoted to an Associate Professor in 1996. Additionally, she was simultaneously studying and working at a well-known medical college in Beijing as a graduate student in 1990-1995. She completed her PhD and obtained the degree from the medical college in Beijing, China, in 1995. As she described, the majority of the students graduated from that medical school applied for universities abroad at that time. Dr. Ouyang followed the trend of her peers. Because she did not get

an offer from the United States, she went to Brazil instead. After she spent one year in Brazil as a Research Fellow, Dr. Ouyang came to this Research Extensive University at Texas as a Postdoctoral Research Associate in 1997. Dr. Ouyang was the only participant in this study who did her doctoral study in China and received her postdoctoral training in the United States. All other participants obtained their doctoral degrees from institutions in the United States.

Dr. Ouyang spent three years in postdoctoral training at the university in Texas from 1998 to 2001. In 2002, she was promoted to an Assistant Research Scientist. Two years later, she got an offer from a southern university in the United States and became a tenure-track Assistant Professor in 2004.

Her career went well at the southern university. However, once Dr. Ouyang had established her research program and everything was moving forward quickly, hurricane Karina hit the city where her university was located in August 2005. The damage was so severe that she and her students had to evacuate to other places. She chose to return to the Research Extensive University in Texas where she did her postdoctoral training. About nine months later, Dr. Ouyang accepted the offer at this university as an Assistant Professor in May 2006 and continued to develop her research program. She shared with the researcher that she would probably get tenure in January 2008.

Dr. Ouyang appeared to be a very optimistic person who always looks at things from the bright side. She looked very energetic and active too. Perhaps it was because she was an athlete as a basketball player when she was in college in China.

Participant #10: Dr. Cao

The tenth interviewee, Dr. Cao, is 52 years old. He is a Professor in the College of Liberal Arts. He has worked at this university for 21 years since 1987.

Dr. Cao received his Graduate Certificate from a university in Hubei province, China, in 1980, and continued his graduate study at the same university and obtained his master's degree in 1982. He indicated that there were not many people going abroad in early 1980s in China. With encouragement from the Chinese government that intellectuals study abroad, Dr. Cao took the English exam, applied for universities in the United States, got the scholarship and then came to America to pursue his doctoral study. In 1987, Dr. Cao received his PhD from a well-known northern university in the United States and joined the research extensive university in Texas as an assistant professor. He served on the faculty as an Assistant Professor for four years and then gained early promotion to Associate Professor in 1991. Four years later, Dr. Cao received another early promotion and became a full Professor in 1995. Additionally, he had been a Research Fellow in his area at this university in Texas since 1995, a Professor at one of top two universities in China since 2002, and an Advisor of a research institute at the State Council of China since 2000.

By having the conversation with him and reviewing his curriculum vita and other documents, Dr. Cao showed tremendous research interests and great accomplishments in his career. He had been the author or co-author of over 60 publications in major journals in his field, and served on the editorial boards of several major journals. Dr. Cao had received numerous awards and been recognized as an outstanding researcher in his field

nationally and internationally. For example, he was the holder of a Faculty Fellowship in the College of Liberal Arts from 1996-2002. In addition, he was included in Who is Who in his field as one of the 1,200 most frequently cited scholars in the world over the ten years period from 1990-2000 using the Social Science Citation Index. He was ranked 504 by citation in the top 1,000 worldwide scholars in his area for the same period of 1990-2000.

Dr. Cao seemed to have a clear career goal of working within the academy when he was in graduate school in China. He served as a lecturer at a university in China, as a research assistant while pursuing his doctoral study at the university in the United States, and is now a tenure-track assistant professor. Dr. Cao realized his career goal gradually through his persistence, hard work and passion about research. Furthermore, he had worked closely with several universities in China ever since he was tenured in his current faculty position at this university in Texas. At the interview time, Dr. Cao was holding the position of Adjunct Professor at six different universities across cities from the north to the south of China, including Beijing and Hong Kong.

Participant #11: Dr. Ai

Dr. Ai was the eleventh interviewee participating in the study. He is 38 years old and an Associate Professor in the College of Engineering. He joined this university as an Assistant Professor seven years ago in 2001 after obtaining his PhD in Mechanical Engineering from a Midwestern university in the United States.

Dr. Ai completed his bachelor's study at one of best universities which is located in a middle city instead of metropolitans, China in 1993. Then he went to another top university in Beijing and received his masters degree in 1996. He said he was influenced largely by the popularity of going abroad at the university where he went to his undergraduate college. As he said, the majority of the students applied for study in foreign countries after college and 30 percent of his peers actually got some forms of scholarships. Therefore, as Dr. Ai mentioned, it was impossible for him not to think of applying for study abroad as one of the students in that university. He was considering going abroad after obtaining his bachelor degree. However, because of the restrictive policy of going abroad in China after the "June 4" student movement, Dr. Ai forwent the attempt of going abroad during his undergraduate study period. Later he made application for the universities in the United States while he was studying his master's program in Beijing. In 1996, he came to the United States for further study at a northeastern public university. Two years later in 1998, he received his masters degree and went to another university where he obtained his PhD in 2001.

Regarding his career path of becoming a faculty member at a university in the United States, Dr. Ai articulated that his advisor helped him significantly to develop his credentials and confidence during the time of his doctoral study. Four years after Dr. Ai began work at the Research Extensive University in Texas in 2005, his wife joined the same university with him as an assistant professor in the College of Business. Thus, Dr. Ai and his wife are a dual academic career couple in this study.

Dr. Ai appeared to be a very humble and modest person. The way he described himself was with great humility, although he had received several college wide awards in research and teaching. Additionally, he seemed to be a hardworking person as well. He mentioned quite a few times throughout the interview that a young faculty member needs to work hard as long as one wants to excel among the national peers who are all smart and capable.

Dr. Ai showed interest in the study and suggested the researcher translate the dissertation into Chinese and to publish it in China once there is an opportunity. He indicated the information about Chinese lives in the United States that people in China read from the internet oftentimes has a lot of misinformation. He hoped the researcher of the study could provide some objective insights and perspectives to people in China.

Participant #12: Dr. Wu

The twelfth interviewee, Dr. Wu, 48 years old, is a Professor in the College of Science. He has worked at this Research Extensive University in Texas for 18 years since 1990 when he joined the University as an Assistant Professor. Three years later, he was promoted early to Associate Professor and tenured in 1993. In 1998, he received another early promotion to full Professor.

Dr. Wu had a strong desire to become a professor at a university since early in college. His parents and family, who were dedicated to education, influenced him a lot. His strong determination and focus seemed to drive him to move toward his career goal. He had the dream to go abroad for further study and research when he was in college. He

recalled that he had an opportunity to come to the United States during his junior year in college in 1981 when he received admission and financial support from an American university. Unfortunately, it was difficult to get all documents approved including the passport from the government at that time in China. Even though there were many difficulties, Dr. Wu persevered in his goal and worked hard to achieve it. He gave up applying for graduate school in China and concentrated on going abroad. In 1983, the door to study in the United States was opened and he became a doctoral student at one of the two major state research universities in Texas. Dr. Wu received his PhD in 1988 and then served as a visiting assistant professor at another university for two years.

Because of his determination, hard work and persistence, Dr. Wu has had a successful professional career in the United States. While working at this Research Extensive University for the past 18 years, Dr. Wu has received numerous honors and awards in both research and teaching. Additionally, he has collaborated extensively with researchers worldwide and served as a visiting professor overseas in Great Britain/Switzerland and Australia in 1998 and 2006 respectively.

Participant #13: Dr. Qiu

Dr. Qiu is the thirteenth interviewee and the third female Chinese faculty member participating in the study. She, 47 years old, is an Associate Professor in the College of Social Science. Dr. Qiu received her PhD from a southern university in the United States in 1996. Immediately upon graduation, she joined the Research Extensive University in Texas as a Visiting Assistant Professor. After 3 years of service, she

became a tenure-track Assistant Professor in 1999. Dr. Qiu was promoted to Associate Professor and received tenure in 2005.

Once she earned her master's degree from a university in Shanghai, China in 1987, Dr. Qiu took the position of instructor at the same university where she went to graduate school in 1987-1990. Her strong desire to continue research and study, coupled with the dissatisfaction of living conditions and overall societal environment in China appeared to motivate her to apply for study overseas. In 1990-1991, Dr. Qiu came to a university as a visiting scholar in California in the United States. Attracted by advanced research and a better societal system for personal development, Dr. Qiu decided to apply for the doctoral program in the United States. Five years later in 1996, she gained her PhD degree.

Dr. Qiu emphasized a few times that she had experienced many difficulties working within the academy in the United States. She perceived being a woman, or a Chinese or both, could become challenges on the pathway towards her career goal. Occasionally, she even thought about quitting academia and changing to another field. However, her strong commitment to research and her hard working nature enabled her to persevere in her profession as a faculty member and achieve success.

Because she lived in a city where her husband had a job, Dr. Qiu had commuted between two cities for six years over the course of her pursuing tenure. This added another challenge to her while she was seeking tenure. She no longer needs to commute because she and her family are together now.

Participant #14: Dr. Clinton

The fourteenth interviewee, Dr. Clinton, 45 years-old, is an Associate Professor. She is the fourth female Chinese faculty member who participated in this study. Unlike most of the participants, Dr. Clinton was recruited to this university in Texas from another research university in the Midwest in 2001. After two years serving as an Assistant Professor here, she was promoted to Associate Professor with tenure at this university in 2003.

Like the majority of the participants, Dr. Clinton came to the United States for graduate study after undergraduate education in one of the best universities in Shanghai, China, in 1986. She earned a master degree at a university on the East Coast in 1988. She worked as a Research Associate in a consulting firm, and a research center before moving to California where her husband began pursuing a doctoral degree at the University of California (UC). She served as a research associate at UC before deciding to get her own Ph.D. It only took her three and a half years to complete the PhD at UC after which she followed her husband to the Midwest where he was offered a tenure-track position at a major research university. She was optimistic about her own employment prospects in that area and was able to land a tenure track assistant professor position one year later at the same university. She worked there for 5 years before being recruited to Texas.

Dr. Clinton has published numerous peer reviewed journal articles and has received a number of honors and awards nationally, such as the Article-of-the-Year Award from her professional organization, a 5-year grant from the National Institute of

Health, *Who's Who* in America in 2007, 2008, 2009, *Who's Who* in American Women 2008, and *Who's Who* in the World in 2008. In addition, she has served on two editorial boards of journals in her field.

Among the sixteen interviewees, Dr. Clinton is the only one who married an American. Her husband is also a faculty member at the same university in Texas. She speaks English more fluently than Chinese. The interview was conducted in English, as she said that her Chinese was not as good as her English because she did not have the opportunity to practice it at work or home. It appeared that language was not a barrier for her while she was working in the academy in the United States.

The interview with Dr. Clinton went quickly and lasted for only 30 minutes. Surprisingly, she and the researcher continued to chat after the last interview question was addressed and the tape-recorder was turned off. Dr. Clinton shared a lot more, such as the reasons she did not have much opportunities to frequently socialize with the Chinese community. Additionally, she shared her religious belief and mentioned that it had influenced her perceptions on some of the interview questions and framed her answers. More interestingly, Dr. Clinton and the researcher developed a friendship after the interview.

Participant #15: Dr. Ma

The fifteenth interviewee, Dr. Ma, 43 years old, is an Assistant Professor in the College of Engineering. He is the principle investigator (PI) on several research projects and teaches both undergraduate and graduate courses. Dr. Ma began his faculty position

at this Research Extensive University in Texas in 2004. Before that, he had been an Assistant Professor at a university in Mississippi for four years from 2000-2004.

Dr. Ma earned his master's degree from a university in Nanjing, China, in 1986. Immediately upon graduation, he worked for six years in a Chinese university as a lecturer until 1992 at which time he came to the United States for his doctoral study. As he recalled, more and more people had applied for study abroad since early 1990s. He was one of them. In fact, he received admission from an American university early. However, he decided not to take the admission because there was a government policy during that period of time that requested graduate students to serve the country for 6 years before they went abroad, unless you had overseas relatives. Otherwise, you must refund all tuition and fees for your college study that was paid by the government. Dr. Ma finally came to the United States in 1992 after completing six years of service. Four years later, he obtained his PhD from a university in Virginia in 1996.

Unlike the majority of the participants of the study who looked for academic positions right after their doctoral or postdoctoral trainings, Dr. Ma instead took an engineering position at one of Fortune 500 companies and worked in industry for four years between 1996 and 2000 in the United States. His strong desire to conduct research and to teach students at the university steered this engineer back to the academy in 2000. Since then, Dr. Ma has been in the university setting and become a faculty member in the United States.

Dr. Ma has very broad interests and knowledge that at across economics, politics and cultures. Along with his excellent English and communication skills, Dr. Ma can fully interact with his colleagues and students at work or in class.

Throughout the interview, Dr. Ma emphasized the importance of personal mentality. Additionally, he indicated his religious belief is part of his life and greatly influences his perspectives on almost every interview question.

Dr. Ma and his wife have two children, a 13 year-old daughter and a 6 year-old son.

Participant #16: Dr. Qian

The last interviewee, Dr. Qian, 45 years old, is an Associate Professor in the College of Science. He joined this Research Extensive University at Texas seven years ago in 2001 and was promoted to Associate Professor (tenured) in 2006.

Dr. Qian holds a double PhD degree in the sciences. He earned his first doctoral degree from a well-known research institute in Beijing, China, in 1988, and his second one from a northern university in the United States ten years later in 1998. Over the period of these ten years, Dr. Qian has served at Peking University, China for three years as a lecturer in 1988-1991, and then worked in three different universities respectively for three years from 1991-1994 followed by serving as a Research Scientist in Germany.

Dissatisfaction with the academic working environment in China in general, and the complicated human relationships in particular were the original impetus for Dr. Qian to leave China and finally land in the United States. After obtaining his second PhD, he

took a Research Associate position at Harvard for one year and then served as an Assistant Professor at a university in Pennsylvania for another year until 2001.

One of the important reasons Dr. Qian was recruited by this Research Extensive University in Texas was because his wife took a faculty position here first. They are one of the dual academic career couples in this study.

Dr. Qian and his wife are happy to have three children, a 7 year-old, 4 year-old and 2 year-old respectively.

Research Questions

The purpose of this study was twofold: (1) to identify and describe factors which influence a Chinese faculty member's decisions to apply for, accept, and remain (the recruitment process) in faculty positions at a Research Extensive University in Texas; and (2) to determine the challenges and support Chinese faculty members have faced and received with respect to promotion, tenure and recognition (the retention process) at a Research Extensive University in Texas.

To address the purpose of the study, four research questions were used to guide data collection and analysis. The remainder of this chapter provides answers to each research question, followed by a more comprehensive analysis that across analyzes these answers in order to generate new insights and findings.

The data include interviews with sixteen participants, among whom twelve are male and four are female, at a Research Extensive University in Texas. Interviews and observations produced 1769 data units contained in 220 pages of transcripts. All data

units were sorted into categories and sub-categories, identifying the number of units of data from male and female participants. Consequently, 1349 units were generated from male respondents and 420 were from female respondents.

Besides the analysis of the data from interviews and observation notes, important data came from an analysis of some of the documents received by the researcher, such as the respondents' curriculum vitae, and policies regarding their tenure and promotion from their department, college and institution.

Since respondents in this study are from different genders, the researcher placed a special emphasis on different responses from male and female participants in order to explore whether gender plays a role in reflecting the career experiences of Chinese faculty at a Research Extensive University in Texas.

Research Question One

What factors did Chinese faculty members consider important in influencing their decisions to apply for and accept faculty positions at a Research Extensive University in Texas?

Respondents discussed the factors that influenced their decisions when applying for faculty positions at universities in the United States, particularly at the Research Extensive University in Texas. Additionally, they identified which factors influenced their decisions when accepting positions at the Research Extensive University in Texas. The objective of this research question was to understand Chinese faculty members' recruitment processes, and to share this information with other people of color interested

in working in the academy. This question also sought to investigate the positive and negative circumstances related to looking for a faculty position in the United States, and to offer potential faculty members (particularly potential Chinese faculty members) some insights regarding how to be aware of and overcome barriers, and secure positions of employment in the academy.

Left China to Pursue Their Doctoral Study or Postdoctoral Training in the United States

Participants shared their stories regarding why they left China and came to complete their PhD or post doctoral training in the United States. They discussed how both subjective and objective factors played important roles, influencing their decision to leave China and pursue further study and research in the United States, specifically during the period from the early 1980s to the early 1990s.

A dissatisfaction with the overall social environment in China during that time, such as China's governmental policies and complicated human relations was one of many reasons that motivated many participants to leave China. Some stated that their original drive to leave China was motivated by a desire to face the world, pursue advanced education, develop their potential and career and realize their dreams. They appreciated and utilized the reform and open policy changes issued by the Chinese government in 1978, which allowed them to go abroad. Others, however, believed there were too many restrictions in China that limited their personal development. They felt "the circumstances in China did not respect human beings enough, and the government

did not treat people equally [I13-3] 我感觉到中国的环境对人不够尊重，公平啊”

[I13-3]. “Human relations were so complicated. You could be involved in something and the politics would be unintelligible [I16-8] 人际关系太复杂了。很多莫名其妙的事情把你牵进去” [I16-8]. Participants expressed that they were unhappy working in that environment.

Participants indicated that policies of the central government had a significant impact on the overall social environment. Many restrictions limited the number of people able to obtain their visa, allowing them to go abroad. For example, “we had to get our stamp approved by our employer in order to be able to take the TOFEL and the GRE exams. It was impossible for me to get that stamp [because my employer did not allow me to go abroad]. My friends suffered twists and turns when trying to receive final stamp approval. I did not have the power to demand a stamp [I16-12]. 国内我们那时候考托福，GRE 是要有单位证明的。我到哪去开单位证明？我那些朋友为了开证明费尽了周折，偷偷地请人把章拿出来盖上，我没那个本事”[I16-12].

Dr. Qian:

From 1989 [the “June 4” Tiananmen Square Movement] until 1991 when Chairman Xiaoping Deng made his speech in the south, China was very conservative and it was very difficult to leave the country and go abroad. People who were abroad did not dare to go back and visit their parents in China. They were afraid they would not get a return visa if they did. I was finally able to go back and visit my parents in 1994 [I16-20].

所有的国家的限制都是在 89 年[天安门事件]以后越来越严重的……那时候就不要出境证明的。你没在国外你不清楚，91 年邓小平南巡讲话是一个标志性的事情。在那之前一直从 89 年开始，要出境特别难，很多的限制。国外的人没有一个敢回去的。小平南巡讲话后，几个月，半年不到所有的政策都松掉了。然后 94 年我就敢回去的[I16-20].

There were other policies that impeded many people's efforts in their desire to study overseas at that time. For example, you could go abroad only if you had relatives in that foreign country. Otherwise, you had to stay in China.

Dr. Ai:

The Chinese government did not support students going abroad at that time. One governmental policy stated that if you did not have relatives (direct or indirect) abroad, you could not go abroad. In addition, you were eligible to go abroad only after you had worked six years in China after receiving your bachelor's degree or three years after your master's degree. This policy was abandoned after I graduated from college in 1993. After the cancellation of this policy, regardless of whether you had relatives abroad or not, you were allowed to go abroad as long as you paid certain fines [I11-8].

但是当时国家有政策，不是很 support 出国，我不知道你是不是知道，当时 1989 年六四之后，国家规定如果你没有直系亲属的话，你要没有旁系亲属以外的话你不可以出国，你本科毕业后必须工作 6 年，研究生毕业必须工作 3 年以上才可以 eligible 出国。这个规定一直到 1993 年我大学毕业那年才取消。取消后说无论什么人，只要你交培养费，你就可以出国 [I11-8]。

Additionally, a few participants mentioned that they were called “zi fei gong pai”

students (自费公派生), which meant that they supported themselves financially, but were still considered to be governmental support students on official documents.

Generally speaking, “gong pai” students (公派生) are nominated to go abroad by the government and supported by the government financially. “Zi fei” students (自费生) are self-supported. During the period between the early 1980s and the early 1990s, people became “zifei” students (自费生) if they had relatives abroad. However, more people were labeled with “zi fei gong pai” (自费公派生) who studied abroad at that time. They explained that although “zi fei gong pai” (自费公派) policy no longer existed today, it was a common phenomenon during the 1980s and early 1990s.

A lack of opportunities for graduate education and the lack of a strong research environment in China were other reasons that people chose to leave China and come to complete their studies in the United States. One participant said, “it was because of the schooling. I am interested in public health, but there was no program available in that research area” [I14-3]. Another participant responded, “we are the people in the first group who got their master’s degree in China after the Cultural Revolution [in 1976]. There was no PhD in China during that time. That was [the reason] why I came here” [I5-2]. Dr. Han told his story as follows:

I graduated in 1989 and then went to graduate school at Peking University... I actually did not want to go abroad, originally, when I was studying at Peking University, though many of my classmates had gone abroad. I thought I could also do my research at Peking University, which was one of the best universities in China... However, I was very disappointed by my experience at Peking University, including the research environment. I really wanted to do research, but Peking University could not provide for me [a good research environment] ... I had to go abroad [I1-4].

我 1989 年大学毕业，然后去北京大学读研究生……我当时去北大读书的时候，我其实一直就不想出国。当时所有的同学都出来了。我当时觉得北大作为中国一流的大学，可能也能做点研究……。但是我到了北大后我挺失望的。中国最有名的大学让我觉得整个架子很虚。它的研究条件等各方面我都挺失望的。然后当时我又想做研究，但是中国这么好的大学，……，都不能给你条件，我想那我就只有出国了 [I1-4]。

Dr. Jin expressed similar feelings regarding why she decided to study for her PhD in the United States. She said:

There was quite a big gap at the graduate level between the study of mathematics in China and in America, both in broadness and depth. There was no choice to study mathematics at the graduate level in China. Only a few people stayed in China, and then only if they already knew with whom they would work. Some chose to stay because of limited financial support. Otherwise, most people [in my field] applied to graduate study in the United States [I8-6].

中国的数学和美国的数学在 graduate level 差距还是比较大的。至少在射向的全面性上和深度上当时是不能比的。所以在中国读 graduate 基本上是

不是一个 choice, 如果你还想学数学。除非很少的一部人他在中国已经找好了老板, 选好了跟什么样的人, 他留在了中国。或者说我的同学也有没有财力来申请出国, 要不基本上都会申请出来的, 到美国大学读研究生的 [I8-6]。

Living conditions for the faculty in China manifested the third reason why these participants decided to leave China. Dr. Qiu was a lecturer at a university in Shanghai after she got her master's degree in 1987. She remarked, "China's living conditions dropped behind the rest of the world at that time, especially in big cities such as Shanghai where the population was overcrowded and the pressure for housing was heavy [I13-2]." 在那时候, 中国的发展还比较落后, 尤其像上海这样的大城市, 人口比较拥挤, 住房压力很大"[I13-2]。 . As she continued to share, "my house was so small. All my classmates and friends encouraged me to go abroad so that I could improve my education and relieve my housing pressure. I agreed [I13-4] 我住的房子也特别特别小。所以我的同学、朋友就鼓励我说, 既然你受了这么好的教育, 为什么不到国外寻求发展呢? 这样可以进一步提高你的教育, 同时解决你的住的问题。那么我觉得很言之有理"[I13-4]. Dr. Ai recalled that he wanted to teach ever since he was a young boy, but he knew that teaching as a professional in China was not a decent job at that time. As he described,

Particularly because of the living conditions, you could not calm yourself down [to do research]. You worried about your family and how you could provide them with a house. Purchasing a house was not a popular thing to do at that time. I saw that the lives of young faculty members were very tough. This was a particular motivation for me [I11-17]. 尤其是从生活条件, 当时更多的是才生活条件上, 你当老师的话没法静下心来, 每天 worry about 家里的事情, 得把房子怎么办啊, 那时候买房子还不是一个很普遍 popular 的事情。

我看我们那些年轻的老师还是挺苦的。这是我作为我自己的 particular motivation [I11-17]。

Following the trend of going abroad became a significant factor that influenced these participants' decisions to pursue their graduate study or further research in America. Five out of the sixteen participants expressed that going abroad was a fashionable and popular choice among their peers at that time. Although they were not sure what they would experience in coming to America, they were influenced largely by their friends who were studying in America. One participant responded that almost 100 percent of the students who graduated from her school were applying to universities abroad, and so she did the same thing. Another respondent said:

We were significantly influenced by the popular trend of going abroad at that time. I spent five years at the university, where 30% of my fellow students studied in foreign countries after graduation. You could not think of not going abroad. These students would come back and tell you about all the things abroad that were interesting to you [I11-18]

但是我们很大程度上是被当时的那个风潮 influence 的。尤其是在我们大学呆了 5 年，不可能想不出国，你身边有 30% 的人都在国外，他们有时候跟你说一些事情的时候，你觉得 that sounds interesting. 呵呵 [I11-18]。

Dr. Wei said, “I was young and I had many friends who applied to the universities in the US, UK, and other countries. You know, I just tried to follow my other friends. It was not for any particular reason, but just because everyone else was doing it [I7-3]. Therefore, it was nothing special. I just followed the trend” [I7-4].

Although participants shared their concerns about not having a clear picture of life in America, they knew that there was advanced science, technology, and a strong research environment there. Because of their great curiosity, a desire to pursue their

research, and the influence of the popularity of going abroad, they became a part of the group who came to complete their PhD or postdoctoral training in the United States.

Decided to Apply for a Faculty Position in the United States

During their interviews, participants discussed the factors that influenced their decision in applying for a faculty position in the United States. Among the sixteen participants, fourteen mentioned that they only applied for faculty positions rather than industry positions when they sought a job in the United States. Although the remaining two participants applied for both industry jobs and the academy, the positions they applied for in the industry were all research-related and intellectually satisfying jobs. Some indicated that they had wanted to become a professor in a university since they were young. Others said they decided to work in a university when they were at graduate school. All showed how determined the participants were to choose the academy as their career path. Findings of the results were compiled as follows.

Being highly interested in doing research was one of the most salient factors that influenced the participants to choose the academy as their career. Almost everyone expressed a feeling of being attracted to research, the discovery of new knowledge, and scientific innovation. They like the working atmosphere at a Research Extensive University.

Dr. Cao:

Research is my interest. I think it is very interesting. It can change people's thinking, and promote social change. Besides, doing research is creative...you are happy when you see your theories that you developed be recognized by others [I10-9].

我对研究有兴趣啊。[我觉得做研究]很有意思。能够改变人们的思想，促进整个[社会]的制度。做研究有一种创造性……看到自己的理论被别人认可[很高兴][I10-9]

A few participants pointed out that they like the challenges that research brings to them. “Compared with teaching, doing research is more challenging. You always need to deal with new stuff [I13-28]. 喜欢一些挑战，做研究跟教学比的话，更具有挑战性。因为你总会有一些新的东西 [I13-28].

The influence of Confucianism and respect for science in late 1970s motivated many participants to value education and worship science. In their minds, being a professor in a university meant that you were the best, that you received the highest education possible and worked in a scientific field. One participant, Dr. Chang, said, “my generation was influenced by Confucius and Mencius’s philosophies that only education is the highest honor, and others earn less respect. You can realize this Confucian dream only when you work in the academy [I6-26]. 受到我们国内孔孟思想的影响，‘万般皆下品，唯有读书高’，你只有在学校在能实现这个理想”[I6-26]. Dr. Chang shared more,

In my generation, many people, if not everyone, worshiped super scientists all over the world, famous scientists such as Newton, Einstein, Zhenning Yang and Zhengdao Li. Scientists like Zhenning Yang and Zhengdao Li had a significant impact in China at that time. We thought their lives were meaningful [I6-11]. To us, pursuit of science and spirit could make our lives mean more [I6-33]...and we could make this come true only if we were professors at universities [I6-16]. 这个情况在我们那个年代不是所有人，但是有一部分人都有一种精神……当时我们理想中很崇拜一些人，像爱因斯坦、牛顿、李政道、杨振宁这些大科学家。这些人在中国也有很大的影响。我们觉得他们这一生过得很值 [I6-11]。能够让你生活有意义的就是科学上的、有精神的追求 [I6-33]。你只有在学校里才能实现这个理想 [I6-16] 。

Dr. Zhao expressed a similar feeling of respect for education and science that went beyond him, to his whole generation. He mentioned that people from his generation treated education as the most important of all things. The more one studied, the better he was. Accordingly, receiving a PhD overseas and then becoming a professor was a way to demonstrate how an individual was the best in their field. Therefore, it was natural that he decided to complete his doctoral degree in the United States and work as a faculty member in a university. He said,

Choosing the academy as a career probably was most popular in our generation, the group who went to college during 1977-1979, and particularly those in 1977. They were a special group. You probably can see from history that no one was in a normal mood at that time [laugh]. For example, after Chi Xu wrote an article about Goldbach's conjecture, all Chinese students wanted to become mathematicians. I believe that most people in my generation were subject to this impact and perceived that doing something with science would be the best career choice [I4-13].

这个大概很大部分因为我们那一代，简单讲 77 级吧，78、79 级也有些关系。77 级是一个比较特殊的群体，现在说起来可以说当时大家的情绪也不是很正常。哈哈，徐迟写的一片歌德巴赫猜想，搞得全中国的人都想做数学家，所以从我们当时的情况来说，我相信大部分人都是受大环境的影响，都觉得作科学是最伟大的[I4-13].

Participants were greatly attracted to the academic freedom of American higher education, and that freedom served as another important factor influencing participants to apply for faculty positions at universities in the United States. During the late 1980s and the early 1990s when many participants decided to go abroad, academic freedom was suppressed greatly to some extent in China. When the Tian' an men Square Movement occurred in 1989, the Chinese government blamed the import of Western

social and political theories as the underlying cause. Many issues became “prohibited areas” particularly in social and political sciences disciplines. Academic freedom again was restricted. This condition thereafter also contributed to individuals applying for faculty positions in the United States.

Dr. Clinton said:

The academic freedom [was primary], many freedoms in terms of what you [could] pursue. In industry, you do what the company wants you to do. In academia, however, you do what you want to do; you do what you think is intellectually rewarding and personally fulfilling [I14-8].

Dr. Ma:

Another reason [why I applied for a faculty position in the US] is [that] this is a rewarding job. You have your own freedom. What you do is what you like to do and [you] work for yourself. Thus, you will feel [that] this is a rewarding job. Most jobs in this world are working for other employers...and you have to do all of the things for your boss, day in and day out. [The] majority of jobs are like this. However, a professor’s position is a little bit different. You work for yourself to a great extent, and you have your own flexibility [I15-38].

A flexible working schedule was one of many freedoms found in working for a university that attracted many participants to apply for faculty positions. As Dr. Ma shared, “I value flexibility so much. For instance, if there is an emergency in my family or at my kids’ school, I can spend time with them. Moreover, I also spend a lot of time at church” [I15-43]. Perhaps the freedom of religion was also one of the factors that influenced participants’ career decisions. Two participants (Dr. Clinton and Dr. Ma) indicated how important their religious beliefs played in their life and that they had greatly influenced their perspectives on almost every one of the interview questions. For example, as Dr. Ma emphasized,

Religion has a great impact on my work and life. For me, I know clearly that wherever I go and whatever I do, it is because of God’s guidance. If you let me decide, I would put this reason in front of many other reasons. For example, I

think it is God who asked me to work in the university as a faculty member. This is a major factor [I15-109]. Almost all answers to your questions are related to this [your religion]. Your religious belief is part of your life [I15-111].

信仰对我的工作生活有很大的影响。因为对我自己而言，到哪里，做什么事情，我都非常清楚是神户让我做的。这个是你要是问我，这个原因是在我讲很多其他原因的前面。所以比如说是神让我到学校里来。这是个非常大的原因 [I15-109]。几乎所有的问题都跟这个有关。你的信仰就是 part of your life [I15-111]。

I have had my religious belief since ten years ago [I15-112], when I was already in U.S. [I15-113]. This is actually a great influence. I think all of my attitudes in terms of career, family, position and money, are all influenced by my religious belief...This is a very important reason and a long story... it related to almost all the questions you asked. Perhaps I did not tell you the whole story. For example, I mentioned the reason that I decided to come to the university at Texas was because of my family. Maybe family reason was the second. Why I had such an attitude of family, it was because of my religious belief [I15-113].

我是十多年前开始有了自己的宗教信仰的[I15-112]。是我到了美国以后。其实这是一个很大的一个影响啦。我觉得是神让我到学校里去。对工作啊，对家人的态度啊，对职位，对金钱的态度啊，我想很多都跟我的信仰有关系。有很大很大的关系。看的东西其实是不一样的。不能说是说说而已的。这是自己个人的经历吧。我可以对不同的工作，不同的地方，有时候我清楚是这个原因，有时候不清楚。但也许将来有一天我会明白，原来就是这样。很重要的原因啊。这个讲起来很长。我不知道你的背景。总之这是很重要的原因，related to almost all the questions you asked. 也许我把有些东西省略掉没有讲。比如说家庭的原因，那也许家庭是第二位的，但是为什么我对家庭有这样的看法，也与我的信仰有关[I15-113]。

The fact that participants enjoyed teaching and their interaction with students

was another element of the profession that attracted many participants to work within the academy in the United States. A faculty member's teaching load varies from 30%-50% of the total workload, in terms of different departments and colleges, as can be gathered from the responses to this study. Participants expressed that they enjoyed teaching very much.

Dr. Ma:

There are many factors that influenced me to apply for a faculty position. One of the reasons is that I like teaching. I want to be with students and I want to interact with students. I think this is probably the number one reason [I15-34]. As for me, I love teaching. [I consider teaching] as the best [part] of this job. I like being with students [I15-36].

Participants indicated that what made teaching a rewarding job is that you can influence others through teaching. You can often have the feeling of accomplishment that comes with such influence. Additionally, teaching sometimes is a process of both teaching and learning. As Dr. Ai pointed out, he learns from students continually, as some doctoral students know a lot about particular areas. He said, “I think this job is a very good job. You learn from your students and you get paid at the same time (laugh) [I11-13] 你在学的过程中别人还付你钱，我觉得这个这也还是挺不错的，呵呵” [I11-13].

From the comments above, the researcher felt that participants had confidence in both their teaching ability and teaching strategies. One participant said that students had a positive impression of him and evaluated him highly.

Previous teaching experience in China emerged from all the responses as an important factor influencing participants to choose the academy as their career. Five out of sixteen respondents had teaching experience in China and expressed its significant impact on leading them to pursue a faculty position in the United States. Among the remaining eleven participants, most expressed that they had spent a great deal of time in the university environment but had little industry experience. They felt they were trained

to become professors throughout their education, and they felt comfortable with the working environment in the academy.

Dr. Liu:

I had worked at a university [in China] for six years from 1985-1991 before [I] came to pursue my PhD in the United States. As for me, I have almost spent my whole life teaching in a university. It seemed that there were no other options for me other than being a professor [I3-14].

我在来美国之前就在大学教书，从 85 年一直到 91 年，6 年一直在大学教书。然后到这里来读 PhD，对我来说这就是我已经差不多整个工作都是在大学教书。实际上好像对我来说没有 options，除了在大学教书[I3-14]。

Most participants had teaching experience at a university or college in China.

However, Dr. Zhao had taught at three elementary schools for three and half years, beginning when he was 17 years old. He also believed that his teaching experience was one important reason he later became a professor. Dr. Zhao shared his story, as follows:

I taught in a minority area. You can even find some information about this area on the internet, such as there is only one teacher in each school now. The situation was worse than the current situation when I was there. I was the only teacher for three schools. I taught one week in each school, which had students ranging from six to fourteen. However, even in the school that had the fewest students, I taught three grades. I was a teacher who taught three to four grades at three different schools! I learned how to teach because of that experience. I am quite proud of myself now [laugh]. I started to teach when I was seventeen and I never regretted that choice during that period, even with the poor environment. I did not make mistakes in my teaching and I received respect from my students and from people around me. I miss that time, even now. I feel that the reason I could so easily become a professor was probably related to that teaching experience [I4-20]. It has a great impact on me in every aspect of my life [I4-19]. 因为我是在一个少数民族地区教书。现在网络上还有介绍这些地区的情况，一个学校只有一个老师。我的情况比他们都要差，我是一个老师，一个人教 3 个学校。一个学校教一个星期。每个学校，多的话是 14 各学生，少的学校是 6 个学生，但即使是少的那个学校，我也有三个年级，所以说一个老师上 3 各学校，一个学校上 3-4 个年级。就是那么教出来的。学怎么教学了。现在讲起来我也蛮自豪了，因为我从 17 岁就开始做这个事。做的那几年我并没觉得特别痛苦。那样子环境很差的情况下，你教书也没有

错过，你得到周围人的尊敬，学生对你都很尊敬。即使到现在我都非常怀念那段时间。我的感觉就是自然地走到教授这条路的话，大概跟那段经历也有关系[I4-20]。可以这么说，我这辈子里，那几年我做小学老师，对我整个的影响是相当大的[I4-19]。

Family influence was also a factor that significantly affected the participants' decisions in applying for a position in a university.

Dr. Yang:

I had wanted to be a professor at a university ever since I was very young, because my dad is a university professor and my mom is a top ranked teacher at a primary school [I2-18].

我从小就要当大学老师。我父亲就是大学教授，我母亲是小学特级教师”[I2-18].

Dr. Wu:

I like being a teacher because my parents are teachers. My entire family is made up of teachers, including my sister. You may call us a house full of teachers. Now we have family members teaching at different levels ranging from kindergarten to the university level. This is my family [I12-18]. My parents always tell me that doing science and research is the most ideal and successful type of teaching[laugh]. So my choice was influenced largely by family's tradition [I12-25].

我就喜欢做老师，因为我父母也是老师。我们家都是老师，比如我姐姐啊。我们可以说是教师之家。现在从幼儿园开始，一直到大学都有人教书。我们家就是这个样子[I12-18]。我老爹老娘总是这样说，做科研是很理想化的，写文章，做科研是出人头地的。呵呵。所以受家庭传统影响比较大[I12-25]。

All of the above comments indicate that parental expectations and family values about education played an important role in these Chinese participants' career decision and development.

Having job security was another factor affecting participants who made their career decision to work in the academy. Many reported that working at a university is considered a stable profession with a high social status in the United States. They know

they can secure a job once they receive tenure. In addition, they are confident in their teaching, research and scholarship. Therefore, having job security in the academy is quite an attraction for the participants in this study.

Dr. Pan:

I am comfortable working at this university. You do not need to think about finding money to raise your family. [If you needed to,] that would be terrible. When you have enough money, you can do whatever you want to do, i.e., in your studies or research. If money becomes an issue, such that you need it to maintain your family, then that is something terrible. At least being a faculty member, you do not need to worry about money [I5-20].

Dr. Ai:

It is impossible that you would need to worry that you would have nowhere to live once you become a professor [in the United States]... You do not need to flatter your department head in order to convince him to assign you a two-bedroom apartment [I11-49] .

Opened the Doors of the Research Extensive University in Texas

Participants shared why they applied for and how they actually received faculty positions at the Research Extensive University in Texas. They discussed their experiences regarding how they were able to open the doors of the academy and begin their careers in Texas.

Some participants mentioned that the primary reason they applied to the Research Extensive University in Texas was that it had an opening. They applied for it randomly. Dr. Liu said, “I applied to every open position at that time, about twenty [laugh] [I3-24]. 只要当时 open 的，我就申请了。我记得当时我申请了 20 来个，呵呵。都试”[I3-24]. Dr. Qiu shared her experience, as follows:

I will tell you the truth. At that time, as a Chinese, you did not have other choices. My strategy was to scatter applications everywhere. It is similar to the

strategy that I used to apply for doctoral programs in the United States when I was in China. As long as it had an opening, I did not care whether it was suitable for me, or where the location was, I would apply for it anyways. I knew I needed a job first to have a legal immigrant status after I graduated from school, otherwise, I could not stay in America legally. Therefore, I applied for each university as long as it had a job opening. This was my strategy [I13-24].

我是跟你讲实话了。当时就是做为一个中国人的话，你没有其他的选择，基本上我的 strategy 就是属于天女散花式的，只管播种。就像当年我申请美国读书一样。只要有 position，我不管它适合不适合我，我管 location，因为我知道我要在美国呆下去我需要解决身份问题，我需要有一份工作。如果我毕业以后我没有工作的话，我就不能合法地留在美国了。所以对我来说，不管哪个学校，只要有 position open，我就申请。这就是我用的策略 [I13-24]。

Others suggested that they applied for the Research Extensive University in Texas was because of its well-known programs and national reputation. They had heard many good things about the university from their graduate advisors and friends.

Dr. Zhao:

I knew nothing about this university at that time, but my advisors recommended it to me strongly. They told me that this university recruited many good students. It had many students with the national merit scholarships [I4-24].

我当时自己一点都不知道这学校，我两个导师都跟我说相当好，说这边的学生相当好。说每年招生 National merit scholarship 的学生都排前几名的” [I4-24].

Dr. Ai:

Even without the recommendation of my advisor, I would have applied for this university, as its program in my field at this university is nationally reputable. Ranking played an important role when I was applying for the faculty position. The program at this university was ranked sixth or seventh nationally at that time. I think that no one would ignore this university in my field” [I11-52].

A few participants discussed how important it was to have qualifications and experiences to get a faculty position at this university in Texas. One participant reported that he was the only one offered an assistant professor position at this university out of

200 applicants. Participants demonstrated a high level of confidence in both their research and teaching.

Dr. Wu:

I am always quite confident about my research credentials. I have done research for so many years. When I was in graduate school [in America], I was one of the two students who received a fellowship every year among the 100 or so students in my department [I12-31]. 我一直就对自己 research 比较 confident。因为这么多年了，我在研究生的时候，我们那里最好的学生每年 1-2 个能拿到 fellowship, 我在研究生的时候就拿到过 fellowship. 在我们系里很难的，100 多个学生呢 [I12-31].

Dr. Ma:

I have an advantage in that I am not fresh out of school. I graduated from college 25 years ago, and I taught in China before I came to the United States [I15-62].

From the above comments, this researcher discovered that there was no single factor that influenced participants to apply for the Research Extensive University in Texas. In addition, this researcher identified that it was not easy for many Chinese people to receive offers of full time and tenure-track employment in the United States at the beginning of their careers. Furthermore, trying to receive legal immigrant status through a secure job in America places extra pressure on foreign faculty of color. This could explain why they applied to many universities, wherever they were located. However, participants in this study showed exceptional credentials and qualifications in order to obtain faculty positions at this university in Texas. Many expressed that they are qualified for their jobs and work comfortably with their colleagues.

Perceptions of Barriers in Looking for a Faculty Position in the United States

From the responses, the number of universities the participants applied to for faculty positions ranged between 5 and 70; the number of interviews to which they were invited varied between 3 and 10, and the number of offers they received was between 1 and 3. This analysis of the data shows that the participants experienced a number of rejections when they applied for faculty jobs.

Although all participants mentioned that there was almost no difficulty in applying for and receiving their offer from this Research Extensive University in Texas, they discussed general issues regarding the barriers, difficulties and challenges associated with their job search in the United States. It consisted of two types of barriers and challenges: individual and institutionalized.

Individual barriers

Participants discussed some individual barriers including a lack of sufficient communication skills, challenges in mastering English, lack of undergraduate study experience and professional teaching experience in the U.S., and unfamiliarity with American culture. From the interviews and data analysis of this study, the researcher discovered that all of the participants tended to consider individual barriers as the major factors that challenged or hindered their career success during the job search process. Among the sixteen participants, none actively mentioned institutionalized barriers such as discrimination against the Chinese as the major factors that have impeded them to seek job opportunities. The following presents more details of this finding.

First, although not everyone mentioned language as a major problem as they applied for a job in America, nine out of sixteen participants reported that English proficiency was a major issue. For example:

Dr. Zhao:

Our English was so poor. You could hardly image how poor our English was at that time. We learned Russian in China [and studied English from letter ABC in college]. Additionally, our English teachers studied Russian originally, and had very strong Russian accents. They could not pronounce [English] accurately. We came to America once we graduated from college in China so we did not have good English training while in China. What's more, I lived in New York with many Chinese. I did not have time to speak Chinese [when I was doing my doctoral study]. Our English was just too bad [I4-29]. When we graduated from [university study in] America, speaking English was sort of a confidence issue most of the time. Whether you could speak a sentence either nervously or smoothly [was what concerned us a lot]. We were still at the stage of speaking nervously. [We needed the confidence to open our mouths.] [I4-30]

我们当时英语很差，你都难以想象的差。我们当时是学俄语的，而且教我们英语的老师也是学俄语出身，发音都不准确，我们也不太会。而且我们一毕业就出来了，没有时间在国内训练训练。另外我是在纽约，中国人很多，很少有机会讲英文。英文很差 [I4-29]。我们在毕业的时候，很多时候讲英文是一种自信的问题了，你是否还很紧张地把这句话做好之后讲出来，还是能很自如地讲出来。我们当时还处于在需要很紧张地把这句话做好之后再讲出来的地步 [I4-30]。

Dr. Cao:

The major difficulty is the language problem. Foreigners were disadvantaged when looking for a job. As my department head said [to me when I was searching for jobs], 'if your English was good, you could go to a Top10 university.' There was a great difference [in your opportunities regarding whether you could master English or not]. You had to put much more effort, because you had a different cultural background and you always faced communication problems. They did not want to hire you if there was another [American-born candidate] who had the same credentials [I10-17].

困难最主要的是语言困难。外国人找工作是很吃亏的。像我们系主任说，你如果语言好的话，你可能就到 TOP10 学校去了。这个还是差别比较大的，你必须付出更多的努力。这个是可以理解的，因为你的文化不一样，沟通问题总是存在的，并且别人也担心你的教课。在同等的情况下，他肯定不愿意招你 [I10-17]。

Second, unfamiliarity with American culture was another barrier these Chinese participants encountered while seeking opportunities for gainful employment in America. “A lot of the times, Chinese candidates think they face disadvantages because of their cultural background” [I7-36]. Dr. Liu shared, “campus interviewers are not just talking about your research. They might relate to everything such as football, movies and culture. As a foreigner, it was harder to establish a good conversational environment than for the American candidate” [I3-31]. Dr. Wei also mentioned,

I could talk about my research very well, but outside of my research area, I did not feel like I had much to talk about. Particularly when you went to dinner, you just sat there. They were talking about cultural issues that I was not familiar with. Therefore, a lot of the time I did not feel that I was part of their group and actively involved in their conversation [I7-25].

Third, insufficient communication skills were another limitation that could affect many Chinese faculty in their job search processes in America. Communication skills could mean the ability to get involved in conversations and the ability to present yourself to your audience. This factor often limits Chinese faculty members because they lack a command of English or a degree of familiarity with American culture.

Dr. Wei:

I think, primarily, it was the ability to communicate, because what people wanted to hire was not only a researcher. They also wanted to see your capability to attract people, to interact with people, to do collaborative work with others, and also to interact with students and teach. Other factors such as these affected if you were able to give a good seminar or were unable to communicate with others. Those were barriers I faced when I applied for jobs. I think these issues are also true for first generation Chinese professors [I7-27]. I think that many places where I was interviewed, if they looked at my record, would put me on the top 1 or 2 candidate positions. I think I did pretty well with my research. However, when it came down to the interview, a lot of the time the Chinese

researcher did not have an advantage competing with American researchers. You know that there is a language problem, the ability to present a good seminar and to interact with faculty and students. I do not think I did very well with the language problem. I think that this was probably the problem [just] for me [I7-21].

Dr. Ma:

Another thing, you know, was the ability to get involved in a conversation, which is also important. For example, [when you were] at dinner, people just chatted with you about your family and your research. If you were a bookworm, it was hard to engage in such a kind of conversation. I found that many Chinese candidates did not actively engage in conversation when they were at their interviews. At this point in the process, many Chinese applicants who applied for faculty positions had these types of problems [I15-55].

另外一个方面就是, you know, the ability of getting involving of a conversation is also important. 比如吃饭的时候, 人家就是随便问你家庭啊, 你做的东西啊, 如果是死读书的人, 他很难 engage into such kind of conversation. 这个我发现很多中国人来 interview 的时候, 就在那里冷场。没有 actively engage in the conversation. 你要很自然地融入到谈话中。这点常常很多来申请教授职位的中国 applicants 很多人有这个问题 [I15-55]。

Fourth, some participants mentioned a lack of teaching experience and an undergraduate educational background in the United States as a barrier to applying for employment in the academy in the United States. Although many participants had teaching experience in China, they were still concerned about teaching well, because they did not have much experience teaching in America. This related to their college educational background, as well. Like Dr. Liu reported,

One of the disadvantages we faced was that we did not have our undergraduate education in the United States. We came to the United States directly to study for the PhD. Thus, we were not familiar with many of the aspects of American higher education and the system of teaching in American universities. When you went to campus interviews, you certainly were asked all kinds of questions related to teaching, such as how to develop your students and what your teaching philosophy was. This was a very big disadvantage for us [I3-30].

还有可能不利的因素是我们没有在美国受过本科教育。来了以后就直接读 PhD, 对美国高等教育, 美国学校的系统并不是非常清楚。那么你去

campus interview 他肯定要问你各种关于教学，怎样培养学生、研究生，你对教学的 philosophy 这些问题，这些对我们就很不利 [I3-30]。

In summary, the majority of the participants noted that individual barriers including their challenges in fully mastering the English language, a lack of teaching experience and a U.S. college background, insufficient communication skills and unfamiliarity with American culture had impeded them while seeking faculty opportunities in the United States. In addition, most participants tended to recognize individual barriers rather than institutionalized barriers as the primary impediment. This finding seems consistent with the literature (Leong & Chou 1994) that concludes Asian Americans perceive and experience the least amount of occupational discrimination because they tend to attribute the lack of occupational success to individual lack of ability/effort and not to discrimination. Leong and Chou (1994) emphasized that “Chinese value is blamed for lack of success, with minimal blame on White society” (p156). As a result, Chinese choose to deny and minimize the influences as their own way of handling prejudice and discrimination. This finding also appears to be consistent with the results from an existing study (Wu, 2001) that says Chinese most likely blame themselves first rather than the institution or society, because, in Chinese culture, each individual should take responsibility to determine his/her own destiny.

Institutionalized barriers

Participants also discussed some institutional barriers such as subtle discrimination and unequal treatment in their job search processes. During the

interviews, participants were asked about whether they experienced or perceived any discrimination while seeking faculty positions in the United States. Fourteen out of sixteen participants reported that they did not experience discrimination or racism personally throughout their job searches. These answers are consistent with their answers to the previous question of what barriers they experienced when they applied for faculty positions in the United States; the participants continued to show a tendency to treat individual barriers as the primary factors that impeded their job opportunities.

Dr. Qian:

No, I did not. I think that the major reason was still me. I did not get an offer was not because I am Chinese. I knew a few interview candidates at that time, and sometimes someone who was Chinese got the offer, and other times Americans got the offer [I16-53]

没有，主要还是个人的原因。我没有拿到 offer 并不是我是中国人的原因。那时候很多面试的 candidate 都是我认识的人，有的时候是中国人拿到 offer，有的时候是美国人[I16-53]。

Dr. Wei:

I do not think so. It was probably just my ability to interact with people. That was the disadvantage for me. I did not feel any discrimination. According to my experience, I think the hiring system is very fair in most universities [I7-33].

According to Dr. Wei, American hiring processes in the academy are quite fair.

Universities are places where employers might not tolerate discrimination and racism.

He said,

This is how I look at the academic system in America. I think it is probably the most democratic system, more than anywhere else. For example, whenever you hire people, like in my department, they look at the CV [curriculum vitae] of all the candidates, and then decide on a short list of people to interview, and they invite people to come in. Short listed people come to interact with everybody and then there is a discussion among the entire faculty. Therefore, there is quite a fair process in place [I7-31].

The majority of the participants believed that if they could speak English fluently and fully understand American culture and education, there would not be any difference for them when looking for a faculty position than a candidate of any other nationality. Dr. Han pointed out that the major concern of the recruiters regarding Chinese applicants is their English proficiency. If a Chinese candidate can eliminate this concern, such as by conducting an excellent presentation so that they know the applicant does not have communication problems with English, the hiring process should go smoothly. He said:

I think Chinese or foreigners in the United States are questioned regarding their English communication ability, if you apply for faculty positions, because faculty have to teach. Hiring committees must be concerned about you, because you did not grow up in America and English is your second language. If your English is very bad at the interview, you probably will lose the opportunity for employment [I1-66].

我觉得中国人，甚至说是在美国的外国人吧，他申请教授，教授是教书的，所以大部分都会对你的英语的表述能力怀疑，他一定会怀疑。因为你不是美国长大的，你的英语是 second language，所以如果你去 interview，他如果觉得你的英语很糟糕的话，这点就没戏了 [I1-66]。

From the above comments, it appears that all participants considered individual barriers rather than institutionalized barriers as the major impeded factors for their development while seeking employment within the academy in the United States.

Although fourteen out of sixteen participants stated that discrimination or racism did not happen to them, five of the fourteen participants admitted that they knew of others who had experienced such things.

Dr. Liu:

Yes, it certainly happened to other Chinese faculty. For example, I know some people who looked for faculty jobs for about four or five years. Of course, it was because of many reasons...others could not say it was because you are Chinese.

However, he/she might have had the feeling that it was because he/she is Chinese that he/she had a disadvantage in the job market [I3-47].

对。肯定有。比如说我有认识的，有的找工作找了 4、5 年，当然这个也是综合因素，因为他没有拿到这个工作，别人也不会说因为你是中国人的原因。但他自己有这个感觉，他在 job market 上吃亏，因为是中国人 [I3-47]。

Additionally, one female participant, Dr. Jin, mentioned that there might not be significant discrimination when initially looking for a tenure-track position. However, it can be felt more acutely when pursuing upper level positions. She said,

I know someone, however...if you want to pursue a higher level position such as a chaired professor, you might experience discrimination. I know Princeton had one female professor in 1999, Harvard and [the University of] Chicago had no female faculty, and Berkeley might have only had one or two female faculty members. Therefore, I think you might not feel too much discrimination when you just start out in a tenure track faculty position. However, you probably will feel it when you want to apply for a better position [I8-40].

但是我也认识一些人，你要寻找更高的 position,比如 chaired professor, 就会有 discrimination, 我知道当时 99 年 Princeton had 1 female professor, Harvard and Chicago had no female faculty, Berkeley might have 1-2 female faculty. 所以我觉得你刚进 tenure tracked position, 你不会觉得有太多的 discrimination, 但到很好的 position 的时候，就会有 [I8-40]。

These comments imply that faculty of color, especially female faculty of color, may reach a glass ceiling as they develop in their career to higher academic ranks or senior management levels.

In fact, based upon the researcher's observations, many of the participants seemed reluctant to overly share more detailed information about the institutionalized barriers they faced, regardless of whether they experienced themselves or witnessed others. In addition, even though the participants briefly mentioned a few experiences of discrimination, the participants seemed like they would rather not use the word

“discriminated,” openly and clearly. Their answers were slightly ambiguous, or they preferred to say “subtle discrimination.” One participant said, “it is very rare that someone makes a claim of discrimination statement at the university” [I15-71]. No one would say you were not hired because you were Chinese, but “many universities have a culture of hiring white people, and the majority of faculty members are white at their universities. However, you cannot say they discriminate” [I15-69] against Chinese or other faculty of color. Therefore, it is difficult to make the statement of discrimination overtly.

Throughout the interview, the researcher strongly sensed Dr. Yang and Dr. Qiu had experienced feelings of discrimination. However, again, they hesitated to make statements regarding discrimination overtly, and were reluctant to share in depth. The way in which they expressed themselves was very subtle.

Dr. Yang:

Anyway, this department seems...for example, I gave a talk at that university. You could feel that some people really liked you and others did not. They did not offer me a job, but offered a job to another candidate who had much lower qualifications than mine. However, you could not for sure know why [I2-39]. Perhaps you could only say it was because of my research. You could not say you were discriminated against, because you did not have any direct evidence [I2-38].

反正就是说，这个系里明显的就……，比如我在加拿大的另外一个学校我也给了一个 talk，你跟他们聊的时候，有的人明显地就不想要你，有的人就特别喜欢你，最后它也没给我 offer，最后它招了一个人，比我差多了。你不知道为什么 [I2-39]。也只能这么说吧，还是跟你的 research 有关系，因为你没什么证据啊。你不能说他 discrimination，因为他不请你 [I2-38]。

Dr. Qiu:

I think I received unequal treatment, but it was very subtle. I went to a campus interview, and the entire committee recognized I was the best. But when it went to the department head, she told me they could not make a decision at that time. Then they declined to hire me. The committee members told me about the fact

that they thought I was the best the following year at a conference. One of them even asked if the world treated me unfairly [I13-12]. I did not know why at the time. This [the hiring process] was like a 'black box.' You did not know [why you did not receive job offers] [I13-33].

我觉得我受到了一点可能不是很公平的对待，都是很 subtle 的。其中我到一所学校去的时候，整个 committee 都认为我是最好的，但是到了系主任那里，不知什么原因就说我们现在还不能作这个决定。然后最后不要我。到了第二年我去开我们的专业大会的时候，他们的 committee member 还为我抱不平，其中一个人还问我，这个世界对你是不是公平阿？还特意问到我。还把他们的 committee 觉得我是最好的事情告诉我。因为我去面试的时候并不知道 [I13-12]。我也搞不清楚。这东西就像黑箱操作一样，也不知道 [I13-33]。

Even though they were not sure how major of a role race played when they were seeking a faculty position, some participants reported that they could feel that being Chinese, and particularly Chinese men, had more difficulties securing a job opportunity within the academy in the United States. They thought that if the department was relatively open, Chinese candidates might be more likely to be recruited. Otherwise, Chinese candidates might have more difficulties as compared to their white counterparts.

Dr. Wu shared his perception:

I felt that that if the university could have hired a white candidate, they would have preferred to do it. It is because they are Americans. At least I knew I was not the top candidate when I came to this university. I got it after others refused the offer. [I12-35]

但总是觉得人家能够找到白人，还是要白人拉，就是他们美国人。当时是这种想法。至少我知道我的 Offer 在这个大学不是 top candidate，都是人家不要了 [I12-35]

To summarize, in this study, institutionalized barriers such as occupational discrimination, prejudice, and unequal treatment were reported to be exceptional factors that might have hindered participants' career development, and especially their job

search experience. However, it was surprising that only two out of sixteen interviewees mentioned (briefly) their experiences of subtle discrimination during their job search processes. Although some participants reported that other Chinese candidates they knew experienced discriminatory treatment, the researcher strongly sensed that these Chinese participants seemed hesitant to elaborate in detail, and were not sure if it was appropriate to make overt statements regarding discrimination, as they had little direct evidence. Their feelings were subtle and sensitive. This finding seems to be consistent with the existing study that states Chinese educators are reluctant to touch the issue of discrimination and only little attention is given to institutionalized barriers for their career development experiences (Wu, 2001)

Accepted the Job Offer at the Research Extensive University in Texas

Participants were asked what factors influenced their decisions in accepting the job offer from the Research Extensive University in Texas. The purpose of this question was to identify whether personal reasons or institutional factors played a more important role in their decision-making processes to accept the offer at this Research Extensive University in Texas.

Among the sixteen interviewees, five indicated that the reason they accepted the offer from this Research Extensive University in Texas was because it was the only offer they received. Therefore, they did not have many options to decide where to go if they wanted to stay in America after graduation.

The majority of the participants decided to accept a job offer from this particular university in Texas, even though they had other options. They discussed the factors that influenced their decision making as follows.

The strong research environment and great research potential of the university was the primary attraction for the majority of the participants. For example, Dr. Pan reported that his job search was smooth and he received two offers from two research universities. One was this Research Extensive University in Texas, and the other was Iowa State University. During that time, Iowa State University was ranked about 50th nationally, but this university in Texas was not ranked. In addition, he expressed that he was not happy during the campus interview at the Research Extensive University in Texas.

You know why I was not happy [at the campus interview]? I went to see the department head. When I went to his office, I saw him put his feet up on his table, while he was drinking the coffee. When he saw me, he said, 'let me finish my coffee and I will be with you.' I was really mad at that moment. I never saw such a department head! [I5-69]

你知道我来 interview 的时候我为什么不高兴吗？我去见系主任，我进去了，他办公室，系主任把脚放在桌子上，他在喝咖啡，他说了一句，“let me finish my coffee, and I will be with you”。我当时气坏了。我从来没见过这样的系主任 [I5-69]。

However, he continued his story:

You have to make your decision based on the reality of the university and not on your emotions. I saw the great potential that this university had at that time. You know, all of the faculty members here were very strong. However, this university did not have PhD students, which was unbelievable. That was why it did not have the rank it deserved. Once we had PhD students enrolled, after a few years, our university moved up quickly. We are much better now than Iowa State University [laugh [I5-71].

你必须理智地作决定，不能情感用事。当时我就看到了这个学校很强的 potential，而且系里的老师告诉我那个系主任快下去了，所以我就决定留在这里了。这边当时 faculty 都很厉害，但是它就是没有 Ph.D. student，你说奇怪吧。我一看，为什么没有 rank，他们说主要是没有 Ph.D. student。后来有了这个学校就上来了。现在我们比 Iowa State 强多了 [I5-71]。

A reasonable work environment and colleagues who impressed the participants during the campus interviews together were another factor that influenced their decision in taking the offer from this university. Dr. Qiu mentioned,

Particularly, my department head and my committee members influenced me greatly regarding my decision to come to this university. The department head was very friendly, and treated people fairly. My colleagues were nice too. That was why I decided to take the offer from this university [I13-15].
尤其是系主任和 committee member 对我决定来这个学校起了很大的作用，系主任非常好。待人非常公平，与我共事的同事也非常好。所以我决定到这个学校来[I13-15]。

Family reasons were emphasized by some participants as having a very significant impact on them taking the offer from this university. Dr. Ma was recruited from another university in the United States. He pointed out that “one of the important reasons was my family considerations. I do not mean that people were not friendly at my old university. They were very nice. But for me, moving to this university did not so much benefit me, as it benefited my family. I think that living here will be better for my kids. It lets them live closer to big cities and see more [I15-74] 一个很重要的 family consideration. 我不想让我的孩子在[原来的地方]读下来，倒不是那里不好，哪里人很好。但是不是一个很发达的城市，对我来说来这边没有什么太多好处，对孩子来说离大城市近一点，可以看得多一点”[I15-74]. Dr. Clinton was also

recruited from another university. She emphasized the family reason, saying, “largely, it was for family reasons. My husband had a job offer” [here at this university] [I14-25]. According to Dr. Ma and Dr. Clinton, family-orientate values played a significant role in their decision-making. They could compromise their personal choices for the benefit of their families.

Summary Findings for Research Question One

What factors did Chinese faculty members consider important in influencing their decisions to apply for and accept faculty positions at a Research Extensive University in Texas?

A summary of the data found regarding the first research question is provided below. From the responses to the sixteen interviews performed during the study, five themes emerged.

First, participants discussed the main reasons why they left China and came to complete their PhD or post doctoral training in the United States, after they obtained their bachelor’s or master’s degree in China.

- 1) Dissatisfaction with the overall societal environment such as a relatively slow development, along with restrictive governmental policies and complicated human relations, motivated many participants to leave China and go abroad.
- 2) Undesirable living conditions for teaching professionals in China were another reason that drove people to seek opportunities elsewhere.

- 3) Additionally, a lack of schooling in graduate education and a lack of a strong research environment in China at that time pushed participants to pursue further study and research in the United States, which had advanced technology, science and research.
- 4) Although many participants wished for a better standard of living and opportunity for study, not everyone knew exactly what their lives would be like in the United States. However, the trend of going abroad among their peers and classmates motivated the participants to follow their peers and come to America.

Secondly, participants all demonstrated how determined they were to choose the academy as their career, and reported those factors that influenced their decision to apply for faculty positions in the United States.

- 1) Almost every participant expressed that they were highly interested in doing research, and enjoyed the discovery of new knowledge and innovation. Working in the academy made them fully able to engage in research.
- 2) For some participants, recognizing the importance of education and science in a Confucian culture affected their career decisions.
- 3) For others, American academic freedom as well as the flexible working schedule became the most attractive ingredient in their career decision to work in the academy. Additionally, religious beliefs also had great influence on some participants' career perspectives.

- 4) Quite a few participants reported that they enjoyed teaching and interactions with students, so they chose a faculty position at a university. They felt teaching to be a rewarding job that can influence young people through education. Interactions with students oftentimes generate new ideas and subjects for research.
- 5) Previous teaching experience in China was an important factor that influenced many participants to choose the academy as their career in the United States. Accumulated experience of working at universities allowed participants to be familiar with and comfortable in the environment of institutions of higher education.
- 6) Some participants indicated that parental expectations and family values about education played a significant role in influencing their career decision to become a professor at a university.
- 7) The sense of job security of working in the academy in the United States encouraged participants to consider a faculty position for their career. This reflected ideas articulated earlier regarding one's motivation for leaving China being undesirable living conditions.

Thirdly, participants shared why they applied for and how they actually obtained faculty positions at this Research Extensive University in Texas. Although participants had strong credentials and qualifications for the faculty position, in order to open the doors of the academy, many applied to a number of universities, wherever there were

openings. Additionally, as foreigners, respondents experienced pressure to ensure legal immigrant status by securing a job in the United States.

Fourth, during the interviews, participants identified barriers, difficulties and challenges associated with the job search generally within the academy in the United States. Individual barriers and institutionalized barriers were differentiated from one another.

- 1) The majority of the participants identified some individual barriers as the major occupational barriers that have impeded them in their job search within the academy in the United States. These mainly included challenges in mastery of English, insufficient communication skills, lack of teaching experience and an American undergraduate educational background and unfamiliarity with American culture. Compared with institutionalized barriers, most participants tended to attribute individual barriers as the primary factors that hindered their career opportunities.
- 2) Some participants reported that institutionalized barriers such as occupational discrimination and unequal treatment could have hindered their career opportunities, particularly during their job search processes. However, the researcher could sense that participants were hesitant to share detailed information overtly. Only two out of sixteen interviewees mentioned briefly their experiences of being discriminated against, subtly, during their job search. Although some participants reported that they knew other Chinese faculty members who experienced discriminatory treatment while searching

for a job, they did not want to share more information and elaborate on the stories, because none had direct evidence. Again, the majority of the participants repeatedly showed a tendency to ascribe the factors that impeded their job opportunities to individual barriers.

Fifth, participants also shared factors that influenced them to accept the job offer from the Research Extensive University in Texas. A few participants indicated that it was the only offer they received while seeking a faculty position, so that they did not have alternative options. For those who received more than one offer, a strong research environment and research potential, a reasonable working environment and impressive colleagues, and family reasons were all factors that, combined together, influenced their career decisions.

Research Question Two

What support have Chinese faculty members received in seeking promotion, tenure and recognition within a Research Extensive University in Texas?

The main objective of this question was to understand the levels and kinds of support that Chinese faculty received within the Research Extensive University in Texas when seeking promotion, tenure and recognition. Participants were asked directly what support they had received from the department, college and institution during the process of promotion, tenure and recognition, respectively. Questions related to mentor systems, professional workshops and conferences were also asked by the researcher and discussed by participants. Alongside the third research question, this question was asked in order to

understand the experiences of Chinese faculty members' career development and retention processes, including promotion, tenure and recognition in the United States, and to share these stories with other people of color interested in working in the academy.

Support during the Process of Seeking Tenure at a Research Extensive University in Texas

The majority of the participants reported that they did not encounter many difficulties and received tenure smoothly because they met the qualifications for teaching, research and service. Many indicated that they received tenure and promotion early, though it required higher performance levels. They also discussed the departmental support, including teaching load reduction, research funding/grant approval and freedom, and collegial support.

Departmental Support

The majority of the participants stated that their department provided them, especially the junior faculty, numerous arenas of support to facilitate their professional career development during the process of pursuing the tenure. Dr. Ma said, "I think our university's support system, especially in supporting young faculty, is very good!" [I15-87]

(A)Reducing the Teaching Load

Several participants expressed that they received reduced teaching loads from their department during the first two years. For example, Dr. Ai pointed out that his department had a policy regarding teaching load reduction to assist junior faculty to focus more on research. As he shared:

The expectations from the department for faculty are somewhat reasonable. Our department hopes that junior assistant professors concentrate mostly on their research. Thus, the department will not burden assistant professors with many other things. At least I was not burdened [I11-78]. In every two years, our department normally gives a faculty member a teaching load reduction. Every faculty member receives about the same level of support. However, the specific level of support depends upon the individual's negotiations with the department and their college. I think I received a decent teaching load [I11-77].

Dr. Ai reported that his department head might offer faculty additional teaching load reductions under certain circumstances. He obtained such opportunities twice.

[If you have any special situation, my department] will give you further teaching reductions. Our department head gave me further teaching reductions under two special circumstances. The first time was the year I was in charge of the seminar, which was additional work beyond teaching three courses. The department head reduced my load by one course that year. Indeed, I went to ask for the reduction before he offered me the reduction voluntarily. The second time was after I got tenure. I had quite a few ongoing research programs. He offered me one more teaching reduction voluntarily. I taught two courses in 2007 and 2008, while others taught three courses a year [I11-79].

那么有一个 particular 方面，还会进一步给你 teaching reduction. 如果你有比较好的 Research program. 我们系主任在两个特殊情况下给过我 furthered teaching reduction. 有一年我在管 seminar，本来管这个就是一个 additional work，因为还要教 3 门课。那一年他就说你教 2 门课。他没主动，我去跟他要求的。他同意了。另外一次是我 tenure 之后，因为我这边有比较多的 research program ongoing，这时候他主动给了我一个 one more teaching reduction. 别的大部分 faculty 一年教 3 门课，我 07、08 academic year 我教 2 门课，一学期只有 1 门课[I11-79]。

Dr. Wu mentioned that he also received a teaching load reduction as support from his department. In addition, he saw how his department had offered increased support to junior faculty over the past ten years, since he was hired almost 20 years ago.

Currently, my department treats junior faculty much better than when I came in. Now, junior assistant faculty teach two courses each year for the first two years. It is like one course a semester. I only had such a benefit the first year and I started teaching three courses my second year. Furthermore, junior faculty now receive one and a half month's salary for two summers. We only had one month's salary for the whole summer, which meant we only got 1/3 of our support from the department during the summer. In addition, we had about \$10k of startup funds at that time, but now new faculty enjoy many times our startup funds [I12-71].

跟我们那时候比，现在给 junior faculty 的待遇那是好的不得了。现在我们系差不多是这样，来第一年教 2 门课，一个 semester 教 1 门。两年都是这样。我们那时候只有 1 年是这样，我们那时候第 2 年就要教 3 门课。

Furthermore,他们现在 2 个 summer 都有 1 个半月的工资，我们那时候只有 1 个月的工资。一个 summer 只有 1 个月工资，所以只有 1/3support。现在我们也这样。那时候我们的启动资金很少。大概只有 1 万多点，现在有好几万。好几倍了[I12-71]。

(B)Support for Research both Financially and Physically

Many participants reported that they received support for research such as financial support, space and equipment from the department, college, and institution. The researcher could sense that the university had a great desire to provide support to their faculty's research, as much as possible.

Dr. Qiu:

I got a lot of support from the department. The department meets all of the needs of the faculty for doing their research, including money and equipment. For instance, after I got the tenure track position, I was guaranteed a graduate assistant (GA) for the first two years. This helped me a lot! Of course, you always had startup research funds from the department [I13-82].

很多支持了。首先你做 research，基本上你所要的东西系里面尽量满足。包括钱、物啊。比如像我拿到 Tenured track position 之后，前两年保证一个 graduate assistant, 这个帮助很大。然后你总是有 startup research funds，启

动经费。GA 你随使用，可以当 RA，也可以当 TA。需要的钱如果数量小的话，系里总会提供帮助[I13-82]。

Dr. Liu gave an example to show how much support he received from his institution. He said, “When I was an assistant professor, over 90% of my grant applications were approved by the university” [I3-53]. In addition he stated, “as of today, after being here for 9 years, I have not encountered, not even once, a situation where I could not get the travel grants I needed to attend conferences or perform my research. I do not think many other universities can reach this level of support [I3-54] 如果我需要参加会议，需要钱的时候，travel grant…到现在为止，我在这里呆了 9 年了，还没有一次我要去参加会议，或者作 research 不能去是因为钱的问题。能达到这个程度，我觉得很多学校都不能做到这一点”[I3-54].

In terms of the research space and facilities, Dr. Ouyang asserted her department was supportive to her. She “increased the number of research labs from two to four within two years. In addition, all equipment was purchased by the department [I9-79]”. She felt that her department loved to invest in you as long as you worked well.

(C)Freedom

Quite a few participants considered the freedom to do research and teaching on their own to be great support from the department.

Dr. Liu:

I think the best thing my department has done is give me the freedom to do my work. You do what you think you should do, including with teaching...No one wants to review your syllabus to see if it meets the requirements of the department, just because you are an assistant professor. No one would interfere

with your teaching, as it is all your business and depends on you. However, if you need some help, others are willing to help you [I3-73].

我觉得我们系里有个最大的好处，就是给你 freedom.你自己觉得应该怎么做，觉得有用你就去，包括你的 teaching 也是一样的。.....没有任何人因为你是 assistant professor，我就一定要看看你的 syllabus 是不是符合我们的要求等。没有人来干涉你的 Teaching, 完全是你自己的事情。你自己做决定。但是如果你需要帮助的时候，别人也很愿意帮助你[I3-73]。

As Dr. Ai indicated, “sometimes the department not doing anything is a kind of support, because if they do something such as asking you to teach more courses or serving on more committees, that could actually impede your progresses” [I11-84].

Although many participants reported that they received support, quite a few others claimed that they did not think they had received much support from the department when seeking tenure. “By the time you try to get into the academic environment, you should know what your responsibilities are such as researching, teaching, writing papers, getting grants and recruiting graduate students. You know what you should do” [I7-43]. From this point of view, participants actually needed no restrictions and freedom from the department to concentrate on their work.

Participants expressed how important personal efforts were when they developed the career. They indicated that people should have a clear sense of their direction, goals, personal strengths and weaknesses, and then work hard toward their goals. They believed in the Chinese saying of “no pains, no gains.” In other words, they believe success depends on how much personal effort is put into the process. This strong personal belief aligns with one of the findings of the first research question. Participants

considered personal barriers to be the major factors that could impede their career development.

Collegial Support

In addition to receiving support from the department, college and institution, participants also reported they received support from their colleagues both inside and outside their department, in their field, while seeking tenure. This support included receiving advice from their colleagues and peers regarding their manuscripts or tenure dossier preparations.

Dr. Liu:

When I was an assistant professor, many of my colleagues read my book manuscripts. Some read one chapter. There was one colleague who read my entire manuscript. They gave me all kinds of help, suggestions and advice [I3-50].

在做 assistant professor 的时候, 比如我的书 manuscript 准备好了以后, 好多我的同事都读过, 比如说读过一个 chapter, 甚至有一个教授都读了整个的 manuscript。给你各种帮助, 给你提意见[I3-50]。

Dr. Wu:

Tenure review also includes peer review, which means you have recommendation letters written by your peers. My recommendation letters were all very positive and well written. I had many recommendation letters at that time... about seven or eight letters...all were very strong. Because I was promoted early by about two or three years, I had to be very strong [as a candidate]. I was approved unanimously by the department. You had to be like that; otherwise, it would be very hard to receive early promotion [I12-58].

评 tenure 主要还有 peer review, 就是你的同行给你写推荐信, 我的推荐信都很 positive, 写的很好。当时我推荐信特别多, 有 7、8 封, 都很强。因为我是 2、3 年的 early promote, 你必须要特别强才行。系里也是全票通过。我两次 promotion 都是全票通过, 必须得全票, 否则 early promote 很难的[I12-58]。

Dr. Chang:

Very supportive! My department head was very supportive. He even helped me revise my dossier [I6-65].

系里非常支持。系主任比较 support，帮我改材料[I6-65]。

In summary, participants in this study reported that they received various types of support including departmental support and colleague/peer support in seeking tenure. Participants went to great lengths to emphasize the departmental support they received when pursuing tenure. Based upon the responses, departmental support seems to include providing teaching load reductions, research funds/grants/space/equipment, and the freedom to manage work and time on their own. The responses revealed that departments appeared to play a significant part in helping Chinese faculty receive tenure. Furthermore, participants described the support they received from their colleagues and peers inside and outside of their department during the process of seeking tenure, such as reviewing dossiers and providing positive and supportive documents and advice.

Support during the Process of Seeking Promotion at a Research Extensive University in Texas

At this Research Extensive University in Texas, receiving a promotion from assistant professor to associate professor means one has obtained tenure. From the observations of the researcher, the majority of the participants considered pursuing a tenure promotion to be the primary and one of the hardest promotions of their career. Therefore, when they were asked what kind of support they received when seeking promotion at this university, many participants mentioned the support they received

during the tenure process. Among sixteen participants, only two participants were not yet tenured at the time of the interview. Fourteen of the remaining interviewees had been promoted to either associate professor or full professor at this university in Texas. Quite a few participants received tenure from one to three years earlier than the usual career path. As a result, the promotion-related support the majority of the participants discussed here was mainly associated with the tenure processes, and particularly how they received tenure early.

Many participants strongly believed that they had received significant support from their department, college and institution when seeking promotion, as they were promoted to a tenured faculty position up to three years earlier than was standard procedure.

Dr. Jin:

Of course, I got [a lot of support from the university]. They wanted to promote me...not that I asked them to give me a promotion [laugh]. You probably can see that I have been promoted very quickly. All of these promotions were beyond my expectations. So maybe my case is not typical for you. Everyone kept asking me, how could I have two babies and get tenure at the same time [laugh]? [I8-55] People always say to me, 'You have only graduated seven years ago, but you are already a full professor...after coming here just five years ago!' I was surprised too [laugh] [I8-60].

有阿。他们要 Promote 我，不是我自己要的。呵呵。[笑]你可能看到我，我 promote 非常的快，这些都不是我预料的，可能我的 case is not typical。每个人都说你拿 tenure 的时候你怎么还生 2 孩子啊。呵呵[I8-55]。别人都说，你大学毕业 7 年，来这 5 年你就 full professor 了。我也觉得很 surprised，呵呵 [I8-60]。

In the meantime, some participants emphasized that it was difficult to get early promotion at this Extensive Research University in Texas. On the one hand, the academic requirements at the university are very strict. On the other hand, the relatively

conservative culture inhibited awarding early promotion. However, such roadblocks could demonstrate how much support many of the participants received, since many received early promotion.

Dr. Wu:

My colleagues supported me so much, as did my department head, particularly at the promotion level. I got tenured in 1993 after three years of working here. It was very hard. I was promoted earlier than is usual, by a couple of years [I12-53].

主要是我的 colleague 对我很 support, 我当时的系主任对我也很 support, 特别是在 promotion 上面。我来这里 3 年就拿到 tenure 了, 93 年。这是非常难的, 跳了好几年, 提早了好几年[I12-53]。

Dr. Cao expressed feelings similar to those of Dr. Wu, that it was difficult and rare to receive early promotion from this university. He believed he must have received significant support because he received early promotion twice on his career path from an assistant professor to a full professor.

From the responses to the interviews, this researcher sensed that most of these Chinese faculty members were very talented at research, teaching and scholarship. They are a valuable asset to the university. This could explain why they received tenure early or were promoted to full professor ahead of schedule. It was also demonstrated that the tenure/promotion processes seemed to be a fair system as an academic work environment, as long as you had strong credentials.

Support Received in Seeking Recognition at a Research Extensive University in Texas

When respondents were asked what support they received within the university when seeking recognition, the majority of the participants reported that generally they were recognized at work and treated fairly by their colleagues, the department and the university. Staff and students respected them, as well. The majority of the participants in this study were satisfied with the recognition they obtained.

Participants discussed that recognition might be presented in different formats. It could come in the form of awards such as teaching and research awards, or an increase in the salary rate, or the offer of more sabbatical leave. Some participants felt recognition by receiving an email from a student they had taught or from having a conversation with a former student at an alumni party. The researcher discovered that participants had different definitions of recognition. As Dr. Wei claimed, “recognition is very hard to define. If you are going to try to be recognized, you have to have some achievements. [However], oftentimes it is very difficult to define those accomplishments” [I7-56]. Therefore, one experience that was treated as recognition by one participant might not be considered recognition by another. Participants determined what recognition they received in terms of their own definitions.

Receiving awards or honored titles were mentioned frequently by participants as recognition of their contribution to teaching or research at this university.

Dr. Wu:

The happiest experience of my life here was when I received two teaching awards. One was at the college level, which I received in 1997. The other was at the university level, which I received three years ago. It is the biggest plaque on

my wall [I12-50]. It is very difficult to receive a teaching award at the university level. Each college submits two nominees to the university and the university selects about ten to eleven final recipients each year. This was the happiest thing for me...I also got a gold watch on which my name was engraved... I often wear it and show people around me [laugh]. This was my proudest moment at this university because it was a recognition of my contribution. It was a hard award to receive, particularly for foreign faculty. I guess I am probably the first one who got it among the Chinese faculty [I12-51].

最愉快的经历就是我的两个 Teaching awards, 一个是 college level 的, 是 97 年拿到的, 一个是前年拿到的, University level 的, 那个墙上的那个大的 [I12-50]。University level 很难的。每个 college 选送 2 个去 university level, 然后全校再选拔大概 10-11 个。我觉得这个是我最高兴的事情。呵呵。……而且加一个 gold watch. 刻了我的名字……我应该经常戴戴, 给大家看看, 呵呵。这个是我的最大的 Pride, 在 [这个学校], 对我的 contribution [的认可]。因为这个确实是很难拿, 外国老师都很少拿到的。我觉得我在中国人里大概是第一个 [I12-51]。

Dr. Zhao:

I am always recognized for my teaching. Our department votes for one faculty member as the best teacher each year. I perhaps have received this award four times in five years... I am always happy about the students' evaluations regarding faculty teaching. They [the students] like you so much! [Big laugh] I wonder if I do have real skill there [in teaching]. I really appreciate my students. They like me so much! [I4-71]

在 teaching 上我一直都被 recognize, 我们系里每年都学生投票投一个 best teaching, 我大概有五年的时间中有 4 年都提的是我...所以每年 Teaching evaluation 回来都很高兴, 他们就是那么喜欢你! 哈哈! 我想我是不是能力就在那里。我觉得我满感激这些学生的, 他们能够这么喜欢我 [I4-71]。

Dr. Yang:

Of course, [I receive recognition]. For example, the department head went to the college and applied to the Chaired Professor for me personally [I2-87]. 那当然了。比如这个 Chair Professor 都是系主任亲自到院里的 committee 去申请, 披下来的 [I2-87]。

Time was considered to be one type of recognition participants could receive – more flexible time to concentrate on their research and career development. Dr. Liu was grateful that he had received much support and recognition from his department. After

obtaining national grants, his department offered Dr. Liu more time on sabbatical leave. “In fact, I received the most time off in my department. I was allowed three years to work as a fellow at a national center in my field since 2003.” Dr. Liu said, “My colleagues always tease me and ask me if I can still find my office.” “Where is your office, Dr. Liu? [big laugh] 大约从 03 年以来我有 3 年都在 National xx Center 做 Fellow, 整个 3 年, 你看, 这可能我是我们系上 off 得到最多的。所以我们系上同事跟我开玩笑, 说你还能不能找到你的办公室, Where is your office? (哈哈大笑)”

Dr. Ma mentioned he had not received any big awards or promotions. However, things such as an email from students sometimes can go a long way with him. Teaching is very important to him. “A very short message from my students warms my heart, as it shows that they recognize what I am doing. It happens to me a lot” [I15-80].

From the discussion of the interviewees, the researcher understood that each individual has their own definition of and format for recognition. With regards to recognition, participants felt that the university encouraged and supported their work, and as a result they desired to continue their careers at this university. As Dr. Wu said,

This is work that goes to employee retention. I think I have been recognized at this university and it treats me well. This is the reason why I did not leave, even though I have had a couple of offers over the course of working at this university [I12-60].

这是 retention, 我觉得对我挺不错的。给我很多好的 treatment。这就是后来我没有走的原因, 后来我有好几个 offer, 但我都没有走[I12-60].

However, not every participant was satisfied with the recognition received from the college or the institution, though the majority of the participants seemed to be happy

with it. Importantly, three out of four female participants expressed that they did not feel recognized regarding their work at the college and university level.

Dr. Clinton:

I am rather recognized more from the outside of this university than within it. If you want to become an expert, it comes from outside [I14-33]. My work has recognized by colleagues outside of this university. It is gratified [I14-29].

When the researcher pressured her to explain further, she answered, “let us just leave it with that.” The researcher could sense strongly that she must be not very content with the recognition she received from her department, college and university, but she was reluctant to share more.

Although two female participants expressed that their department had recognized their work, they did not feel the same recognition at the college level. One participant used the phrase “marginal man” to describe her feelings of working at this university, though she had been in her position for more than ten years.

Dr. Qiu:

I have been here at this college for eleven years, but I really do not know many people [I13-90]. I do not think our college has recognized my work. They have not. Maybe it is because of my personality. I am not an aggressive person [I13-87]. Another reason is [that my child is little.] I had to commute between here and another city [which was three hours away. I commuted for three years]. I often tell my husband that I am a ‘marginal man.’ In other words, I could not attend events here at the school because I had to take care of my child. When I was in another city [where my husband worked], I did not know people either because I did not work there. Therefore, I had to live in such a situation [commuting between two cities, not able to socialize with people at either place, and thus becoming a marginal man] [I13-91].

我真的不认识几个人，虽然我在这呆了 11 年了。但是我真的不认识几个人 [I13-90]。但是 college level 我不认为他们 recognize my work 了。没有看中。这可能跟我个性有关，我不是很 aggressive 的人 [I13-87]。再有一个，因为我确实小孩太小，可能因为我 commute，从一开始我就 commute between A...and B...，我等于是，我经常跟我先生说，我是一个“边缘人”。就是说因为要照顾家庭，这里的活动我没办法参加，你得赶回 B

city 带小孩。到了 B city, 那里也不认识什么人, 因为我不在那里工作。所以我几乎就是这样的状况 [I13-91]。

In addition, a few participants reported some administration issues with the university, with respect to such things as increasing their pay rate, reallocating resources, etc.

Dr. Cao:

I fought for my salary with the department head at the beginning and my salary was increased a lot [I10-46]. At that time, the department head decided your salary [I10-43]. Some department heads were fair, but others had biases [I10-46]. Many southern universities in the United States are not democratic but hierarchical. Our university is a typical hierarchical institution [I10-47]. 第一次我去争过, 涨了不少 [I10-46]。但是工资是系主任一个人决定的, 还是不一样的 [I10-43]。这个东西得得到系主任的支持, 有的系主任比较公正, 有的就比较 bias [I10-46]。美国是两种教育体制, 一种是比较民主的, 一种是比较独裁的。我们学校是典型地比较独裁的, 多 hierarchy。南方学校比较多这点 [I10-47]。

Although some participants expressed that they were not recognized at the college and institutional level, they did not blame the university, but rather put up with the ill treatment and made personal compromises. They said they were satisfied because they received recognition from outside the university, from the nation or the world. Furthermore, they emphasized that they were not aggressive people and did not care about the politics of the university.

Dr. Chang:

My salary is in the middle level, I guess. Chinese are relatively modest [I6-68].

Dr Ouyang (female):

I feel okay, as I have recognition nationally. For example, I got a national new investigator award in 2006. So, I think I am recognized from the outside [I9-81].

Dr. Qiu (female):

I do not think my work has been recognized at the college level. I guess it probably is because of my personality. I am not an aggressive person [I13-87].

From these comments, the researcher understood that these Chinese faculty members tended to find reasons for their lack of recognition in themselves first, rather than criticize others. They were likely to believe that personal efforts played an important role in developing their career or achieving certain goals. In addition, these Chinese participants were likely to be both humble and modest. They seemed able to put up with many things and compromised often at work, even though they encountered both dissatisfaction and unhappiness.

Mentor System's Importance to the Participants through the Process of Promotion, Tenure and Recognition

From the responses of the sixteen interviewees, this researcher felt that the majority of the participants did not consider the mentor system as offering major support to them during the process of receiving a promotion, tenure and recognition. In fact, before the researcher asked directly about the mentor system, only one participant reported that his department had a mentor system to support faculty career development. All participants were asked what kind of support they received, and were free to mention the mentor system, but did not. The researcher found it essential to explore how important the role of the mentor system was for these Chinese faculty members throughout their career, because the literature cited that mentoring plays an important role and has a crucial level of influence on the academic career of women and faculty of

color (Turner, 2002; Stanley, 2006a). Does this assertion of the literature not apply to Chinese faculty members?

The researcher, therefore, asked the participants directly whether their department had a mentoring system. Among the sixteen participants, three of them indicated there was no mentoring system in their department when they were hired, which was around the late 1980s and early 1990s. Though all stated there was now a mentoring system in place. Dr. Wu said, “We have had such a kind of [mentoring] system for the past five years. We started to set up the mentoring system for younger faculty. I am now a senior faculty member. I think it is good [I12-65] 现在我们比较有这样一个 system, 在过去的 5years, 我们开始对年轻人有 mentor system, 我现在也是 senior faculty 了。我觉得挺好的”[I12-65]. Six participants did not report whether there was a mentoring system in their department. Seven out of sixteen participants reported that they had a mentoring system in their department when they went through the tenure processes, but five said it was informal. As Dr. Liu shared,

When I was an assistant professor, we had a reading group that met once every few weeks. If anyone had a new paper draft, we read it and gave suggestions to each other. I did not attend the meetings after being promoted to an associate professor because normally this reading group was composed of assistant professors. It was organized voluntarily and informally [I3-70]
 还有我们当 assistant professor 的时候, 我们自己有个 reading group, reading group 大概几个星期聚一次, 你有什么新的 paper draft, 大家互相看, 看了以后互相提意见。后来我提了 Associate professor 后就没有参加了阿。这个 group 的人一般都是 assistant professor 在一起。自愿组织起来的, 非正式的[I3-70]。

Participants were also asked whether they had received some guidance from their mentors throughout the processes of seeking promotion, tenure and recognition. Eight

out of the sixteen participants reported that they did not receive much guidance from their mentors. Even though six participants indicated they had gained help from their mentors, they emphasized that “mentors could help, but the help is not very substantial. Things might not be very different without mentors [I11-98] mentor 对我有帮助，但并不是很 substantial. 我觉得如果没有 mentor 的话，almost nothing is different” [I11-98]. From these observations, the researcher discovered that it was not because the mentors did not want to provide help, but because these Chinese faculty members oftentimes tended not to need much help from their mentors in the department. The primary reason, according to the responses, was that most of these Chinese faculty members had a clear career goal in gaining tenure, and they were confident about their personal qualifications. Some opinions that illustrate this are as follows:

Dr. Qiu:

I know it very well. Like any other Chinese faculty member, I have a clear sense of what I need to do and what I have to do to receive tenure. I have no doubt about it. You should know those tenure requirements when you are hired at the university. You should know them very clearly. I did my homework before I was hired [I13-96]

这个我清楚，跟其他中国教授一样，我非常清楚 have clear sense what I need to do and what I have to do to make tenure. 这个我一点也不含糊。大学你在被雇用 hire 之前就要清楚 tenure requirements from the university, the college, and the department. 都要很清楚。雇用之前我就做了 Homework [I13-96]。

Dr. Ai:

Personally, I feel that the faculty job is good for international people, like us, because its job options are open. It is open under what circumstances you can get tenure. I do not think you need any particular guidance [from mentors][I11-96].

我 personally 觉得 faculty job 对于 international people, like us, 比较好的 job option 就是它比较 open, 到底什么情况下你能拿 tenure, 都很 open. 我不觉得 particular 你需要什么指导 [I11-96]。

Dr. Wei:

I do not think professors need mentors; otherwise, this person would not get their position [I7-44]. I do not think the mentor system is a good system anyway. If we have a mentoring system and you assign me a mentor, he might not be my style. Many times, you just interact with people with whom you are interested. If you are assigned a mentor with whom you are not interested, this is a restriction for you. If people hesitate about something, they must ask someone else. You do not need a mentor to tell you who you should ask questions [I7-49].

In addition, some participants indicated that they sought help from their professional community outside of their department, although they did not receive much guidance from mentors inside their department. Dr. Clinton was one such person. She said, “My mentor actually is not from here. I have an external mentor. I had some very good mentors in my PhD program and in my last academic institution where I worked. Moreover, I have colleagues and mentors in the northeast. I work with people from all over the country” [I14-34].

Professional Training and Conferences to Develop Faculty’s Teaching and Research Competences

When participants were asked whether they had received any professional training and/or conference experience to develop their teaching and research competencies at this Research Extensive University in Texas, almost all mentioned that those were provided at the university level. Their department oftentimes passed the information on to faculty members and it depended on the faculty themselves whether they attended or not. Therefore, it was voluntary for participants to go to the conferences or training seminars. The next question was whether these participants were willing to attend these training seminars or conferences. From the responses of the sixteen

interviewees, only two reported that teaching seminars and research workshops were meaningful to them and they learned a lot from their attendance.

Dr. Ouyang:

Yes. There are many seminars at the college and the university. You may go just to attend. I did not attend every one. However, I chose the ones that I am interested in and participate occasionally...I think [the professional training and seminars] are interesting [laugh]. The Teaching [Enhancement] Center hosted those [I9-86].

有阿。学院，大学都有很多的 seminar，你去听就好了。我不是每一个都去。我会选择比较有趣的，偶尔去。我觉得不错。很有意思。呵呵。学校 teaching center 办的 [I9-86]。

Dr. Ma told the researcher that he went to several workshops provided by the university and he enjoyed them very much. Even though he has many years of teaching experience at the university level, both from China and in the United States, he is still willing to attend training and considers these seminars helpful for his career development. As he shared,

Having teaching experience does not mean you are good at teaching. You could have bad experiences. Someone may not teach well after being a teacher for their whole life. Such examples happen a lot. You can always learn something. Some people are truly exceptional in that they have very good methodology, personal experiences and feelings. They refine them [and share these with you at the workshop or seminar]. You do learn from them [I15-88].

Teaching 有 experience 不等于 you are good at teaching. You could have bad experiences. 有人教了一辈子书还是没有教好。这个有的是阿。You always learn something. 这些人有些人 truly exceptional. 他们就是有很好的 methodology, 由他们自己的经验、体会，他们把它提炼出来了。You do learn from them [I15-88].

However, the majority of the participants reported that the trainings and workshops provided by the university were not helpful for their career development and they thought they did not need the trainings. They believed people should have certain teaching and research capabilities before looking for an academic job. If one needed to

develop them after having a job, it might be too late and the candidate might not be offered a job in the first place.

Dr. Wei:

Not for me. I do not think you need those trainings and workshops. When you go through your doctoral study, you have to take many courses and you know who is good or bad and who your favorite teacher is. You learn different teaching styles. Therefore, I do not go to any of the workshops on developing teaching here. I try to develop my own styles based on my own experience [I7-63]. Research, you know, once you go through your graduate study, you have your doctoral program advisor, you have your post doctoral advisor and you interact with the community. You develop many thoughts on how to figure out problems and solve them. If you do not have those elements, it will be difficult for you to be successful [in the academy]. Therefore, when you receive the [faculty] position, you have got to be ready [I7-64].

Participants reported that they had attended a few workshops at this university, but most provided little help to them, particularly with those topics related to research. They felt that the best learning would more come from practice. As Dr. Han mentioned,

I went to a symposium on how to teach. I think it was complete nonsense! Why would you need to learn that? You know how to teach in your mind. I think it is no help to attend methodology workshops. I went there once. I did not believe any of it. Maybe I am a little bit radical. I believe you should feel how to [teach], how to make your students like you. It does not help if you just learn from books [I1-145].

我好像去参加过一个 symposium about how to teach, 我觉得简直是鬼扯, 你学那个东西有什么用, 怎么教书你自己心里应该有用。你去学什么方法, 我觉得一点用也没有, 我去过一次, 我根本就不相信那种东西。可能我这个也是有点偏激, 我相信这种东西你要自己凭着自己的感觉, 怎么样让学生喜欢你, 你学那些书面上的东西没有用 [I1-145]。

Most participants considered practice to be more important to their teaching and research development. In addition, they all had strong research and teaching skills before coming to this university. They were self-motivated and knew how and what they should do regarding teaching and research once they became a faculty member. Some participants

had received teaching excellence awards or research awards without taking any teaching or research workshops. Thus, for the majority of the participants in this study, training on teaching or research seemed not to play an important role in their career development. They had a clear picture of what to do and they did well in pursuing tenure and promotion within the academy at this Research Extensive University in Texas. It appears that these results do not fit with the literature addressed early in Chapter III, which stated that mentoring had a crucial influence on the academic career of faculty of color. Chinese faculty tended to achieve career success without substantial help from their mentors, according to evidence unearthed by this study.

Additional Findings

When participants were asked what support they received from the university while seeking tenure, promotion and recognition, one additional finding was brought to this researcher's attention. It was the issue related to a "dual-career academic couple," which means two partners in the family both working in the academy.

Three participants out of sixteen reported that they are a part of dual career couples at this university. They claimed that one of the important reasons they decided to come to or retain their position at this university was because their partner also took a faculty position here. On the one hand, they mentioned that they received some help from their department, facilitating their partner receiving an interview opportunity and then an offer. On the other hand, two participants pointed out that this university did not

have a satisfactory institutionalized system to help dual career couples, as compared with other universities.

For example, Dr. Ai thought his department made some effort to help his wife get an offer from this university, though the department did not do much. He said “...when my wife was looking for a job, my department head called her department, which I thought was helpful...I thought they interviewed my wife, in part because of the phone call that my department head made [I11-85]...我爱人在找工作的时候，我们系主任当时还是给 XX Department 打了电话，我觉得那个还是有帮助了...他们能够 interview my wife 跟我系主任打电话还是有关系的”[I11-85]. Dr. Ai continued, “if my wife was not here but got a job at a university close to me, I most likely would still stay here. However, if she was working far away from me, I probably would not retain my position at this university. Therefore, not having my wife here would have been a distraction for me without the initial help from my department head [I11-86] 因为如果我爱人如果不在这的话，她要在 xx university [the one is very closed to his] 我多半还会留在这，如果在一个离这里很远的地方，我可能就没法呆在这里了。如果没有这种 help 可能是个 distraction”[I11-86].

However, Dr. Ai declared that this Research Extensive University in Texas is a relatively conservative institution that does not have a particularly helpful policy for assisting in recruiting dual career couples. Here is what he said during the interview:

From another perspective, our university is a relatively conservative institution. It does not have an institutionalized system to help the dual career couple, [or the] two-body partners. I know some universities that have a systematic policy and they know how to deal with issues under these circumstances...very clearly. In

addition, they highly recognize the issues faced by dual career couples. I think Texas is sort of in the south [where it is more conservative]. They probably are only beginning to understand these issues. But they have not had any systematic policies yet [I11-87]

但是从另外一个方面说, A&M 是个相对保守的学校, help dual-career, two body partner 没有一个 institutionalized, 没有一个很系统的制度。我知道有些学校有很系统的制度, 在这种情况下应该怎么做, 很 clear。而且他们很 highly recognized dual career issue. 德州因为相对比较南方, 可能他们刚刚 recognize this issue. 但是还没有贰别系统得体制[I11-87].

Our university has a program that created a temporary visiting position for two years. During these two years, the provost office provides 1/3 of the compensation, the department provides 1/3 and the college provides the rest of the compensation. That is it. We do not know what happens after the first two years. This did not happen to me, but I have a friend whose wife is working here. Her husband took a visiting position but did not resolve his job issue after two years. Now the wife is still working here, but her husband is working in California. I know some universities have solutions for this issue. Particularly those institutions that are located at college towns [like us] should realize that the dual career couple is a disadvantage, and that they need a systematic solution for this issue [I11-88].

这里有一些 program, 比如 provost office 可能会提供 1/3 的工资, department 提供 1/3 工资, college 提供 1/3 工资。Create 一个 visiting temporary position for 2 years. That is it. 至于之后怎么样就不知道了。这事没发生在我身上, 但是我有朋友 wife 在这边工作, husband takes a visiting position, 但 2 年后仍然没有解决他的工作, 现在 wife 还在这边工作, husband 在加州工作。我知道其他一些大学, 尤其是在 college town, 他们知道 dual career 是个 disadvantage, 他们就需要有一个比较系统的解决办法 [I11-88].

Dr. Clinton also had the feeling that the university lacks a real program to support dual-career couples at the university level. She reported,

I think this university has an office [to help dual career couples], but that office did not really help us. It is my own school [that I am working at helped me]. My school really made a clear effort to recruit both of us and to make sure that my husband is also reasonably happy here [I14-53].

Not every participant in this study encountered the two-body problem while looking for jobs in the academy, but it seems that dual-career academic couples face additional challenges in the job search process. They need to consider whether, when and how to reveal to prospective employers that their spouse is also looking for a job. Moreover, they need to decide whether and for how long they and their spouse are willing to live apart for the sake of one or both of their careers. They also need to consider whether their spouse should make the decision to come to the same university so that they can both have a successful and smooth career development and family. It is quite apparent that dual-career academic couples suffer decreased job mobility and lesser benefits in terms of opportunities, salary and working conditions that mobility can bring. From the responses of the interviews, this researcher could sense that responsiveness to dual-career issues is perhaps one of the greatest challenges faced by many universities and colleges, particularly by those in a college town where opportunities and options are limited. People on hiring committees of universities and colleges should pay more attention and establish systematic policies to support and recruit dual-career academic couples, as this is a problem closely associated with retaining highly qualified academic faculty members, especially women faculty, in large numbers.

Research on issues of dual-career academic couples and constructive recruiting and retention policies are not the focus of this study, but are highly recommended for further study.

Summary Findings for Research Question Two

What support have Chinese faculty members received in seeking promotion, tenure and recognition within a Research Extensive University in Texas?

Through the responses of the interviewees, the researcher sought to identify what support was provided to Chinese faculty members in this study while they were seeking promotion, tenure and recognition at the Research Extensive University in Texas. A summary of the findings from the second research question are provided as follows.

(1) Support received in seeking tenure at this university:

Participants discussed what levels and kinds of support they received in seeking tenure at this university. This support mainly included support from the department, college and institution, and support from their colleagues and peers inside and outside of the department.

Based upon the responses, departmental support seems to take the form of (a) offering faculty teaching load reductions, (b) supporting research financially and physically by research funds/grants, and research facilities/spaces, and (c) providing the freedom for faculty to manage their work and free time. The department appeared to play a very important role in helping faculty pursue tenure. In addition, participants also expressed that they received support from their college and institution, along with support from their department.

Collegial support mainly meant that participants received advice from their colleagues/peers inside and outside of the department, such as reviewing tenure dossiers and manuscripts.

It was noteworthy that quite a few participants emphasized that they did not think they had to receive much support from the department, college or institution in order to seek tenure. They indicated that everyone should have a clear idea of how to get tenure once they take a job at a university. More importantly, their efforts should be focused on working hard towards their goal. This indicated again that participants strongly believed that their occupational success was primarily based on their individual efforts, determination and qualification. Accordingly, it is not surprising that they tended to look into themselves first rather than criticize other factors such as institutional discrimination or unequal policies as their career impedances. These findings are similar to those in Wu's (2001) study about Chinese educators' career development in Canada. In addition, this strong personal belief may reflect the researcher's findings from the responses to the first research question that participants tended to perceive personal barriers as the primary obstacle impeding their career opportunities and development. Here, they continually showed their belief in the importance of personal efforts when achieving their career goals.

(2) Support received in seeking promotion at this university:

Participants considered tenure promotion to be the primary promotion, and one of the hardest promotions they would face in their career at this university. Therefore,

the support they received when seeking the promotion overlapped substantially with the responses to the above section. In addition to receiving support from their department and colleagues, quite a few of the participants mentioned that they must have received a lot of support when they obtained early tenure promotions and promotions to full professor. Many reported that they earned tenure promotions earlier than normal, three to five years earlier than the regular process.

Participants emphasized that it was difficult to receive early promotions at this university because of the high standards for performance levels and the university's relatively conservative culture. This researcher could strongly sense that many Chinese faculty members in the study had very strong credentials across all areas, including teaching, research and scholarship, so they were more likely than others to receive early promotion.

(3) Support received in seeking recognition at this university:

Participants discussed the recognition they had received at this university, such as receiving teaching and research awards or honored titles, having their salary increased, being offered more sabbatical leave time, and so on. Some participants expressed the feeling of being recognized by receiving an email from a student, even though they did not earn any official awards. Interestingly, each individual appeared to have his/her own definition and formation of what recognition meant. Recognition seemed to be composed of both physical and spiritual aspects that differ for different individuals.

Although many participants reported they received support when seeking recognition at this university, quite a few claimed they did not feel they received recognition from the department, the college or the institution. On the contrary, their recognition was received from the outside of the department, college or university. A female Chinese Associate Professor in the study used the phrase “marginal man” to describe her feeling of working at this university, even though she had worked there for more than ten years. In addition, some participants indicated that there were some issues related to salary or resources, for example, at the department, administration, or institutional level.

Those participants who reported dissatisfaction with seeking recognition did not blame their department, college or university, but rather blamed themselves for putting up with their dissatisfaction. They indicated that they were modest, not aggressive, and did not want to involve themselves in the politics of the department. From their responses, this researcher understood that participants tended to find reasons to blame themselves first, instead of blaming others. They were likely to believe in personal efforts and hard work in developing their career, or making any achievements. If they experienced dissatisfaction and unhappiness, they were likely to choose to put up with it.

(4) The mentor system’s support in seeking tenure, promotion and recognition at this university:

Only one participant actively mentioned the department’s mentor system as a means of support in pursuing his career goal. The rest did not consider mentor systems

as major means of support when seeking tenure, promotion and recognition. Some participants explained that mentor systems were not established when they sought tenure, so they could not look for support from their mentor. The mentor system had only recently been set up in their department and they believed it would be helpful for young faculty.

More participants mentioned that the support they received from their mentor was not formalized, but instead was relatively informal, although they were assigned mentors from their department. It oftentimes depended upon an individual's preference regarding how they wanted to communicate with their mentors. Some participants reported that they had mentors outside their department and sought help from their professional community, which was located all over the country.

Therefore, generally speaking, most participants believed that mentor systems did not provide substantial support for them when they were seeking tenure, promotion and recognition at this university. They had clear career goals and knew how to manage their work successfully. Additionally, these Chinese faculty members shared a strong personal belief that occupational achievements oftentimes depend on determination, hard work, persistence and professional credentials. In sum, participants seemed to be very self-disciplined and self-motivated persons. These conclusions appear to be inconsistent with the literature that concerns faculty of color, especially that which describes how faculty of color may feel a lack of warmth, constructive mentoring relationships and isolation (Stanley & Lincoln, 2005). Literature also consistently cited mentoring as having a crucial influence on the academic careers of women and faculty of color

(Stanley, 2006a; Turner, 2002). To discover whether this concern in the literature applies to Chinese faculty as a whole would require further study.

(5) Professional training and developmental support when seeking tenure, promotion and recognition at this university:

A few participants believed that professional training and conferences were meaningful and supportive for their career development. They enjoyed listening to teaching seminars and research workshops offered by the university. They felt it was a great learning opportunity to improve their potential in teaching or research.

However, similar to data found regarding the mentor system's support level of support, the majority of the participants did not consider professional training and conferences to be a significant means of support for their career development. Again, they emphasized personal effort and strong credentials as playing more important roles than attending trainings or conferences when seeking tenure, promotion and recognition. Additionally, they were confident in achieving their career goals. Perhaps this personal belief also resulted from traditional Chinese cultural ideas that one's own destination depends on individual effort.

(6) Additional findings—dual-career academic couple's issues:

“Dual-career academic couple” was identified as a term suiting several participants' situations in this study. In other words, two partners in the family were both working in the academy at this Research Extensive University in Texas. Although

participants received some support from their department, they emphasized that the university did not have a strong institutionalized system to assist dual-career academic couples and the university needed to focus more efforts in this area.

Apparently, dual-career couples might face more challenges during the job search and might also suffer decreased job mobility and fewer benefits in terms of the opportunities, salary, and working conditions that mobility can bring. At the same time, institutions especially like the university in this study, located in a college town, might also experience more challenges in recruiting high quality faculty who are parts of dual career couples.

Issues regarding recruiting and retaining dual-career couples in the academy are not the focus in this study, but this issue is highly recommended for further studies.

Research Question Three

What challenges have Chinese faculty members experienced in seeking promotion, tenure and recognition within a Research Extensive University in Texas?

The focus of this research question was to identify what challenges Chinese faculty experienced when seeking promotion, tenure and recognition within a Research Extensive University in Texas. Participants reported various challenges and barriers such as being challenged by white students both in and out of the classroom, struggling with getting research funding, experiencing subtle discrimination and salary disparity, etc. In addition, participants discussed what their strategies were for coping with these challenges in order to accomplish their career goals successfully. The question also

sought to offer potential faculty of color some insights regarding how to overcome the challenges and barriers they would face while working within the academy in the United States.

Challenges in Seeking Promotion

From the interviewees' responses, promotions meant being promoted to a tenured faculty position (from an assistant professor to an associate professor at the university examined in this study), being promoted from an associate professor to a full professor, or receiving early promotion in either case. When participants were asked what challenges they faced within the university when seeking promotion, except for one participant who had just passed their third year review and had yet to experience promotion, the majority of the participants reported that they had not faced many challenges during the promotion process. They all expressed that their promotions went smoothly and they felt like they had nothing to worry about. Some indicated that they received early promotions beyond their expectations. Others mentioned that they were approved unanimously by their review committee once they submitted their request for early promotion. This researcher felt that these Chinese faculty members had a high level of confidence regarding their performances and they were valuable assets to the university. They did not worry about the promotion processes. As Dr. Wei mentioned, "In my case, there was no concern regarding my promotion...I think that if I did enough work but was not promoted, I would leave here. I think I did good work in terms of teaching, research and service" [I7-71]. Dr. Chang explained why he did not experience

any challenges during his promotion processes as being that he was an asset to his department:

The most important reason is that faculty are a significant asset and benefit to the department... The responsibility of the department head is to keep these assets and benefits. If you want to leave, the department head would feel badly. If you do not teach and cannot get grants or always make trouble, the department head may wish you to leave early... So as long as you are good, many people want to have you around [I6-79].

为什么没有什么困难呢，因为最重要的 faculty 对学校是一个重要的 asset，是系里的一笔财富，系主任最重要的工作之一就是把这些财富 keep 住。如果你要走的话，他很不舒服。一旦你都没有了，课也教不了了也不拿钱了，老制造 trouble，那他恨不得你走呢。所以你要是好的话，很多人都会抢着要你的”[I6-79].

Perhaps Dr. Wu's comment offered an explanation regarding why many participants received their promotions so smoothly. "Chinese are very diligent. In addition, any position would not be offered at random, which means the Chinese who can take those positions must be excellent [I12-79] 中国人都是很勤奋的，只要有个 position 也不会是随便给 offer 的，所以拿到这个 position 的中国人也都是很优秀的” [I12-79].

Two participants sensed that there might be some concerns and questions from senior faculty regarding whether promotion was too early. Other than that, no other challenges were reported.

Dr. Ouyang:

I feel that there must be some challenges. Some faculty were questioned about why they were tenured after having been assistant professors for ten years, but you wanted a promotion with fewer than four years as an assistant professor. Although you have some funding and publications, why [would you want the promotion so early]. Thus, some faculty still have concerns [about early promotion]. They feel it is unfair, which I understand [I9-90].

我觉得有。肯定是有。有的教授就说为什么我做 assistant professor 10 年才 promote, 而你还不到 4 年你就要 promote? 确实你有了点 Funding and publication, 但是为什么? 所以有些教授还是 question 的。觉得心里不平衡。不过我能理解[I9-90]。

Although the majority of the participants reported that there were little or no challenges to them when seeking their promotions, quite a few expressed that cultural differences and English language competence could be barriers, which impede career development.

Dr. Yang:

I think that the language is a barrier during the promotion process. For example, when you are having dinner with the guest speaker and your colleagues, sometimes you cannot communicate with them comfortably because of your English language barrier. It is different if you have dinner with a Chinese guest speaker and your Chinese colleagues. Your conversation can be heated and exciting. Otherwise, your English is a barrier when you have dinner with people that you cannot talk to too much [I2-86].

我觉得[语言]在 promote 的过程中是个障碍? 你比如说跟人家一块吃饭, 比如有个人来了, 给个讲座, seminar, 然后晚上一块吃饭, 你要是山南海北聊起来, 你就有的时候不能跟他们一起聊的那么 comfortable, 因为你英文的障碍。不像如果是做讲座的是个中国人, 大家吃饭也都是中国人, 那大家就会聊的很热闹。要是不是中国人来, 一起吃饭的有本系的中国人, 也有不是中国人, 大家随便聊起来的时候, 你的英文就是个障碍, 你就不会插那么多话[I2-86]。

Dr. Han emphasized the importance of networking for one's holistic career development, which might be an issue for many Chinese faculty. "If you have good networking skills, it can be a great help to your career [I1-126] But I am concerned that networking might be a common issue for a lot of Chinese faculty" [I1-127]. He assumed that perhaps networking as an issue also resulted from different cultural backgrounds. As he continued,

I think the biggest influence of my culture on my career is ...that the communication is not smooth when I talk to people when I first meet them. I do not know how to initiate conversations with them. I do not have such a problem with Chinese people [I1-122]. I feel obviously that [the different cultural background] is a barrier. However, I accept it now. I do not care too much, now [I1-128]. I guess I will have this barrier forever. Now it is a little better, but I still feel the barrier [I1-124].

文化对我学术的发展有影响。肯定有。最大的影响的就是，我跟...比如我跟你从来也不认识，从没打过交道，没见过面，你刚开始交流的时候会不顺，我不知道怎么跟他们 initiate，跟中国人就不会有这个问题[I1-122]。我是明显感觉到这是一个障碍，但是我现在也认了，就不管它了[I1-128]。这没办法，这可能永远都得是这样的。现在好一点，但是还是有[I1-124]。

This barrier is not because of English as a language of expression, but because of the different cultural background...the fundamental element is the culture. People like us came abroad when we were about 24 years old, pretty late... my fundamental identity is still one that enjoys Chinese culture. I am a Chinese person and will never change to an American. I can understand and appreciate the American culture, but it is still hard to communicate with Americans heart to heart [I1-136].

而这个障碍，不是因为语言表达，而是因为文化背景。因为你的 fundamental。像我们这些人出国也已经很晚了，都 24 了，我 fundamental 还是 enjoy 中国的东西，你骨子里还是个中国人，你永远变不成一个美国人。就是美国文化你能理解，能欣赏，但是你跟美国人心跟心的交流，相贴，这种很难[I1-136]。

I do not have any barrier communicating with Chinese faculty members. I went back to China and the barrier was zero. There is no barrier and I can talk with anybody, no matter whether they are faculty or student [I1-131, because I have the same cultural background [laugh][I1-123]. The same culture makes Americans feel close in a short time, but they feel distance if they talk to you, [a Chinese]. Is that right? [laugh] [I1-133]

我跟中国的教授，中国人一点障碍都没有，我觉得我回过，障碍是 zero。没有任何障碍，我可以和任何人谈，任何一个老师，学生马上就可以沟通[I1-131]。因为这是文化一样，你一谈，就马上谈到很热乎。呵呵。是不是。呵呵[I1-123]。文化上的东西，他们一谈，他们就觉得有亲近感，你跟他们一谈，他们就觉得有一点隔阂感。呵呵。哈哈。对吧[I1-133]。

In short, most participants in this study reported they had not experienced significant challenges when seeking promotion at this Research Extensive University in

Texas. Some expressed they were questioned by a few senior faculty members whether they were being promoted too early. However, it did not become a challenge that inhibited their early promotion. In addition, a few participants indicated that the different cultural background and language issues were barriers that influenced their communication with non-Chinese researchers, particularly during initial conversations, which later could hinder their career development.

Challenges in Seeking Tenure

Participants shared their experiences related to the processes of obtaining tenure as faculty of color in this Research Extensive University in Texas. Most reported that they went through the tenure processes smoothly and did not face significant challenges. They believed that they met all the requirements to receive their tenure.

Dr. Liu:

No challenge! After so much hard work over the years in teaching, research and service, you have the confidence to succeed. You know you have met all the requirements, and even gone beyond those requirements. There is no reason to deny your promotions [I3-82].

没有。因为我经过这么多年的努力，教书、service, research。自己又 confidence, 你觉得你完全达到了他们的要求，而且超过了他们的要求。没有任何原因会 Deny 你 [I3-82] 。

Nevertheless, several participants reported *challenges with teaching* as a faculty member of color. Participants shared that they experienced more difficulties ensuring a high quality of teaching as a foreigner. One reason was that they were lacking experience teaching in the United States.

Dr. Liu:

Actually, the biggest problem was teaching, and not my research, when I came to my department...because I was teaching as a foreigner... Although I taught classes for one semester at a small college in Baltimore when I was doing my doctoral study, it was the only course I taught in America. Thus, I felt that the biggest challenge was teaching, whether I could teach well when I came here [I3-84].

我在系里刚来的时候，最大的问题实际上是教书的问题，不是我的研究问题。因为教书，作为一个外国人，虽然我在 xx 当博士的时候教过一学期，在 xx College，在 Baltimore 的一个小 college 教过，那是在美国唯一的一个课我教过。所以到这里来，我觉得最大的一个 challenge 是教书。能不能较好的问题[I3-84]。

Rudenstine (1996) states that a diverse educational environment challenges students to exchange ideas at different levels and share different life experiences with people from different cultural backgrounds. Throughout the interviews, the majority of participants shared positive experiences about interactions with their students when teaching. They expressed that most students respected them as professionals and they received high course evaluations regarding faculty teaching. However, some participants expressed frustration with being challenged constantly by a few students in each class, as faculty of color. Dr. Qiu mentioned that students challenged her in class by asking whether she was hired for diversity, because they did not think it was necessary to diversify the faculty.

Dr. Qiu (female):

Last semester I taught a topic related to diversity and I mentioned how this university made efforts to diversify students and faculty. One student challenged me and said he did not think this university should make any efforts regarding the diversity issue. Then, he asked me “did you come to this university because of the diversity?” He meant that the university recruited me because of diversity and did not consider my qualifications. [You see, the] student asked me this question overtly. I answered, “It is not true. I am the best candidate for this position” [I13-141].

学生里面，上个学期有一章就讲到 diverse，就谈到我们这个学校 diversify 做得一些努力，其中有些学生就挑战我，说我们学校不应该在 diversity 上

作多少努力。然后就问我，那你是不是因为 diversify 才来到这个学校的。学生就问我。言外之意学校为了 diversity recruit me 却不考虑我的 qualification。学生就公开这么问。我说不是的，我是 the best candidate to fit this position [I13-141]。

Other participants also felt challenges from students based on their evaluations regarding faculty teaching.

Dr. Qiu:

I feel strongly [that the greatest challenge] is with teaching [I13-124]. I can get what I want from the research if I work hard. I do not have the same feeling about teaching [I13-106]. Speaking of teaching, I cannot control it completely. Even if you work hard, you still cannot get high evaluations if students have biases against you. I can feel that American students are very tough. Before I was tenured, one student commented on an evaluation: “Do not give this person tenure at all!” Sometimes you can see the opposite comments. Some said “This is a wonderful professor” but others said, “I cannot understand her at all!” [I13-104] Therefore, the biggest challenge for me is how to make students satisfied and then receive good student evaluations. But I think, personally, that I care for my students very much and take responsibility for them [I13-127].

我最大的感觉就是 teaching 阿，我跟你讲的那个[I13-124]. I can get what I want from the research if I work very hard. I do not have this feeling about teaching [I13-106]. But for teaching, I cannot control it 100 degree. Even if you work very hard, if students have the bias, you still cannot get the high evaluation. 我能感觉到有些美国学生还是很 tough 的。我在评 tenure 之前有个学生就说：“Do not give this person tenure at all” at the evaluation. 有时候你就可以看到很极端的评语在上面，有些人说：“This is a wonderful professor” but some may say: ” I cannot understand her at all” [I13-104]. 所以我最大的挑战就是怎么能让让学生满意，得到好的 evaluation, 但我个人认为我是很 care students and take responsibilities for them[I13-127].

In addition to the challenges of teaching, some participants expressed that they sometimes had a *hard time getting funding*, as compared with their white colleagues.

However, they considered the reason to be that they lacked training in writing that followed American standards. They believed their difficulties were more likely because of culture differences than issues of discrimination. As Dr. Zhao described,

Speaking of funding, I could easily feel that the white faculty, particularly American faculty, can get funding much easier, even though he/she may not be as good as you. I have observed generally that this may not be explained away as discrimination...as I found that the proposal we wrote did not follow American standards, because of our cultural differences [I4-38].

那 funding 上，我明显的感觉到，白人就很明显比你容易拿，也许他比你差点。我感觉美国教授，他们拿 funding 比我们好得多。但后来我慢慢观察，这可能也不能用种族歧视来解释。我这几年看到我们写出来的东西不规范，这个是文化的差异[I4-38]。

I figured out this problem when my daughter went to high school. In fact, America's articles are strict, truly like the eight-part essay in China. An article should include every part, such as the introduction, body, and the conclusion [I4-39]. Finally, I realized this distinction [between what we wrote and what Americans wrote]. We had never written a serious proposal before and had never been through this training. You take it for granted that you write a great proposal. However, you do not follow the rules if you don't know them. From this perspective, it is normal that you have fewer opportunities to get funding than others, even though your research is better than theirs [I4-40].

我一直到我女儿上高中的时候才发现了这个问题。其实美国的文章很严格，真正像我们中国的八股文一样的，一篇文章下来，每一个部分都要要。引论、故事、结论[I4-39]。我最后意识到这个区别了。我们从来没有认真写过一部东西，从来没有经过这个训练。你就想当然地写出一个 proposal 来，你觉得好的要命，其实你根本没按人家的规则。你如果从这个角度讲的话，你的[get funding]机会比别人少也是正常的，尽管你的研究水平比别人高[I4-40]。

Some participants mentioned that their primary challenge through the tenure process was *establishing their research program* at the beginning of their career. They felt significant psychological pressures at that time. Once the individual in the research program was established, the pressure was lessened. This normally occurred in the second or third year.

Dr. Ai:

I think the major challenge was establishing your research program. In China, generally, young faculty establish their programs independently after a period of time working together with a senior faculty member. But this is not the case in the US. You are directly thrown "to the wolves" to see whether you can survive,

right after graduation with a fresh PhD. You stay only if you can survive. So, at the beginning, I suffered from many psychological pressures, and there were many things about which I was not quite sure [I11-105].

我想主要挑战还是一开始 establish your research program. 因为我们在中国的 program, 年轻教师一般是跟着一个老教授一起做, 做一段时间后再单独出来做。在美国不是这样, 你 fresh Ph.D. graduate 后就直接给你放在狼群里, 看你能不能 survive, 不能得 survive 你就爱干什么干什么去。能得话你就呆下去。所以一开始的时候, 有很多 psychological pressure, 不是很 sure [I11-105]。

Dr. Liu reported that the only challenge for him spending a longer period than usual waiting for his book review to process through the university's publisher.

According to the policies of his department, he needed to have a book published by a university press in order to get tenured. The publisher to whom he submitted his book was the most prestigious in his field, but its review processes were slow and rigid. He worried whether the publisher would publish his book before the committee reviewed his tenure profile. Fortunately, everything went well. "That was the only challenge. It was just at the right time at last. My tenure was reviewed in the fall and my book was published in the summer" [I3-80].

Among sixteen interviewees, one female Chinese faculty member, Dr. Qiu, overtly expressed her feeling of *being discriminated and treated unequally* by her colleagues, other administrators and students. She said that if not for her family, she probably would have already left the academic field. She gave rich narratives of the subtle discrimination and unequal treatment she experienced when seeking her tenure.

Dr. Qiu:

I felt it was challenging [during the time when I sought tenure here]. I was a visiting assistant professor for the first three years. That position was unique. There was no clinical professor system at this university back in that time. Therefore, people really did not treat you seriously. Everyone could dominate

you when you were in the position of a visiting assistant professor [I13-40]. You were like office staff. Although you were a faculty member, they did not take you seriously [I13-42].

但是我就觉得还是很有挑战性。我最初 3 年 is visiting assistant professor, 这个 position 非常独特, 因为当时 A&M 还没有 clinic professor system, 所以大家确实不把你当回事, 任何人都可以支配你。你处在那个位置上面 [I13-40]。就像一个勤杂工一样的。你处于那样一个地位, 尽管你也是个 faculty member, 但他们根本不把你当回事[I13-42]。

To take teaching as an example, it was clear that I could not get a good teaching and my teaching assignments were even worse than the white doctoral students. For example, some teaching assignments required me to visit and supervise students, but the students assigned to me for visits lived very far away. The location was so far that I had to drive a great distance and spent a lot of time on the road. White doctoral students, on the contrary, would not [have such an assignment]. This might not reflect the department's policy. However, because of such a [visiting assistant professor] position, people did not treat you equally to tenure track professors [I13-43]. I think this could be not only because I held that type of position, but also because I am an Asian [I13-44].

比如说教学阿, 很明显地在 teaching schedule 上你就拿不到很好的时间段, 然后我的 teaching assignment 比白人的 doctor student 还差。Teaching assignment 比如我要去看学生, 我要 supervise 他们的话, 我要看的学生会很远, location 很远, 我要 drive lot, spent lot of time on the road. Doctor student 就不会。当然这也可能是 professor's personal behavior, 这并不 reflect department's policy. 但因为这样一个 position, 人家就不把你和 tenure track professor 一样的 treatment[I13-43]。我觉得受到这种待遇两个因素都有, 因为我在那个 position 上, 也因为我是个亚洲老师[I13-43]。

Dr. Qiu felt she was isolated and had difficulties forming close relationships with other faculty members. "Some faculty members did not say 'Hi' to me at the beginning, even though they knew I was one of the faculty members here [I13-49] 反正我来的时候, 有些教授见了我都不打招呼的。他们知道我是这里的老师也不打招呼"[I13-49]. She did mention that perhaps this was because she was not around very much in the university while she commuted between two cities for three years, so that her colleagues might know her less well. However, she still felt it was hard to establish close

relationships with others. She also felt discrimination from both students and her white colleagues. For example,

Even though after I got the tenure track position at this university and there were only two faculty members in my field in my department, I knew one student in my program did not want me to serve on his committee. The senior professor [another faculty member in my field] did not blame him at all. You could clearly feel that, that was normal...in fact, there was a sense of discrimination [I13-50]. 后面才知道，还有甚至我们自己专业有个学生，即使我已经到了 tenure track position，向我们专业总共才有 2 个这样的 faculty，一个是 tenure 了，另一个是我，我在 tenure track 上，这样情况下我应该在那个学生的 committee 里面，他居然不请我做他的 committee member。然后那个 senior professor 也不说他，你就可以明显地感受到这种，就是说。。。实际上他们在意识里有歧视的[I13-50]。

Dr. Qiu also shared her experiences of discrimination during her mid-term performance review. She thought her difficulties might have been because of race and gender issues interlocked together that affected her career within the academy.

We had the third year review (mid-term evaluation) in my department. When the college promotion and tenure committee (PT Committee) reviewed my dossiers, they wrote a letter to me. On the PT's recommendation letter, they said my teaching was bad, mainly based upon students' evaluation...my average on my student evaluations was beyond 4 on a scale of 1 to 5. I personally thought my teaching was effective since I had four points more, **but it said on the College PT's letter that if I did not improve my teaching performance, it would jeopardize my tenure promotion!** They sent me such a letter. I was shocked. My department head never said so, and neither did my mentor. Why did people at the college level say it to me? Additionally, "jeopardize" is a strong word [I13-62]. **I had the feeling that this treatment was either because I am a minority or maybe because I am a woman [I13-63].**

On the letter, it said, "your evaluation is 4.03, and below the departmental mean. If you don't improve your teaching performance, it will jeopardize your tenure and promotion." **I think that writing such a thing in a letter is absolutely a form of discrimination [I13-69]!**

但是到了 college PT committee review 的时候，他们给我写了一封信，PT recommendation letter 上写了一封信，就是说我的教学说的非常重，他主要是看学生的 evaluation 啊，说 student evaluation 是 1-5，1 是 not effective at all, 5 是 very effective, 我的 student evaluation 平均是 4 多一点点，我个人认为 1-5 的话，我得了 4 点多的话，应该算 effective 了，但是 college PT's letter 上说，如果我不 improve my teaching performance, it will jeopardize my tenure promotion. 给我送了这样一封信来，我当时 shocked, 我们系主任没有说这样的话，我的 mentor 也没有和我说这样的话，到了 college level 就说这种话，而且 jeopardize 用词很

重的嘛[I13-62]。我就觉得因为我是 minority, 我就有这种想法, 是不是因为我是女的, 所以他们才这样说 [I13-63]。

他就写, 你的 evaluation is 4.03, and below the departmental mean. If you do not improve your teaching performance, it will jeopardize your tenure and promotion.写了这样的话在上面, 我觉得绝对是一种 discrimination [I13-69]。

Encountering such a situation, Dr. Qiu had to fight back for her rights. She talked to her department head and her mentor, who both agreed that the college PT committee was overreacting. The dean of her college told her not to worry about her teaching evaluations. He mentioned particularly that many students at this university are from Texas, and often treat international faculty unfairly [I13-64]. She also sought help from the Center for Teaching Excellence at the university for someone to audit her class, consult with her about her teaching, and give her a peer teaching evaluation.

This matter shocked me greatly. Originally, I thought everything would be fine. However, after this happened, I knew that some people still treated minorities [unfairly]. They understood that my research is strong...my service is good too. Overall, I am a good citizen according to what my department head said...One of my outside reviewers even wrote a letter to suggest that I should get tenure at the time of my third year review. I realize now that as a minority, you might have some obstacles in teaching, but you cannot let them use this as an excuse to obstruct you in seeking tenure [I13-65].

这件事对我心想震动满大的, 我原来以为, everything would be fine. 但 college 这么一搞得话, 说明有人还是对你 minority.....他知道我得 research is very strong, 我得 research 在我们领域里非常好, 我的 service 业不错, 总的来说应该是 good citizen, 按照我们系主任的话说是 good citizen.....甚至我得一个 outside reviewer 写信说我现在的水平就该评 tenure 了, 你们还要做这种事情。我自己也意识到, 你作为一个 minority, 可能在教学方面有任何把柄, 不能让他们以此作为把柄来阻碍你进入 tenure[I13-64]。

In addition to the above example, Dr. Qiu expressed that she had seen subtle forms of discrimination elsewhere while working at this university. For example, she worked in the department for eleven years. However, her department had never asked her to serve on a search committee, even when the department was looking for a

candidate in her field. She felt that many people still did not feel comfortable working with her. All she could do was put up with these slights and compromise based on her overall situation, out of consideration for her family.

Challenges in Seeking Recognition

About half of the participants reported that they had not experienced any challenges in this university when seeking recognition. They were satisfied with the recognition they received.

Dr. Ai received outstanding teaching awards at both the college level and the university level. He told this researcher with big smile, “I felt I was over recognized” [I11-111]. Dr. Chang pointed out that he had a good attitude with regards to whether he received awards from the university or not. He would continue his work as usual, even if he did not receive many awards. He could live with that. Another participant said he would like to continue to have a low profile and not be involved in political issues. As Dr. Wei claimed, “recognition is sometimes how you feel” [I7-76].

The researcher believes that many Chinese faculty members in this study are modest, humble and not aggressive about getting awards or rewards. Additionally, the researcher discerned that politics might be involved in the process, if these Chinese faculty members competed for the awards.

Compared to the length of the responses above, responses were much wordier and richer from the half of the participants who expressed feelings of not being fully recognized at the university. Some participants reported that the university had not made

a great effort to reward faculty in general. They indicated that the university's administration system was bureaucratic.

Dr. Wei:

You know the ways in which you can make people feel happy and how to motivate people to do their best. I do not think [our university] is the best in rewarding people for what they are doing. In this regard, I do not think [our university] has done a good job. In addition, there are many bureaucracies. There are numerous management problems, which you have to deal with [I7-70]. My friends [who are also working at this university], have done good work, but they do not get the rewards they deserve. This did not happen on me, but I observed some other cases. If you do not encourage people to do something, generally you discourage people from doing it. People need to be motivated. The best university tries its best to reward and motivate people to do their work. Then they will be happy [I7-75].

More specifically, some participants shared the frustrating experience of identifying their salary disparity and fighting for increases on their own. More comments came from the female faculty, though this was an experience shared by both male and female Chinese faculty members. Some female Chinese faculty members expressed that they were not sure whether the unequal pay was due to their gender or race.

Dr. Clinton (female):

I think there is some salary equity...that came to me, but I thought that could be interpreted as disparity. I am not sure it is discrimination, but it is unequal. Probably gender based, or it could be race based. It is a known fact that women make less than men, and Asian make less than Caucasian does in academia [I14-21]. It happens everywhere, [especially to] what they call African American, the non-white, traditional disadvantaged minorities in comparisons to Asians, who are not usually viewed as the disadvantaged minority [I14-22].

Dr. Qiu shared a similar frustration because she had to ask her department head to increase her salary for equity pay every two or three years for the eleven years she worked at this university. If she did not, her salary would have become the lowest in her

department every two to three years. She claimed that multiple factors might have influenced this situation, including her ethnicity and gender.

Dr. Qiu (female):

I repeatedly went to talk with the department head and asked him/her why my salary would drop every two or three years even though my performance was good [I13-73]. It might not be associated with the fact that I am minority. Anyhow, my salary was at the same level as my colleagues when I got here, but it dropped dramatically in two years. Then my salary was the lowest among assistant professors [I13-72]. After talking with the department head and receiving equity pay during my time on the tenure track, I found that my salary became the lowest again when I was tenured [I13-79].

每次我都是到系主任那里谈，我说我得 performance 很好，为什么一过 2、3 年我得工资就掉下去 [I13-73]？也可能不一定跟我是 minority 有关，反正我跟同事来了之后工资是同一个水平，2 年之后我得工资就掉下去很多，我会是 lowest paid assistant professor [I13-72]。我就去找系主任。他就跟我说，确实如此，又是 equity pay。跟你同样 rank 的人涨到差不多。等到我 tenure 的时候，我发现我工资又很少了。又低下来了 [I13-79]。

My department head told me that I could get a higher salary under three conditions: (1) I had to work hard. I said that I have already worked hard, and almost to death [laugh]. I cannot work harder. (2) You must be a new faculty member. I said that that was, of course, impossible for me. Or (3) you must play the game. For example, if you receive an offer from another university and we try to match that offer, your salary would be increased. I said that I am not such a person...and I cannot do that just for a wage increase... Therefore, in 2005 when I got my tenure promotion, my salary was increased according to the policies of the university. But in 2006, it fell again. In 2007, when the new department head came and was concerned about this matter, I got equity pay. It was like this. **I do not know if this was because I am a minority or I am a woman. I guess that it is a combination of many factors** [I13-80].

系主任就跟我这么说，有三条让你工资比较高。(1) 你必须 work very very hard, 我说我已经 work almost to death 了。哈哈。I cannot work hard anymore 了。(2) 你要是新来的 faculty。那我说我也不可能了。(3) 你 play game。他说你找一个大学要你，给你 offer，如果我们 compensate offer 的话，你可能涨工资。我这个人不是这种人。人家 national search 搞了一大伦，费尽要你来，你根本就不想来，就是为了涨工资。所以我说对我来说我都不可能做得实情。所以 2005 年，tenure promotion 了，按照学校的规定是涨得比较高的了。然后 2006 年，又掉下来了。2007，新的 dean 走马上任，他比较关注这个事情，又是 equity pay，又给你涨一把。就是这个样子。这个我就不知道我是 minority 阿，是女的阿的原因。我估计是多种因素在里面 [I13-80]。

Many participants claimed they received recognition more from outside of the university than from within it. Sometimes their work was recognized at the department level, but not at the college or institutional level. Again, more comments to this effect came from female faculty members than from the male participants in this study. Participants tended to seek recognition from outside of this institution and look for some form of balance.

Dr. Qiu (female):

I said earlier that people among the graduate faculty members of my division in my own field recognized me. They know that my research is very strong. However, I do not think I am recognized at the college level. There are, perhaps, many good people and they do not think I have anything special to be recognized for [I13-136].

刚才我说过在我自己领域，大家都知道，在 graduate faculty members of my division， they all know my research is very strong. 但是 college level 没有什么 recognize 我了，或许做得好的也很多吧，觉得我没有什么 specialization to be recognized[I13-136].

Dr. Ouyang (female):

I feel that it is okay that I am recognized from outside [of the university]; I have the national recognition. When the university knows that you have national recognition, they want you to continue to serve [on something] [I9-92].

我觉得还好。你在外面被认可了。National recognition 到学校里，学校里就也希望你能有些 serve [I9-92].

Dr. Clinton (Female):

I think it is a balance of what you expect and what you can realize. It is okay. I am happy about the recognition. I may not have acquired as many awards as I have accomplishments. But it is okay. I draw my satisfaction from my work. Moreover, I have recognition from outside [this University] and that is gratifying [I14-41].

Dr. Cao was the only male Chinese faculty member who expressed that he did not ever feel recognition for his work related to his projects in China from his

department or the university, though he had achieved tremendous accomplishments. He claimed,

I think I sacrificed a lot in doing work in China [I10-85]. Things that I have done are probably more useful to the society there than if I published ten journal articles. However, it will not reflect in the evaluation system [I10-94], because here, in the United States, the evaluation system is based upon your pure academic [performance] [I10-86]. I am not complaining. I knew already that these were the rules of the game [I10-94].

作中国的事情，耽误很多这边的工作，我觉得对我个人来说牺牲还是蛮大的[I10-85]，像我做的这个事情，很可能比我发 10 篇文章对我来说更有用，但是它不会将这个做在评价体系里[I10-94]。因为我们这里不一样，评价的体系是看你的 pure academic[I10-86]，当然这个游戏规则是已经定下来的，我不 complain[I10-94]。

I had mentioned [what I have done in China] several times to my department head, but it was useless. They simply could not see it and even thought I was bluffing and just talking big. You only understood if you were like Dr. David [coded name] who had been to China many times... he wanted to go again once he went to China for the first time. People in my department do not want to go. They continue to think that China is poor and unenlightened, but recently they have seen that China is powerful. It is not true. Of course, China still retains many imperfections in its system. The efficiency remains low and labor is still cheap. However, China's potential has not been discovered fully... [People in my department do not see any of these qualities and do not see how the things I have done have had an impact in China] [I10-96].

以前讲个几句，但是没什么用，他们根本也看不到，还以为你是在这里吹呢。只有像 Dr. David 一样去过了，去了中国几十次，他去了一次，还想去第二次。我们系的人根本就不想去。他们还以为中国是非常贫穷落后的，突然到现在发现好像中国突然强大了，根本不是。但是中国现在的制度还有很多不完善，效率还很低。劳动力还是这么低便宜，中国的潜力还是大大地没有发挥出来。当然中国还有很多的问题，但是从经济制度的转型上它一种带来的中国的很大的变化[I10-96]。

Discrimination When Seeking Promotion, Tenure and Recognition

As addressed earlier, only one participant overtly and actively expressed that she had experienced discrimination when seeking her tenure and promotion. None of the rest

of the participants touched the topic of discrimination. The researcher, later on, brought this question up by asking the participants directly whether they had experienced any discrimination while looking for promotions, tenure and recognition at this Research Extensive University. Consequently, results showed consistency with earlier findings that fifteen out of sixteen participants reported they had not encountered discriminatory treatment personally by either their department or the institution.

Dr. Yang:

We have two department heads who are Americans, white. The third department head is a South American. I am sure there is certainly no discrimination in my department [I2-64].

这些系主任 2 个是美国人，白人，一个是南美人。这个系里是肯定没有 Discrimination 的 [I2-64]。

Dr. Jin (female):

There is no discrimination in my department. I am confident about this, as I am serving on the promotion and tenure committee in my department. Our reviews are purely based on the candidate's research record and never are racial [issues involved] [I8-86].

我们系是没有。这点我还是满 confident 的，因为我也在我们系的 tenure committee, Promotion Committee, 我们 purely based on research record, 从来没有说 racial 都没有 [I8-86]。

Although many participants expressed that they could feel a difference in treatment between Chinese faculty and their American colleagues, they considered it to be culture differences rather than discrimination.

Dr. Ai:

I am not sensitive to discrimination, but I feel the difference particularly with senior faculty members who were born in America. There is a huge difference [I11-112]. I do not think there is any discrimination because I am an international person or because I am from China. But I feel the difference. For example, they like talking about football and I am not a football fan. However, you should not blame others because they like football. What if there is a Chinese person who happens to like the football? He certainly can engage in the conversation easily [I11-113].

我对这种事情并不是很敏感。我觉得有 difference, 尤其是那些老教授, 他们大部分是在美国土生土长的, 这里有很大 difference [I11-112]。

我到没觉得有什么歧视, 因为我是 international guy, or because I am from China. 但是你能感觉到 difference. 比如大家在谈 football 的时候, 我就不是很迷 football, 但是你不能 blame 别人, 因为人家就是喜欢 football。万一一个 Chinese guy 恰好也喜欢 football, 那他就能和别人谈论到一起了 [I11-113]。

Some participants believed that discrimination must have been faced by other Chinese faculty members, though they claimed that they themselves did not experience any. Additionally, they emphasized that sometimes discrimination can be so subtle that you cannot prove it. As Dr. Yang commented, “you can only feel that it is sort of [discrimination], but you do not have evidence [I2-74] 你只能感觉是 [和歧视] 有关的。但你没证据”[I2-74]. He gave a more specific example that indicated the presence of subtle discrimination against the Chinese, i.e., during the faculty recruiting processes or a seminar. He continued,

When recruiting new faculty, I think it does matter if you are Chinese or American. However, no one would say it out loud. Therefore, you cannot say that the reason he/she denies the Chinese candidate is that he/she thinks the candidate is Chinese, because you do not have evidence [I2-72]. When the candidate is Chinese, some recruiters are unfriendly. However, again, you cannot speak about it. It is very subtle [I2-76]. In addition, if the speaker is Chinese who gives the seminar, some faculty ask very tough questions of the speaker. But if the speaker is not Chinese, they do not. You can see it [I2-77].

那在 recruit 的时候, 针对某个人的不同意见, 有没有跟来应聘的人是中国人还是美国人有关? 我觉得是有关的, 但是他们不会这么说。谁也从来不会这么说。所以你也不能说反对是因为他是中国人。因为这个没证据啊 [I2-72]。某个人在 recruit 的时候, 会因为 candidate 是中国人他就表现的更加不和。但是他当然不能说出来是因为你是中国人啦。非常微妙 [I2-72]。你比如说有人来给个 seminar, 这个人要是中国人来给 seminar, 他就会提很刁的问题, 给人很难看的问题, 如果不是中国人, 他就不会这样做。这些都能看出来的 [I2-77]。

Participants agreed that Chinese faculty have more difficulties and might experience subtle discrimination when seeking a position in the academy. However, once they were hired at a university, they felt their situation improved.

Dr. Yang:

I feel that Chinese would find it more difficult to find a position in the department [I2-82]. The difficulties are greater in some departments and less in others [I2-111]. But once you join the department, you should not feel [discrimination], because tenure review is primarily based on research [I2-83]. 我觉得进一个系里，中国人会比较难[I2-82]。但我的感觉啊，你中国人进来的时候会有一些难度，有些系可能没难度，有些系大一点，有些系小一点[I2-111]。进来了以后应该没什么感觉，因为...评 tenure 啊都是重要一 research 为主[I2-83]。

Most participants commented that they did not feel as if they were being treated differently or unfairly at faculty meetings at the university, though oftentimes they were minorities in terms of percentage. They thought they were considered full members of the department and people heard their voices.

Dr. Han:

I do not feel that I am a minority. Not even a little. I feel nothing like that. I truly feel that I am a member [of my department]. I have never felt that I am a minority. [I1-137].

我没有感觉我是 minority，我没有任何感觉。什么也没感觉到。我就觉得我是一分子。真的，我从来没有感觉到我是一个 minority [I1-137]。

Dr. Jin (female):

I am a minority if you count the number, but I do not think I have been suppressed. You see a lot of white and male faculty, and you are in the number of the minorities, but in your comments, you find that you are not suppressed. I participate in the departmental meetings and my voice has been adopted [I8-88]. 数目上少数的。但是我不觉得在某些因素上被打压。你看到白人或者男性，你还是数目上的少数，但是在你提意见，你发现你没有被打压。我参与到的系里的事，我的声音还是被采纳的[I8-88]。

Many participants emphasized that whether they felt like a minority depended upon their personality and mentality.

Dr. Wei:

I believe that there might be discrimination, but it is not so in my case. It really depends on your personality. Maybe some people just do not get along with others according to their culture and educational background [I7-81].

Dr. Chang:

I do not feel like I am a minority. It depends on your mentality. They [American colleagues] often come to ask me for my help and I think that I am an important person [I6-84]. Of course, some would talk about football. It is the culture. I can accept it. You should stand in others' shoes and think about how many Chinese would accept foreigners in China [I6-85] [Thus], I think communication and personal mentality are more important [I6-86].

我不觉得是 minority。这跟你自己的心态有关。他们很多时候来找我帮忙，我也觉得自己是很重要的人的[I6-84]。当然他们会谈一些 football 啊，这是个 culture。但是我都能接受。你应该换位思考。在中国又有多少能接受外国人，完全看作一样呢[I6-85]？我觉得更重要的是 Communication，个人的心态 [I6-86]。

Although the majority of the participants reported that they did not feel as if they were being treated like minorities at the university, some spoke to the contrary. They strongly felt the differences between themselves and their white counterparts. They believed that Asian faculty might face certain disadvantages. However, they were not considered to be a traditional minority group, unless they were also women, at this university. As Dr. Pan said, “you must have the feeling of being a minority, as your culture is different [I5-92]...Here [at this university in Texas], you should always keep in mind that you have a different cultural background from the others” [I5-94].

As reported earlier, one female Chinese faculty member, Dr. Qiu, shared her story voluntarily of being discriminated against based on her gender and ethnicity when pursuing tenure. Later, when she was asked the question directly about whether she had

experienced any discrimination while seeking promotion, tenure and recognition at this university, Dr. Qiu shared more. Because she is a female faculty of color, she felt she had more difficulties recruiting American students; because she is a female faculty member of color, she faced greater challenges getting tenured; and because she is a female faculty member of color, she felt powerless to fight for her rights and to protect her students if something happened to them. Some narratives followed:

One thing I want to tell you is that it may be because I am a woman, and not only a faculty member of color. Last year I had a student from the Middle East with a government scholarship from his country. You have to take doctoral students if you want tenure. When he came, I did not have many choices, so I took him as my doctoral student. His GRE was not good...his writing and understanding of the topic were not good either. But I had no choice, because not many people were willing to study with me; [I mean] American students since I am a Chinese. So you could not recruit American students [I13-109].

还有一件事要跟你讲，当然可能也因为我是女的，不光是 faculty。去年我带了一个学生，从...[中东国家]来的，他是拿的政府奖学金。当时我收他的时候，系里面说你要是拿 tenure 的话，必须带一个 doctoral student，那个时候我也没多少选择，他就来了。他的 GRE 考得不是很好.....his writing and understanding are not very good。但是没办法，我就带了他。因为没有多少人愿意来你手下读书，美国学生。就像我说的，他们有时候不知道怎么 approach you, since you are Chinese. 所以你也招不到其他美国学生 [I13-109]。

Last year when my Middle East student had his dissertation proposal defense, I had a hard time...On his defense day, one senior professor with whom I had a good working relationship told me he could not participate in the defense meeting, because he needed to see the doctor. I asked him why, since this defense meeting was scheduled a month ago, he needed to see the doctor today, [and I knew it was not an emergency]. He said he had to go or he would have to pay fines [I13-111].

而且去年我[中东国家]的学生 dissertation proposal defense 的时候，把我搞得很难受.....我们系的一个 senior 教授。我和 senior 教授 work relationship 很好.....然后等到 defense 那天，.....他跟我说他不能参加 defense meeting, he needs to see the doctor. 他就这么跟我说。我说这个 defense meeting was scheduled one month ago, why you go to see the doctor today? 他说他必须得去，如果不去会被罚款的[I13-111]。

What happened next was that her student could not pass the dissertation defense. The rest of the committee members challenged her student and asked numerous unreasonable questions about his dissertation during the defense meeting. As a result, they failed the student, though no one expressed any major problem while reviewing the dissertation draft before the meeting. Dr. Qiu said that this perhaps “was because I am a woman or because I am a minority [I13-112] 就搞成这个样子。就因为我是女的，可能也因为我是 minority” [I13-112]. There were many other troubling events that followed the defense meeting. Dr. Qiu spent a lot of time in helping her student work on his dissertation in order to meet all of the changes that his committee members requested. In addition, she told the senior professor who avoided attending the defense meeting that she would quit her job after her student graduated because of the unfair treatment.

After many things happened, probably two or three months later, [my Middle East student] finally passed the second round of the dissertation defense. I contacted them [the other committee members] myself [to deal with the entire processes]. I feel that I am a woman and a minority and they are the majority and are men, I had more difficulties. Men show their power [I13-116].
经过这么多事情后，大概是2、3个月后，第二轮 defense 的时候才通过。这些都是我自己跟他们联系的。我觉得我是女性，又是 minority. 他们人多，他们是 man，他们也不是不让你过，就是不让你那么顺利。Men show the power[I13-116].

But, as a supervisor, I suffered during the processes. Your student is an international student from the Middle East country who cannot speak English proficiently and is a Muslim...you know, the United States is against terrorism...all of this came together [I13-118]. I think that if his supervisor was not a Chinese, this student might have worked things out more smoothly [I13-119]

但是我个人，作为导师讲，suffering. 带的学生是中东国家来的国际学生，讲英文也不是很好，又是穆斯林，美国又反恐。都到一起了[I13-118]。我

个人觉得如果导师不是中国人的话，对学生本身可能会稍微顺利一点[I13-119]。

Dr. Qiu expressed that perhaps it was more difficult for her to recruit American students.

“I do not feel comfortable either [working with American students], because you do not know what approach will be more effective [for them] [I13-121] 对我而言，招一个美国学生比较困难。到我名下读书。我自己感觉也不是很 comfortable, 因为你不知道什么 approach will be more effective” [I13-121]. She continued,

So sometimes, I am worried if the international students are my students...I think I am not powerful enough...I do not think I have enough power to protect them if something happens. After experiencing such things, I feel that unless I am confident enough to accept foreign students, I will not [have them]...because I have no choice [I13-135].

所以有时候我也很担忧，如果 international student 做我学生……因为觉得自己还不够 powerful, I don't think I have enough power and can protect them if something happens. 经历了这种事情，我觉得除非我自己很自信我才敢接受外国学生，否则就不要。因为没办法[I13-135]。

Dr. Qiu emphasized that what she experienced was subtle discrimination, but she could only feel rather than act because she had no evidence. In addition, no statement about discrimination would be made overtly and openly. Therefore, as a female faculty member of color, she feels she has to put up with this kind of treatment and compromise at her work, in order to continue her life.

I have not shared this with anybody. I tell you today to help you with your interview of me...because you only have a feeling that there is discrimination but no evidence...you need to consider that you will remain here in the university so you cannot speak out [I13-131]. I feel there is subtle discrimination. Any discrimination will not be put on the table. They know how to deal with it so that you can feel it but cannot say anything about it. [I13-138].

我都没跟她们讲的。在学校里面我几乎没跟任何人讲过。这是今天你 interview, 我跟你讲了。所以我没 share with others。因为你只是一种 feeling, and you don't have any evidence. Also you need to consider that you

will still stay here. 你不必多说[I13-131]。我觉得有 subtle discrimination. 任何 discrimination 都不会摆在桌子上了，他们知道怎么处理，handle it. 让你会感觉到那种，但是你又不能说出来 [I13-138]。

At meetings with faculty, administration and staff at this university, Dr. Qiu expressed strongly her feeling of being a minority. She said:

Of course, I can feel it! I feel that “the words of the lowly person carry little weight.” Not many people heard what I said in the departmental faculty meeting. I had no voice that was heard. So I feel powerless, hopeless and helpless. They will not ask your opinion and have no responses after you speak. You figure this out after one or two times. After that I did not speak and kept silent [I13-145]. 当然可以感觉到。我自己感觉到典型的中国人说的“人微言轻”。你讲什么，没有多少人听得，在整个系的 faculty meeting 上。我是没什么 voice 的。你发言没什么意义。所以我会觉得 powerless, hopeless, and helpless. 人家也不会征求拟的意见，听听你对这个问题是怎么看的。你讲了之后他也没有什么 response. 你搞了两次之后我就知道了，我就不说话了，keep silent[I13-145].

The University's Policies Influence Participants When Seeking Promotion, Tenure and Recognition

In order to explore how the university's policies play a role either to impede or facilitate faculty of color's professional development, participants were asked whether the challenges they experienced in pursuing promotion, tenure and recognition resulted from the university's policies. The researcher tried to identify whether the university's regulations and policies were one of the factors that impeded these Chinese faculty members' career development at the university.

Many participants indicated that the university's culture is white dominated, relatively conservative, and isolating particularly to international faculty.

Dr, Qiu (female):

I guess [the challenge that I had] is connected to the university, especially the university's culture. You know the university is white and middle class dominated traditionally. Therefore, the challenge is linked to [the university policies] more or less [I13-140].

我估计跟学校是有关的，学校的 culture，你知道这个学校的 percentage 传统上就是由白人 middle class 为主的，所以多多少少还是有关系[I13-140]。

Dr. Cao:

Chinese classes existed at this university before but were canceled later. I had appealed the university to recover the [Chinese classes] for many years in the past. It is good that we resumed Chinese classes recently... [We have] the Confucius Institute that began to teach the Chinese language [I10-91]. In addition, most of the administrative staff at this university have not been to China before. The information about China was asymmetric. They have cooperation with all western countries such as South America and Europe. However, you cannot ignore China as one of the major Asian countries [I10-92]. I think almost every university on the east coast considers the Chinese language important and collaborates with China on important things. But our university has little connection with China...the entire university's international culture, and particularly the exchange with Asia, with China, is not good enough [I10-93].

以前这里还有中文学习班，后来把它砍了，好多年我都跟学校里呼吁，让他们赶快恢复起来，还不错，这几年恢复起来了。孔子学院，开始教中文了[I10-91]。以前就是这个学校的行政人员很多基本上没有到中国去，信息很不对称的，它想到的这个学校的合作就是跟南美的、欧洲的合作。那个都是西洋阿。中国作为亚洲大国，你不可能忽视中国阿[I10-92]。我觉得几乎在东部每一个学校把中文当成这么重要的事情，跟中国的联系，我们这里很少……但是整个学校的国际化，特别是对亚洲、对中国的交流他们认识的程度根本不够[I10-93]。

Dr. Pan reported that he recognized how the university's system was not purely democratic when he was seeking tenure and promotion in the late 1980s, though the system had changed since 1993 and this is not the case today. He said,

At the beginning, I thought [challenges] resulted from our university system. Our university system was not a purely democratic system. We had a "HEAD," which meant a department head was appointed as the upper level administrator [I5-38]. When I first got here, secretaries did not smile at the faculty. They only smiled to the department head. When it was the department head's birthday,

secretaries decorated the entire department for the celebration. However, they did not treat the faculty well, at least they did not treat me well [I5-40].

开始是什么原因呢？我觉得是和我们 university system 有关系。我们 university system 并不是 purely 的 democratic system。我们是 head. 意思是 Head is appointed by the upper level administration [I5-38]. 但是这个学校，我刚来的时候，秘书都不给我们笑脸的，他们唯一给笑脸的就是 department head。Head birthday 的时候，他们整个系里都挂满了，happy birthday 啊，什么的。对我们一般的 Faculty member，他可以不给笑脸的。At least 对我是这样的，我想实际上对其他人也是一样的 [I5-40]。

Dr. Wu thought the university did not provide enough policies to assist in personal development. More specifically, he talked about how the university did not have a good scheduled sabbatical leave system such that it limited the faculty's career development to a certain level. He went on,

Personal development is less. For example, we do not have a scheduled sabbatical leave. I have only received two sabbatical leaves in my many years [18 years]. Generally, there should be a sabbatical leave once every three or four years at a regular university. This is not a minority issue. Overall, our university does not have a sabbatical leave system [I12-73]. Our university has faculty development leave, but you have to request it and it is once in six or seven years. It is not automatic, but instead you are required to request it. Other universities have it no more than every four or five years [I12-74].

比如 personal development 相对比较少，首先我们没有 scheduled sabbatical leave。像我这样的话这么多年只有 2 次。一般的学校 3、4 年就有一次 sabbatical leave. 这倒不是 minority issue, but overall A&M doesn't have the sabbatical leave system[I12-73]. 我们学校有 faculty development leave, 但首先要申请，其次要 6、7 年才有一次。人家别的学校最多 4、5 年。而且要申请，不是 automatically. [I12-74]。

Participants agreed that the university's policies did not result in a major challenge for them when pursuing promotion, tenure and recognition. They believed that there were rigid rules and high standards for faculty tenure, promotion and recognition at any good research university [I11-117]. More importantly, participants thought they

should be able to handle their work in whatever political culture existed at the university [114-45].

To summarize, most participants in the study reported that the university's policies did not impede their career development when seeking tenure, promotion and recognition. However, some pointed out that the white-dominated culture at this university might limit the university itself from developing into one of the top universities nationally. In order to attract higher qualified faculty members, this Research Extensive University in Texas continues to need to expend more effort on diversifying both students and faculty, and on collaborating with more countries, including China.

Challenges for Female Chinese Faculty in Seeking a Faculty Position, Tenure, Promotion and Recognition

Four out of the sixteen participants in this study are female Chinese faculty members. This researcher asked each participant whether he/she thought female Chinese faculty members faced more challenges/barriers in his or her career development.

A few participants mentioned that Chinese female faculty members were treated no differently than any other female faculty members of color. They did not think female faculty members faced more barriers to their career.

Many participants sensed that female faculty members might have more advantages for their work in the academy. It might be easier for women to find faculty positions in the United States, as compared particularly with their male Asian

counterparts. One major reason is that women faculty continue to be underrepresented in academia, so many universities are under pressure to promote diversity and recruit female faculty.

Dr. Yang:

In my field, men have more difficulties [finding a job at a university than women], as women are underrepresented in my field. I guess it should be the same in the Department of Mathematics. So, if men and women are at the same level, it must be easier for women to find a job [I2-27]. Many universities have affirmative action and try to recruit women. Many universities are under this pressure. So men find it more difficult and Asian men find it the most difficult [I2-54].

我们专业呢，男的比女的难找，因为我们专业女的少。比如数学系也应该是女的少，所以同样水平，女的肯定好找[I2-27]。女生相对比男生好找工作一点是因为这个学科里女生要相对少，这个系里都是男的，好多学校都 affirmative action，也让你招女的。各个学校也有这个 pressure。所以男性要难找工作，亚裔男性更难[I2-54]。

Dr. Jin (female):

I think that when I applied for research universities in America, I might have enjoyed some advantages. As many people said, it might be because I am a woman...and many universities desperately need women faculty to strengthen their team. They have no or only a few women faculty members [at many universities]. For example, there were only about two female faculty members in my department when I joined this university, though my department is quite large with over 80 faculty members [I8-38].

我觉得在申请美国的学校，在我们学校这类 research university 还好，尤其是可能我也占一点便宜，就像很多人说的，我是 women, 因为很多大学都 desperate need women faculty member，壮点门面。因为他们一直都没有或者说很少，我来的时候，系里大概只有 2 个女性 faculty。这个系这么大，80 多个人[I8-38]。

Some participants declared satisfaction with what the university did in order to support and encourage women faculty members' career development.

Dr. Ouyang (female):

I think our university's policies are good for women faculty. They hope women faculty members receive the recognition by their committee and encourage you to succeed [I9-95].

对于女教授，我觉得我们学校的 Policy 非常好。它希望女教授在 committee 得到认可，它鼓励你 successful[I9-95]。

Dr. Qian:

Of course, our university has special policies for women faculty. My wife [who is also a faculty member at this university] delayed her tenure for one year [because she had a baby]...our university gave her one more year for tenure preparation. Regularly, you have five years to prepare for tenure, but if you give birth, you may have one more year as an extension [I16-86].

对于女老师，我们学校当然有照顾。她[我太太]推迟了 1 年的 tenure 的时间。正常是去年她就该递交 tenure，但是今年才交，给了多一年的准备时间。这是大概全美国的政策，正常是 5 年 tenure，但是你生过孩子的，如果有这个理由的，就可能可以 6 年[I16-86]。

However, many participants identified that there are more challenges for women faculty than men to develop and maintain a job position in academia, as they have to take more responsibilities of family and childcare. Women faculty have more pressures than male faculty members from their family which distracts their focus on their careers. Some may have to delay pursuing tenure, promotion or quit from the academy altogether.

Dr. Ai:

I wish I had not put more pressure on my wife [who is also a faculty member at our university] [laugh]. I think female faculty might find it more difficult in the academy. From the aspect of giving birth, it is a direct burden on the female faculty but indirect on male ones. Male faculty members' lives will be disturbed only after the baby is born, while female faculty members' lives change once they are pregnant [I11-129]. Since I am married and my wife has a faculty job as well, I have seen that it is not an easy job for her. I think that those issues should be addressed and solutions offered to all female faculty [I110127].

我希望我没有给我 wife 增加太多的压力。呵呵。我想会有的吧。女性从生育角度的话，that is the direct burden to female faculty and indirect burden to male faculty. 男性只是在孩子出生以后生活才被打乱了，但女性从怀孕就是一个变化[I11-129]。因为我结婚了，我从我 wife 那里看到作为女性又同时是从事 faculty job，确实是件很不容易的事情。所以我想这些问题可能存在于所以得 female faculty [I11-127]。

Dr. Jin (female):

In any family, women take more responsibilities with regards to childcare...I see some women faculty have quit academia. I think I am lucky. But as a Chinese woman in the US... we have to look after the babies by ourselves without our parents. My two babies were sent to daycare around one year old. So in some families, women might quit their jobs if they are not taking a faculty position. If you want to keep both a job and your family, it is very difficult for a woman [I8-93]. Therefore, I still have many pressures now [even though I am already a full professor]. Family is so demanding for women. I know one male faculty member who we all thought was not married... it turned out his child is twelve years old...he travels a lot [and does not seem to be married]. However, women faculty cannot do this, as you have to take care of your family...many stresses. Life is very intense every day [I8-105].

在任何家庭上，基本上女性对孩子的责任基本上更大的……。我看到的女性教授，或者 quit academe，我觉得我是比较 lucky。但是可能作为中国人……我的两个孩子都是 1 岁多就到了 day care 了。可是在国外都得自己带孩子，所以有些家庭如果女性不是 faculty，就放弃了 job。你要是 keep one job and also keep your family, I think it is very hard for a woman [I8-93]. 所以即便是现在我压力也是很大，家庭对女性的 demanding 大的多。我看到有个男性 faculty，大家以为他都没有结婚，后来知道他孩子都 12 岁了，因为他整天 travel。但是女性不可能这样做。你要顾家。这些 stress 很多。 Everyday life is still very intense[I8-105].

One participant thought that the stereotype of female faculty members having less authority than male members might pose a challenge for them. For example, in classroom teaching, Dr. Ai shared:

Teaching itself is a problem [for women faculty members]. As a petite female faculty member standing in front of the classroom, you do not seem to have enough power. Some students do not take you as seriously as male professors. This is important. I'm not saying you should threaten your students, but you have to have the authority among them...Female faculty are often not forceful enough. This is one of their inherent disadvantages, a social stereotype that people think female faculty are not equally capable as male faculty. I think it happens [to women faculty] [I11-128].

比如 teaching 本身就是问题，你作为 petite female faculty 站在教室前面的话，你就不够威慑力。有的学生不 take you serious。这还是很重要的，你不说吓唬学生，但你必须在学生中树立威严，authority ... 但是这个 female faculty 这个方面不够 forceful,这是她们天生的一个 disadvantage。Social

stereotype , 虽然不说出来, 但是人们心目中会觉得 female faculty is not equally capable as male faculty. 这种事情我觉得会有的[I11-128]。

Dr. Zhao specifically emphasized that women faculty in the college of engineering face more challenges. As he narrated,

It is already a challenge if women faculty choose to work in the College of Engineering, where male faculty are a majority and the atmosphere is more masculine. The Department of Electrical Engineering is more masculine. A female faculty member [that I know] worked so hard. She was serving as the president of a conference when she was about to deliver her baby. In other words, when her baby was about to be born, she continued to receive hundreds of papers and then distribute them to people for reviews. At last, she was too tired to keep going and had to ask another professor for help. You can see that female faculty are very difficult and need to expend huge efforts and perseverance, because the College of Engineering is male dominated. For example, men do not take giving birth into account when they set the rules for tenure review [I4-82]. 女教授在工学院本身就是一个挑战。因为工学院本身就是男教授多, 男性化的。比如 EE, 更是男性化的。一个女老师就是很努力的。她生小孩之前还在做一个会议的 president, 那就是说她在生小孩之前还会接到几百个论文, 分下去, 去看稿。后来她实在坐不下去了, 请另一个教授帮忙。可见, 女教授很难, 需要很大的毅力。因为工学院都是男性定的, 比如像生小孩这种事情, 男人定规矩的时候肯定没考虑到这一点[I4-82]。

In brief, throughout the interviews, many participants indicated that women faculty, including female Chinese faculty members, remain underrepresented in many disciplines, though many universities have placed more effort on recruiting and maintaining women faculty. The participants perceived that Chinese women faculty, especially those in some disciplines for example engineering, face greater difficulties and challenges when seeking tenure and promotion. They, as any other women faculty, have more duties in caring for their family and childcare that oftentimes influence their career development, and might lead them to quit the academy. In addition, the stereotype that women faculty have less authority than their male counterparts could pose

challenges for them while working both inside and outside the classroom. Findings here are consistent with the literature that women faculty of color have more pressure to succeed in the academy, as they fit into both female and minority categories (Turner, 2002).

Summary Findings for Research Question Three

What challenges have Chinese faculty members experienced when seeking promotion, tenure and recognition within a Research Extensive University in Texas?

Participants identified the barriers and challenges they experienced when seeking promotion, tenure and recognition within this Research Extensive University in Texas. The following summarizes the findings for this research question.

(1) Challenges faced when seeking promotion:

A few participants indicated that their different cultural background and the language barrier might result in difficulties for Chinese faculty seeking to accelerate their career development. They did not feel very comfortable socializing and interacting with people in English, particularly when talking about non-work related issues. They felt like they were outsiders and that it was difficult to engage in conversations freely. Accordingly, it was difficult for them to build a strong networking system like their counterparts. In short, culture differences and the language barrier might be disadvantages for some participants seeking promotion at this university in Texas. In addition, concerns from the senior faculty such as whether promotions came too early,

dragged the promotion process on longer than might have been necessary and made it more difficult.

The majority of the participants in this study did not report any challenges when pursuing promotions at this university. They were very confident about their performance in terms of research, teaching and scholarship. As one participant commented, Chinese scholars are very diligent and they work hard. Here, participants showed their belief in their own personal strengths, expressing that accomplishments are achievable only when you are ready.

(2) Challenges when seeking tenure:

A. Several participants mentioned that they had experienced some challenges when teaching in and out of the classroom at this university. Because English is their second language and they lack teaching experience at American universities, Chinese faculty faced more difficulties when teaching at this university in the United States. They expressed frustration at being challenged constantly by a few students in each class because they were faculty members of color. For example, students challenged a female Chinese faculty member, asking whether she was hired expressly because of the university's desire for diversity. Students sometimes wrote extremely negative comments on her faculty teaching evaluations. Findings in this section appeared to reflect those found in the literature, that diverse educational environments challenge students to exchange ideas at a different level and share different life experiences with people from different cultural backgrounds (Rudenstine, 1996).

B. Some participants reported that it was more difficult to get funding than for their white counterparts. However, they rather ascribed this difficulty to cultural differences. For example, Chinese faculty received different training regarding writing formats. A grant proposal they wrote was more likely to be rejected than one written by their white colleagues, because they did not follow the standard writing format and as a result, did not look professional.

C. Psychological pressures on junior faculty regarding establishing a research program became a primary challenge for some participants. Another reason was the different training system in China, as opposed to the United States. In China, junior faculty usually worked on their own projects independently, after having followed a senior faculty member for a period at the beginning of their career. However, in the United States they worked completely independently from the first day of being an assistant professor. Accordingly, new Chinese faculty members normally experienced much pressure to establish their research programs the day they began working in the academy.

D. One female Chinese faculty member provided rich narratives regarding what she had experienced at the university and emphatically expressed her feelings of isolation, subtle discrimination, and unequal treatment when seeking tenure. She could sense that people in her college still did not feel completely comfortable working with her, even though she had held a position in the department for more than ten years. It was possible that these experiences could be because she was not around very much in the university while she commuted between two cities. However, she was not sure

whether she faced such challenges because she is Chinese or because she is a woman. It seems that race and gender issues may interlock together to cause more challenges for female Chinese faculty working in the academy in the United States.

(3) Challenges in seeking recognition:

About half of the participants commented that they had not experienced any challenges when seeking recognition. Among those respondents, some were very satisfied with the many awards they received for teaching and research. Others emphasized the importance of having a good attitude towards rewards/awards, even though they had not received many awards. After all, recognition is sometimes how one feels, according to their perspective. The researcher felt that many Chinese faculty members in this study were modest, humble and not aggressive about getting awards or rewards. Additionally, this researcher sensed that departmental politics might be involved in the process if they tried to compete for awards.

However, half of the participants provided rich comments regarding their feeling that the university did not fully recognize their work. The salary disparity is an excellent example. More female Chinese faculty reported that they experienced salary inequity in their department and earned less money than their male counterparts. They oftentimes had to fight for equity pay. Participants mentioned that it was a known fact that women made less than men, and Asians made less than Caucasians in the academy. Furthermore, they were not sure whether this unequal treatment was gender based or race based. It could be both.

Participants indicated the university's administration was bureaucratic in rewarding faculty in general. Female faculty in this study tended to report more that they received recognition from outside the university than within it. Participants tended to seek recognition from outside the institution and look for balance in their personal and professional lives.

(4) Discrimination when seeking promotion, tenure and recognition:

As reported earlier, only one female Chinese faculty member, Dr. Qiu, shared voluntarily that she had experienced subtle discriminatory treatment when seeking tenure. When participants were asked directly those research questions related to discrimination, findings were consistent with the earlier findings that only Dr. Qiu overtly experienced being discriminated against at work. She mentioned that it was more difficult and a greater challenge for her to recruit American students and to get tenured. She oftentimes felt powerless to fight for her rights and to protect her students when male white faculty challenged her and her students. She questioned whether these challenges and difficulties resulted from the fact that she is a woman or that she is a minority. She did not know for sure. One thing she was sure about was that men tended to show their masculine power and control in front of her. Most of the time during faculty meetings, Dr. Qiu strongly felt she was a minority and that few people heard her voice. She felt powerless, hopeless and helpless. Dr. Qiu emphasized that her experiences of discrimination were subtle, and without evidences to prove the ill

treatment, she was powerless to stop it. No one would make discriminatory statements openly and overtly.

Although fifteen participants out of sixteen reported that they had not experienced discrimination while working at this university, they believed that cultural differences always existed between them and their white counterparts. Additionally, they thought that Chinese faculty faced disadvantages while working in the academy in the United States, but the university did not count them as minorities unless they were women. Furthermore, many participants indicated that they had seen subtle discrimination against other Chinese faculty members happen at this university, such as during the recruiting process or research seminars. Again, they emphasized that the discrimination was subtle and that they did not have evidence to prove it, but only could oftentimes feel that it was there.

The majority of the participants reported that they did not feel as if they were a minority during faculty meetings at the university, though they were under-represented in terms of percentage of Chinese faculty. People heard their voices and they felt as if they were full members of their department.

(5) The university's policies influencing participants when seeking promotion, tenure and recognition:

Some participants did not consider the university's policies to offer a major challenge to their career development when seeking promotion, tenure and recognition.

They believed that any good university would have high requirements for faculty with regards to teaching, research and scholarship.

Other participants indicated that the university's culture was dominated by the white middle class, was relatively conservative and isolated. They were concerned that the overly conservative culture might limit the university's development into one of the top universities in the nation. In order to attract highly qualified faculty, the university needed to make more of an effort to improve student and faculty diversity, and encourage more collaboration with regards to research and teaching, both nationally and internationally.

(6) Challenges for female Chinese faculty when seeking a faculty position, promotion, tenure and recognition:

Many participants indicated that women faculty still remain underrepresented in the academy, although many universities are under pressure to recruit more women faculty members. This Research Extensive University in Texas has implemented policies to attract female faculty members, improving the university's recruiting and retention processes.

However, participants perceived that female Chinese faculty members, especially those working in some disciplines such as engineering, seem to have more difficulties and face greater challenges when seeking tenure and promotion. As with any female faculty member, they have more duties with regards to care of the family and childcare, which oftentimes influences their career development and can even lead to women

quitting the academy. In addition, stereotypes regarding women faculty as having less authority than men could offer other challenges both inside and outside the classroom.

Research Question Four

What factors do Chinese faculty members consider important in influencing their decision to remain in faculty positions at a Research Extensive University in Texas?

The focus of this research question was to explore the reasons that Chinese faculty members remain in the academy in the United States, instead of returning to China. The purpose of this question was also to identify what factors influenced the respondents to continue to work as faculty at this Research Extensive University in Texas. This researcher sought to understand how this university implemented policies to retain high quality Chinese faculty. Accordingly, the researcher wanted to share findings of the results of this study with the university's administrators in order to facilitate a better understanding of faculty of color's retention issues. The researcher was also eager to learn what factors attracted Chinese faculty to remain in the academic institutions in the United States rather than to return to China. The researcher hoped to gain some insights, which could be provided to higher education administrators in China regarding certain issues in the Chinese higher education system.

Factors Influencing the Decision to Remain in a Faculty Position at a Research Extensive University in Texas

Participants discussed reasons why they decided to continue their work at this Research Extensive University in Texas. They talked about their satisfaction with the support they received from the university during their career development. One participant said, “I have been here for 18 years. There is nothing that I am not happy with [I4-83] 我在这个学校呆了 18 年了。没有什么不高兴”[I4-83].

Some participants specified that what primarily attracted them was the strong research environment at this university, especially with regards to research funding, resources and highly qualified colleagues.

Dr. Liu:

Our university is good. I have been traveling a lot to do research in recent years. I have heard people who are from Princeton, Yale and Berkeley talk about their experiences when I was doing the fellowship at North Carolina. In fact, I think our university surely is as good as those universities regarding supporting research and providing funds. I am very satisfied [I3-117].

因为我这几年也在外面，比如在 North Carolina 做 fellow 的也有从 Princeton, Yale, Berkeley 来的人，也听他们讲，实际上我觉得我们学校的研究资金、研究支持上都不必他们这些学校差。我是很满意的[I3-117]。

Many participants stated that the recognition they received from this university was an important reason that influenced their decision to remain at this university.

Dr. Wu:

Another factor is that I am recognized by the university. My department head and the College treat me well. So I have not thought of going anywhere else [I12-105].

另外一个因素是现在我在这里挺被重视的，系主任对我也挺好的。College 对我也挺好的。所以我没有想到其他地方去[I12-105].

Some participants highlighted the influence of departmental culture on their decision in continuing to work at this university. More specifically, they mentioned their colleagues support of each other, almost like a family, and that the work environment was pleasant in the department.

Dr. Han:

I think whether a university is suitable for you to work at or not depends on its culture...and your department is the most important, because you need to deal with the people there every day...with faculty members and students there. If the culture in your department makes you feel uncomfortable, then you will not be happy [and will leave] [I1-147]. I have worked in this department for eleven years. I like the culture a lot, otherwise I would have left early...our department is supportive, although some people have disagreements with you. But overall, it is great, like a family! [I1-148] 90% of the reason I stay at this university is because of the department's culture. Maybe 10% depends on the university? [laugh] [I1-149]

我觉得一个大学适合不适合你工作，还是一个文化的问题，就是说你那个系是最重要的。因为你每天都要和他们打交道，跟这些老师、学生见面，如果这里的文化让你觉得不舒服的话，那就没有意思[I1-147]。我在这个系呆了 11 年了，跟我喜欢这个系的文化是有很大关系， 否则我早走了！..... 我们这里是非常 supportive， 虽然有人跟你有分歧，也有很少一部分人跟你捣蛋，但是总体来说非常好，像个 family 一样[I1-148]。所以说，我留在这里，更多的不是因为这个大学..... 跟这个系的文化应该说有 90%的关系。跟这个大学应该说 10%？可能不到 10% 说心里话，呵呵 [I1-149] 。

Quite a few participants revealed that family needs provided an important reason holding them at this university. Three participants in this study are academic dual career couples, so they enjoyed less mobility in their job search. Additionally, female faculty more than male faculty had more obligations regarding family and childcare. From the responses, this researcher discovered that some of the participants were not fully satisfied with working at this university, or at least they did not think it was an ideal place to stay. However, they had to compromise because of their family.

Dr. Pan:

We suffer from the two-body problem. My wife is a scientist in another department. You know, it is hard for both of us to find jobs at the same university [I5-100].

我们是 two body problem，我太太是在海洋系做 scientist。两个人都在另外一个学校找到工作很不容易[I5-100]。

Dr. Qiu (female):

I often want to move somewhere else; I cannot because of my family. How should I? Many universities tried to recruit me, but I could not leave. Therefore, even though I have some dissatisfaction, I put up with it. However, I think this is not a perfect place to work. If you ask me the satisfaction degree, I would say 3.5 out of 1-5 scale [I13-85].

我也经常有想法要 move 到其他地方，但是因为家庭原因我也没办法 move。怎么办呢？.....也有很多学校曾经也要 recruited，.....但是我没办法走。所以有一些不如意的地方，但有时候想想，至少对我来说也还能够忍受吧。不过我可以跟你说，这个工作不是最理想的。你要是问我 satisfactory 的程度，估计也就在 3-4 之间，如果是 1-5 的 scale [I13-85]。

Participants discussed the reasons why they would leave this university. In addition to receiving a better offer from another university, the lack of collaboration at this university would be the primary reason. As Dr. Qian pointed out,

Our university does not have a strong medical college, so I do not have the data I need. Therefore, I have to look for collaborators from outside our university. If I could find a place where I would have better colleagues with which to collaborate and could further develop my career, I would leave [I16-89].

主要是我们有没有更好的机会。对我来讲的话，这里的医学院不是很强，我坐的研究都是跟人的疾病有关，没有好的医学院我就没有数据，所以我得到外面去找合作者。万一有更好的合作者，对工作有更大的发展，我就走[I16-89]。

From the above comments, the researcher realized that the university might need to place further emphasis on strengthening certain disciplines in order to keep these Chinese faculty members at this university. Otherwise, they might be recruited by other universities and end up leaving.

To summarize, there is no one factor that influenced the participants' decisions to remain in their faculty positions at this Research Extensive University in Texas. In fact, multiple factors were interlocked together to affect their choices of where to work. On the one hand, many participants revealed that overall they were satisfied with their work environment, including their access to research resources and support from the university, their healthy relationship with colleagues, and the supportive departmental culture. On the other hand, some participants pointed out potential factors that might drive them to move somewhere else, which was primarily the lack of sufficient collaboration in their research and in their field at this university. Therefore, it seems that this university should strengthen certain disciplines in order to retain the high quality faculty members the university currently enjoys.

Factors Influencing the Decision to Remain in a Faculty Position in the United States rather than Return to China

In this section, participants discussed the factors that influenced their decision to work in the academy in the United States, instead of returning to China. The researcher reflected on the attractions Chinese faculty members working in American academia felt and expressed over the course of this research. In addition, the research sought to provide people in China with some insights regarding some of the differences between the educational systems in two countries.

From the responses, it was clear that there were many factors that interacted together to affect the participants' decisions regarding whether to stay in the United

States or return to China. These factors included their families, both countries immigration policies, the research environment and their overall academic workplace.

Many participants indicated that compared to China, the United States remains a more advanced research environment, considering various factors including scientists, technology and facilities. Respondents enjoy doing research here and working with their highly intelligent peers. One participant related a story about his friend who felt lonely doing research in China, because he did not have peers with whom he could discuss his research questions.

Dr. Zhao:

[The reason why I stay here was] because of my research, which I work on all the time. It is well recognized by my peers. China does not have such a research environment. Even now, China still cannot provide such a good research environment, not to mention a few years ago. I have a friend who went back to China and returned to the US some time later. I remembered that he even received second place in the Science and Technology Awards in China. He went back to China around 1987, but returned to the US in 1991. He told me that he was treated well in China, but the only thing was that he had no one with whom he could discuss his work or a partner with which to work on his research. From the research point of view, China has not yet reached as high a level as in America where you can easily find a peer with whom you can discuss issues [I4-88].

是因为我做的这些研究，一直都在有一个东西在做，有人在关注你，有人在认可你，这个研究环境中国拿不出来。即使是现在，中国也拿不出来。前几年更是拿不出来。我有个朋友回去过，后来又回来了。我记得他还得过科技进步二等奖呢，结果有回来了。后来我就问他。他比我还早啦，大概 87 年、88 年就回去了，后来 90 年、91 年又回来了，他就说，国内带你真的是好啊，可是就是没人跟你一起做东西，没有人跟你一起讨论问题。这是从研究角度讲，中国还没有达到这样的水平。并不想在这边，到系里都会找到任何你一起谈研究[I4-88]。

To many participants, the American immigration policy issued after the “June 4 movement” in 1989 was an important reason for obtaining permanent resident status, and staying in the United States after the early 1990s.

Dr. Zhao:

In 1989-1990, one of the reasons we stayed in America was the “June 4 movement.” In fact, we decided to stay because of “June 4” and the reason we could stay was because of “June 4.” Like I said, people who held J1 (visiting scholar) visas had to return to their home country within 18 months, and serve in your home country for two years. Because of “June 4,” the former President Bush waived this policy, and about 80,000 international students were able to stay in the United States. Those people held different visas, including the J1. That was the first factor [I4-85].

在我们 89 年、90 年的时候，一个原因是六四。实际上我们决定留下来是因为六四，能够留下来也是六四。像我说的，J1 18 个月以后一定要回你的驻地工作服务两年，由于六四的原因，当时老布什把这个东西 wave 掉了，所以这么一下子 8 万留学生留下来了，有些是 J1 留下的，有些是其他身份留下来的。那是第一个因素[I4-85]。

Of course, some participants declared that the living situation in China in the early 1990s was much worse than in the United States, which affected their decision to stay in the United States.

Dr. Zhao:

During that time, even though “June 4” had not yet happened, the living conditions in China could not compare with those in America. Now China has changed a lot, but back then, it was not the same. For example, you could only make RMB100 (less than \$20) a month in 1989 in China. Finances were an important reason why many people wanted to stay [in America] [I4-86].

反过来讲，在当时说，即使没有六四，中国的条件也根本没法跟美国比，不像现在。国内 89 年只有 100 块钱 1 个月啊等等。我想很多人想留下来这是个很重要的原因[I4-86]。

Dr. Qian:

I was a lecturer at Peking University when I went abroad. I had worked there for three years after receiving my PhD. I lived in a ten square meter apartment that I shared with a roommate [I16-96]. Young people all over faced the same situation. My two colleagues were married, but they lived in a dorm and their wives lived in a different dorm [I16-97].

我在北大是讲师，出国的时候也是讲师。我在那里博士毕业三年，两个人住 10 平米的一个房子[I16-96]。年轻人都是这样。我的同事，两个小伙子都结婚了，可是两个小伙子住在一个宿舍，老婆们也在另外的集体宿舍了[I16-97]。

Having much more academic freedom working in the United States rather than China was inevitably one of the most attractive reasons that influenced participants' decisions to stay. As Dr. Liu claimed,

Academic freedom is important. China has no real academic freedom now. Despite the fact that research funding is getting better, academic freedom still does not exist [I3-119].
freedom 这个很重要。中国毕竟还是现在还没有真正的学术自由。尽管研究经费好一些，但学术自由还没有[I3-119]。

Participants pointed out that the authority of officials in China remains so powerful that it suppresses academic freedom and the faculty's career development. They conveyed their disappointment that the universities and colleges in China do not offer freedom to their faculty and students.

Dr. Ai:

This is the system's issue. There is no freedom in China...I think Chinese universities cannot properly direct faculty members to concentrate on their research. The force of the officials in the universities is very powerful. I know that my college mates who are working at Tsinghua University as young assistant professors continue not to have enough freedom to establish their own research [I11-132].

还是制度的问题。国内是不是自由。.....我觉得国内不能很好 direct faculty members to concentrate on the research。国内官本位的势力在大学里还是非常严重。我知道我有同学在清华大学里做年轻的教授，他们仍然没有足够的 freedom to establish their own research[I11-132]。

Dr. Han:

I particularly do not like the educational system in China because it suppresses students and research. Which graduate students dare to ask questions in an academic seminar? Who can stand up against professors as a graduate student? "No one!" This is completely abnormal because first, as a faculty member, you end up being a bad example for your students; second, you suppress the creativity of the students. Students think they should look like their professor in the future if they go on to become faculty. Therefore, they do not want to be a faculty member because they see you being a bad role model [I1-158]. I think

this is the biggest taboo in universities. Universities should be places of absolute freedom, absolutely encouraging young people, students, and absolutely encouraging creativity. There must be no authority or hierarchy from officials or faculty members over students. I am very disappointed and feel sad about this situation in China [I1-153].

中国教育尤其我看不惯的是它对学生压抑，对研究压抑，有哪个研究生开学术报告的时候敢提问题？有哪个研究生敢跟老师唱反调？没有！都是毕恭毕敬的，这就绝对不正常，首先你老师就给学生做一个很坏的榜样，这是第一。第二，你压抑了学生的创造性。学生看到老师，就觉得将来他也是那个样子。学生看你这个榜样，他以后就不愿意做教授，你就给他树立了一个很坏的榜样[I1-158]。我觉得这是大学里最大的忌讳，大学就应该是一个绝对自由，绝对鼓励年轻人，鼓励学生，鼓励创造的，绝对不能有任何的权威，等级观念。这些是中国没有的。我觉得非常非常失望，也觉得悲哀的事情[I1-153]。

Complicated *human relations (Guanxi)* in China also demonstrated the lack of freedom in Chinese higher education. Participants related that human relation is the key element in any workplace, including the academy. As Dr. Wei mentioned, “If you go to China, there are too many personal things you have to deal with. I have a hard time dealing with human relations and networking, even in the academic field. Relationships are key in China” [I7-94]. Dr. Ai specified, there is no peer review system in Chinese higher education, and faculty have to seek human relationships (*Guanxi*) to solve their academic problems in China.

Dr. Ai:

The current system in China seems not to provide good guidance. In a certain sense, it has not met international standards. For example, many researches in China do not have the peer review process. It is difficult for faculty to either apply for funding or write a paper without access to a peer review system, as you instead have to rely on human relationships (*Guanxi*). This is so difficult [I11-133]. Particularly, we have been abroad for so many years. We really do not have any “*Guanxi*” in China and we do not know how to find these types of relationships, either. Therefore, it limits us from doing many things without the peer review process [I11-134].

另一方面，现在的制度给的 guidance 似乎还不够好。从某种意义上说还是不能跟国际接轨。比如国内很多 research 没有 peer review process，不论是拿 funding，还是写 paper，都没有 peer review，都得找关系。这样就很难办 [I11-133]。尤其是我们出国这么多年了，实在是没有关系了。而且也不大会找关系。没有 peer review process，很多事情都没法去做 [I11-134]。

Dr. Qian overtly expressed reluctance to return to China because of his negative experience of dealing with human relationships (Guanxi) when he was working at a Chinese university.

Dr. Qian:

I told you that the Director of my division in China wrote me many satiric and humiliating mails, one after another, when I went to Germany [laugh]. I do not know why...as your division's Director, a professor at Peking University, who has reached the age of 60, should know better than to do such things. I was wondering how such people and matters could happen at Peking University, an institution that supposedly has the most freedom and democracy in China! [I16-92] ... Colleagues should tolerate and support each other. Such behavior would not happen in the United States. This is human weakness, and the Chinese have done even uglier things [I16-95]...I will not go back, unless there are some dramatic changes in the US. Otherwise, I will not return to China [I16-90]. I worked in China. The difference to me is huge [I16-91].

我跟你讲，我的教研室主任，我到德国后，接二连三地给我写信，对我连击带讽，[笑~~~笑]。也不知道为什么。我人都走了.....他不知道，他就给我写这样的信。作为你的教研室主任，北大的教授，都快 60 了。我就说，北大这个自由民主的地方怎么会有这样的人跟事呢？[笑~~][I16-92].....人和人应该带有宽容的心。同事与同事之间，我在美国不会有这种事情。这是人性的弱点，中国人这种事情更 ugly [I16-95].....我不会回去的。除非美国这个国家发生急剧的变化。要不然我不会回去 [I16-90]。我在中国工作过，这个对比对我来说太强了 [I16-91]。

Family reasons provided a significant factor for participants wanting to remain in the United States. Even though research opportunities and salary in certain areas of China have improved dramatically, it continues to be difficult to move an entire family back to China.

Dr. Yang:

The first reason to not going back to China is that my children should all grow up here. My daughter goes to college here and my son is in junior high school. Besides, even if both my children go to college and I am able to move back to China, my wife would not want to because she likes the quiet environment here and thinks that there is too much chaos in China [I2-105]. Mainly, my main reason to remain is still my family [I2-108].

但是不回中国第一个原因是孩子都是在这边长大的。女儿刚上大学，儿子上初二。他们回不去。再一个，即使孩子都上了大学，你可以回去了吧，但是太太不愿意回去。她喜欢这里比较安静的环境，觉得中国乱[I2-105]。主要还是 family 角度[I2-108]。

Many participants reported that they realize that there are many opportunities to work in China, and they either have begun working on some projects or have collaborated with Chinese universities in recent years. In fact, they thought they could have a greater effect on China's academic environment working in the United States than if they returned to China.

Dr. Cao:

Many factors determine whether you should return to China or not. First, people like us will not be without a job wherever we go. We do not return to China because there is something else we want to do. It is not as if we do not have backup or we stay only for the money or fame. We just want to do something [meaningful] [I10-92]. I visit China every year and I make many academic exchanges. There are only a few people like me who not only understand Chinese culture but also know the rules of the American game... Slowly, after you work on it [an academic collaboration] for a long time, there will come a cultural change, and minds will change accordingly [I10-84]. Scholars contribute constantly to the system's change through economic reforms, policies and the direction of China...Finally, you can see that the government adopted the proposals of a group of scholars, and our speeches have great influence now. If I talk about something in the newspaper and in publications, people in China will soon know about my opinion...We do not go back to China because no personal interests will be served in the issues that come up there[and our opinions are more objective] [I10-89].

回国有很多因素决定，第一个，我们这些人到哪里工作，不会没有工作的。为什么没有回国，是因为我们想做一点事情，并不是没有后路，我们不是为了钱，为了名，我们就是想做点事[I10-92]。我每年回中国，学术交流也很多，对中国的情况也很了解，像我这种既懂中国文化，又懂美国游

戏规则的人，又有一定的行政经验的人很少的。……慢慢你搞久了，就变成了一种文化沉淀，就改变人的思想[I10-84]。制度发生变化的过程中学者就在做不断的奉献，对中国的经济改革，政策，改变的方向，……最后看到你的建议，中央采纳了我们一批学者的建议。因为我们现在讲话太有影响力。我在报纸上、刊物上讲，国内很快就知道了，……。我们这些人不回去，就不会有个人利益在里面[I10-89]。

Participants believed that the system of higher education in China would certainly change gradually, since new reform policies have been issued by the central government. They have faith that more and more people will go back to China in the future.

Dr. Han:

Most likely, it will change gradually. As it stands now, China sends 5,000 people overseas each year. Uh, I think this is wonderful! Think about it. 5,000 each year will become 50,000 in 10 years. After training for one year in the United States, these 50,000 people will certainly have some insights and senses about American culture [and education], and they will bring those insights back home. China will surely change [I1-155].

但是呢，也有可能慢慢会变。你像现在，国内每年送一大批人出国，每年5000啊，我就说这种事情真是太好了。你想想，每年5000，10年就5万，这5万人在美国经过1年的培训，他一定对美国的文化有一定的感受，他会带回去，所以中国会慢慢改[I1-155]。

In short, many factors interact together to influence participants' decisions to remain in the United States, rather than return to China. Some factors are historical and social, such as the American immigration policy's changes so that they were easily able to become permanent residents in the early 1990s. Others factors are associated with the family, American academic freedom, a lack of complicated human relationships (Guanxi) and the overall living environment that comes with working within the academy in the United States. Although participants reported some issues that they faced at the universities and colleges in China, they indicated that they had observed significant improvements in higher education in China. Many had worked closely with

universities in China for years, and they believed that they could make more of a difference in the academic development of China while working in the United States.

Summary Findings for Research Question Four

What factors do Chinese faculty members consider important as influencing their decision to remain in faculty positions at this Research Extensive University in Texas?

(1) Factors influencing the decision to remaining in a faculty position at this Research Extensive University in Texas include the following.

Many factors were combined and interacted together to affect the participants' decision to remain working at this university as faculty. There was not just one simple reason.

In general, participants expressed their satisfaction with the overall work environment at this university, such as its substantial support regarding research funding and research resources, good collegial relations and an encouraging departmental culture. They felt comfortable working at this university. In addition, family became a major reason to stay at this university for some participants, especially those who are dual academic career couples and women faculty.

However, some participants revealed their dissatisfaction with the lack of research collaboration opportunities in certain fields, which meant that they had to seek collaboration outside the university. That might be a primary reason for some participants to leave this university and seek employment elsewhere. In order to keep

these highly qualified faculty, it seems that the university might need to strengthen certain disciplines and persistently reinforce its research and education quality in the future.

(2) Factors influencing the decision to remain in faculty positions in the United States, rather than in China:

Again, no one simple factor influenced these participants to stay in the United States rather than return to China. Some factors included historical reasons such as the American immigration policy's change that made it easier to become permanent residents in early 1990s. Other factors are associated with the family, American academic freedom, a lack of complicated human relationships (Guanxi), and the overall living environment one can enjoy while working within the academy in the United States. Although participants reported some issues at the universities and colleges in China, they also indicated that they had seen significant improvement in higher education in China. Many had worked closely with universities in China for years, and they believed they could make more of a difference in the academic development in China while working in the United States, than if they returned to China to teach.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The previous chapters are composed of the introduction, the statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, the significance of the study, a review of the literature, the methodology of the study, and an analysis of the data and findings answering each research question. This chapter includes the summary of the findings, conclusions drawn from the findings, a discussion of the implications of the findings for future practice, and recommendations for further studies.

Overview of the Study

This study was undertaken to identify and describe factors that influence Chinese faculty decisions in applying for, accepting and remaining in faculty positions at a Research Extensive University in Texas. In addition, this study intended to determine the challenges and support that Chinese faculty experienced with regards to getting promotions, tenure and recognition at this Research Extensive University in Texas. To address the purpose of the study, four research questions were used as guidance for collecting and analyzing the data.

The sample consisted of sixteen Chinese faculty members across different disciplines, ranks and genders, from seven different colleges at the studied university, all of whom were selected to provide a purposive sample. Four female and twelve male Chinese faculty members were included. All participants are first generation Americans

who obtained at least a bachelor's degree in China, received their doctoral degree or postdoctoral training in the United States, and found faculty positions in the United States.

This study used a qualitative research design with in-depth interviews, observations and document reviews as the major tools for data collection. This researcher's primary role in this study was to serve as a human instrument for data collection. The intensive interviews and observations were conducted between October 26 and December 13, 2007. As the participants shared their feelings and stories relevant to their career experiences in searching for jobs and pursuing tenure, promotion and recognition in the United States, the complex and multidimensional perspectives of their career development began to emerge. As a result of an analysis of the data, this researcher identified themes, patterns and categories that provided answers to each research question, and conclusions and suggestions for further studies.

By exploring and investigating Chinese faculty members' career experiences in the United States, the researcher hoped that this study could contribute to the scant body of literature on Chinese faculty's career experiences; shed some light on understanding what support and challenges enhance or impede their career development in the academy; provide some implications for higher educational administrators in practice; and recommendations for further research about the career development of faculty of color, especially with regards to Chinese faculty.

Summary of Findings

The researcher asked certain questions, while summarizing the key findings of this data. For example, do the results provide remarkable findings that help the researcher answer the research questions and better understand the problems of this study? Are these findings accordant or inconsistent with the existing studies in the literature? Can existing studies be able to explain these results? With these questions in mind, the researcher summed up some key findings of each research question, as follows below.

Summary of Findings for Research Question One

What factors did Chinese faculty members consider important in influencing their decision to apply for and accept faculty positions at a Research Extensive University in Texas?

(1) Participants identified the main reasons why they left China and came to complete their PhD or post doctoral training in the United States after they obtained their bachelor's or master's degree in China during the early 1980s to the early 1990s. These reasons included participants' dissatisfaction with the societal environment regarding personal development such as China's lack of opportunities for graduate education and a lack of a strong research environment, unpleasant living conditions, and a popular trend in China for young academics to study abroad.

(2) Participants all revealed their determination to choose the academic career and reported that there were various factors that influenced their decision to apply for faculty positions in the United States. Consistent with the findings reported earlier in this study regarding why they left China and came to the United States, participants demonstrated a high level of intrinsic interest in doing research and expressed that they could only realize their career goals by working in academic institutions in the United States. In addition, faculty careers in the United States had certain social and economic forms of security, which allowed them not to worry about their living situation in the United States, including such factors as housing. A lack of financial security was one reason that drove these participants away from China.

Moreover, the attraction of academic freedom and these participants' desire to teach students influenced their decision to choose the academy as their career. Their desires were also found to be closely associated with their prior learning and teaching experiences in China. Accumulated previous experiences of working at universities in China allowed participants to be familiar with the environment in institutions of higher education, which in turn made them feel comfortable pursuing work in an academic workplace.

Furthermore, family influence and Chinese culture, especially Confucian philosophy, greatly influenced participants' career decisions when applying for faculty positions at this university. According to Confucius, "all things are inferior but education". Therefore, Chinese people highly value education and always respect those who performed intellectual work. As a result, parents often place high expectations on

their children, encouraging them to achieve academic excellence. Consequently, parental expectations and heavy Confucian influence strongly affected participants' decisions in selecting the academic careers. These findings support the literature that states that culture and family influence both play important roles in Chinese people's academic achievement, attainment of goals, and career development (Fouad et al, 2008; Leong & Chou, 1994; Pearce & Lin, 2007; Wu, 2001). Consistent with the literature, these reports, including participants' intrinsic interests, their parental expectations and an emphasis on education influenced by Confucian culture, were all considerations when making their career decisions (Leong & Chou, 1994).

(3) With regards to applying for and accepting a faculty position at this Research Extensive University in Texas, participants presented their strong credentials and qualifications. However, in order to open the doors of the academic world, many participants applied to multiple universities, choosing whichever schools that happened to have had an opening and fit their other requirements. Additionally, as foreign graduate students seeking residency in the United States, they experienced time pressure to ensure their legal immigrant status through securing a job in the United States.

(4) During the interviews, participants in this study identified individual barriers and institutionalized barriers associated with their job search within academic institutions in the United States. Individual barriers were described as their challenges with mastery of English, a lack of teaching experience and undergraduate educational

background from a United States university, unfamiliarity with American culture and a lack of sufficiently fluent communication skills. Institutionalized barriers were described as occupational discrimination, prejudice, stereotypes, and unequal treatment, all of which could hinder their career opportunities associated with the job search process.

One of the overwhelming findings from the interviews and data analysis was that the majority of the participants tended to regard individual barriers as the major factor impeding them while seeking job opportunities within the academy in the United States. They strongly believed in personal efforts, determination and qualifications. If they did not obtain a good position, they tended to look into themselves first rather than criticize other factors such as institutional barriers. This study finds that, in contrast to individual barriers, institutionalized barriers received relatively little attention from these participants. For example, among sixteen interviewees, only two briefly mentioned institutionalized barriers during their descriptions of their job search experiences. Although some participants expressed some dissatisfaction about the institutional policies/structures in their career development, almost no one overtly attributed such dissatisfactions to institutional barriers. Throughout the interviews, the participants continued to emphasize individual efforts as major factors for their career success. The researcher found that participants were reluctant to share overt and detailed information about discrimination, and tended to avoid such topics. They did not label any of their experiences as discrimination.

These findings provide support to the literature that says “Chinese value is blamed for lack of success, with minimal blame on White society” (Leong & Chou,

1994, p156). It also supports Wu's (2001) explanation that in Chinese culture, each individual should take responsibility to determine his/her own destiny. As a result of this cultural influence, Chinese often have strong belief in personal effort, determination and qualification. Consequently, Chinese choose denying and minimizing the influences as their own way of handling prejudice and discrimination.

(5) Participants also shared those factors that influenced them to accept their job offer from this Research Extensive University in Texas. A few participants indicated that it was the only offer they received while seeking a faculty position, so they did not have any alternatives. For those who received more than one offer, a strong research environment and exceptional research potential, a reasonable working environment and impressive colleagues, and their family were all factors that worked together to influence their career decisions. Therefore, internal and external factors influenced many Chinese people's career decisions regarding whether or not to accept an offer from this Research Extensive University in Texas.

Summary of Findings for Research Question Two

What support have Chinese faculty members received in seeking promotion, tenure and recognition within a Research Extensive University in Texas?

(1) Support received in seeking tenure at this university

The support participants received when seeking tenure at this university mainly included institutional support and collegial support from inside and outside their department. Institutional support was described in this study as times when their department (a) offered faculty teaching load reductions, (b) supported research financially and physically such as providing research funds/grants, and research facilities/spaces, and (c) provided freedom for the faculty to manage their work and free time on their own. Compared with the types of support their colleges and the university had provided, the department appeared to play an important role in helping the faculty pursue their tenure. Collegial support mainly meant that participants received advice from their colleagues/peers inside and outside the department, such as help reviewing tenure dossiers and manuscripts.

It was noteworthy that some participants emphasized that they did not think they had to receive much support from their department, college or the institution when seeking tenure. They indicated that everyone should have clear a perception about how to get tenure. More importantly, people needed to focus their efforts and work hard toward their goals. Participants continued to demonstrate their strong belief in qualities of personal effort such as persistence, hard work and determination to achieve career

success. Accordingly, they were inclined to look into themselves for faults rather than criticize others such as institutionalized racism or unequal policies creating unfair occupational disadvantages. Therefore, the findings of these results continue to support the literature addressed earlier that Asian Americans perceive the least amount of occupational discrimination because they are inclined to believe that their occupational difficulties result from an individual lack of ability and not from discrimination (Leong & Chou, 1994; Wu, 2001). In general, most participants held a strong faith in personal effort as a means to achieving their career goals. This helped this researcher further understand why during the interviews participants frequently emphasized improving their qualifications through hard work.

(2) Support received in seeking promotion at this university

Since participants considered tenure promotion to be the primary and one of the hardest promotions they would receive throughout their career at this university, they preferred to receive similar support in seeking this promotion as they did in pursuing tenure. Many participants believed that they received great support from their colleagues, the department, college and institution, because many earned tenure promotions earlier than was normal - three to five years earlier than the regular process.

Furthermore, participants emphasized the difficulties in getting early promotion at this university, because of high standards of performance and the university's predominantly white culture, which is relatively conservative. The researcher could strongly sense that many Chinese faculty members in this study had exceptional

credentials across all areas including teaching, research and scholarship, so they were able to receive early promotion despite the possibility of racism. This was confirmed by their curriculum vitae.

(3) Support received in obtaining recognition at this university

Many participants reported that they received support in obtaining recognition at this university. For instance, they obtained teaching and research awards, honored titles, increased salaries, and were offered more time for sabbatical leave. However, quite a few participants claimed that they did not feel they were recognized from their department, their college or their institution, though they had done enough good work across all areas of teaching, research and service to deserve such recognition. They stated that most of the recognition they received came from outside their department, college or university. Reflecting upon the findings of these data, the researcher believes that this phenomenon might result from institutional policies that devalue faculty of color, including Chinese faculty members' credentials and experience. This feeling might also be explained by the literature which cited that faculty of color do not seem to be rewarded as evenly as their white colleagues, even though they share the same interests and demonstrate the same productivity in their research (Villapando & Bernal, 2002).

In addition, some participants indicated that some issues regarding the rewarding of faculty were associated with institutional policies or politics, such as the salary issue. One female Chinese Associate Professor in the study used "marginal man" to describe

her feeling of her place at this university despite the fact that she had worked there for more than ten years. This finding draws upon the existing literature that reports that faculty of color use “marginality,” “isolation,” and “invisibility” to describe their work environment and campus climate, as well as their experiences with academic life (Alfred, 2001; Essien, 2003; Niemann, 1999; Sadao, 2003; Stanley, 2006a, 2006b; Turner, 2003). Particularly, this mentality reflects an earlier report regarding Chinese faculty members’ marginality on American campuses and their feelings of being marginal men (Seagren and Wang, 1994).

Not surprisingly, those participants who reported dissatisfaction with the recognition they had received did not blame their department, college or the university, but instead looked to their own behavior for an explanation and put up with their dissatisfaction. They indicated that they were modest, not aggressive, and did not want to involve themselves in the politics in the department. From these responses, this researcher understood that participants were likely to believe in personal effort and characteristics of hard work in their professional development and achievement. This also implied that certain political issues might be perceived to be involved in the faculty rewards system at this university.

(4) Support received from mentors when seeking tenure, promotion and recognition at this university

In the literature, mentoring is often cited as an important factor in influencing faculty of color and women faculty’s academic career development and success

(Stanley, 2006a; Sorcinelli & Yun, 2007). It was surprising that only one participant in this study actively mentioned the departmental mentoring system as a means of support in pursuing his career goal. The rest did not consider mentoring or the mentoring system as a major means of support when seeking tenure, promotion and recognition.

Accordingly, they believed that the mentoring system did not provide any substantial support for their academic career success. In addition, many participants mentioned that oftentimes their relationships with their mentors were informal and depended upon their own initiative, with regards to what extent they wanted to communicate with their mentors. Findings of this study appear to be inconsistent with the literature that argues that faculty of color may feel a lack of warmth and constructive mentoring relationships, and continue to feel isolation in the academy because of a lack of mentors (Stanley & Lincoln, 2005), as well as the literature that cites that mentoring has a crucial influence on the academic career of women and faculty of color (Stanley, 2006a; Turner, 2002). The explanation of this phenomenon is perhaps the Chinese people's belief that occupational achievements oftentimes depend upon personal determination, hard work, persistence and professional credentials. Internal factors play a more important role for Chinese than external factors such as mentors. Whether this explanation applies to all Chinese faculty in the academy in the United States and whether assertions of the existing literature can be applied to Chinese faculty would require more data and further study.

(5) Additional findings—dual-career academic couples' issues

“Dual-career academic couple” was identified as a term that described several participants' situations in the study. In other words, two partners in the family were both working in the academy at this Research Extensive University in Texas. Although participants received some support from their department, they emphasized that the university did not have a strong institutionalized system to assist dual-career academic couples, and that the university needed to offer more assistance in this area.

Apparently, dual-career couples are more likely to face more challenges during the job search and might suffer decreased job mobility and fewer benefits in terms of the choice of opportunities, salary, and working conditions that free mobility can bring. At the same time, institutions especially like the university used for the study, located in small college towns, might experience greater challenges in order to recruit high quality faculty who are dual career couples.

Issues regarding recruiting and retaining dual-career couples in the academy are not the focus in this study, but this topic is highly recommended for further studies.

Summary Findings for Research Question Three

What challenges have Chinese faculty members experienced in seeking promotion, tenure and recognition within a Research Extensive University in Texas?

(1) Cultural differences and language barriers as challenges for Chinese faculty

As reported earlier, participants identified individual barriers such as lacking a strong command of English, and unfamiliarity with American culture as factors that might impede their success in their job search. Some also reported that these individual barriers became challenges for them when the time came to pursue promotion and tenure. For example, they did not feel comfortable socializing and interacting with people in English, particularly when talking about non-work related issues. Oftentimes, they felt like outsiders and it was hard for them to engage freely in conversations. These feelings might result in difficulties building up as strong a system of networks as their white counterparts. In addition, participants reported that they appeared to have more difficulties than their white colleagues receiving funding, and tended to have more psychological pressures when establishing their research programs at the beginning of their careers, due to different training systems and cultural differences in China.

(2) Teaching as a challenge for Chinese faculty

Several participants discussed that they had experienced challenges with teaching inside and outside the classroom at this Research Extensive University in Texas. Some students questioned their authority, credibility and validity for teaching in the classroom. Other students resisted listening to the course content related to multicultural and diversity issues. For example, a female Chinese faculty member in this study reported that she was challenged by one student regarding whether she was hired for the sole purpose of the university's diversity. Additionally, according to the findings of this study, students sometimes wrote extremely negative comments on faculty

teaching evaluations. Because of the language barrier and the lack of teaching experience at American universities, Chinese faculty tended to have more difficulties when teaching at this Research Extensive University. Findings appeared to reflect those of the literature relating to diverse educational environments challenging students to exchange ideas at a different level and share different life experiences with people from different cultural backgrounds (Rudenshtine, 1996). Moreover, these findings also support the literature that race matters in the classroom. Students might treat faculty of color differently than they treat white faculty members (Stanley, 2006a, 2006b; Stanley et al., 2003).

(3) Discrimination as a challenge for Chinese faculty

Although fifteen out of sixteen participants reported that they had not experienced discrimination in person while working at the university, they believed that cultural differences always existed between them and their white counterparts.

Moreover, many indicated that they had witnessed subtle discriminations against other Chinese faculty members at this university, such as during the recruiting process or during research seminars. They emphasized that the discrimination was subtle and did not provide evidence to prove discrimination, but regardless, they oftentimes felt it. These findings are consistent with the literature that discrimination, which is usually subtle these days, is still frequently experienced by faculty of color (Alfred, 2001; Bower, 2002; Niemann, 1999; Stanley, 2006a, 2006b; Turner et al., 1999). Furthermore, findings from this study support the existing literature, which argue against the

perception of considering Asian Americans to be the “model minority” who have overcome racial discrimination and do not need administrative assistance and intervention for their protection (Chun, 1995, Crystal, 1989). In fact, these findings are in alignment with many scholars’ assertions that, like other minorities, Asian Americans encounter racism, discrimination, isolation (Chun, 1995; Hune, 1998; Osajima, 1991) and marginalization (Seagren & Wang, 1994) in colleges and universities.

Strikingly, one female Chinese faculty member provided rich narratives regarding what she experienced and overtly expressed her feelings of isolation, subtle discrimination and unequal treatment in her professional development at this university. She mentioned that it was more difficult and challenging for her to recruit American students and to get tenured. She oftentimes felt powerless, hopeless and helpless when challenged by male colleagues and white students. Even though she had been employed at this university for more than ten years, she continued to feel uncomfortable in this work environment. Most of the time during faculty meetings, she expressed that she felt she was a minority and that few people heard her voice. She emphasized that her experiences of discrimination were subtle and sometimes invisible. Additionally, she was not sure whether these challenges were because she was not around in the university so that people knew her less well, or because she was a woman, or because she is Chinese. Apparently, these findings are consistent with the existing literature that women faculty of color have to face the intersection of race/ethnic bias and gender bias, and it is often difficult to tell whether race/ethnic or gender stereotyping plays the key role in the discriminatory treatment (Stanley, 2006a; Turner, 2002).

(4) Racial and gender issues as challenges for female Chinese faculty

Many participants indicated that women faculty members are still underrepresented in the academy, though many universities are under pressure to recruit more women faculty. This Research Extensive University in Texas has implemented policies to attract women faculty during the recruiting and retention processes. However, participants perceived that Chinese women faculty, especially those working in some disciplines for example engineering, face more difficulties and greater challenges when seeking tenure and promotion. These findings are consistent with the literature that women faculty of color must overcome more obstacles to gain support for academic advancement and success than white women faculty members (Glazer-Raymo, 1999; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001).

Additionally, research that suggests that women faculty of color are more likely than White male faculty members to be challenged by students regarding their authority and credibility (Turner, 2002) also finds support in this study. Consistent with the literature, one participant reported that like any women faculty, Chinese women faculty face challenges regarding balancing their families and careers in academics where policies and practices are still male-dominant (Hune, 1998; Mason & Goulden 2002). Women, especially those with children, find their work and family obligations' in conflict, and tend to drop out of the academy or delay their pursuit of tenure (Hune, 1998; Mason & Goulden, 2002). Reports indicate that Chinese women faculty often cannot tell which form of discrimination (racial or sexual) operates more strongly against them, when they experience such challenges that result from the interlocking of

racial and gender discrimination stereotypes. These findings are congruent with the extant research, as well (Hune, 1998). Last but not the least, reports in the study support the literature that Asian Americans, especially Asian American women, are underrepresented in the highest administrative positions and the top ranks of the profession (Hune, 2006). The glass ceiling still exists in the academy for Asian Americans and in particular for Asian American women (Woo, 2000).

(5) Challenges in seeking recognition for Chinese faculty

About half of the participants commented that they had not experienced any challenges when seeking recognition. Among those, some were satisfied with the many awards they received in teaching and research as sufficient recognition. Others emphasized the importance of having a good attitude regarding rewards/awards, even though they had not received many awards. After all, recognition is sometimes how one feels, according to their perspective. The researcher felt that many Chinese faculty members in this study were modest, humble and not aggressive about getting awards or rewards. Additionally, the researcher sensed that politics might be involved in the process, which meant that Chinese faculty were reluctant to pursue those awards.

However, the other half of the participants provided rich comments regarding their feeling that the university did not fully recognize their work. Take the salary disparity as an example. More female Chinese faculty reported that they experienced salary inequity in their department than male faculty members, and that women earned less money than their male counterparts. They oftentimes had to fight for equity pay.

Participants mentioned their belief that it is a known fact that women make less than men, and Asians make less than Caucasians in the academy. Furthermore, they were not sure whether this unequal treatment was gender based or race based. They felt that it could also be both.

Participants indicated that the university's administration was bureaucratic in its attitude towards rewarding faculty. More female faculty in the study reported that they received their recognition from outside of the university, rather than from within it. Participants tended to seek recognition from outside their institution and look for balance. In addition, some participants indicated that the university's culture was white and middle class dominated, relatively conservative and isolated, which might limit the university itself from becoming one of the top universities in the nation. In order to attract highly qualified faculty, the university needs to make greater efforts to attain faculty diversity and to reward faculty work.

Summary Findings for Research Question Four

What factors do Chinese faculty members consider important in influencing their decisions to remain in faculty positions at a Research Extensive University in Texas?

(1) Factors influencing the decision to remain in a faculty position at this Research Extensive University in Texas

Multiple factors were combined and interacted with one another in affecting participants' decisions to remain working at this university as faculty members. In

general, participants revealed that overall they were satisfied with their work environment, including their access to research resources and support from the university, their healthy relationship with colleagues, and the supportive departmental culture. Additionally, family reasons were reported as a major factor for remaining at this university, especially for those who are dual academic career couples.

However, some participants revealed their dissatisfaction regarding the lack of research collaboration available in certain fields, and that they had to seek collaboration outside the university. That might be a primary reason for some participants to leave this university to pursue their research at another university.

(2) Factors influencing their decision to remaining in faculty positions in the United States rather than in China

Not just one simple factor influenced these participants to stay in the United States rather than return to China. Some factors include historical reasons such as the American immigration policy's change that allowed them to easily become permanent residents in the early 1990s. Other factors are associated with personal reasons such family, enjoying the academic freedom, and not needing to deal with complicated human relationships (Guanxi) in the United States. Participants reported that in Chinese society, human relationships (Guanxi) play a very important role in one's career development. Most of the time, it is not about what you know, but about who you know. Most participants in this study would not consider returning to China because they did not like dealing with such relationships.

Although participants reported some issues at the universities and colleges in China, they also indicated that they had seen a great deal of improvement in higher education in China. Many had worked closely with universities in China for years, and believed they could make more of a difference in the academic development of China while working in the United States.

Conclusions

Based on the key findings of this study, the researcher drew conclusions as follows.

(1) Throughout Chinese history, people who have performed physical work have been looked down upon, while those who performed intellectual work have been respected. Education thereby has always been held in high regard, and achievement and success are always emphasized. Furthermore, Chinese family, particularly parents, often place high expectations on their children in the aspects of education and career success. Consequently, traditional Chinese culture, especially Confucian philosophy, as well as family influence have a significant influence in determining Chinese people's decision to pursue advanced study and academic positions in both China and the United States.

(2) Because Chinese faculty have the ability to access American academic freedom, advanced knowledge and research environments, have flexibility and job security, and enjoy communications with scholars around the world, they are happy about working in the United States academic institutions. This may also explain why these participants decided to leave China and pursue further study and research in the

United States, and why they prefer to remain working at an American university rather than return to China.

(3) Because of individual barriers (i.e. challenges in mastery of English language, a lack of teaching experience, no undergraduate educational background in the United States, an unfamiliarity with the American culture, and a lack of fluent communication skills in general) and the institutionalized barriers (i.e. occupational discrimination, racism, stereotypes and prejudice), Chinese faculty employed at a Research Extensive University may face greater challenges in the hiring, tenure, promotion and recognition processes.

(4) Because Chinese participants have a strong belief that their lack of success is because of a lack of personal effort such as hard work, persistence and determination, they tend to regard individual barriers rather than institutionalized barriers as primary factors that impedes their professional development. Therefore, they incline to criticize themselves rather than others for their occupational disadvantages. This may also explain the reason that Chinese participants in this study were unlikely to consider mentoring systems to be a crucial factor in enhancing their career development.

(5) Because discrimination, which is often subtle, has been experienced or witnessed by Chinese faculty, they sometimes feel marginalized and isolated by racism, and placed into a category of otherness in the academic workplace. These feelings, in turn, become challenges that may impede their career development. Consequently, the perception of considering Asian Americans, including the Chinese, as “model

minorities” who have overcome racial discrimination and do not need assistance, is not validated in this study.

(6) Because Chinese women faculty members experience interlocking racial and gender issues in their lives, they face more challenges in developing their career and pursuing tenure, promotion and recognition. They need to balance family and careers in academia. In addition, because participants perceived that Chinese women faculty were still underrepresented at the highest administrative and top ranked positions in the profession, the glass ceiling might still exist in the academy for Asian Americans, and particularly for Asian American women.

Implications for Practice

Based on the key findings of this study, the researcher drew some implications for practice as follows.

(1) Administrators need to implement, monitor and strengthen employment equity policies and programs to ensure that Chinese faculty, as well as other faculty of color, receive equal opportunities in the hiring, promotion, tenure and recognition processes.

(2) Administrators need to develop strategies to demystify the popular stereotypes about Chinese faculty’s capabilities and experiences as a “”model minority” in the academy. In addition, they need to understand Chinese faculty to be faculty of color who continue to experience subtle occupational discrimination, isolation, marginalization and feelings of otherness in the academic workplace. In addition,

administrators need to provide specific assistance and help to Chinese faculty, particularly Chinese women faculty, as well as other faculty of color. Administrators and faculty need to encourage communication and collegiality across all racial and ethnic barriers so that Chinese faculty, as well as other faculty of color, may integrate into the university's culture and feel themselves to be full members of the academic community.

(3) Administrators at the university need to implement programs specific to hiring and retaining dual career academic couples.

(4) Chinese higher education administrators in China need to establish and implement policies that enhance academic freedom for faculty at Chinese universities and colleges. Accordingly, they may grant faculty more authority and freedom to develop their research, teaching and service. In addition, they may establish a peer review system in the academy to enhance and ensure high quality research in China.

(5) Chinese faculty in the United States may establish a Chinese faculty network, within which they share resources, exchange communications, and develop coping strategies so that may help them to enhance their own career development.

Recommendations for Further Study

This study used a qualitative research method as a tool, including interviews, observations, and documents and records, to collect and analyze the data. Therefore, certain limitations were incurred due to this research methodology. For instance, these sixteen participants were selected only from the first generation of faculty members who obtained at least a bachelor's degree in China and completed their doctoral degree or

postdoctoral training in the United States, and then worked as faculty members at the Research Extensive University in Texas. In addition, they were selected only from full-time, tenure-track faculty members. Furthermore, they were selected mainly through this researcher's personal contacts. Because of the limitations of this study, it is subjective in the sense that it relied on sixteen participants' perceptions of their career experiences and this researcher's interpretations, based on their descriptions, as well as her critical reflections on them. Therefore, there must be concerns with regard to any generalizations that are drawn from this study. This researcher is well aware of these limitations and understands that the findings of this study may not be generalized and applied to the whole body of Chinese faculty in other higher education institutions in the United States. Consequently, the following recommendations for further study are suggested for consideration.

(1) This study should be conducted in the future with other Chinese faculty members at other predominantly white, research extensive universities in the United States, using both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies, in order to accomplish more accurate comparisons and transferability related to this specific group's career experiences, as well as in order to determine whether or not their concerns are similar to those of Chinese faculty across the country.

(2) This study should be conducted in the future with Chinese faculty who are employed at predominantly white universities that are not considered to be research extensive universities, in order to determine whether or not the findings are similar to those of Chinese faculty in the United States.

(3) This study should be conducted in the future with Chinese faculty who are not first generation residents of the United States, in order to determine whether or not these findings are similar to those of American-born Chinese faculty in the United States.

(4) This study should be conducted in the future with Chinese faculty who are employed at predominantly white, research extensive universities as part-time faculty members in order to compare whether or not their concerns are similar to those of full-time Chinese faculty.

(5) This study should be conducted in the future focusing specifically on women Chinese faculty who are employed at research extensive universities in order to determine and better understand whether gender-based issues may affect their career development experiences.

(6) This study should be conducted in the future with university administrators of Chinese descent in the United States, in order to determine whether or not their concerns and career experiences are similar to those of Chinese faculty.

As many Chinese choose academe as one of their career paths in the United States after obtaining doctoral degrees, and in light of the scant research regarding Chinese faculty career experiences in the US, it gives rise to the urgency of more research to better understand this group's career development experience including the process of recruitment, tenure, promotion and retention. By exploring and investigating Chinese faculty members' career experiences in the United States in this study, it is hoped that some light has been shed on the understanding of what support and

challenges enhance or impede their career development in the academy. In addition, it is hoped that the findings of this study can inform administrative decision-making to improve the quality of life and career progression for Chinese faculty as well as other faculty of color.

REFERENCES

- Aguirre, A., Jr. (2000). *Women and minority faculty in the academic workplace: Recruitment, retention, and academic culture*. (ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Rep. No. 27-6). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Alfred, M. V. (2001). Reconceptualizing marginality from the margins: Perspectives of African American tenured female faculty at a White research university. *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, 25(1), 1-11.
- Antonio, A. L. (2002). Faculty of color reconsidered: Reassessing contributions to scholarship. *Journal of Higher Education* 73(5), 582-602.
- Astin, A. W. (1982). *Minorities in American higher education: Recent trends, current prospects, and recommendations*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Astin, H. S., Antonio, A. L., Cress, C. M., & Astin, A. W. (1997, April). *Race and ethnicity in the American professoriate, 1995-96*. Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute, Graduate School of Education & Information Studies, University of California.
- Bernal, D. D., & Villalpando, O. (2002). An apartheid of knowledge in academia: The struggle over the "legitimate" knowledge of faculty of color. *Equity and Excellence in Education*, 35, 169-180.
- Blackburn, R., Wenzel, S., & Bieber, J. P. (1994). Minority vs. majority faculty publication performance: A research note. *Review of Higher Education*, 17, 217-282.
- Bower, B. L. (2002). Campus life for faculty of color: Still strangers after all these years? *New Directions for Community Colleges*, 118, 79-87.
- The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. (2001). *The Carnegie classification of institutions of higher education / with a foreword by Lee S. Shulman* (2000 Ed.). Menlo Park: Carnegie Publications.
- Cawyer, C. S., Simonds, C., & Davis, S. (2002). Mentoring to facilitate socialization: The case of the new faculty member. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 15(2), 225-242.
- Chan, S. (1991). *Asian Americans: An interpretive history*. Boston: Twayne.
- Chun, K.-T. (1995). The myth of Asian American success and its educational ramifications. In D. T. Nakanishi & T. Y. Nishida (Eds.), *The Asian American*

- educational experience: A source book for teachers and students* (pp. 95-112). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Clark, S. M., & Corcoran, M. (1986). Perspectives on the professional socialization of women faculty: A case of accumulative disadvantage? *Journal of Higher Education*, 57(1), 20-43.
- Conley, V. M. (2005). Career paths for women faculty: Evidence from NSOPF: 99. *New Directions for Higher Education*, 130, 25-39.
- Crystal. (1989). Asian Americans and the myth of the model minority *Social Casework*, 70, 405-413.
- De Janasz, S. C., & Sullivan, S. E. (2004). Multiple mentoring in academe: Developing the professional network. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 64(2), 263-283.
- Essien, V. (2003). Visible and invisible barriers to the incorporation of faculty of color in predominantly White law schools. *Journal of Black Studies*, 34(1), 63-71.
- Erlandson, D., Harris, E., Skipper, B., & Allen, S. (1993). *Doing naturalistic inquiry: A guide to methods*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Fouad, N.A., Kantamneni, N., Snothers, M. K., Chen, Y., Fitzpatrick, M., & Terry, S. (2008). Asian American career development: A qualitative analysis. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 72, 43-59.
- Gerdes, E. P. (2006). Women in higher education since 1970: The more things change, the more they stay the same [Electronic Version]. *Advancing Women in Leadership Online Journal*, 21. Retrieved April 2008, from <http://www.advancingwomen.com/awl/summer2006/Gerdes.html>
- Gibson, S. K. (2006). Mentoring of women faculty: The role of organizational politics and culture. *Innovative Higher Education*, 3(1), 63-79.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The discovery of grounded theory*. Chicago: Aldine.
- Glazer-Raymo, J. (1999). *Shattering the myths: Women in academe*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Gonzalez y Gonzalez, E. (2004). *Perceptions of selected senior administrators of higher education institutions in Mexico regarding needed administrative competencies*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Texas A&M University, College Station.

- Gonzalez y Gonzalez, E.M.; & Lincoln, Y.S. (2006). "Decolonizing qualitative research: Non-traditional reporting forms in the academy". In N.K. Denzin & M. Gardina (Eds), *Qualitative inquiry and the conservative challenge*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, Inc.
- Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1981). *Effective evaluation*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Harley, D. A. (2005). In a different voice: An African-American woman's experiences in the rehabilitation and higher education realm. *Rehabilitation Education-Special Issue: The Role of Women in Rehabilitation Counselor Education*, 15(1), 37-45.
- Harvey, W. B. (2005). *Minorities in higher education 21st annual status report*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education.
- hooks, B. (1990). *Yearning: Race, gender, and cultural politics*. Boston, MA: South End Press.
- Hune, S. (1998). *Asian Pacific American women in higher education: Claiming visibility and voice*. Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges and Universities.
- Hune, S. (2006). Asian Pacific American women and men in higher education: The contested spaces of their participation, persistence, and challenges as students, faculty, and administrators. In G. Li & G. H. Beckett (Eds.), *"Strangers" of the academy: Asian women scholars in higher education* (pp. 15-36). Sterling, Virginia: Stylus Publishing, LLC.
- Hune, S., & Chan, K. S. (1997). Asian Pacific American demographic and educational trends. In D. J. Carter & R. Wilson (Eds.), *Minorities in higher education 15th annual status report* (pp. 39-67, 103-107). Washington, DC: American Council on Education.
- Johnson, W. B. (2007). *On being a mentor: A guide for higher education faculty*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Johnsrud, L. K., & Sadao, K. C. (1998). The common experience of "Otherness": Ethnic and racial minority faculty. *The Review of Higher Education*, 21(4), 315-342.
- Kauper, W.M. (1991). *Factors which influence the career decisions of minority faculty at a predominantly white liberal arts institution: A case study*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Indiana University, Bloomington.
- Leong, F. T. L., & Chou, E. L. (1994). The role of ethnic identity and acculturation in the vocational behavior of Asian Americans: An integrative review. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 44, 155-172.

- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Mason, M. A., & Goulden, M. (2002). Do babies matter? The effect of family formation on the lifelong careers of academic men and women. *Academe*, 88(6), 21-27.
- Mathews, P. (2003). Academic monitoring: Enhancing the use of scarce resources. *Educational Management and Administration*, 31(3), 313-334.
- Matsuda, M. (1988). Affirmative action and legal knowledge: Planting seeds in plowed-up ground. *Harvard Women's Law Journal*, 11, 1-17.
- Maykut, P., & Morehouse, R. (1994). *Beginning qualitative research: A philosophic and practical guide* (Vol. 6). Falmer Press Teachers' Library, London: Falmer Press.
- McElrath, K. (1992). Gender, career disruption, and academic rewards. *Journal of Higher Education*, 63(3), 269-281.
- Min, P. G. (1995). *Asian Americans: Contemporary trends and issues*. Thousands Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Nakanishi, D. (1993). Asian Pacific Americans in higher education: Faculty and administrative representation and tenure. *New Directions for Teaching and Learning*, 53, 51-59.
- National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). (1991). *Digest of education statistics, 1990, NCES 91-660*, by T.D. Snyder & C. M. Hoffman, . Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.
- National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). (1998). *Digest of education statistics, 1997, NCES 1998-015*, by T.D. Snyder & C. M. Hoffman. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.
- National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). (2000). *National educational longitudinal study of 1988, first through fourth follow-up surveys (NELS: 88/2000): Data analysis system*. Washington, DC, US Department of Education.
- National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). (2001). *Digest of education statistics, 2000, NCES 2001-034*, by T.D. Snyder & C. M. Hoffman. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

- National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). (2003). *Digest of education statistics, 2002, NCES 2003-060*, by T.D. Snyder & C. M. Hoffman. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.
- National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). (2008). *Digest of education statistics, 2007, NCES 2008-022*, by T.D. Snyder & C. M. Hoffman. . Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.
- Niemann, Y. F. (1999). The making of a token: A case study of stereotype threat, stigma, racism, and tokenism in academe. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 20(1), 111-134.
- Osajima, K. (1988). Asian Americans as the model minority: An analysis of the popular press image in the 1960's and 1980's. In G. Okihiro, S. Hune, A. Hansen & J. Liu (Eds.), *Reflections on shattered windows* (pp. 165-174). Pullman: Washington State University Press.
- Osajima, K. (1991). Breaking the silence: Race and the educational experiences of Asian American college students. In M. Foster (Ed.), *Readings on equal education* (pp. 115-134). New York: AMS Press.
- Park, R. E. (1928). Human migration and the marginal man. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 33(6), 881-893.
- Pearce, R. R., & Lin, Z. (2007). Chinese American post-secondary achievement and attainment: A cultural and structural analysis. *Educational Review*, 59(1), 19-36.
- Peluchette, J. V. E., & Jeanquart, S. (2000). Professionals' use of different mentor sources at various stages: Implications for career success. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 140(5), 549-564.
- Pope, M., Cheng, W. D., & Leong, F. T. L. (1998). The case of Chou: The inextricability of career to personal and social issues in a multicultural context. *Journal of Career Development*, 25(1), 53-64.
- Rudenstine, N. (1996). Why a diverse student body is so important (Publication. Retrieved September 8, 2008, from Chronicle of Higher Education: <http://chronicle.com/che-data/articles.dir/art-42.dir/issue-32.dir/32b00101.htm>
- Sadao, K. C. (2003). Living in two worlds: Success and the bicultural faculty of color. *The Review of Higher Education*, 26(4), 397-418.

- Sands, R. G., Parson, L. A., & Duane, J. (1992). Faculty-faculty mentoring and discrimination: Perceptions among Asian, Asian American, and Pacific Island faculty. *Equity and Excellence* 25(2), 124-129.
- Seagren, A. T., & Wang, H. H. (1994, November 10-13). *Marginal men on an American campus: A case of Chinese faculty*. Paper presented at the Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE), Tucson, AZ.
- Smith, J. W., Smith, W. J., & Markham, S. E. (2000). Diversity issues in mentoring academic faculty. *Journal of Career Development*, 26(4), 251.
- Snyder, T. D. (2008). *Mini-digest of education statistics, 2007*: National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Educational Sciences, U.S. Department of Education. Washington, DC.
- Sorcinelli, M. D., & Yun, J. (2007). From mentor to mentoring networks: Mentoring in the new academy. *Change*, 58-61.
- Spradley, J. P. (1979). *The ethnographic interview*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Pub. Co.
- Stanley, C. A. (2006a). Coloring the academic landscape: Faculty of color breaking the silence in predominantly White colleges and universities. *American Educational Research Journal*, 43(4), 701-736.
- Stanley, C. A. (2006b). *Faculty of color: teaching in predominantly White colleges and universities*. Bolton, MA: Anker Pub.
- Stanley, C. A., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Cross-race faculty mentoring. *Change*, 44-50.
- Stanley, C. A., Porter, M. E., Simpson, N. J., & Ouellett, M. L. (2003). A case study of the teaching experiences of African American faculty at two predominantly White research universities. *Journal on Excellence in College Teaching*, 14, 151-178.
- Stonequist, E. (1935). The problems of the marginal man. *American Journal of Sociology*, 41, 1-11.
- Thomas, G. D., & Hollenshead, C. (2001). Resisting from the margins: The coping strategies of Black women and other women of color faculty members at a research university. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 70(3), 166-175.
- Tsai, J. L., Ying, Y. W., & Lee, P. A. (2000). The meaning of "being Chinese" and "being American": Variation among Chinese American young adults. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 31(3), 302-332.

- Turner, C. S. V. (2002). Women of color in academe: Living with multiple marginality. *Journal of Higher Education*, 73(1), 74-93.
- Turner, C. S. V. (2003). Incorporation and marginalization in the academy: From border toward center for faculty of color? *Journal of Black Studies*, 34(1), 112-125.
- Turner, C. S. V., Garcia, M., Nora, A., & Rendon, L. (1996). *Racial and ethnic diversity in higher education*. Needham Heights, MA: Simon and Schuster Custom Publishing.
- Turner, C. S. V., & Myers, S. L. (2000). *Faculty of color in academe: Bittersweet success*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Turner, C. S. V., Myers, S. L., & Creswell, J. W. (1999). Exploring underrepresentation: The case of faculty of color in the Midwest. *Journal of Higher Education*, 70 No.1, 27-59.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census Current Population Reports P25-1092. (1992). *Population projections of the United States by age, sex, race, and Hispanic origin: 1992 to 2050*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- US Department of Commerce. (2000). *United States Census 2000*. Washington D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau.
- Van Emmerik, I. J. H. (2004). The more you can get the better: Mentoring constellations and intrinsic career success. *Career Development International*, 9(6/7), 578.
- Villalpando, O., & Bernal, D. D. (2002). A critical race theory analysis of barriers that impede the success of faculty of color. In W. A. Smith, P. G. Altbach & K. Lomotey (Eds.), *The racial crisis in American higher education: Continuing challenges for the twenty-first century* (pp. 243-270). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Women's Environment and Development Organization. (2000). *Women's equality 1995-2000: An unfinished agenda*. New York: Women's Environment and Development Organization.
- Woo, D. (2000). *Glass ceilings and Asian Americans: The new face of workplace barriers* Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Wu, Q. (2001). *Factors affecting Chinese educators' career development experiences in Canada*. Unpublished master thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

Yung, J., Chang, G. H., & Lai, H. M. (2006). *Chinese American voices: From the gold rush to the present*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE FINAL VERSION OF INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

(ENGLISH)

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

11/07/2007

I. Preface:

- (1) The interview will be scheduled in advance so that the interviewee knows when and where the interview will be, for what purpose, for how long, and will be audio-taped and kept confidentially.
- (2) I will thank the interviewee for their participation and briefly repeat the purpose of the interview. I will repeat the confidentiality of the interview, and encourage the participant to share his/her story comfortably.
- (3) I will show the interviewee the consent form and ask him/her to sign two consent forms, which one will kept by me and the other one will belong to the interviewee.

II. As descriptive information

- (1) Interview date and time: _____
- (2) Interview place: _____
- (3) Name: _____
- (4) Age: _____
- (5) Gender: _____
- (6) Position and Rank: _____
- (7) Years in this University: _____
- (8) When was tenured: _____
Was that an early promotion (Yes/No)? _____
- (9) When was promoted to full professor if applicable: _____
Was that an early promotion (Yes/No)? _____
- (10) Department: _____
- (11) College: _____

III. Semi-structured Questions

RESEARCH QUESTION 1:

What factors do Chinese faculty members consider important in influencing their decisions to apply for, and accept faculty positions at a Research Extensive University in Texas?

- 1 Could you describe what your daily work looks like?
- 2 Could you tell me the story why you left China and came to the U.S.?
- 3 Could you tell me your experiences of job seeking after completing your doctorate?

Did you apply professor's position only or apply industry jobs as well?

To which colleges and universities did you apply?

- 4 What factors do you consider important in influencing your decision to apply for a *faculty* position?

Why did you want to be a faculty member?

- 5 What factors do you consider important in influencing your decision to apply for a faculty position in THIS University in Texas?
- 6 Did you encounter barriers as you applied for a faculty position?
- 7 Did you encounter barriers as you applied for a faculty position at THIS University in Texas?
- 8 Did you feel any discrimination when you applied for a faculty position? If you did, could you describe what you experienced?
- 9 What factors do you consider important in influencing your decision to *accept* the faculty position at THIS University in Texas?

- 10 Do you know others, who were at the same level as you, found faculty positions in the institutions better than THIS University? If you know, do you think what the reason would be?

RESEARCH QUESTION 2

What support have Chinese faculty members experienced as they seek promotion, tenure and recognition within a Research Extensive University in Texas?

- 11 Could you describe some of your positive experiences (or memorable experiences) as a faculty here at THIS University in Texas?
- 12 What support have you received within the University when you *sought promotion*?
- 13 What support have you received within the University when you *sought tenure*?
- 14 What support have you received within THIS University when you *sought recognition*?

Do you feel like the faculty, staff, administration and students are respectful of you as an employee?

- 15 Did you have a mentor(s) to guide you through the process of promotion, tenure and recognition?
- 16 Have you received any professional training and/or conferences to develop your teaching and research competencies while you are a faculty in this University?

RESEARCH QUESTION 3

What challenges have Chinese faculty members experienced as they seek promotion, tenure and recognition within a Research Extensive University in Texas?

- 17 Did you have any negative experiences (frustrated experiences) as a faculty here at THIS University in Texas? If you did, could you please describe these?
- 18 What challenges have you faced/ or are you facing within THIS University when you *sought promotion*?
- 19 What challenges have you faced/ or are you facing within THIS University when you *sought tenure*?
- 20 What challenges have you faced/ or are you facing within THIS University when you *sought recognition*?
- 21 Did you feel any discrimination when you seek promotion, tenure and recognition at THIS University in Texas? If did, could you describe some of the examples?
- 22 Do you think these challenges that you have faced/or are facing are because of THIS University's institutional policies, procedures, etc?
- 23 In most of your meetings with faculty, administration and staff at THIS University in Texas, are you generally in the minority (non-white)? If you are, how do you feel as the minority? If not, how do you feel as the majority?
- 24 Do you think that there are more challenges/barriers for female Chinese faculty in hiring, promotion, tenure and recognition process at THIS University in Texas?

RESEARCH QUESTION 4:

What factors do Chinese faculty members consider important in influencing their decisions to remain in faculty positions at a Research Extensive University in Texas?

- 25 What factors do you consider important in influencing your decision to remain in faculty position at THIS University in Texas?
- 26 What factors keep you in the United States as a faculty member instead of going back to China?

IV Closure

- a. Member check
- b. Ask the interviewee if there is any questions about the interview
- c. Ask the interviewee if there is anything he/she would like to add
- d. Reiterate the confidentiality of the interview
- e. Ask if they could recommend other people to my study
- f. Ask if I could have a copy of his/her CV, in case there is no (or no updated version of) this information on the website of the institution
- g. Thank the interviewee again for their time and participation of the study

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE FINAL VERSION OF INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

(CHINESE)

访谈问题
11/07/2007

一、前言

1. 本访谈将与被访者提前预约好，因此被访者事先便知道访谈的时间、地点、访谈目的、时间、访谈时会被录音，以及访谈内容绝对保密等。
2. 访谈开始前，采访者会简短地对被访者表示感谢，并再次重申访谈目的，以及访谈内容的保密性原则。鼓励被访者大胆自如地回答问题。
3. 采访者会在访谈开始前请被访者签好《同意书》，一式两份。被访者与采访者各保留一份。

二、基本信息

1. 访谈时间
2. 访谈地点
3. 被访者姓名
4. 年龄
5. 性别
6. 职位
7. 在该校任职时间
8. 是否被评为终身教授？如果是，请问是否被提前提升？
9. 是否被评为了正教授？如果是，请问是否被提前提升？
10. 所在系
11. 所在院

三、 访谈问题

研究问题 1:

什么因素影响这些中国教授决定申请、接受德州这所研究性大学的教授职位？

- 1 您能谈谈每天的工作情况吗？
能讲一下你为什么离开中国然后决定来到美国的故事吗？
- 2 能谈谈您拿到博士学位后找工作的经历吗？
您只申请了教授的工作，还是也申请了工业界？
您都申请了哪些学校？
- 3 什么是影响您决定申请**教授**这个职务的重要因素？
为什么想做教授？
- 4 什么是影响您决定申请**这个**学校的教授职务的重要因素？
- 5 在您申请教授工作的过程中有没有发现什么障碍？
- 6 在您申请该校时有没有什么困难和挑战？
- 7 在申请教授的工作中您有感到被歧视吗？如果有，您能描述一下您的经历吗？
- 8 什么是影响您决定**接受德州这个**学校的教授职位的重要因素？
- 9 您知道有谁和您在同等水平，但找的到教授职位的学校比您所在大学要好的吗？如果有，您觉得原因何在？

研究问题 2:

在校中工作，经历提升、终身教授评定、以及得到认可等过程中，您得到了哪些支持？

- 10 您能描述一下在这所大学做教授，都有哪些愉快经历吗？
- 11 您在这所大学里申请**提升**方面得到过哪些支持？
- 12 您在这所大学里**评定终身教授**方面得到过哪些支持？
- 13 在这所大学里，您在**被别人承认**方面得到过哪些支持？
您能感觉到来自同事、职工、管理人员以及学生的尊敬吗？
- 14 在这个过程中您有得到很好的指导吗？
- 15 您在这个学校做教授的阶段有没有接受到提高您的教学和科研能力的职业训练/或者会议？

研究问题 3:

在校中工作，经历提升、终身教授评定、以及得到认可等过程中，您遇到了哪些挑战？

- 16 在这个学校，您有和教授、职工、管理人员或者学生们有过不愉快的经历吗？如果有，您能否描述一下这些经历？
- 17 您在这个学校中，提在**经历提升过程**中，都面临哪些挑战/困难？
- 18 您在这个学校中，在**申请终身教授**过程中，都面临哪些挑战？

- 19 您在这个学校中，在*经历被别人认可*的过程中，都面临哪些挑战？
- 20 在经历提升、评终身教授以及被认可等过程中，您有感到被歧视吗？如果有，您能讲述一些例子吗？
- 21 您认为您所面临过的/或正在面临的这些挑战是因为这个学校的政策，程序吗？
- 22 在该校中参加教职工大会的时候，通常情况下您是少数民族吗（跟白人教授比较而言）？如果是，您的感觉如何？
- 23 在这所研究性大学里，对于中国的女性教授而言，您觉得她们面临的挑战更多吗？

研究问题 4: RESEARCH QUESTION 4:

什么因素影响您继续留在该校任职？

- 24 什么是影响您决定继续留在*这所学校*做教授的重要因素？
- 25 什么因素影响您留在美国做教授而不是回中国？

四、 结束语

1. 问被访者对访谈内容是否还有任何问题？
2. 问被访者是否觉得还有什么遗漏的问题
3. 重申访谈的保密性
4. 请问被访者是否能推荐其他适合参与本研究的人员
5. 是否可以得到被访者的简历
6. 再次感谢被访者抽出宝贵时间参与本项研究

APPENDIX C

SAMPLE OF CONSENT FORM

(ENGLISH)

CONSENT FORM

You have been asked to participate in a research study of factors influencing career experiences of selected Chinese faculty employed at a Research Extensive University in Texas. You were selected to be a possible participant because you are full-time, tenured tracked Chinese faculty in this university. A total of 25 people have been asked to participate in this study. The purpose of this study is (1) to identify and describe factors which influence Chinese faculty members' decisions to apply, accept, and remain in faculty positions at a Research Extensive University in Texas; and (2) to determine the challenges and support that Chinese faculty members have experienced respect to hiring, promotion, tenure and recognition at a Research Extensive University in Texas.

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to have an audio taped interview with Ms. Yan Zhang. This study will take you 45 minutes to one hour for interview. All interviews will be conducted between July, 2007 and August, 2008. The risk associated with this study is that you might feel discomforts due to nature and length of interview questions. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary and you will not receive any benefits from it.

This study is confidential and your name will not be used in the final report. The records of this study will be kept private. No identifiers linking you to the study will be included in any sort of report that might be published. Research records will be stored securely and only Ms. Yan Zhang will have access to the records. This study will be audio taped and only Ms. Yan Zhang will have access to the records. All tapes will be erased after being transcribed. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect yours current or future relations with Texas A&M University. If you decide to participate, you are free to refuse to answer any of the questions that may make you uncomfortable. You can withdraw at any time without your relations with the University, job, benefits, etc. being affected. You can contact Ms. Yan Zhang, (573 Harrington Tower, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX-77843-4226, (979)862-4881, redyanyan@tamu.edu) and Dr. Bryan Cole, Supervising Researcher (Chair), (Professor of Education, 543 Harrington Tower, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX-77843-4226, (979)845-53356, b-cole@tamu.edu) with any questions about this study.

This research study has been reviewed by the Institutional Review Board-Human Subjects in Research, Texas A&M University. For research-related problems or questions regarding subjects' rights, you can contact the Institutional Review Board through Ms. Melissa McIlhaney, IRB Program Coordinator, Office of Research Compliance, (979)458-4067, mcilhaney@tamu.edu.

Please be sure you have read the above information, asked questions and received answers to your satisfaction. You will be given a copy of the consent form for your records. By signing this document, you consent to participate in the study.

Signature of Participant: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX D

SAMPLE INVITATION LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS

(ENGLISH)

Dear Dr. (last name),

The reason I am sending you this email is that I am wondering if you would like to be my interviewee for my dissertation study. I am using qualitative method to conduct my dissertation and one of the techniques is in-depth interview. (All the information using in the study will be confidential and all the names will be pseudonymous in the final report. Participants will be given a consent form before the interview and they may withdraw from the study at any time throughout the process.)

The purpose of this study is to identify and describe factors that influence Chinese faculty's decisions to apply, accept, and remain in faculty positions in America; and to explore the challenges and support that Chinese faculty have experienced respect to promotion, tenure and recognition in America. I am interested in this topic. One of the reasons is that the lack of recruitment and retention of minority faculty members (especially women faculty), including Chinese faculty (though some research doesn't consider Chinese faculty as minority), across the United States is still an ongoing issue of concern in Higher Education. Research on faculty career path has focused primarily on white male faculty, far few studies have focused on minority faculty. Virtually there is no research has been done on first-generation Chinese faculties who obtained doctoral degree from the U.S. and then choose faculty positions in the U.S. This study will contribute to understanding the issues in recruiting and retaining Chinese faculty by providing information to administrators about the attitudes, beliefs, and career paths of Chinese faculty. This study may also provide information useful to higher education administrators to make personnel policies and practices aimed at the recruitment and retention of Chinese faculty.

Will you be willing and have time to talk to me as an interviewee? The interview will last about 1 hour and can take place at anytime from today until the end of this semester (Nov. 6-December) based upon your convenience. I am always here open for you. Please let me know if you will be interested in helping me with my study. You can reach me through email at redyanyan@tamu.edu.

Thank you so much and I look forward to hearing from you!

Sincerely,

Yan Zhang
Principal Investigator
Educational Administration and Human Resource Development
College of Education, Texas A&M University

VITA

Name: Yan Zhang

Address: Department of Educational Administration and Human Recourse
Development c/o Dr. Bryan R. Cole, Texas A&M University, College
Station, TX 77843-4226

Email Address: redyanyan@hotmail.com

EDUCATION

August 2009 Texas A&M University, College Station, TX
Ph.D. in Educational Administration

July 2002 Beijing Normal University, Beijing, China
M.A. in Management Philosophy

July 1999 B.A. in Political Science

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

2008-2009 Chancellor's Office for Academic Affairs, Texas A&M System,
College Station, TX
Research Assistant

2003-2008 Department of Educational Administration and Human Resource
Development, College of Education,
Texas A&M University, College Station, TX
Graduate Assistant for Research

2002-2003 Beijing City University, Beijing, China
Lecturer