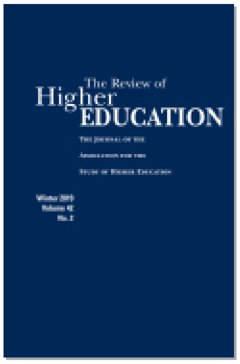
PROJECT MUSE®

"How Do You Advance Here? How do You Survive?" An Exploration of Under-Represented Minority Faculty Perceptions of Mentoring Modalities



Michelle M. Espino, Ruth E. Zambrana

The Review of Higher Education, Volume 42, Number 2, Winter 2019, pp. 457-484 (Article)

Published by Johns Hopkins University Press
DOI: *https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2019.0003*

For additional information about this article
https://muse.jhu.edu/article/712604

Access provided by Association for the Study of Higher Education (2 Jan 2019 13:34 GMT)

The Review of Higher Education
Winter 2019, Volume 42, No. 2, pp. 457–484
Copyright © 2018 Association for the Study of Higher Education
All Rights Reserved (ISSN 0162–5748)

"How Do You Advance Here? How do You Survive?" An Exploration of Under-Represented Minority Faculty Perceptions of Mentoring Modalities

Michelle M. Espino and Ruth E. Zambrana

Dr. Michelle M. Espino is associate professor in the Higher Education, Student Affairs, and International Education Policy program in the Department of Counseling, Higher Education, and Special Education at the University of Maryland, College Park. Dr. Espino investigates the individual, organizational, and community factors that affect educational attainment for racial/ethnic minorities, particularly for Latinx/as/os. Drawing upon interdisciplinary approaches, she strives to advance critical theoretical and methodological approaches that enable scholars to conduct meaningful and rigorous educational research. Using critical perspectives, Dr. Espino's work also exposes the social inequities that undermine individual motivations to study and work in colleges and universities.

Dr. Ruth E. Zambrana is Professor and Interim Chair in the Department of Women's Studies, Director of the Consortium on Race, Gender and Ethnicity at the University of Maryland, College Park. Dr. Zambrana's scholarship applies a critical intersectional lens to structural inequality and racial and gender inequities in population health and higher education trajectories. Her current work aims to translate research on URM faculty into effective higher education policies and practices to enhance career persistence and success. Her latest book is *Toxic Ivory Tower: The Consequences of Work Stress on the Health of Underrepresented Minority Faculty* (Rutgers University Press, 2018).

Abstract: This article contrasts perceptions among 58 under-represented minority (URM) faculty employed at U.S. research-extensive universities who reported an absence of mentoring or experienced informal or formal mentoring modalities. Key findings reveal a mentoring glass ceiling that affects URM faculty career paths: an absence of mentoring can lead to significant career miscalculations; well-intentioned mentors can devalue faculty scholarship; lack of senior faculty accountability for observed disengagement from faculty career development; and inadequate mentorship often limits access to social networks and collaborative research opportunities. Recommendations are offered for developing effective formal mentoring initiatives that reflect an institutional investment in early-career URM faculty.

Pervasive challenges exist within research-extensive universities[1] that affect retention and success for early and mid-career historically under-represented minority (URM)[2] faculty. Ample evidence suggests that faculty mentorship is a valuable resource for imparting career guidance, transmitting social and cultural capital, and helping with the process of tenure and promotion.

Author's Note

Michelle M. Espino, Department of Counseling, Higher Education, and Special Education, The University of Maryland; and Ruth E. Zambrana, Department of Women's Studies and Director of the Consortium on Race, Gender and Ethnicity, The University of Maryland.

Funding for this research was provided by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation (RWJF), Grant 68480 and the University of Maryland Tier 1 Seed Grant, Faculty Incentive Program, Principal Investigator Ruth E. Zambrana. We are especially grateful to our former program officer at RWJF, Dr. Debra Perez, for her support, guidance, and enthusiasm about this study. We also thank Dr. Lisa Lapeyrouse for her data analysis, Dr. Laura Logie for project management, Dr. James P. Barber, Dr. Gary Rhoades, and Dr. Leslie Gonzáles for their helpful feedback on the manuscript, Ms. Wendy Hall for manuscript preparation, and the anonymous reviewers for their thoughtful comments. Finally, and most importantly, we want to thank the URM faculty across the U.S. who participated in the study.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Michelle M. Espino, Department of Counseling, Higher Education, and Special Education, The University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20942. Email: mespino@umd.edu

---

[1] There are 329 U.S. Doctoral Granting Institutions of which 115 institutions are in the "Highest Research Activity" category and 105 are in the "Higher Research Activity" category. The remaining doctoral granting institutions are in the "Moderate Research Activity" category (Center for Postsecondary Research, 2015). Our sample included faculty from the Highest or Higher Research Activity doctoral granting institutions. These institutions are often referred to as predominantly White institutions (PWIs).

[2] The phrase *historically under-represented minority* is intentionally used to call attention to a specific, historically marginalized cohort that was defined in the Civil Rights era and is still defined as such. This delineation does not include international faculty, Asian Americans, other Latin American subgroups, or White women in male-dominated fields such as STEM.

As a form of professional socialization, mentorship involves individuals of superior rank and/or experience who serve as mentors to instruct, counsel, guide, and facilitate the intellectual and/or career development of those identified as protégés (Blackwell, 1989; Few, Stephens, & Rouse-Arnett, 2003; Gutiérrez y Muhs, Niemann, González, & Harris, 2012; Turner & González, 2015). Mentoring should be "developmental, intentional, [and] generative" (Mullen, 2012, p. 7), with attention directed toward the knowledge transfer of norms and behaviors, accumulation of social capital, reciprocal learning, networking, sponsoring, and navigation of organizational politics and power structures within specific higher education organizational contexts (Csikszentmihalyi, 2009; Few et al., 2003; Griffin, 2012). In the case of mentoring URM faculty, career guidance and support should enhance research skills, uncover knowledge of normative expectations, and legitimize the protégé's "ideas, intellect, and commitment to uplift both students and their communities from systematic oppression" (Zambrana et al., 2015, p. 57).

The scholarship on mentoring has proliferated in the last decade and now includes a continuum of roles from advisor to sponsor to virtual mentor. While all of these mentoring interactions may be useful and can benefit all faculty in different ways, they cannot replace the long-term guidance and care of a mentor who respects and values the scholarly promise of early career faculty. Yet most of this literature does not acknowledge the potential challenges associated with traditional forms of mentorship that maintain dominant cultural, political, and social knowledge patterns (Csikszentmihalyi, 2009; Mullen, 2012), and which may prove difficult when URM scholars' research interests are perceived as divergent (Turner & González, 2015). Studies demonstrate that URM faculty are more likely to not have mentors, often have less access to quality and effective mentorship, and are less likely to have access to mentors of the same racial/ethnic background (i.e., racial/ethnic concordance) throughout their professional socialization experiences (Diggs, Garrison-Wade, Estrada, & Galindo, 2009; Price et al., 2009; Wong et al., 2001; Zambrana et al., 2015).

To address the barriers that prevent access to helpful mentorship, universities have developed initiatives in which senior faculty members are formally assigned to socialize early career faculty members "into the culture, mission, goals, and characteristics of the university and the communities it serves" (Otieno, Lutz, & Schoolmaster, 2010, p. 77). By strengthening social capital, early career faculty can better access resources, such as faculty mentorship and research opportunities that help support retention (Boykin et al., 2003; Turner & Myers, 2000). Some scholars argue that, based on how formal mentoring is implemented, this mentoring modality often resembles supervision rather than a helpful mentorship structure that can contribute to successful faculty socialization (Kay, Hagan, & Parker, 2009). In addition, early career scholars may have formally assigned departmental mentors, but those mentors may not value the URM faculty's research interests, understand societal struggles experienced by URM faculty, or have the skills necessary to offer political guidance, especially regarding tenure and promotion processes. Since the 1960s, formal mentoring, and other mentoring modalities have been viewed as important avenues for facilitating career success, but have been rarely studied as an organizational approach for addressing the professional socialization of URM faculty (Chao, 2009; Otieno et al., 2010). Few studies, to our knowledge, have explored how various mentoring modalities are perceived in terms of helpful career guidance and professional socialization. The purpose of this study is to contrast perceptions among 58 URM faculty employed at U.S. research-extensive universities who either reported an absence of mentoring or who experienced informal or formal mentoring modalities. We also explore participants' perceptions regarding racial/ethnic concordance (i.e., same-race mentorship) in mentoring modalities.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

A growing body of knowledge in higher education and sociology regarding structural inequality and the role of organizational culture has enhanced our understanding of retention and career success for URM faculty (Bonilla-Silva, 2009; Feagin, 2006, 2013). Critical organizational theory explores the role of implicit bias and racism in mentoring modalities within the racialized boundaries of predominantly White academic organizational structures (Alemán & Alemán, 2010; Chesler & Crowfoot, 2000; Chesler, Lewis, & Crowfoot, 2005; Croom & Patton, 2011–2012; Feagin, 2006, 2013; Solórzano, 1998; Wingfield & Alston, 2014). Four tenets guide our analytic frame: a) racism is ordinary and not aberrational; b) U.S. society is based on a "White-over-color ascendancy" that advances White supremacy; c) race and racism are social constructions; and d) storytelling "urges Black and Brown writers to recount their experiences with racism" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, pp. 7–9). Drawing on these scholarly perspectives, we contend that higher education is a bastion of culturally-driven organizational rules and norms that obscure "individual capacities for clarity and responsibility," especially in recognizing the covert nature and permeation of racialized processes throughout the academic organization (Chesler & Crowfoot, 2000, p. 437).

In a system of privilege and exclusion, higher education has "distinct structural features, role relations, informal system dynamics, and environmental stresses and strains" (Luna & Cullen, 1995, p. 6). Policies and professional socialization practices are devised and implemented to ensure that all members of the knowledge organization, especially early career faculty, preserve the beliefs, values, and norms of organizational culture that undergird a stringent perspective on the meaning of success and productivity (Chesler & Crowfoot, 2000; Luna & Cullen, 1995; Perlow, 1998; Wingfield & Alston, 2014). In turn, the academic organization expects that faculty members will learn the normative expectations, conform to these expectations regardless of sufficient mentoring guidance, and know exactly how to become well-regarded scholars who will garner greater prestige for the university.

Faculty members have limited power in changing policies and practices at the organizational level; rather, their power resides at the departmental level with departmental chairs and senior faculty serving as appointed guardians of “often unverbalized” normative expectations (Huston, Norman, & Ambrose, 2007, p. 503) and (un)written rules (O’Meara, Chalk Bennett, & Niehaus, 2016). Departmental chairs are entrusted with the authority to interpret and implement mentoring policies in order to accelerate professional socialization and usher early career faculty through tenure and promotion processes, often with limited guidance, organizational structure, or written procedures (Pifer & Baker, 2013). Without a commitment of departmental faculty to quality mentorship, formal mentoring as an organizational practice may reflect “symbolic encouragement” (Bell, 2004, p. 5) and empty promises in facilitating the productivity and success of URM faculty.

Can Formal Mentoring Promote Professional Socialization Practices?

There have been several innovations in mentorship approaches such as pre-arrival/arrival mentoring, group mentoring, and peer mentoring (see Murakami and Núñez, 2014, Otieno et al., 2010, Patton, 2009, and Patton and Harper, 2003); however, the one-on-one relationship developed through formal mentorship, often implemented in academic departments, is under-evaluated. Formal mentoring opportunities “involve the building of personal and professional relationships that can be mutually beneficial for both the junior faculty and the host institution” (Otieno et al., 2010, p. 79). Formal mentoring can provide a valuable format for transmitting career guidance and social support to assuage the challenges that early career faculty may experience in developing professional networks (e.g., sponsors and expert advisors), as well as to counter systemic barriers to advancement within elite academic contexts (Carr, Palepu, Szalacha, Caswell, & Inui, 2007; Daley, Wingard, & Reznik, 2006; Diggs et al., 2009; Price et al., 2009). However, lacunae exist in scholarly knowledge about how early career URM faculty perceive their formal mentoring relationships, and how these perceptions can inform organizational investments in effective implementation efforts of this mentoring modality.

The formal mentoring modality is particularly important because the processes of socialization via mentoring that begin in doctoral education are not readily available to URMs as they are to their White counterparts (see Espino, 2014; Patton, 2009). URM faculty, therefore, encounter a paradox: they experience marginalization and social exclusion in the academic environment, yet seek a remedy within the same organizations that may be complicit in that marginalization. An approach that has been proposed to remedy under-representation is to match faculty of similar racial/ethnic backgrounds (e.g., racial/ethnic concordance) as mentors. Solórzano's (1998) study of Chicana/o Ford Foundation Graduate and Postdoctoral Minority Fellows emphasizes the importance of "similar race-ethnic" faculty role models. As one of his respondents notes, "you need to see someone like you in the position that you hope to attain. Otherwise you begin to wonder, to doubt, to second guess yourself" (Solórzano, 1998, p. 128). Based on recent data, however, racial/ethnic concordance in formal mentoring relationships is untenable. In 2013, URM faculty comprised only 6%, 10%, and 11% of the faculty ranks of full professor, associate professor, and assistant professor, respectively (National Center for Education Statistics, [NCES], 2016). In fall 2013, of those full-time faculty whose race/ethnicity was known, 78% were White, 10% were Asian American/Pacific Islander, 6% were African American, 4% were Hispanic, and less than one percent were American Indian/Alaska Native (NCES, 2016).

Given the slow rate at which departmental faculty demographics shift, the expectation of a "critical mass" of underrepresented minority faculty who might conceivably mentor underrepresented minority faculty is unlikely in the near-term in virtually all graduate departments, making it necessary to seek alternative racial/ethnic configurations within mentoring relationships. Cross-racial/ethnic mentoring relationships can be challenging when non-URM mentors fail to acknowledge power dynamics, implicit bias, paternalism, racism, and unwritten dominant culture norms within departments and university policies (Cowin, Cohen, Ciechanowski, & Orozco, 2011; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001). To be helpful, cross-racial/ethnic mentorship matching requires an understanding on the part of, mostly, White faculty members and administrators, regarding the role of racial/ethnic social status in personal interaction, collegiality, social systems, and organizational structures (Evans & Moore, 2015; Stanley, 2006). Ideally, meaningful cross-racial/ethnic formal mentoring relationships entail a sense of trust; acknowledgement of covert and overt forms of racism; a willingness to propose strategies for helping URM faculty manage potential misperceptions regarding their research agendas; and acknowledgement of the extent to which URM faculty are othered in their departments and universities (Diggs et al., 2009). Based on extant literature, formal mentoring modalities do not always consider these important components that could assist with the professional socialization of URM faculty; rather, this mentoring modality may inadvertently serve as a barrier to retention and advancement due to senior faculty lack of interest, insufficient time commitment, limited training, and general disengagement (Boykin et al., 2003; Guzman Johannessen & Unterreiner, 2010).

Identity markers of race/ethnicity and historical incorporation often shape the workplace climate and interpersonal interactions between URM and non-URM faculty. They also influence the organizational opportunity structure via differential access to resources and power, thereby reinforcing racialized hierarchies (Ridgeway, 2014; Wingfield & Alston, 2014). Historically, higher education has excluded URM faculty through various practices, including mentoring, which are rooted in dominant ideologies that "sustain a biased class structure; facilitating only the psychosocial and career benefits of mentoring for some groups by some groups" (Mullen, 2012, p. 15). These ideologies are apparent at the earliest stages of faculty development (i.e., doctoral education), whereby students are (un)willingly socialized to fit rigid conceptualizations of the "ideal" type of scholar (Noy & Ray 2012): one who displays "detachment and distance, the use of abstract concepts, assertive self-confidence, competition, independent work habits, and loyalty to colleagues—even at the expense of allegiance to one's community of origin" (Margolis & Romero, 1998, p. 9). As a result, URM faculty, who often experience tokenization, marginalization, and isolation, are in a constant state of navigating labyrinths of organizational structures that were not intended to serve historically marginalized groups, at times, navigating these structures with little to no strategic or political guidance from mentors (Aguirre, 2000; Gonzáles, Murakami, & Núñez, 2013; Martínez Alemán, 1995; Turner, 2002; Zambrana et al., 2015).

Drawing on empirical evidence and an integrative critical organizational framework, we examine the perceptions of URM faculty who either reported an absence of mentoring or who experienced informal or formal mentoring modalities, with particular attention to formal mentoring. Formal mentoring has been proffered as an organizational solution to retention and the professional socialization of URM faculty yet it is understudied. We seek to understand whether formal mentoring is perceived as a helpful modality that can support URM faculty in their career trajectories.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This study draws on a mixed methods study design using data from 58 URM faculty. Qualitative data were obtained from group interviews (n=21) and individual interviews (n=37) combined with descriptive-linked survey data. Six group interviews were conducted by race/ethnicity with an average of five respondents. In keeping with mixed-methods strategies, which do not "always require the consideration of distinctions between . . . paradigms associated with qualitative and quantitative research" (Jones, Torres, & Arminio, 2014, p. 152), we draw from qualitative data to provide richness and depth to our understanding of mentoring as a resource in participant career paths. The collection of URM faculty narratives strengthens our critical interpretive analyses of higher education organizational contexts associated with mentoring modalities that would be difficult to capture using only a survey method. By gathering rich narrative data, we unearth the possibility for "deep structure" explanatory descriptions of macro-organizational processes and micro-interpersonal relations and perceptions that enable the voices of the silenced to be heard (Castro, Kellison, Boyd, & Kpoak, 2010).

Sample Criteria and Data Collection

Criteria for sample selection were very specific as URM faculty lives have been de-privileged by their historic intersectional social status identities (Hill Collins, 2015; Ridgeway, 2014). Eligibility criteria for study participants included U.S.-born women and men of African American, Mexican-American, and Puerto Rican descent who were tenure-track assistant or associate URM faculty members at 22 Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) in the Highest and Higher Research categories of Carnegie Classification. These specific racial/ethnic groups are under-represented in the academy relative to their proportion in the general U.S. population (Bensimon, 2005; Moreno, Smith, Clayton-Pedersen, Parker, & Terguchi, 2006). They also share involuntary historical incorporation into the U.S. (via slavery, colonization, or territory acquisition) that has shaped avenues of economic and social opportunity over time, often reflecting a legacy of exclusionary experiences in higher education due to their social status.

Study participants were identified through network sampling techniques using existing academic list-serves, personal contacts, and respondent referrals, among others, to assure representation by racial, ethnic, and gender characteristics as well as rank and geography. We aimed to gain information about contemporary faculty career advancement issues. Thus, adjuncts, lecturers, and full professors were excluded based on an analytic decision that contingent faculty hold temporary teaching positions and full professors have already successfully completed tenure and promotion processes. The research design was reviewed and approved per the University of Maryland Institutional Review Board procedures. Written consent was obtained from all participants, and those who agreed to individual and group interviews were compensated for their time via small gift incentives.

Data were collected from 2010 to 2012. The data collection protocols consisted of 20 open-ended questions, of which data from four questions were used for this paper: Describe your mentor /mentee relationships. How do your actual experiences with mentoring within your current institution compare to ideal? Has mentoring made a difference in your career path? In what ways? In addition, a brief demographic survey with a linked ID number was administered upon completion of the individual and group interviews (100% response rate), which included: a) demographic indicators; b) employment and educational background; and c) mentorship items adapted from the National Faculty Survey (Robert Wood Johnson Foundation [RWJF], 1995). Mentorship items included: identification of a current mentor, number of mentors, mentor's gender (male/female), and race/ethnicity of current mentor (response options included: White, not of Latino-origin; Black; not of Latino-origin; Asian or Pacific Islander; Native American/American Indian; Hispanic/Latino and Other). An additional item asked if respondents believed that inadequate mentoring impeded their career growth, with 5 response options: very significantly; a great deal; somewhat; hardly at all; and not at all. The senior author conducted most of the individual and group interviews due to the sensitivity of the content of protocol schedules. Participants were provided a debriefing, if desired, after the individual or group interview. On average, individual interviews lasted 1 hour 51 minutes and group interviews averaged 2 hours 42 minutes. All the interviews and focus groups were digitally recorded and professionally transcribed.

Sample Description

Table 1 shows descriptive survey data by mentoring status: participants who reported an absence of mentoring (n=6), participants who reported receiving informal mentorship but did not participate in formal mentoring opportunities (n=24), and participants who reported engaging in formal mentoring opportunities (n=28). The sample is comprised of African American (40%), Mexican-American (36%), and Puerto Rican (24%) faculty; a majority (96.7%) of which were trained at research extensive public and private universities. Fifty-five percent of participants are women. Sixty percent of participants are assistant professors, while 40% are associate professors. The majority of participants (58%) had spent less than 6 years at their current institutions. The disciplines represented in the study include arts and humanities (10%), social sciences (40%), STEM and health (31%), and education (11%).[3] Nearly 90% of the sample report having at least one mentor, but nearly 60% report that *inadequate* mentoring had a significant or somewhat significant impact on their careers. Participants who report an absence of mentoring work slightly more hours per week and are older than participants in the informal and formal mentoring modalities. The average age of participants is 40.9 years. Although career stage may seem to be an important factor in mentoring experiences, participants who reported an absence of mentorship also had a much longer time to degree completion (8.4 years in contrast to the average 6 years) suggesting that mentorship resources were not readily available at the beginning of their careers.

---

[3] Because of the highly sensitive nature of the data collected and since most of the sample is comprised of participants who are the only URM faculty in their departments or are part of a small number of URM faculty within their disciplines, we honor their anonymity by not connecting disciplines with specific participants.

Analysis

Descriptive analyses (frequencies, proportions, and means) were derived for all sociodemographic, employment, and mentoring variables. Coding was completed in Atlas.ti 6.2—a qualitative analysis software program—to allow for efficient coding, analysis, and interpretation of the data. Thematic content analyses of interviews by the research team in conjunction with the major theorizing constructs drawn from an extensive literature review on academic environments and work life among URM faculty yielded 13 main codes including sub-codes. A codebook was created to standardize codes and as a reference in the case of discrepancies between coders.

All four main coders, two doctoral candidates and two post-doctoral researchers, were experienced qualitative researchers. Coders received six hours of training regarding the purposes of the study and interpretations of main codes in the codebook. In addition, three weekly three-hour sessions were held during the team coding of initial interviews to discuss any inconsistencies or potential new codes. Research team meetings were held monthly thereafter. Each transcribed interview and focus group was read multiple times by the assigned coders and then coded, line-by-line, to develop case-ordered, then theme-ordered, descriptive matrices (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). A third coder reviewed all transcripts to reconcile any inconsistencies in the main thematic codes. Noteworthy, agreement was relatively consistent among coders (Clarke, 2007).

For these analyses, respondents were categorized into three groups based on their responses to two items: Have you had a mentor in the past three years? (Yes/No) and Have you ever participated in a formal mentoring program through your university or outside organization? (Yes/No). The groups included: 6 who reported an absence of mentoring; 28 who reported participation in informal mentoring with no formal mentoring; and 24 who reported participation in formal mentoring initiatives through their home institutions. Interestingly, most of the participants who were involved in formal mentoring opportunities had also participated in post-doctoral formal mentoring programs funded through external agencies and/or the federal government.[4]

---

[4] Over 80% of all participants received postdoctoral training at universities with Highest and Higher Research Activity with an average of 2.2 years (SD=1.29). Examples of post-doctoral fellowship programs that include formal mentoring are: American Association of Medical Colleges, Ford Foundation, Kellogg Foundation, Mongan Commonwealth Fund Fellowship in Minority Health Policy, National Science Foundation Advance, Robert Wood Johnson Foundation New Connections, University of California ACCORD, and Woodrow Wilson Career Enhancement Fellowship.

Table 1.

Descriptive Statistics of Sample by Mentoring Status *(N=58)*

Variables		Total 58 (100%)	No Mentoring N=6 (10%)	Informal Mentoring N=28(48%)	Formal Mentoring N=24 (41%)
Ethnicity					
	African American	23 (40%)	1 (17%)	12 (43%)	10 (42%)
	Mexican-American	21 (36%)	2 (33%)	9 (32%)	10 (42%)
	Puerto Rican	14 (24%)	3 (50%)	7 (25%)	4 (17%)
Male	26 (45%)	1 (20%)	13 (46%)	12 (50%)	
Age	40.9	49.8	40	40.9	
Professional Rank					
	Assistant	33 (60%)	1 (20%)	22 (79%)	10 (45%)
	Associate	22 (40%)	4 (80%)	6 (21%)	12 (55%)
Weekly Work Hours		55.9	58.4	56.8	55.5
Years in PhD Program		6.0	8.4	5.9	5.6
Discipline					
	Arts and Humanities	10 (40%)	2 (40%)	4 (14%)	4 (18%)
	Social Sciences	22 (40%)	2 (40%)	11 (39%)	9 (41%)
	STEM and Health	17 (31%)	1 (20%)	9 (32%)	7 (18%)
	Education	6 (11%)	0	4 (14%)	2 (9%)
Number of Mentors					
	No current mentor	6 (11%)	6 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
	1–2 mentors	15 (27%)	N/A	8 (29%)	7 (32%)
	3–4 mentors	22 (39%)	N/A	11 (39%)	11 (50%)
	5 or more	13 (23%)	N/A	9 (32%)	4 (18%)
Impact of Inadequate Mentoring on Career					
	Very Significantly/ A great deal	13 (24%)	2 (40%)	6 (21%)	5 (23%)
	Somewhat	18 (33%)	2 (40%)	11 (39%)	5 (23%)
	Hardly/ not at all	23 (43%)	1 (20%)	10 (36%)	12 (55%)

Note: Due to rounding, percentages may not sum exactly to 100%; some variables have missing data.

Drawing from extant literature on mentoring and the critical organizational framework, we interpreted the themes by mentoring modalities or absence of mentorship and participants' perceptions of the role of racial/ethnic concordance in mentoring relationships within known organizational structures and processes. All participants reported challenges across mentoring modalities and provided their own perceptions and experiences with mentoring or its absence at different moments in their career paths. They also reported employing various strategies to successfully navigate their academic work environments. We selected quotes that captured patterns of responses for each group. The analyses of the four questions yielded the following themes: an absence of mentoring is perceived as benign neglect; informal mentoring is perceived as less helpful than formal mentoring; perceived inadequacies in formal mentoring may limit access to social capital; and the absence of racial/ethnic concordance can contribute to a "mentoring glass ceiling" that limits the quality of mentoring received. The qualitative data contextualizes meaningfully how mentoring is implemented within an academic setting and highlights the benefits as well as the potential pitfalls within formal mentoring relationships in contrast to informal mentorship and absence of mentorship.

Multiple techniques were built into the study's design to validate the findings and increase trustworthiness and credibility (Glesne, 2011). Beyond methodological consistency and theoretical sensitivity (Corbin & Strauss, 2008), the primary verification techniques included: (a) data and analytic triangulation and (b) peer review/debriefing (Glesne, 2011). Since data were derived from multiple sources, including individual and group interviews, and linked surveys, triangulation confirmed that these data reflect patterns of experience and are not due to research protocols, measures, or specific wording of questions (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). We also conducted "analytic triangulation" (Patton, 2002, p. 555) using multiple coders who were not present during data collection. These coders analyzed the data, and their conclusions were compared with those of the two original coders and with the senior author. (Methods are fully described in Zambrana et al., 2015.)

Positionality

The researchers' personal and professional experiences, knowledge, and social identities play important roles in building rapport, honoring participants' experiences, and analyzing data (Jones et al., 2006). Examining our positionality helps us to become "critically conscious through personal accounting of how [our] self-location, . . . position, and interests influence all stages of the research process" (Pillow, 2003, p. 178). While shared racial/ethnic identities and positionality can be assets in data collection, common experience or shared thinking was not assumed and the senior author always asked for full explanations of any experience. The senior author is one of a small number of senior URM female, full professors in the social sciences in research-extensive universities across the U.S., which thrusts her into mentoring roles including helper, healer, and connector. Throughout the years, the senior author heard many stories of pain and anguish, perceived failure, devaluing, and absence of mentorship. Most significantly, she witnessed a stagnant dearth of URM scholars at research-extensive universities and often heard stories of illness stemming from their marginalized status and barriers to success and healthy well-being, which was the impetus for the larger mixed-methods study.

The first author is an early career URM faculty who developed an informal mentoring relationship with the senior author that involves nurturing support, political guidance, and critical feedback on manuscripts. She also has a formal mentor who was assigned by her departmental chair. As a Chicana female, the first author has a keen awareness of how racial/ethnic and gender identities are positioned in predominantly White spaces that perpetuate traditional notions of merit and colorblindness. The first author is dedicated to investigating racial/ethnic and social inequalities in higher education and society, and brings a critical approach to not only interrogating organizational structures that hinder the advancement of URM faculty, but in proposing mechanisms of support for racial/ethnic uplift. Accordingly, our collaboration (re)presents the stories of URMs who are mentored as well as those who are ignored, marginalized, and isolated.

Study Limitations

These data are limited by the cross-sectional design of the study and voluntary nature of the participants. Selection bias also represents a potential study limitation as many participants were identified by a network of senior professors known to the senior author. It is possible that those who felt well suited to the academy, were totally dissatisfied, or did not identify as an URM, elected not to participate. Further, participants could have provided socially desirable responses because they feared the consequences of disclosure to the interviewer. The findings may not be representative of the experiences of all URM (African American, Puerto Rican and Mexican-American) faculty in all academic settings. Admittedly, colorism or phenotype, self-perceptions of identity, social class status, family of origin, nativity of parents, heritage, and ideology/political orientation are important factors in the perceptions of racialized experiences that were not measured in this study. Significantly, Native Americans/American Indians, who are severely underrepresented in higher education, are not included in this paper. Nonetheless, we are confident that our data provide insight into the mentoring experiences of a sample of URM faculty at research-extensive universities nationwide.

FINDINGS

Our data yielded five key findings: an absence of mentoring is perceived as benign neglect; informal mentoring is perceived as less helpful than formal mentoring; perceived inadequacies in formal mentoring may limit access to knowledge, resources, and collaborative opportunities to increase success in achieving tenure and promotion; racial/ethnic concordance in mentoring relationships is not always necessary but its absence can contribute to the "revolving door" whereby URM faculty are cycled rather than retained; and inadequacy across mentoring modalities was perceived as associated with senior faculty disengagement, a "mentoring glass ceiling" that limits the quality of mentoring received due to ambivalence toward the career development of URM faculty.

"Out in the Ocean with No Boat": Absence of Mentoring

For the six URM faculty who reported that they had not nor were they currently receiving any form of mentorship, the absence of mentorship had detrimental effects on their career trajectories, especially with conceptualizing research agendas, publishing, and developing a network of scholars. An African American female participant states:

> I wish I had more formal relationships like I see a lot of my colleagues—their mentors are introducing them to people. I don't have that and I'm constantly introducing myself and then the person will ask, "Well, who you working with?" And then I start naming names. "Oh, okay. Well, why hasn't that person talked about [you] before?"

Those who reported an absence of mentoring hoped that senior faculty would make themselves available as mentors. One Mexican-American female participant attributes a lack of interest by senior colleagues to an unwritten expectation that, as an early career scholar, she must prove her worth:

> [The department wasn't] willing to provide me the resources . . . because they figured, "We are going to see if she could fail or . . . succeed, and once she succeeds, then we will give her support." [B]ecause of that experience, I ended up leaving . . . . I felt exploited and disrespected . . . .

An African American female participant also shares her disappointment with the lack of support offered within her department:

> A lot of my experiences have been benign neglect. Everyone just lets me figure it out. Meanwhile, I'm spinning in all directions and . . . it's frustrating. They made it very clear that they were pleased that I was competent . . . but I don't think any of them read anything I ever wrote. If they had, they would know I wasn't a very good writer [and] that I was in desperate need of some mentoring.

The values and norms of the academy cultivate the assumption that all faculty can obtain the resources and hone the social capital needed to succeed. Few URM faculty succeed without some form of mentorship that can assist them with meeting departmental expectations:

> I shouldn't have gotten to the point where a [book] proposal has gotten interest from [a university press] and then you tell me in a third-year review, "Don't write the book." I think the department has a responsibility to make sure our time is being used wisely and not wasted like that was for me. (African American, male)

Having incomplete understandings of the departmental requirements and limited early career guidance due to an absence of mentorship led to detrimental consequences at different points along participants' career paths.

Perceptions of Informal Mentoring: "I Need These People to Let Me in"

Often described in the literature as more organic and natural than formal mentoring opportunities (Brown, Davis, & McClendon, 1999; Feldman, Arean, Marshall, Lovett, & O'Sullivan,2010; Mullen & Hutinger, 2008), informal mentoring relationships usually require faculty initiative not only on campus but across scholarly communities. For example, an African American female participant notes that a collaborative book project with a senior scholar led to a mentoring relationship:

> [S]he said to me, "You brought this idea to me. You should be the lead author." So, someone who is really helping me get through the [publishing] process so that the next time I know what to do on my own. I value that more than she probably knows. She is not here [at my university]. She is at a small liberal arts college.

Participants who had helpful informal mentoring stated that their mentors allocated time during conference calls regarding research collaborations to ask, "How's your other research coming along?" (African American, female). That validation was appreciated, along with a willingness to share the intricacies of successfully navigating cultural norms, as an African American female participant explains:

> I need these people to let me in. I'm close enough to know that this stuff is going on but . . . I need them to help me get access. I see [my informal mentor's] role as helping me - it's a whole other set of etiquette, protocol, norms, rules, culture. I don't know any of it. I'm so ignorant.

Some participants even used their own start-up monies to pay for mentorship or applied for external grants that included a mentoring component to ensure that they acquired "the best faculty mentors" (African American, female). Informal mentors offered encouraging messages such as "You are assured," "You're self-directed," "You're gonna be fine," but participants still expressed feelings of isolation (e.g., "I'm actually a lone wolf," and "I feel unanchored and alone"). Some participants expressed concerns about the "network shuffle" (Zambrana et al., 2015) of navigating between multiple informal mentors:

> I have one mentor outside of [the university] and one within. The one outside is really good at reading my papers and giving me . . . honest feedback. But as an outsider, he doesn't have much to say about [departmental] politics. My other mentor here is also very good at the research stuff . . . but politically, relatively new. I've actually been here longer than this person. [A] lot of [understanding the tenure process] has been learning through observation, not learning through mentorship, which is helpful, but that's where I think my mentorship falls from the ideal. (Mexican-American, male)

A critical observation by participants was the importance of "fit" between mentor and mentee. Obtaining an informal mentor who could offer instrumental as well as political guidance proved challenging for most of the participants. Unsurprisingly, as expressed by participants who reported an absence of mentorship, a significant number of participants describe their current informal mentoring relationships as insufficient. Those who had informal mentors outside of their universities expected senior faculty colleagues in their departments to extend mentorship, yet most perceived disengagement and ambivalence in helping early career URM faculty understand university and department milestones. A Mexican-American male participant describes seeking informal mentors on his campus as "[E]very tugboat on their own. You'll figure it out. And if you need to go beg someone for free time or they turn you down, well, that's part of the experience. You've got to go learn to beg." The possibility of rejection prevented several participants from seeking informal mentors on their campuses. Similar to previous studies, participants without formal mentors were left on their own to accurately decode their home institution's ambiguous policies and practices (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998; Stanley, 2006).

The organizational value of independence was so highly enforced that some participants either navigated the unknown by themselves or found ways to engender informal support outside of their departments and universities, most of which was cultivated through collaborative research projects external to their home institutions. The absence of formal mentoring, especially early in faculty careers led to a lack of access to knowledge, resources, and opportunities to make successful career progress. Many early career URM faculty reported that they were uninformed about important career choices and gateways that would strengthen their tenure and promotion portfolios. In some cases, participants did not realize until later in their careers what a formal mentoring modality could have offered. In other cases, URM faculty were well aware of what they were missing by not having a formal mentor and the negative career consequences of not having that type of guidance. As one African American female states, "I'm a strong proponent of formal, recognized, institutionalized mentorship programs as opposed to informal because I have done disastrously with a lot of the informal, but right now . . . it's a little bit too late for me to be choosy."

Perceptions of Formal Mentoring: "They were (Dis)Respectful of my Vision"

Formal mentors can play critical roles in availing mentees of opportunities. Study data proffer insights into positive experiences of formal mentoring that suggest models of helpful practice. However, a significant number of participants observed obstacles to helpful formal mentoring relationships. Some participants who had formal mentors could more specifically articulate their mentoring needs such as grant writing, publication guidance, participation in editorial boards, and honing statistical skills. These participants indicated that the formal mentorship they received was more of a partnership, "[My mentor] has given me the space and the resources and the support . . . and . . . she's connected me to people. She's really served as [a] liaison . . . with the outside world when I'm just in my little cave running analysis and writing" (Puerto Rican, female).

Many of the participants were proponents of formal mentoring because they received instrumental, social, and sponsorship support (i.e., "the intellectual tools, the contacts, the writing skills, [and] the funds" [Puerto Rican Female]). Formal mentors encouraged autonomy, clearly deciphered university policies and procedures, offered feedback on research and publishing as well as co-authorship opportunities, and supported the development of long-term career goals:

> My faculty mentor . . . really does take the time to sit down with me and say, "Tonia,[5] this has been on your CV too long. Let it die. Move onto some other things. How can you make sure that you can move this from . . . in progress to under review?" (African American, female)

Equally important, some formal mentors advised their mentees on the informal rules and power relations within the academic organization:

> She's the kind of mentor that . . . can help with the strategy and the politics here. And I think that's the most useful mentorship I've gotten here . . . . So right now, the kind of mentorship I need is . . . the political mentorship. How do you get ahead? How do you advance here? And how do you survive? (Mexican-American female)

---

[5] Pseudonym

Formal mentorship was often, but not always, connected to some form of compensation for mentors such as funded meals, naming in grants, or general funding, yet, from the mentees' perspectives, the incentives did not always lead to positive and enriching mentoring experiences. Several participants perceived their formal mentors as not meeting their expectations of support and shared interests, especially because some formal mentors were new to the institution, recently tenured, or, in some cases, were senior but had spent fewer years at the university than the participants:

> I don't even really meet with [my formal mentor], and she doesn't know anything I'm doing . . . . After . . . six meetings with someone . . . it's like, "What does your research have to do with [this discipline] anyhow?" That's the kind of mentorship [I am receiving at my university]. (Mexican-American, female)

Some participants were skeptical of what formal mentoring entailed, as an African American female participant explains:

> [M]y disappointment at the university level is that there was . . . the sort of boilerplate, "We will assign you [a mentor]." And then I quickly realized that no one really takes mentoring seriously, or if they do . . . they have a vested interest in bringing somebody forward. I kept thinking that there would be this magic mentoring and it never has really materialized, and . . . there is a level at which you do have to figure this stuff out on your own. That's part of academia. The ideal is that you wouldn't, but a lot of it, you do.

There were multiple instances in which formal mentors had no knowledge of participants' research interests, the current literature being used, or critical methodologies being employed. Although formal mentors could have been helpful in other areas of mentorship, participants equated this lack of knowledge as not being fully engaged in their success. One participant's recollection of something a formal mentor told her demonstrates how prior mentoring experiences can have lingering effects:

> "I watched you flounder for years and it's good to see that you're finally coming into your own." And I thought wow, that's not really a compliment. [A]t no point did you think, "Maybe I can intercede in some way . . . ."

Overall, participants reported that their formal mentors would only meet with them on an annual basis in order for the mentor to receive recognition or institutional capital, regardless of the helpfulness of the actual mentoring. Some participants ended their formal mentorship by the mid-point of their tenure-track processes. Once formal mentors left universities, they were seldom replaced. All too often, participants reported experiencing social and political disadvantage due to limited knowledge of organizational and departmental (un)written rules and normative expectations. These data demonstrate that formal mentoring may be a critically important tool for navigating academic terrains, if mentors value the work of their protégés, meet on a regular or as-needed basis, and develop a collaborative partnership to support the career paths of the protégés.

Dynamics of Racial/Ethnic Concordance: "I Know She Means Well:"

Actively seeking guidance within departments when none is offered, "combined [with the] paradoxical experience of being invisible and hypervisible" (Reddick & Young, 2012, p. 416), inevitably reproduce the independence that is so strongly upheld within the organizational culture. Yet, participants expected that, if they could find mentors of the same racial/ethnic background (i.e., racial/ethnic concordance), they would be able to counter the perceptions of exclusion from key social networks, and alienation.

Table 2 shows the level of racial/ethnic concordance for participants who report receiving informal or formal mentorship. Less than half of the sample indicates that they are mentored (informally or formally) by someone of the same race/ethnicity. Five of the 12 African American participants who report receiving informal mentorship have a same-race mentor compared to five of the eight Mexican-American and five of the seven Puerto Rican participants. Regarding formal mentorship, six of the nine African American participants report having a same-race mentor compared to only two of the nine Mexican-American and one of the three Puerto Rican participants.

Although racial/ethnic concordance across mentoring modalities is not necessary, many of the participants expected that a senior URM faculty member could better address concerns regarding the role of race/ethnicity, among other social identities, which they believed may hinder their career trajectories. A Mexican-American female participant illustrates the value of having a formal mentor who is also a role model, "[M]y realization that I had someone who was Latina like me and . . . a good scholar was just something that was just very unique and rare. And I think that . . . has made a world of difference . . . ."

When participants could not identify a URM senior faculty member, they sought support from non-URM senior faculty in their departments and noted a mismatch of values and interests with their cross-racial/ethnic mentors. Based on the perceptions of a majority of the participants, White senior faculty seemed uninformed and ambivalent about addressing the professional socialization of early career URM faculty. Some participants indicated that their White mentors "didn't really know what to do with [them] and the topics that [they] wanted to study." These mentors were often depicted as well-meaning, enlightened, and "appropriate" in their interactions. However, they were also perceived as condescending and demonstrating benevolent racism:

TABLE 2.
RACIAL/ETHNIC MENTOR CONCORDANCE

Participant Race/Ethnicity	*Mentor Race/Ethnicity*				
Informal Mentorship	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	Other
African American	6	5	0	1	0
Mexican-American	2	0	1	5	1
Puerto Rican	1	1	0	5	0
Total	9 (32%)	6 (21%)	1 (4%)	11 (39%)	1 (4%)
Formal Mentorship					
African American	2	6	0	1	0
Mexican-American	6	1	0	2	0
Puerto Rican	1	1	0	1	0
Total	9 (43%)	8 (38%)	0 (0%)	4 (19%)	0 (0%)

> [My White formal mentor] . . . proceeded to tell me that when you go for this grant because it requires a formal presentation to the board, "You need to make sure that you sit straight at the meeting. You don't want to lean. You need to make sure that . . . you wear a suit." I would have never been here if I didn't know any of that stupid nonsense that [she was] telling me. (Mexican-American, male)

From the participant's perspective, a helpful formal mentor would have provided guidance on preparing for the grant meeting and effectively communicating one's research interests to the funding board. Instead, the mentorship was focused on behavior. Participants were seeking instrumental guidance rather than unsolicited advice pertaining to racial/ethnic and gender performance.

Although this study did not include the perspectives of senior faculty mentors, there is some support for URM faculty's perceptions of their senior colleagues. When there is a mismatch between the faculty member's values and expectations and the organizational culture, senior faculty can choose to leave, become disengaged, or remain silent and ambivalent to the department and early career faculty (Huston et al., 2007; O'Meara et al., 2016). Because they have already established their professional networks, senior faculty are less likely to depend on departmental colleagues, which directly affects "junior faculty who often rely more heavily on senior departmental colleagues for intellectual exchange and collaboration" (Huston et al., 2007, p. 515).

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In this study, we focus on the complexities and contradictions of academic organizations in order to contextualize how organizational support structures systematically maintain racialized boundaries and implement a particular practice in the name of effective professional socialization: formal mentoring. Participants' responses to experiences with mentoring modalities, especially formal mentoring, provide rich context for the conditions under which URM faculty are mentored or experience an absence of mentoring. The data reveal the following potential impacts that mentoring (or its absence) can have on URM faculty career paths: an absence of mentoring can lead to significant career miscalculations; well-intentioned mentors can devalue URM faculty's work and scholarship; senior faculty are not held accountable for observed disengagement from URM faculty career development; and inadequate mentorship often limits access to social networks and collaborative research opportunities that can lead to career advancement. Participants reported receiving disparate forms of mentoring, with advice ranging from navigating departmental politics to relationship-building and maintaining normative expectations. Findings indicate that helpful mentoring could have diminished the impact of career miscalculations if the "lone wolves" had received any form of mentorship. However, few mentoring relationships fit the optimal standards of mentorship in providing both instrumental and social support as well as validation for URM faculty's research, teaching, and service interests. Moreover, these data caution that a "mentoring glass ceiling" (Noy & Ray, 2012, p. 905) may be reached due to the quality of mentorship received across modalities. The mentoring glass ceiling, in effect, limits access to professional socialization experiences that prepare URM faculty to navigate power relations and hostile academic environments.

Our data show that a formal mentoring modality, in particular, has the potential to complement URM faculty's abilities to navigate academic terrains and successfully meet conventional standards of productivity and career success, but it must involve training non-URM mentors to tailor their knowledge and skill sets for protégés in order to fully capitalize on and maximize the human resources at the university, as well as prepare URM faculty to address the benefits and challenges of cross-racial/ethnic interaction. In addition, participants' experiences with White senior faculty show the disengagement of senior faculty and the limited access that early career faculty have to senior URM faculty, especially because the low numbers of senior URM faculty make matching mentors of similar racial/ethnic backgrounds untenable. Finally, racial/ethnic concordance in formal mentoring relationships is not a viable option for two reasons: a) formal mentorship can contribute to additional workload for this small group, and b) URM senior faculty may also be marginalized and not have access to the power structures and social networks that can facilitate career success.

When URM faculty are unable to obtain helpful mentorship, which can affect their career advancement, the university may claim a "socially constructed ignorance" (Chesler & Crowfoot, 2005, p. 439) because there is restricted oversight, a lack of accountability measures or subsequent sanctions, and few incentives for acknowledging the racial/ethnic-driven realities experienced by URM faculty on their campuses. When mentorship is formalized and codified within organizational structures and arrangements, the outcomes of formal mentoring initiatives are not necessarily focused on helping the individual faculty member succeed; rather, what is sustained and reinforced is "the underlying worldview of systems and policies that treat mentoring as a commodity to be traded and exchanged" (Mullen, 2012, p. 14). Thus, formal mentoring modalities are frequently conduits of organizational accommodation that support the (un)written rules that maintain the status quo by controlling what is produced and deemed worthy of reward (Jermier, 1998, p. 235). As a result, URM faculty miss key opportunities to understand the (un)written expectations within specific organizational contexts, which can have injurious consequences in tenure and promotion processes. Formal mentoring modalities can serve as potential mechanisms to advance URM faculty retention and career success, but these opportunities may require altering the organizational structure of academic work environments to ensure more inclusive and responsive evidence-based policies and practices.

For formal mentoring to be helpful, departmental leadership should recognize senior faculty who withdraw from the department's intellectual and/or social life, decision-making processes, and mentoring opportunities, as well as address "cynical or discouraging advice to protégés" that impact departmental climate before matching mentors and protégés (Huston et al., 2007, p. 514). The consequences of not attending to disengaged or biased senior faculty could lead to early career faculty departure, which will cost the university not only talented URM faculty, but "departmental time, resources, and money that must go into conducting searches and providing attractive start-up packages for new faculty" (Huston et al., 2007, p. 514).

Another organizational implication of matching disengaged senior faculty with early career URM faculty is the "absolution of [organizational] responsibility and an implicit form of racism" (Mullen, 2012, p. 419). These data show that "a match" only matters if similar values are shared and research interests are validated between the URM faculty and senior mentor. Although racial/ethnic concordance may provide a mentoring relationship in which URM faculty can discuss racial realities in PWIs, supporting early career URM faculty is everyone's responsibility, regardless of race/ethnicity. If URM faculty are left to only seek support and mentorship from other URM faculty, the cycle of over burdening URM senior faculty continues.

Accordingly, several questions are prominent from these analyses. Who is responsible for developing successful and helpful formal mentoring modalities at research-extensive universities beyond the notion of *all early career faculty*? How do institutions tailor formal mentoring modalities to avoid the one size fits all approach? Are there ways to assess the viability of this modality that integrates not only "how to navigate a system and deal with the unwritten rules and . . . the institutional context that you're in" (Puerto Rican, female) but also examine how to better prepare URM faculty for career success including acknowledging their scholarly, teaching and service contributions in and outside of the academy? Despite best intentions, failure to address these questions can lead formal mentoring opportunities to become no more than symbolic investments that supposedly incorporate the needs of all faculty, yet perpetuate paternalistic, disempowering, and, at times, exploitive structures that inhibit the success of URM faculty (Foote & Solem, 2009; Mullen, 2012).

Our findings extend the current higher education discourse on mentoring and historically under-represented faculty in three major ways: providing information on how to improve higher education organizational accountability in URM faculty investments; addressing the unique challenges of a segment of the diverse academic work force, URM faculty; and adding nuance to the burgeoning mentorship literature by highlighting specific mentoring modalities and their helpfulness in professional socialization for early career URM faculty. Securing the pipeline for faculty means that current URM faculty need to be mentored in intentional, helpful, and inclusive ways through a university commitment to promoting faculty investment and offering incentives for addressing implicit bias. Key characteristics of helpful formal mentoring opportunities include an "attentive matching process, involvement of both career-related and psychosocial mentoring functions, high mentor commitment, participant understandings of the program's goals, quality training [of mentors], and mentee satisfaction with the mentorship" through assessment (Chao, 2009, p. 315). Helpful formal mentoring opportunities for URM faculty should include mentors who are (a) aware of the community-driven focus and social justice values that often guide URM faculty's professional lives; (b) aware of systemic barriers and challenges that may hamper URM faculty's abilities to thrive and perform; (c) politically savvy within the department and across the institution; and (d) mindful of the service, mentoring, and teaching demands often placed upon URM faculty (Harley, 2008). Prior to launching a formal mentoring initiative, universities can address the needs of mentors and protégés by offering a tailored senior mentor training program similar to the one offered by the University of Wisconsin, and offering an orientation for new URM faculty who wish to understand the role of mentoring and how to capitalize on those resources (see http://cimerproject.org/#/). Finally, universities should conduct incremental assessments of these programs, separate from performance reviews, as well as ample organizational support that rewards and holds mentors accountable to ensure that mentors provide robust mentorship and protégés obtain the knowledge and skills to succeed.

Helpful formal mentoring modalities are not a panacea for retaining URM faculty, but they are an integral part of the larger puzzle of how research-extensive universities can lessen the "revolving door" in tenure and promotion. Future research should explore how and if the continuum of mentoring (e.g., formal and informal; external agency/foundation-based and university-based; in-person and virtual) and alternative approaches prepare future and current faculty to navigate and foster change in existing organizational structures. As one participant observed, we wish to create a system whereby URM faculty can "live this [academic] life in a meaningful way without it burning you and breaking your soul."

REFERENCES

Aguirre, Jr., A. (2000). *Women and minority faculty in the academic workplace: Recruitment, retention, and academic culture*. ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report, 27(6).

Alemán, Jr., E., & Alemán, S. M. (2010). "Do Latin@ interests always have to 'converge' with White interests?": (Re)claiming racial realism and interest-convergence in critical race theory praxis. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 13*(1), 1–21.

Bell, D. (2004). *Silent covenants: Brown v. board of education and the unfulfilled hopes for racial reform*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bensimon, E. M. (2005). Closing the achievement gap in higher education: An organizational learning perspective. *New Directions for Higher Education, 131*, 99–111.

Blackwell, J. E. (1989). Mentoring: An action strategy for increasing minority faculty. *Academe, 75*, 8–14.

Bonilla-Silva, E. (2009). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in America*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Boykin, S. D., Zambrana, R. E., Williams, K., Salas-Lopez, D., Sheppard, V., & Headley, A. (2003). Mentoring underrepresented minority female medical school faculty: Momentum to increase retention and promotion. *Journal of the Association for Academic Minority Physician, 14*(1), 15–18.

Brown, M. C., Davis, G. L., & McClendon, S. A. (1999). Mentoring graduate students of color: Myths, models and modes. *Peabody Journal of Education, 74*(2), 105–118.

Carr, P. L., Palepu, A., Szalacha, L., Caswell, C., & Inui, T. (2007). Flying below the radar: A qualitative study of minority experience and management of discrimination in academic medicine. *Medical Education, 41*, 601– 609.

Castro, F. G., Kellison, J. G., Boyd, S. J. & Kpoak, A. (2010). A methodology for conducting integrative mixed methods research and data analyses. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 4*(4), 342–360.

Center for Postsecondary Research. (2015). 2015 update: Facts & figures. Retrieved from http://carnegieclassifications.iu.edu/downloads/CCIHE2015-FactsFigures.pdf

Chao, G. T. (2009). Formal mentoring: Lessons learned from past practice. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice, 40*(3), 314–320.

Chesler, M. A., & Crowfoot, J. (2000). An organizational analysis of racism in higher education. In C. Brown II (Ed.), *Organization and governance in higher education: ASHE reader series* (5th edition, pp. 436–469). Boston, MA: Pearson Learning Solutions.

Chesler, M., Lewis, A., & Crowfoot, J. (2005). *Challenging racism in higher education: Promoting justice*. New York: Rowan and Littlefield.

Clarke, A. (2007). Feminisms, grounded theory, and situational analysis. In S. Hesse-Biber (Ed.), *Handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis* (pp. 388–412). Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications.

Corbin, J. M., & Strauss, A. L. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*. Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Cowin, K. M., Cohen, L. M., Ciechanowski, K. M., & Orozco, R. A. (2011). Portraits of mentor-junior faculty relationships: From power dynamics to collaboration. *Journal of Education, 192*(1), 37–47.

Croom, N. N., & Patton, L. D. (2011–2012). The miner's canary: A critical race perspective on the representation of Black women full professors. *Negro Educational Review,62–63*(1–4), 13–39.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. (2009). Forward. In J. Nakamura, D. J. Shernoff, & C. H. Hooker (Eds.), *Good mentoring: Fostering excellent practice in higher education* (pp. xi-xvi). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Daley, S., Wingard, D. L., & Reznik, V. (2006). Improving the retention of underrepresented minority faculty in academic medicine. *Journal of the National Medical Association, 98*, 1435–1440.

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. New York: New York University Press.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1998). *Collecting and interpreting qualitative materials*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Diggs, G. A., Garrison-Wade, D. F., Estrada, D., & Galinda, R. (2009). Smiling faces and colored spaces: The experiences of faculty of color pursuing tenure in the academy. *Urban Review, 41*, 312–333.

Espino, M. M. (2014). Exploring the role of community cultural wealth in graduate school access and persistence for Mexican American Ph.D.s. *American Journal of Education, 120*(4), 545–575.

Evans, L., & Moore, W. L. (2015). Impossible burdens: White institutions, emotional labor, and micro-resistance. *Social Problems, 62*, 439–454.

Feagin, J. R. (2006). *System racism: A theory of oppression*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Feagin, J. R. (2013). *The White racial frame: Centuries of racial framing and counter-framing* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.

Feldman, M. D., Arean, P. A., Marshall, S. J., Lovett, M., & O'Sullivan, P. (2010). Does mentoring matter?: Results from a survey of faculty mentees at a large health sciences university. *Medical Education Online, 15*, 1–8.

Few, A. L., Stephens, D. P., & Rouse-Arnett, M. (2003). Sister-to-sister talk: Transcending boundaries and challenges in qualitative research with Black women. *Family Relation, 52*(3), 205–215.

Foote, K. E., & Solem, M. N. (2009). Toward better mentoring for early career faculty: Results of a study of U.S. geographers. *International Journal for Academic Development, 14*(1), 47–58.

Glesne, C. (2011). *Becoming qualitative researchers: An introduction* (4th ed.). Boston: Pearson Education.

Gonzáles, L. D., Murakami, E., & Núñez, A. (2013). Latina faculty in the labyrinth: Constructing and contesting legitimacy in Hispanic serving institutions. *Educational Foundations, 27*(1/2), 65–89.

Griffin, K. A. (2012). Learning to mentor: A mixed methods study of the nature and influence of Black professors' socialization into their roles as mentors. *Journal of the Professoriate*, *6*(2), 27–58.

Gutiérrez y Muhs, G., Niemann, Y. F., Gonzalez, C. G., & Harris, A. P. (2012). *Presumed incompetent: The intersections of race and class for women in academia*. Boulder, Colorado: Utah State University Press.

Guzman Johannessen, B. G., & Unterreiner, A. (2010). Formal and informal mentoring in academia for the 21st century. *Education and Society, 28*(3), 31–49.

Harley, D. A. (2008). Maids of academe: African American women faculty at predominantly White institutions. *Journal of African American Studies, 12*, 19–36.

Hill Collins, P. (2015). Intersectionality's definitional dilemmas. *Annual Review of Sociology, 41*, 1–20.

Huston, T. A., Norman, M., & Ambrose, S. A. (2007). Expanding the discussion of faculty vitality to include productive but disengaged senior faculty. *The Journal of Higher Education, 78*(5), 493–522.

Jermier, J. M. (1998). Introduction: Critical perspective on organizational control. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 43*(2), 235–256.

Jones, S. R., Torres, V., & Arminio, J. (2006). *Negotiating the complexities of qualitative research in higher education: Fundamental elements and issues*. New York: Routledge.

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.

Kay, F. M., Hagan, J., & Parker, P. (2009). Principals in practice: The importance of mentorship in the early stages of career development. *Law and Policy*, *31*(1), 69–110.

Luna, G., & Cullen, D. L. (1995). *Empowering the faculty: Mentoring redirected and renewed*. ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report No. 3, Washington, DC.

Margolis, E., & Romero, M. (1998). "The department is very male, very white, very old, and very conservative": The functioning of the hidden curriculum in graduate sociology departments. *Harvard Educational Review, 68*(1), 1–32.

Martínez Alemán, A. M. (1995). Actuando. In R. V. Padilla & R. Chávez Chávez (Eds.), *The leaning ivory tower: Latino professors in American universities* (pp. 67–76). Albany: State University of New York Press.

Moreno, J. F., Smith, D. G., Clayton-Pedersen, A. R., Parker, S., & Teraguchi, D. H. (2006). *The revolving door for underrepresented minority faculty in higher education: An analysis from the campus diversity initiative* (Research Brief). San Francisco, CA: The James Irvine Foundation.

Mullen, C. A. (2012). Mentoring: An overview. In S. J. Fletcher & C. A. Mullen (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of mentoring and coaching in education* (pp. 7–23). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Mullen, C. A., & Hutinger, J. L. (2008). The principal's role in fostering collaborative learning communities through faculty study group. *Theory into Practice, 47*(4), 276–285.

Murakami, E. T., & Núñez, A. (2014). Latina faculty transcending barriers: Peer mentoring in a Hispanic-serving institution. *Mentoring & Tutoring: Partnership in Learning, 22*(4), 284–301.

National Center for Education Statistics [NCES]. (2016). *The condition of education 2016* (NCES-2016–144). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education.

Noy, S., & Ray, R. (2012). Graduate students' perceptions of their advisors: Is there systematic disadvantage in mentorship?" *Journal of Higher Education, 83*(6), 876–914.

O'Meara, K.A., Chalk Bennett, J., & Niehaus, E. (2016). Left unsaid: The role of work expectations and psychological contracts in faculty careers and departure. *The Review of Higher Education, 39*(2), 269–297.

Otieno, T., Lutz, P. M., & Schoolmaster, F. A. (2010). Enhancing recruitment, professional development, and socialization of junior faculty through formal mentoring programs. *Metropolitan Universities, 21*(2), 77–91.

Patton, L. D. (2009). My sister's keeper: A qualitative examination of mentoring experiences among African American women in graduate and professional schools. *The Journal of Higher Education, 80*(5), 510–537.

Patton, L. D., & Harper, S. R. (2003). Mentoring relationships among African American women in graduate and professional schools. *New Directions for Student Services*, (104), 67–78.

Patton, M. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Perlow, L. A. (1998). Boundary control: The social ordering of work and family time in a high-tech corporation. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 43*(2), 328–357.

Pifer, M. J., & Baker, V. L. (2013). Managing the process: The intradepartmental networks of early-career academics. *Innovative Higher Education, 38*, 323–337.

Pillow, W. (2003). Confession, catharsis, or cure? Rethinking the uses of reflexivity as methodological power in qualitative research. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 16*(2), 175–196.

Price, E. G., Powe, N. R., Kern, D., Hill Golden, S., Wand, G. S., & Cooper, L. A. (2009). Improving the diversity climate in academic medicine: Faculty perceptions as a catalyst for change. *Academic Medicine, 84*(1), 95–105.

Reddick, R. J., & Young, M. D. (2012). Mentoring graduate students of color. In S. J. Fletcher & C.A. Mullen (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of mentoring and coaching in education* (pp. 412–429). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Ridgeway, C. L. (2014). Why status matters for inequality. *American Sociological Review, 70*(1), 1–16.

Robert Wood Johnson Foundation [RWJF]. (1995). *National faculty survey*. Princeton, NJ: Author.

Rubin, H. J., & Rubin, I. (2005). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Solórzano, D. G. (1998). Critical race theory, race and gender microaggressions, and the experiences of Chicana and Chicano scholars. *Qualitative Studies in Education, 11*(1), 121–136.

Stanley, C. A. (2006). Coloring the academic landscape: Faculty of color breaking the silence in predominantly White colleges and universities. *American Educational Research Journal*, *43*(4), 701–736.

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. *Journal of Negro Education, 70*(3), 166–175.

Turner, C. S. V. (2002). Women of color in academe: Living with multiple marginality. *The Journal of Higher Education, 73*(1), 74–93.

Turner, C. S. V., & González, J. G. (2015). *Modeling mentoring across race/ethnicity and gender: Practice to cultivate the next generation of diverse faculty*. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing.

Turner, C. S. V., & Myers, S. L. (2000). *Faculty of color in academe: Bittersweet success*. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

University of Wisconsin. (2014). UW to serve as national hub for mentor training as part of diversity consortium. Retrieved from http://news.wisc.edu/23226.

Wingfield, A. H., & Alston, R. (2014). Maintaining hierarchies in predominantly White organizations: A theory of racial tasks. *American Behavioral Scientist, 58*, 274–287.

Wong, E., Bigby J., Kleinpeter, M., Mitchell, J., Camacho, D., Dan, A., & Sarto, G. (2001). Promoting the advancement of minority women faculty in academic medicine: The national centers for excellence in women's health. *Journal of Women's Health & Gender-Based Medicine, 10*(6), 541–550.

Zambrana, R. E., Ray, R., Espino, M. M., Castro, C., Douthirt Cohen, B., & Eliason, J. (2015). "Don't leave us behind": The importance of mentoring for underrepresented minority faculty. *American Educational Research Journal, 52*(1), 40–72.