

José Gerardo Alvarado

University Policies in Action: ‘Identity Work’ and
First Generation College Students

Tesi Doctoral dirigida pel Dr.

Lupicínio Íñiguez Rueda

Departament de Psicologia Social

Estudis de Doctorat en Psicologia Social

Facultat de Psicologia

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona

Any 2010

A mis padres

Acknowledgements

The strengthening of relationships is the most cherished among the fruits of the perseverance it takes to complete a doctorate. I am grateful to all my friends and family members for the countless conversations that helped me in the writing process, even those where I sensed a certain hesitation on their part to spend yet another long evening hearing me talk about my concerns. I continue feeling my father's steadfastness and cherish the strength my mother continues to have; my wonderful parents whose care and love was often mixed with the business of everyday life. Israel has been a friend and a colleague, his trust in my capacity to pursue my research interests is based on a shared belief in the emancipatory promise of education and the constant evocation of the hope it offers in our personal and professional lives. Blessed are the hours of wonderful discussions with my friend Liliana and I also write this with gratitude in my heart for the community of faith I found in *El Clot*, as well as the one on west side of San Antonio, knowing that their sustenance, like His, is constant. Many thanks to my Mary and Mercedes, for their support and for the generosity of countless hours of editing. I was also fortunate to spend some time in Manchester. The long hours of conversation with Ian Parker and Erica Burman, the members of the Discourse Unit, as well as with those of the Educational and Social Research Institute reinforced my ability to talk about my work. And finally, I am especially grateful to Lupicinio, my advisor, whose breadth of scholarship has made this effort possible.

Table of Contents

| | |
|---|----|
| 1. University Policies in Action: ‘Identity Work’ and First Generation College Students | 1 |
| 2. Ethnography as a Social Science Perspective: A Review | 6 |
| a. From a perspective to the rub | 9 |
| b. Elbow-to-elbow | 10 |
| c. What matters? | 16 |
| d. Climbing out of the fold | 20 |
| e. Conclusion: Planings | 30 |
| 3. The first generation college student: beholding a category | 34 |
| a. Higher Education research on first generation college students | 37 |
| i. Academic success research. | 38 |
| ii. Community College research. | 41 |
| iii. Research on students who are women. | 42 |
| iv. Attrition research. | 43 |
| v. Obstacles research. | 45 |
| vi. Comparative research. | 49 |
| b. Institutions and first generation college students | 52 |
| c. The traditional student as the ultimate comparison | 57 |
| d. Conclusion: Difference and the first generation college student | 59 |
| 4. First Generation College Student Expertise in a Recruitment DVD | 63 |
| a. Some technical aspects of MCA | 65 |
| b. Visual aspects of the DVD | 68 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| c. The DVD transcript | 73 |
| d. Narrator categories | 77 |
| e. Interviewer categories | 84 |
| i. Prologue: One culture in common. | 85 |
| ii. Covering specific topics: Who encouraged you to attend? | 86 |
| iii. Covering specific topics: Preparation for college work. | 87 |
| iv. Covering specific topics: The dormitory experience. | 88 |
| v. Covering specific topics. College resources. | 89 |
| vi. Covering specific topics: The experience of difference. | 90 |
| vii. Covering specific topics: Organizations and events. | 91 |
| viii. Covering specific topics: Financial difficulty. | 92 |
| ix. Covering specific topics: Experience with mentors. | 92 |
| x. Discussing general impressions: Going back home. | 93 |
| xi. Discussing general impressions. Feel like quitting. | 95 |
| xii. Discussing general impressions, Where does that strength come from? | 95 |
| xiii. Addressing the viewers: Speaking as experts. | 96 |
| xiv. Conclusion: Wrapping it up. | 97 |
| f. Interviewee categories | 97 |
| i. Who encouraged you to attend? | 99 |
| g. Concluding comments | 105 |
| 5. First Generation College Student Success and its Trappings | 113 |
| a. Talking about a sash | 116 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| i. Sash business. | 132 |
| b. Writing about needs | 133 |
| i. Need 1. | 141 |
| ii. Need 2. | 143 |
| iii. Need 3. | 146 |
| iv. Need 4. | 153 |
| v. Needs requests. | 159 |
| c. Talking to children | 160 |
| i. Children's questions. | 173 |
| d. Concluding comments | 174 |
| 6. Conclusions: Student Differences, University Policies, and 'Identity Work' | 179 |
| a. The ethnography | 183 |
| b. The analyses | 185 |
| i. Categories. | 188 |
| ii. Devices. | 191 |
| c. The question of instrumentality | 194 |
| 7. Methodological Notes | 197 |
| a. Pre-official something or other | 197 |
| b. Fieldwork attempts | 203 |
| c. Introductions | 206 |
| d. Meeting students | 210 |
| e. Officialdom | 215 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| f. Filling in the gaps | 219 |
| g. Revealing my hand | 221 |
| h. Purposeful observation | 225 |
| i. Assessments | 228 |
| j. Personal and institutional stories | 234 |
| k. The challenge of diversity | 239 |
| l. Hand shakes | 242 |
| m. Survey work | 243 |
| n. Records and intimacies | 245 |
| o. Prescient pause | 246 |
| p. Spanning home | 249 |
| q. Tensile bridges | 251 |
| r. Harmony | 255 |
| s. Back in Barcelona | 256 |
| t. Writing the dissertation | 257 |
| 8. References | 261 |
| a. Introduction | 261 |
| b. Ethnography as a Social Science Perspective: A Review | 262 |
| c. The First Generation College Student: Beholding a Category | 287 |
| d. First Generation College Student Expertise in a Recruitment DVD | 320 |
| e. First Generation College Student Success and its Trappings | 321 |
| f. Conclusions: Student Differences, University Policies, and ‘Identity Work’ | 323 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| g. Methodological Notes | 328 |
| 9. Appendices | 329 |
| a. Appendix A: Transcript: DVD Presentation | 329 |
| b. Appendix B: Transcript: The BSW-FGCS Needs Grant Application Section | 343 |
| c. Appendix C: Index of Extracts | 346 |
| d. Appendix D: Index of Figures | 348 |
| e. Appendix E: Index of Pictures | 349 |
| f. Appendix F: Index of Tables | 350 |

1. University Policies in Action: 'Identity Work' and First Generation College Students

(pues toda virtud, salvo en la brevedad del reconocimiento, carece de resplandor y vive en una caverna oscura rodeada de otros habitantes, algunos muy peligrosos)

ROBERTO BOLAÑO

Understanding our relationships, those with our institutions, and the knowledge we produce in the world we live in goes beyond attempts at the simplification of their complexity. In our efforts to elicit alternatives to old problems we must go further than simply suggesting or even proposing anything new since the newness of an alternative comes from invoking imagined and familiar possibilities of differences that can make a difference. This is a way of thinking about knowledge in as much as it relies on facts as well as how it participates in realizations of its own making. Like doors we open and close, the play of hinges finds its expression in the games and theaters, what is otherwise considered the lived space where we reproduce the familiar and create the new.

I hope to sustain a level of detail in my writing that melds senses, confounds pasts, and weaves futures. In this sense, we can begin to imagine history itself as events understood to be true as well as stories that are played out in our everyday lives. Even when our grasp of the past is uncertain, our thoughts, our utterances, and the events we have lived participate in the creation of the world we share. This speaks of a Social Psychology that appreciates the participatory aspect of knowledge. What results from of these intelligibility endeavors is based on the pains taken to continually add to the complexities of life.

There is a tension between assembling an intelligibility that arises from looking at ourselves critically and getting bogged down in overwhelming quotidian details that provides a space in which new ways of doing can be evoked. Universities and colleges, among the institutions that participate in the daily functioning of our society, bear the responsibility of academically preparing people as well as the project of producing knowledge. It follows that formal education is an arena where people are subjected to transformative practices while also acting as persons who progressively assume legitimated roles in the ongoing modification of our world.

This ethnographic project takes the university setting and offers its protagonists a theater where they are invited to take center stage. In the chapter on ethnography as a social science perspective I provide a detailed conceptual mapping of a number of references related to ethnography as method. The review of references points to how an ethnographic perspective has influenced the social sciences. As such, the question "What is ethnography?" is discussed in terms of existing methodological and theoretical debates. The question of how ethnography is done is answered by looking at how it is used in various social science disciplines. The chapter's focus ends up covering specific cases that offer suggestions about how ethnography has been used in scientific social inquiry, especially as a perspective. I express my understanding of ethnography and its place in this scientific effort, understanding that although knowledge may be highly regarded for its own sake, it cannot be separated from how it is used. This chapter also introduces the necessary elements for doing an "ethnomethodologically informed ethnography".

I continue with a chapter dedicated to a literature review of the social category of "First

Generation College Student" (FGCS), its derivations as well as its derivatives. Beholding, brought down a notch from the attentive viewing of a deity, is the word I choose to characterize our participation in the categories we casually use, as well as those we specify with a clarity that refines the means by which we are able to apply them to ourselves or to others. In this sense, FGCS social category scholarly work is inseparable from how it gets used outside of the confines of academic research.

The objective is to show how the social category of FGCS gets used at a university in the United States southwest. Along these lines, the first analysis chapter deals with an educational marketing DVD that presents the experiences of a group of FGCSs. The DVD itself is an institutional artefact. As such, it shows how a series of university policies participate in the construction of a social category. Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) is applied to the DVD transcript, to show how it works as a recruitment tool targeted to a group of persons who have a particular family background that is not typical of a Traditional Student (TS). It helps us see some university policies "in action" that participate in the construction of the social category of FGCS. Through some of the interactions where a series of categories emerge we can see how they are combined to give the DVD's edited presentation its meaning. This chapter also offers an opportunity to see how MCA is done.

The second analysis chapter takes field book data in combination with documents collected throughout the time spent in the field. It begins with an analysis of some notes that cover an interaction in which a sash took center stage, one that certain students choose to wear as part of their academic regalia for the official graduation ceremony. Then, the front cover of an alumni bulletin on which a student appears with the sash as part of his academic

regalia at a graduation ceremony gets analyzed in terms of the meaning making of the publication's front and back covers. The categories that begin to emerge around the sash also appear in a grant application written by the directors of a FGCS program of the department of social work. While the document is analyzed for its content, emphasis is also placed on how it found its way into my hands. Finally, there is an analysis of my recollection of an interaction that occurred when a child asked what a bunch of adults were doing when he found himself with them in a hallway of the university student center lined with pictures of distinguished alumni. Here again, MCA allows us to see the categories that emerge, showing how these work to give meaning to a series of practices of people participating in a variety of activities at the university where I did the ethnography.

In the conclusions I focus on three basic aspects that surfaced throughout the study. It starts with some biographical notes that describe why I was drawn to the subject of this ethnography. These notes serve as a background for the questions that guided me through the research, particularly those related to the knowledge produced by our disciplines and its expression throughout a variety of technologies of the self. This helps me show how I decided to shift from my focus on psychotherapy to the area of higher education for this study. The second aspect addressed in this chapter has to do with the methodological modality, of how an ethnomethodologically informed ethnography is able to reveal the categories that emerge in interactions. I show how the analyses presented in the study can be divided in two sections, one that focuses on revealing membership categories and another that has to do with membership category devices. These are the two pillars of MCA. They help us reveal how the social category of FGCS gets used in higher education. The last aspect

covered in the conclusions has to do with the issue of the instrumentality of the knowledge we produce in the social sciences, offering the results of this study as one more opportunity to help us think about our forms of life.

Finally, a methodological notes annex is included to offer a biography of the research process itself. The notes offer a window to the methodological issues I faced throughout the ethnography and I adopt a natural history narrative or a research biography that offers an *in situ* reflection of the process. It covers the events that led me to decide on the subject of this study, as well as those that occurred at the site where I did the ethnography. The narrative describes a "pre-official" stage of the research, as well as an official one marked by the university president's affirmative response to a formal request I had submitted to do the ethnography. The methodological notes annex ends with a brief description of the steps taken to write this doctoral thesis.

2. Ethnography as a Social Science Perspective: A Review

Ethnography has become an essential part of scientific inquiry over the last century as researchers have moved away from traditional methodologies that seek to represent the reality in which we live. Epistemological debates (Páramo & Otálvaro, 2006) centered on distinguishing opinions from justified knowledge have moved on to debates about the actual role of knowledge, especially of knowledge that is not questioned for how it participates in reproducing circumstances that are within the realm of influence of the very act of research. This is the context in which the question, "What is ethnography?" becomes an inquiry into how an ethnographic perspective influences a social scientific academic environment that no longer relies exclusively on realistic descriptions or inferential practices.

The theoretical ethos within which ethnography has grown questions the very character of scientific inquiry where the quantitative-qualitative divide happens to be only one of the debates in discussions about the production of knowledge. Within qualitative research, ethnography is placed along side case study, grounded theory, phenomenology, and narrative research, making for five traditions that inadvertently overlap each other at the moment of going with a method that best fits the object of study. What emerges upon having to choose from this short list is the need to problematize the method-object fit. It is a question that is analogous to the maneuver ethnography has made from looking at primitive peoples to answer questions about the nature of ourselves, to finding ways of participating in the day-to-day practices of persons to critically assessing the social realities we live in.

While an ethnographic perspective privileges the "social" it does not overlook the "individual"; persons constantly acting in concert with institutions of their own making.

Researchers are understood as actors acting from the inside as well as from the outside, never being completely severed from the object of study while always being somewhat removed within the confines of their activity. Reflection, as part of an ethnographic perspective may simply be one of the ways through which researchers inform what's called the social.

Understood as one of the many things an individual (inherently) does, it informs what we will do next. It is thought, understood as a cognition that stays close to practices without having to allude to mental processes. This social science perspective focuses on individuals' reflections without wandering away from interaction itself, subsuming the phenomenology and the hermeneutics of events that occur between persons and others as well as between persons and things.

The choice of one or some combination from the list of methods may also emerge from being in the field. Deciding upon how to enter, attending to the *permanencia* or the duration of stay, as well as how to trace some sort of exit from the field pose methodological issues. An ethnographic perspective considers researchers' active appropriation of a field and how this informs their study from inception to dissemination. In this sense, a natural history of research would be more than methodological disclosure. It would be a report about researchers populating a field as much as a story about the field folding in upon itself, of a contestation where actors yield to and resist the very act of research. Ensuing descriptions would then reflect a field where persons and things are coupled with researchers and their things (field-book in hand).

Researchers live a sort of simultaneity, responding to discourses about the production of knowledge and to imperatives that heed the partaking of the field. Entering a field entails

opening a door between the political arena in which research is concocted and the political realities of the field. Sometimes investigations revolve around expressed goals of favoring a symmetric relationship between those researching and those being researched. In other cases, institutional or government interests establish the engagement guidelines. As an ethnographic perspective allows for reflections on discourses, imperatives and political commitments that come from all sides, it can address the character of emerging contextual differences. It ascertains the complexity of emergent field evidence, from the collective to the personal, between humans and nonhumans, as well as from under irreconcilable imperatives.

More than an end product, the contribution of an ethnographic perspective hinges on presenting a complexity that seeks to open up new ways of being. The production of grand theory is set against Gadamer's (1998) reminder of the original Greek sense of theory. It "is not so much the momentary act as a way of comporting oneself, a position and a condition. It is a 'being present' in the lovely double sense that means that the person is not only present but completely present" (p. 31). Calling upon these ways of being in research, feminist scholarship, postcolonial inquiry and critical theory return once removed scientists to the site of study as protagonists in their own right. As a result they can no longer indiscriminately utilize predetermined or extant categories. Immersed in a singularity of nuances they "participate of" and write about a complexity of relationships. This can be further exemplified by their use of the word "social", augmented from the standard usage reference as an informal gathering to the grammatical equivalent of the noun "individual", annulling a limitation that may have to do with a philosophical unidirectional convention of individual-orders-social. The Cartesian *cogito ergo sum* becomes a *convivo ergo sum*, "I party therefore I am"

(Hillman & Ventura, 1993, p. 40), a squeezing out from a central or universal position of the individual that begins to be replaced by some materializing other. An ethnographic perspective recurs to the social to have recourse to the latter.

(a) From a perspective to the rub

Perspectival techniques are inseparable from a full appreciation of the consummate aesthetic of an artist's expression of form that evokes others. Social science's productions also rely on techniques and are judged in terms of how researchers successfully utilize them to compose their presentations. Beyond technical dexterity, the difficulty is in setting distinguishable generalities and specificities of the field in the space of a number of pages to communicate something meaningful. It takes an "ethnographic acumen" (Ortner, 2003) to successfully render the dimensions of a chosen site. Michael (2004) finds Michel Serres' exploration of objects pertinent to the task of making the strange familiar or vice versa by addressing "the disparate shifting relationalities between heterogeneous entities that are at once material and semiotic, objective and subjective, human and nonhuman" (p. 12). What an ethnographic perspective encourages is finding ways to show objects in their movement and the resulting relationships that materialize.

An ethnographic perspective also maintains a pragmatic approach towards the field, a fact researchers realize when they find themselves saying, "it's all data", their theories too. It is a planing, not a landing, with vast amounts of data flying about coupled with methods that perform the business of "ontological politics" (Mol as cited in Law & Urry, 2003).

"Moreover, in a complex world there are no innocent 'methods'; all involve forms of social practice that in some way or another interfere with the patterns of the physical or the social.

They are all part of that world" (Law & Urry, 2003, p. 9). As such, more than consider the ethics of research social scientists need to come to grips with the political constitutions of their own making.

When ethnographers approach their work ethnomethodologically they interrupt a professional "indifference to the quiddity of their work as part of that quiddity" (Pollner & Emerson, 2007, p. 130). They see the actual potential of a "performance pedagogy of radical democratic hope" (Denzin, 2006, p. 330) in seemingly ridiculous obvious radicalizations. For Birth (2001), seeing students simply "sitting there" poses a problem, "the danger of assuming something as 'obvious' is that 'obvious' often serves as a gloss for 'never has been critically examined'" (p. 234). As the reader performs this reading (perhaps sitting here), this instant of radicalization is more than a translation of my "domain of experience" (Atkinson & Delamont, 2005, p. 823). Your (re)positioning requires access to what Jiménez (1990) calls a *vividura*, a neologism in Spanish that could mean "life snippet" as the contextual gesture drawing of a performance. Similarly, when the political championing of a cause evokes or provokes, there is an uptake loop that consists as much of resistances as it does of reproductions. Ethnographers who make these productions intelligible via radicalizations draw resources and recourses. The door between these two words is flung wide open in the single Spanish word *recurso*, drawing attention to the contextual significance of routine successive executions of means enacted to fulfill projects. As palpable recurrences they begin to make our very own enculturations obvious to us and help us brave prophetic imaginings (Brueggmann, 2001).

(b) Elbow-to-elbow.

While a field may be a crowded place, the Spanish phrase "*codo a codo*" refers to persons gathered together in company or in cooperation. Together with things and irrespective of any identifiable intentionality or agency this constitutes the social. And a methodology needs to be able to study the noise generated by a wide assortment of actors, a task generally delineated in methods texts by emphasizing description and reflection. These limitations have placed ethnography as a method that is not reliable or valid when compared to work done in experimental and quantitative areas. Strategies have been offered to offset concerns about credibility (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984) where accurate descriptions are closely related to a realist stance towards the field. While the consequences of relying on traditional formulations need to be considered, it is clear that researchers need to respond to emerging objectives, some of which may not be directed at producing theory (Hammersley, 1995). When the data analysis begins, causal explanations may be warranted although the experience of researchers who take a realist stance and work with qualitative software packages sometimes reluctantly say that qualitative research can determine causality (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). At the same time, some researchers see Team Ethnography as a solution because having more persons in the field facilitates the comparing and triangulating of data (Woods et al., 2000). Similarly, ethnographic content analysis used to analyze documents in media research is seen as a way to reveal the details of human action (Altheide, 1987). In turn, Murcia Peña and Jaramillo (2001) propose complementarity in research design to capture field data while Warrington (1997) argues that research also depends on knowing how to pick from a gamut of available methods. Whether theory driven or methodologically defined (Bernard, 2002), the emergent nature of field research will

continually raise issues of credibility.

There is a constant balancing act between the merits and drawbacks of field research especially when the problems are administrative or technical (Bickman & Rog, 1997). Even when solutions to these practical concerns are found there remains an established reluctance towards yielding to overriding judgments about how research is done (Reid & Gough, 2000). When Humphreys, Brown, and Hatch (2003) talk about fieldwork in Cultural Anthropology they recognize that field notes are ineluctable (see also Emerson et al., 1995) and broaden the comparison that it is “more akin to learning to play a musical instrument” (van Maanen as cited in Humphreys et al., 2003, p. 6) to place it in jazz. Research consists of participating in an intricate 'conversation', of creatively writing about, engaging with, and judging the best way to explore and interpret the field. However, a history of limits set by government and institutional regulations can be traced that: (a) argue against consent agreements for ethnographic work as long as research is subject to peer review (Wax as noted in Nesper, 2006); (b) point out the vagueness of Institutional Review Board (IRB) rules (Murphy & Johannsen as noted in Nesper, 2006); and (c) that call attention to limits placed on qualitative inquiry financing by narrow interpretations of current U. S. laws (Giangreco & Taylor as noted in Nesper, 2006). Nesper (2006) considers Hammersley's book, *Reading ethnographic research: A critical guide* as being “[a] bit fetishistic -- that is, a bit too concerned with laying down the law about what should or shouldn't be allowed -- but a useful short discussion of problems in ethnographic criteria for validity, etc” (General Texts section, ¶ 16). This comment appears to reflect the nature of the debates about qualitative research and highlights attempts to hone description, a focus that often crosses over into debates about ethical

standards.

Critical approaches to description seek to lessen researcher distance while realist approaches favor a palpable degree to assuage concerns about objectivity. Some researchers have difficulty separating distancing attempts from their activity in the field. In writing or reporting they engage the philosophical wrangling about whether reality can be represented and although there are arguments that can support the posturing of some methodologists, there still remains the question of the representation of otherness. The critiques of feminist scholars (Smith, 1987; Krieger, 1991; DeVault, 1993; Behar & Gordon, 1996; Wolf, 1996; Jones III, Nast, & Roberts, 1997; Villenas, 1999; Gregorio Gil, 2005; Trueba, 2000; Mountz et al., 2003; Villenas, 1999), academics in postcolonial inquiry (Asad, 1998; Bonnett, 2000; Mookerjea, 2003a), critical theory (Rose, 1990; Escobar, 1991; Marcus & Fischer, 1999; Evans, 2002; Sarno, 2004), as well as those critical of a "colonial science" (Philip, 1998; Castro-Gómez, 2005) have different ways of approaching what Hallam and Street (2000) call European cultural depictions of otherness. This privileged way of seeing can be exemplified by the final selection of representations placed for exhibit in museums that may say more about a curator's worldview than about the social practices of those depicted. Urban researchers who face the diversity of cities find themselves looking beyond structuralism and traditional methodologies (Bridge & Watson, 2000). They are joined by cultural anthropologists who question the effects of their duration in the field (Markowitz, 2000), finding that Partnered Ethnography produced similar identity claims as the ones that were trying to be avoided. Even the writing of an ethnography has been analyzed to show how rhetorical strategies meet authoritative and factual ends (Marcus & Cushman, 1982; Clifford

& Marcus, 1986). However, data gathering that serves as the springboard for writing raises the issue of the representation of otherness, which in turn folds over on the question of researcher distance. The literary turn in ethnographic writing has surfaced as a solution while at the same time raising doubts about the undertaking of research itself when it fails to maintain the "tension between trying to understand people's perspectives from the inside while also viewing them and their behaviour more distantly" (Hammersley, 2006, p. 11). From a different plane, perhaps researchers are becoming more circumspect, effacing a boldness that adds to a tension that is a matter of fact in the field.

Including reflections on the field research process has come forth as a way of producing knowledge that had either been considered unimportant or inaccessible. While natural histories or research biographies provide a vicarious presence in the research process they also offer insights into the research site itself (ESRC, 2003). As biographical research has been extended to include the voices of those being studied (Dunaway & Baum, 1997; Hertz, 1997; Hinchman & Hinchman, 1997), Collaborative Ethnography has emerged from an anthropology "replete with collaboratively conceived and dialogically informed ethnographic projects" (Lassiter, 2005, p. 89) where researchers and subjects work together to produce texts. Public Anthropology relies on collaboration between the researcher and an other approached now as a consultant after having been a subject or an informant. Changes in the character of engagement have also gone from the "trope of rapport" (p. 93) to a "collaboration ... cliché" (p. 94) and beyond, where representation is seen as a matter of action amid a multiplicity of voices. The ensuing dialogue about who we are and who we are becoming is central to a contemporary ethnographic perspective where researcher privilege,

the power of those who are allowed to tell, seeks to be mitigated or put into a preventive space by a reflexivity that critically assesses what is being written. Feminist (Behar & Gordon, 1996) and critical modes of ethnography (Masemann, 1982; Anderson, 1989; Myers & Young, 1997; Pignatelli, 1998; Madison, 2005) have insisted on the political importance of field research where memories that come through in narratives take center stage in the *mise en scène* of field research (Hinchman & Hinchman, 1997; Andrews, 2000). As scenery or as a perspective, for D. Soyini Madison (2005), her subjectivity is not an "*exclusive* experience—that is autobiography, travel writing, or memoir (or what some people call *autoethnography*)" (original italics, p. 9). The resulting product of the research effort is inseparable from the field's components and participants.

As VanderStaay (2003) reflected on his failures in the field, the salience of the common sense approach of the persons he had studied became apparent to him. This touches on a transparency that comes with its own set of problems, especially for researchers who instinctively know the difference between red and black ink in research writing. It can reveal the "underside" (Fine, 1993) of researchers' responses to unforeseen methodological and ethical issues as opposed to simply being the reliable reports of their reactivity (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995) through which they strategically take on different roles. While opening a space to discuss researcher adaption to the contingencies of the field (Bohannon & van der Elst, 1998), a critical reflection also brings to light issues about the field, about the researcher's responsiveness throughout the entire research process (Evans, 2002), and to seemingly obvious field research obstacles (Hammersley, 1984). For Conquergood (cited in Madison, 2005), a Performance Ethnography entails risking in a playful space where scholars

can "privilege action, agency, and transformation" (p. 149).

In this respect autoethnography is noteworthy as it attempts intelligible portrayals of researchers themselves as the subjects of investigation (Holt, 2003; Walford, 2004) and its reflective nature also offers insight into the social (Reed-Danahay, 1997; Ellis, 2004). Of particular interest is the observation Carolyn Ellis makes about capturing the mundane in Anne Taylor's book *The Accidental Tourist*, she notes that autoethnographers inevitably "gravitate toward" (p. 146) certain things. This process is also portrayed by Richard, a character in Michael Cunningham's (1999) novel *The Hours* whose sensibility for the quotidian evokes a restlessness about how to effectively capture it. The reflexivity elicits voicings from "marginalized representational spaces" (Tierney as cited in Holt, 2003, p. 16) which may be akin to the interstitial place "colonial science" critics mention in their writings (Castro-Gómez, 2005). Despite the openings offered by reflexivity, it could also simply be considered a "methodological device" (ESRC, 2003, p. 4) for gathering information that can later be evaluated for how it effectively depicts reality, or as a way to foreshadow problems in the field to maximize the research effort when it officially begins (Sampson, 2004). Indeed, limiting reflexivity to these specific uses is feasible while exploring the implications of these focalized applications of reflexivity would not be beyond the scope of a Reflexive Ethnography (Aull Davies, 1998). By the same token, the freedom to gravitate toward any topic of concern requires constantly attending to what we generate in the field and when autoethnographers choose to use fiction in their work (Ellis, 2004), they walk the creative ground of the road of agency.

(c) What matters?

Qualitative research recommendations intended to point out a clear path through the messiness of the research process offer an opportunity to examine the imbricate character of field research methodology. "The five-question method for framing a qualitative research study" ((5QM) McCaslin & Wilson Scott, 2003) presents a way to teach a graduate course in which design issues are handled as "primary colors ... intricately blended as a holistic mural, rather than merely assembled side by side in a paint-by-number fashion" (p. 448). In another example, "The use of qualitative research methods in student affairs: A practical Guide" ((APG) Walters, 2001) is intended for university administrators who choose to use qualitative methods in their work. In this case Walters first paints a picture of the institutional scenario and the obstacles they will face as they seek a "practical and practicable" (p. 192) path to submit a credible report. The first case (5QM) intends to offer pedagogical efficacy while the APG responds to administrative efficiency demands. The painting metaphor is explicit in the 5QM while it is implicit in the APG. On the one hand the metaphor helps conceptualize the process of developing a "coherently colored study framework" (McCaslin & Wilson Scott, 2003, p. 450) through a series of questions directed at identifying a best-fit method from among the five traditions of qualitative research. The different traditions are discretely spread out as different colors on a palette and this is where the metaphor begins to fall short. It may be entirely possible to paint with one color however, the process of designing research may be better conceived as the building of a frame on which to stretch a canvas, followed by taking a pencil and an eraser to sketch some type of perspective before ever reaching for a brush. There is evidence of this in Walters' (2001) introduction to the APG, which illustrates the academic setting with its rules, roles, and rhythms. However, the author fails to make a

connection between these aspects and their importance to a research project's institutional pressures. It does not entertain the "creative analytic practices" (Richardson cited in Ellis, 2004, p. 194) where writing consists "less of representation and more [...] of communication" (Bochner cited in Ellis, 2004, p. 195). Additionally, it fails to inform about the social space where representation and communication also become embodied inscriptions. As the focused limited field of influence traced by direct lines of authority becomes the canvas upon which everything else will be placed, the sensibility of an ethnographic perspective ends up including the scenario *itself* as field data.

The process of doing research consists of busy work, which also includes hours spent staring blankly at a canvas. While each of the five traditions might provide a perspective to help draw an intelligibility to depict the routine activities of everyday life or to offer answers to complex psycho-social questions, ethnography cuts across the other four qualitative methods without necessarily subsuming them. It gives movement to the historical aspect of biography, to the experiential feel of phenomenology, to the specific focus of case studies and to the abstract lines of grounded theory. Perspective enjoins movement in the enactment of coherent and aesthetic productions of knowledge. There is evidence of this in Walters' (2001) introduction to the guide for university administrators turned researchers. We start to hear their initial questions, their responses to the contingencies of the academic setting, the collaboration they establish between professionals "in the course of their routine activities" (p.185), how they plan to gather data and how they plan to train those persons who will actually be collecting it. All of these offer insight into an institution looking at itself as it tries to identify a "social haven" (p. 186) where a specific population of interest can be engaged.

Indeed, Walters' recommendations are far removed from messier research protocols since the feasibility of developing an evaluation system to replace others that "often are inconsistent, predictable, and reactive" (p. 184) is intended to meet an overriding institutional demand: to foster a stable academic environment. As such, the research itself is a device or technique for the tweaking of governance, and as authorities try to engage a specific community (of others) they are entering into what Rose (1999) calls a field of contestation, an "apparently natural space [where] the authority of community authorities, precisely because it is governed by no explicit codes and rules of conduct, is often more difficult to contest than that of experts and professionals" (p. 189). At least two surfaces have touched, establishing a plane on which speaking or acting have the incipient effects of materializing alterity, of subjectivities voiced from identities or implicit categories. There is the surface of those with *vade mecum* in hand for framing a study or developing a reliable framework for a set path of discovery. However, bold directives intended to guarantee credibility through machinations such as triangulation have costs that come from object distance requirements, of planning *in absentia*. The other surface is expected to simply respond to objective inquiry, produced by separating it into the determination of objectives shaped by efficacy, efficiency and feasibility demands and the subsequent production of knowledge. The price paid for this split has costs that an ethnographic perspective may be able to mitigate. While bridges, windows, or portals are designed to enter discoverable places, they do not fulfill the benefits of the doors of ethnography that can be open and shut as needed.

Qualitative research methodologies may be better described as modes of inquiry with loose designs open to the possibility of proceeding with, for example, an

ethnomethodologically informed ethnography (Crabtree et al., 2000), a pairing of ethnography with an approach that tunes into the emerging demands of information systems designers. Critical Ethnography works from an agenda that attends to the dialogue between individuals and society (Anderson, 1989) to mitigate "colonizing tendencies" (Myers & Young, 1997, p. 3) exercised on marginalized persons by administrative practices. As we continue to seek ways to elicit the significance of the space occupied by different actors in the field we need to "mark the contours as well as test the limits of such a critical research agenda" (Pignatelli, 1998, p. 418). Pallí (2006) finds insight into the "differences [that] are always already effects" (p. 257) in Haraway's book, *The companion species manifesto: Dogs, people, and significant otherness*. Alterity is approached from "'negative knowledge' - knowing that you can only know what the other is not, a form of knowledge cultivated by theology" (Haraway as cited in Pallí Monguilod, 2006, p. 256). Here we must think "from within the specificity of the relationship, not from categorical abstractions" (Haraway as cited in Pallí Monguilod, 2006, p. 257) which means taking the other seriously and even appreciating the goodness of an authoritative other. As we approach this fold of knowledge perhaps we might impress the same gods who witnessed Icarus' subjectivity.

(d) Climbing out of the fold

Taking an ethnographic tradition and kneading it into a perspective or a "framework for thinking about the world" (Sigman cited in Ellis, 2004, p. 26) in the social sciences means preserving a sensitive adaptability in research that continually excises an analytical distance from the field. Reporting the results of the messy methods we enact (Law & Urry, 2003) as participative and interpretive actors requires an eloquence that not only repeats what was said

and done (Woods, 1985). It entails meeting the challenge of communicating an intelligibility of complexity. Tani (2004) finds evidence of contemporary debates about ethnography in the writings of Malinowski and Lévi-Strauss while Lassiter (2005) charts a long history of a collaborative field engagement in anthropology. When anthropologists act as watchdogs reminding demographers to develop contextual accounts in their ethnographic work (Coast, 2003) they are calling for politically relevant understandings of ourselves. The move from looking at global differences in terms of culture to studying the local in terms of the researcher's own societal context (Risjord, 2000; Díaz Iglesias, 2005) is a move from ethnology to ethnography. In response to this transition, Augé (1996/1992) focuses on identity in its relational and historical contexts to question the inevitability of anonymity in a world that appears to be moving away from local conceptualizations of ourselves to global ones. Collective action research has moved from conventional approaches to inquiries into our political and moral selves in response to the growing interconnectedness between global movements and local activity (Edelman, 2001). At the same time, transnational theorists see the need to recognize the past and present academic anthropological views of ethnography (Castro Neira, 2005) since researchers cannot simply paint over stains on a canvas. Their work involves drawing from a variety of sources to communicate the contested depictions of what they experience in the field (Krieger, 1991).

The use of ethnography to extend pedagogy's reach into problematic areas is well documented and includes concerns about the appropriateness of making students objects of study, especially if they are from marginalized groups (Paredes, 1977; Owusu, 1978). There is a history of the embattled process of translating anthropological techniques into education

research (Whitehead et al., 2001), a move made possible by a group of activist education scholars (LeCompte, 2002). Erickson (1984) later encouraged educators to reach out beyond the school building and in the process Smith and Pohland (1976/1969) enhanced ethnography with grounded theory principles while Smith and Brock (1970) developed Microethnography as a means of systematic classroom observation. Smith (1978) later described the growing progress of qualitative research methodology in the discipline while Wolcott (1975) suggested criteria for an ethnographic approach to education research. Along the way, Mulhauser (1975) assessed the merits of ethnography for making policy decisions and Schumacher (1979) recommended "adequacy" guidelines for ethnography. Around the same time researchers began to write in terms of "sociology of the classroom" to understand "teacher-student interaction" (Cohen, 1972) and to highlight carelessly done investigations (Delamont, 1978).

Various edited books (Ball, 1983; Atkinson, 1984; Fetterman, 1984; 1985a; 1985b; 1986; Hargreaves, 1987; 1989) covering the research process, from field methods through ethnography and the ethics of research in schools appear in the following decade. There are also discussions about credibility issues, from sampling and publishing, to the reasoning behind the research process (Ball, 1983; 1984; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984). Some inquire into the application of ethnographic theory and the skills researchers need (Dobbert, 1982; Rist, 1982; Hargreaves, 1987; Palonsky, 1987), couched in terms of "essentials" amid a continued resistance to (Heath, 1982) or the superficial application of (Ogbu, 1981) the method. Evidence of these debates shows up in a discussion between Woods (as noted in Nespore, 2006) and Hammersley (as noted in Nespore, 2006) about ethnography and the construction of

educational theory. During the same period, Murray (1986) looks for ways to fine tune methodology in special education research by contrasting ethnography, microethnography, and ethnology. Accounts or natural histories of ethnographic education research also appear covering problems found in the field (Hammersley, 1984), ethical issues (Pollard, 1985), and the need to attend to writing skills (Woods, 1985; 1986). The political problems of institutional research surface among those attempting evaluative ethnographies (Atkinson, 1984; LeCompte & Goetz, 1984; Fetterman & Pitman, 1986), pointing to a growing influence of anthropology despite the methodological accommodations that have to be made for school settings (Hymes, 1980). Educators also begin to explore other social science disciplines (Delamont & Atkinson, 1980), especially for research dealing with "mainstreaming" issues (Heath, 1983). In addition, life histories are explored as a way to do school research (Goodson, 1983) and a critical approach to ethnography is recommended for research in minority communities (Anderson, 1989) following a similar move in the area of comparative education (Masemann, 1982).

There have recently been fewer edited volumes covering ethnography and qualitative methods problems in educational research. The Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) edition of an ethnographic manual published in 1983 reflects an education research trend of writing about methodology for other disciplines. In reverse order, Velasco and Díaz de Rada (1996) first collaborated on an edited general ethnography manual and Velasco (1997) later wrote a research manual for ethnography in schools. Indeed, this shows evidence of a cross fertilization between education and other disciplines based on shared qualitative research traditions (Lancy, 1993). Sociology conceptualizes the influence of sex, age and income level

in educational settings (DeMarrais & LeCompte, 1998) while a cultural approach reveals the workings of social privilege in schools (Jones, 1991). Influenced by the trend, Scollon, Bhatia, Li, and Yung (1999) combine sociolinguistics with qualitative research methods to delve into students' "world of discourse practices". This and similar events are taken as evidence that educational research is relevant to other disciplines (Heath, 1999). At the same time Fetterman (1991) continues to stimulate institutional research while Hammersley (1991; 1995) remains concerned about developing theory and evidence to effectively serve the public. As qualitative and ethnographic design issues in education (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993) get carried over to other disciplines (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999; Schensul, 1999) the field context becomes more significant in education research, allowing for less rigid explorations (Nicholls & Hazzard, 1993). There is a debate between Fine (as noted in Nespor, 2006) and Page (as noted in Nespor, 2006) about research and the effect of labeling in work done exclusively with problem students. In Martínez and Vásquez-Bronfman (1995) ethnography is used to study the socialization and integration of immigrant students in schools while other researchers working with special populations insist on staying close to trusted designs that may include combining qualitative and quantitative methods (Patton & Westby, 1992). These often offset the enthusiasm of researchers who implement "inclusive programs" without considering important aspects of the community context (Zollers et al., 1999). Labeling concerns translate into concerns about the ethics of recording students in ethnographic research (Tobin & Davidson, 1990) while at the same time methods such as journaling are used to meet data gathering demands and to foster community members' educational partnerships (Shockley et al., 1995). Concerns about research ethics and the

impact of vague institutional review board (IRB) rules are discussed (Murphy & Johannsen as noted in Nesper, 2006), spurring some researchers to use expressive writing for research and community building (Ellis & Bochner, 1996). Writing is also encouraged as a way for education ethnographers to traverse the gap between the field and their emergent appreciations of experiences in schools (Rhedding-Jones, 1996). What surfaces is a general tendency for ethnographic research in education to move away from strict methodology (Wolcott, 1999), having taken anthropology's lead to look for new ways of doing research it is setting new sights for creative entries into the quotidian (Calvo, 1992; 1994; Piña Osorio, 1997; Parra Sabaj, 1998).

It is difficult to deny the prominence of education research with children (Christensen & James, 2000) and while education textbooks still cover traditional methodology (Cohen et al., 2000) the discipline is responding to a much more complex fieldwork context. Team research in ethnography is only one of the ways investigators are finding ways to meet traditional requirements while at the same time carving out new modes of inquiry (Woods et al., 2000). On a grander scale and venturing out onto transdisciplinary terrains, the ethnography of the university (EOTU) at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC) (see <http://www.eotu.uiuc.edu/EOTUMODEL/index.htm>) makes the educational site the subject of inquiry for students as well as for academics. Indeed, our connection to and through education is pervasive (Lahelma, 2002) and the trajectory of education parallels ethnography (LeCompte, 2002; Smith, 2004) as researchers persist in the challenge of engaging in social transformation. However, ethnography's growth as a perspective is not without its problems (Bourgois, 2002), especially in cases where issues of difference meet

institutionalized educational practices (Evans, 2002) and where projects are blocked by legislated definitions of research (Giangreco & Taylor as noted in Nesper, 2006). At the same time, the critical work that stirs these debates has moved the discipline towards appreciating the weight of its own production of knowledge (Pasco, 2003). When Walford (2004) engages in autoethnography to understand his own experience as a proctor he is responding to an ethnographic perspective, the same one that has taken the discipline to a place where it adeptly entertains debates about "what counts" as research (Smith, 2004). This has taken education researchers (Barba Martín, 2001) and even teachers towards using ethnography in their work (Velasco Orozco, 2003) seeking to understand a wide range of topics, from the workings of literary workshops (Morales Galindo, 2004), the governance practices in adolescent's free time education (Gutiérrez Monclus, 2005), to understanding how student leaders construct their own citizenship in their day-to-day participation at school (Assaél et al., 2000).

Researchers in social psychology focus on the practical advantages of ethnography and its appropriateness for sustaining a critical stance (Iñiguez Rueda, 1995; Sánchez-Candamio, 1995). A naturalist view in sociology focused on awareness contexts and social interaction (Glaser & Strauss, 1964) later developed grounded theory (Schatzman & Strauss, 1973). When neutrality was questioned by those doing interactionist research in schools (Becker, 1967), others considered this as a shortsighted view of the obligations that weigh on school bureaucrats (Gouldner, 1968). Among qualitative social research on health, body, identity and space, interpretive methodology has been implemented through participatory action research and participant observation (Cisneros Puebla, 2000). At the same time, qualitative research

guidelines offered by conventional sociologists (Miller & Salkind, 2002; Lofland, Snow, Anderson, & Lofland, 2006) have been questioned by feminist sociologists who favor the understanding self amid dilemmas faced in the field (Smith, 1987; Krieger, 1991; Wolf, 1996). Sarno (2004) shows how writing can indicate more than what is being reported which in turn justifies the need for critical social scientific work. Mookerjea (2003b) speculates on the implications of a sociology engaged in ethnography that reads society to simply gather information and says Spivak's "Native Informant" perspective could be a way of maintaining an otherness that might otherwise be maligned in the reporting of research. Michael (2004) has theorized the role of nonhumans and their interaction with humans in the production of social data and shows how their "misbehavior" can be understood in terms of hybridic associations at the micro and macro levels of interaction. This opens an area of study influenced by ethnomethodology in sociology and social psychology as when ethnicity is couched in terms of a "situated practical accomplishment" (Hansen, 2005). The nuance Garfinkel (2002) picks up in Durkheim's aphorism shows the influence of an ethnographic perspective in sociology when conventional sociologists hold that 'the objective reality of social facts is sociology's first principle' while there is a growing number of sociologists who are saying that 'the objective reality of social facts is sociology's fundamental phenomenon'.

The geographers Winders, Jones III, and Higgins (2005) examine discourses of whiteness shown in television advertisement in Mexico that raised questions about the geographical and epistemological limits of current understandings of whiteness. In other geographical research, Mountz et al. (2003) speak of a methodologically becoming process of research in their work with persons who have transnational connections between New Jersey

and El Salvador. The research team members continually negotiated the politics of academia and those of the field and consider this to be a "fertile intersection for feminist research" (p. 29). In two collections of essays feminists in geography call for a critical awareness of space, repeating feminist concerns about the spatiality of violence and identity that are often perpetuated by unquestioned binaries in the discipline (Duncan, 1996; Jones III, Nast, & Roberts, 1997). More recently, Crang (2002) ironically wonders if qualitative methods have become the "new orthodoxy" noting that geography has joined other disciplines that have moved beyond quantitative methods. Herbert (2000) sees the potential ethnography has for offering "unreplicable insight" into the processes and meanings involved in our use of space and of spatiality itself, and Lees (2003) looks forward to offering geography students the ethnographic training they need while also maintaining a critical approach to research.

The intersection of Communication and Media Studies with Anthropology in Multimodal Ethnography (Dicks et al., 2006), Media Ethnography (Lindlof & Shatzer, 1998; Lindlof & Taylor, 2002) and Performance Studies (Hughes-Freeland, 1998) echoes concerns about how cultures are portrayed (Tufte, 2003; Winders et al., 2005) and how our use of convention combines with creativity to make reality more than a series of everyday routines. This appreciation questions the tenet of passive media consumption (Abu-Lughod, 2005/1999) and problematizes the implication of the discipline's portrayal of other cultures (Montes del Castillo, 2001) whereas researchers like Uribe Alvarado (2004) stay close to traditional modes of inquiry, looking at the role media plays in persons' social imagination.

Experimental Ethnography in political science research assures design credibility and permits a way to understand how social program effects were produced (Sherman & Strang,

2004). Ethnography also has been used to study the administrative business characteristics of recovered companies in Argentina, highlighting aspects of power, knowledge and cooperation while simultaneously implementing co-productive research practices (Bialakowsky et al., 2005).

Clinical psychology researchers propose a set of research guidelines to review qualitative manuscripts in the interest of quality control and to help with the development and legitimacy of qualitative research (Elliott et al., 1999). Campbell, Pound et al. (2003) examine Meta-ethnography as a way to synthesize qualitative research findings and make them more accessible to medical researchers. With respect to actual ethnographic studies Savage (2000) raises concerns about the intensive supervision required and the limited generalizability of the studies while recognizing that ethnography offers insights for conventional research methods. In other research that involves the ethnography of ballet performers we are able to see the importance of understanding the vulnerability of the body from the vantage of medicine as well as other disciplines (Wainwright, 2004). Perdiguero and Commelles' (2000) edited book on medical anthropology offers a review of the field in Spain and asks pertinent questions about the relationship between medicine and culture. In terms of methodological issues, Sorrell and Redmond (1995) recommend interview techniques for nursing research, noting the importance of the interviewer and efforts to individualize the technique. Callejo Gallego (2002) poses the problem of what is silenced when researchers observe, interview, and run discussion groups while Maggs-Rapport (2000) argues for the combination of methods in ethnographic and interpretive phenomenology research, focusing on the importance of triangulation in establishing the trustworthiness of nursing research.

Another nursing research source attempts a systematic evaluation of qualitative health research in Latin-American countries and offers a review of theoretical perspectives used in the field (Gastaldo et al., 2002).

The closing of this section on the varied and growing use of ethnography brings us to the field of Science and Technology Studies, an area greatly influenced in by Actor-Network Theory. Researchers in this area approach ethnography in a manner that appears to be once removed from cultural inquiry, perhaps with the hope of making the cultural intelligible without explicitly looking for it. The influence of technology has been studied to understand the implications for patients who have access to medical care with technology installed at home (López Gómez, 2005), its influence in scientific research as a way of understanding social action (Arellano Hernández et al., 2004), and to understand how it participates in the identities of persons working in a software application development laboratory (Márquez, 2002). There is also Hine's (2000) contribution to *Virtual Ethnography* and other studies that look at the social networks formed through the Internet (Ardèvol et al., 2003; Gálvez Mozo, 2004; Tomás i Justribó, 2004; Estalella Fernández, 2005; Gálvez Mozo, 2005).

(e) Conclusion: Planings

Given the varied applications of ethnography it is difficult to land on a precise method or elucidate an overarching perspective. However, as anthropologists have started to move out of their respectable and comfortable places in the academic ivory tower (lower levels of) and back into the middle of the very world they study, they are embracing a spirit that characterized the discipline when it had been circumscribed to museums (Lassiter, 2005). Similar to what the philosopher Félix Duque (2002) says, "one starts to get fed up with so

many shibboleths" (my translation, p. 17), theoretical and methodological classifications that say little about what is studied. Instead, a collaborative repositioning responds to the ethical, political, cultural, and social concerns about the production of knowledge. When consultants participate in thinking about the broader implications of their actions the knowledge that is produced disseminates a reality that is reflective of a creative process of research in which a successful translation of life into text requires an eloquence that seeks to seed or evoke possibilities. More than simply describing, the process reflects a move towards a problematization couched in terms of a curiosity evoking "the care one takes of what exists and what might exist" (Foucault, 1984, p. 328).

An example of a problematization would be a questioning of an inherently anthropological focus on culture by those concerned about how culture gets used (Geertz, 1986), not in terms of a contentious debate but as a way of jointly working out the detailed instances of the asymmetric positionings of cultural difference. The perspective of ethnography assumes the responsibility of the knowledge produced by offering "ideas to think with" (Eisenhart, 2001). It is a tentative position and those calling for methodological reliability and rigor in social science will see that ethnographers conceive culture in a variety of ways: as cultural productions (Willis as cited in Eisenhart, 2001); funds of knowledge and bus tickets for identities (Nespor as cited in Eisenhart, 2001); collective representations (Greenhouse as cited in Eisenhart, 2001); pastiche (Marcus as cited in Eisenhart, 2001); and as symbolic connections between symbols, knowledge and technologies (Buroway as cited in Eisenhart, 2001). It also consists of entering into a discussion about how to study it, whether as the drawing of the limitations of a 'way of living' or a grasping of "meaningful cultural

worlds" (Ortner as cited in Eisenhart, 2001, p. 187). When Bartolomé (2003) defends ethnography, he is linking it with studying the apparent parallel processes of hegemony and differentiation of globalization. Castro Neira (2005) shows why transnational theory needs to recognize the past and present academic views of ethnography, a perspective that is akin to Mookerjea's (2003b) concern about simply reducing meaning and action into information. If we were to study the activity of ethnographers, autoethnography would be a way of understanding their practices of representation and legitimation as members of a "research culture" (Holt, 2003, p. 4) and when Fonseca (2005) looks at how ethnographers approach class she is questioning how they resolve their transformative endeavors in research.

Amid this activity some might argue that ethnography has won a methodological war and can now withstand the suggestion of a "narcissistic turn" (Leicht cited in Ellis, 2004) some sociologist autoethnographers had to bear. Having seriously taken a variety of turns (linguistic, literary, critical, performative, rhetorical, discursive, etc.) and venturing into the spaces of a conversational turn as when Ellis says that written dialogue can "stand in for pages of description" (p. 343), ethnographers have accumulated the intellectual grist to entertain discussions about knowledge and its veridicality. What still loom, however, are the settled discourses albeit the image of historians tripping over themselves to unleash the complexities of the past. And like them, ethnographers recognize how their activity affects a complexity that has continually suffered the subsuming forces of scientific productions of knowledge; forms of life translated into texts. The negative knowledge Haraway (as cited in Pallí Monguilod, 2006) speaks of, and the "weak knowledge" attributed to Foucault and Giarni (as cited in Pignatelli, 1998), or the "weak thought" of Vattimo or Derrida (as cited in

López Carrera, 2005) present an underlying uneasiness about couching knowledge in terms of a pronouncement. Instead of pitting methods against each other an ethnographic perspective in the social sciences takes on the responsibility to those studied through a constant assessment or reflexivity on how some voices are presented above others. This very exercise of reviewing a sundry list of references and sources (using Google™, EBSCO, ProQuest, REDALYC, PSICODOC, Dialnet, and LATINDEX) reflects one approximation of ethnography as a method in the social sciences. As such, it may only reflect its pulse at rest but the evidence of efforts to think creatively about our forms of life show that ethnography is hardly waiting around to get noticed.

3. The first generation college student: beholding a category

The characteristics and activities associated with First Generation College Students (FGCS), whose parents have had limited access to higher education, correspond to who they are as persons as well as to Higher Education scientific and institutional practices enacted in their behalf. This review looks at the scientific activity that adds to the density of the FGCS category while also pointing out the central role of the Traditional Student (TS) category in higher education institutional practices aimed at increasing students' educational possibilities. Research that looks at the obstacles FGCSs face, the persistence they demonstrate, and at an extensive inventory of predictors related to their academic success are in turn utilized by institutions to develop policies and strategies. In the process the TS category, as the quintessential basis for comparison offers a productive point of departure to reflect upon the practices of researchers and administrators. It helps us think about the procedures we enact to specify the variables of an object of study, of how we participate in the consolidation of categories we may consider extant or truly within our grasp as things that exist in and of themselves while keeping in mind that there is no category that is beyond the influence of contextual practices enacted by ourselves and others.

The FGCS category is one among a variety of other categories that evoke the complex intersection of oppressions experienced by a group of persons who have chosen to enter the world of academia (Choy, 2001; Warburton, Bugarin, & Nuñez, 2001; Lohfink & Paulsen, 2005). Due in part to immigration, demographic changes in the United States show a decrease in the non-Hispanic White college population and an increase of minority and ethnic groups of first-generation (FG) status, a category that by itself tends to refer to students who

are immigrants, whose parents tend to have little or no post-secondary academic experience, and who experience situations that expose them to language, integration, and low socioeconomic issues (Bhaerman, 1979; Lopez, 1982; Chen, 2002; Thomas & Quinn, 2007). They are students who come from families that recently settled in the country, and they tend to be at risk in terms of academic performance and retention (Amelink, 2005). Similarly, research with students from a blue-collar background who were in college in the 1960s and 1970s found that they reported feeling alienated and inferior vis à vis the "real college students". They found paths to self-empowerment in the process of actively seeking help from key persons and groups in a process that involved risk-taking, rejection, reticence, reflection and resolve (Hayes, 1999). Both this last category of students as well as highly persistent FG students have been able to earn degrees despite having lower grade point averages (GPAs) in comparison to their respective counterparts (not-blue-collar and non-FG). To be sure, while higher levels of academic preparation favor academic performance in college (D'Amico, 2004), academic success has also been related to an institution's ability to foster active and collaborative learning as well as encouraging positive interactions with faculty (Amelink, 2005). Along these lines, retention and course completion rates have been related to academic preparation and academic involvement although less prepared older students often have higher GPAs while females tend to have higher GPAs than males. And while Asian students are more likely to remain in school, African-Americans have higher attrition rates than Hispanics when both of these groups have lower GPAs and arrive less prepared for college work (Espanola, 2004). These findings draw attention to institutions interested in meeting First Generation College Students' expectations and recognizing their

needs, trying to communicate better with them throughout the complex process of recruitment, admission and retention (Joyce, 1987). While Nolan (2005) highlights the benefits of special academic programs, he notes that FGCSs attending a historically Black university (84.4% African-American) were more likely to stay until graduation. These students spent less time socializing and had a higher expectation of transferring to another institution than non-FGCSs despite evidence that both groups report similar academic and social expectations (Murphy, 2006). The combination of personal resilience with campus life involvement makes these students capable of overcoming financial barriers, a lack of family support, lower academic preparedness, as well as the lower levels of personal commitment and personal support they experience.

Yet, the link between scientific work and administrative policies is submerged in research that focuses on factors related to social economic status, race, gender, language ability, and the trends found among immigrant students fitting the FG category appear to be significant for other groups. The comparison between student FGs and non-FGs is parallel to comparisons made between FGCSs and non-FGCSs. Broad mega-groupings such as these, particularly in terms of the categories that are created through scientific and administrative practices offer means of understanding the problems of particular populations. Indeed, differences in generation (Stanfield, 1993; Turner, 1998; Hinlicky, 1999; Chatterjee, 2004) such as the millennial generation student (VanFossen, 2005) or the 1.5 generation student (Gulikers, Meredith, & Swartz, 2004), combined with gender or color (Conway, 1988; Scarborough & Furumoto, 1989; Kuriloff & Reichert, 2003; Lee, 2004), or strictly limited to learning styles (Anderson, 1995) are some of the ways we are able to think about ourselves.

When education resources are considered in Congress, as in the case of attracting students to math and science (see commdocs.house.gov/committees/science/hsy210140.000/hsy210140_of.htm), and where debates are centered on questions of equity and excellence (see <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2005/05/02/equity>) we begin to see the density strength of categories fluctuate in efforts directed at increasing opportunities for specific sectors of the population (Scott, 1996; Lederman, 2005; Suggs, 2005).

(a) Higher Education research on first generation college students

Much of the Higher Education research on FGCSs has established that their entrance into college is mired in economic difficulties that lead to financial aid reliance. Their choice of undergraduate school often depends more on its low tuition and its reputation, and on how this last factor helps them get a job (Merranko, 2005). Their religious affiliation or the possibility of getting an athletic scholarship has less significance for them in their college choice process. They also tend to avoid exposing themselves to many rejection letters, and tend to not seek professional admissions advice or participate in recruitment programs. Once in college, an unquestioned ubiquity of the "real college student" often situates their positive social and academic efforts in deficit terms (Lundberg, Helsel, Larde, & Murphy, 2003). This may be indicative of the "national portrait" Arredondo (1999) gleaned from Cooperative Institutional Research Program data confirming that there are FGCS differences in terms of involvement and integration, suggesting that traditional factors such as academic preparation and income are not sufficient indicators of their experience. Still, indicators are sought by comparing them to second/subsequent generation (Bouchard, 1994), subsequent-generation (Sanchez, Laanan, & Wiseley, 1999), continuing-generation (Elkins, 1996; Komada, 2002;

Lohfink, 2004; Settle, 2005), second-generation (Reynolds-Shaw, 2006), and non-first generation (Hayes, 2006) college students. Their counterparts have also been called the children of college graduates, whose parents have gained at least some college experience (Hurley, 2002).

(i) *Academic success research.* In other research, the connection between persistence and overall academic achievement for FGCSs is highlighted in student transition to college studies. The combination of their personal histories, a parental lack of college education, and lower levels of college preparation constitute a frame of reference that poses challenges for these "pioneers" venturing into the culture of higher education at the particular university they choose to attend (Long, 2005; Tandberg, 2007). It is their background, consisting of adolescent risk factors (Alvárez-Monteserín et al., 1999; Ungar, 2000), and the categories they inhabit throughout their high school experience (Ortner, 2002; Ortner, 2003), coupled with working class or low economic status that influences their academic performance, college choice, and their ability to achieve a level of integration that makes the higher education experience relevant to them (Bui, 2002; Moore, 2003; Lohfink, 2004; Settle, 2005). For many students coming from less favorable backgrounds, getting through higher education often requires transferring from a community college (Striplin, 1999; Zwerling & London, 1992; Cejda & Kaylor, 2001; Gunnin, 2003; Bailey, Jenkins, & Leinbach, 2005; Swail, Cabrera, Lee, & Williams, 2005). Indeed, Higher Education research has largely focused on trying to assess those background aspects that favor academic success (Martín Cabrera, García García, & Hernández Hernández, 1999; Gómez Moliné, 2003; Herrera Aragón, 2003; Kuh, Kinzie, Buckley, Bridges, & Hayek, 2006; Rendón, 2006) or "What it Takes to Make a

Student” (Tough, 2006). The research has resulted in efforts to reinforce the positive aspects of their investment in higher education (Baum & Payea, 2004; Kuh, Gonyea, & Williams, 2005; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005), consisting of presentations of actual stories of people like them to help these students imagine themselves in the future (Bart, 2004). While these measures have helped students reap the benefits of academic success (Sanchez et al., 1999), calling FGCSs “blue-collar scholars” may help avoid stigmatizing these students whose attrition rate is mediated by GPA, standardized test scores, and by financial concerns (Martínez, Sher, Krull, & Wood, 2009).

It is noteworthy that Educational Sociology research tends to overlook students’ financial situations while focusing on factors attributed to disadvantaged status and transition to college challenges (Deil-Amen & López Turley, 2007). At the same time, the existing system of financial aid consists of a process designed to target individuals who demonstrate the ability to stay in school (Stampen & Cabrera in Rendón, 2006). Consequently, a combination of lower academic performance levels (Carroll, 2005), a lack of persistence in school due to “financial attitudes” (Duggan, 2002), or simply the inability to cover the costs (Cabrera, Stampen, & Hansen, 1990) have been shown to influence attrition rates at institutions. Additionally, there are those who often help their families throughout their academic career or plan on helping them after graduation (see <http://www.resultsforamerica.org/calendar/files/Money%20woes%20confront%20first%20generation%20college%20students.pdf>), drawing a context where students are required to extend themselves as persons who can be taken seriously in academia (Leider, 1998). Their very status as students ultimately responds as

much to their particular backgrounds as to a variety of institutional measures enacted in their behalf (Fisher in Kuh et al., 2006; Solórzano in Tinto & Pusser, 2006).

At a more personal level, an early study found that the dogmatic attitudes perceived by FGCSs in their parents was reported as an important factor at the beginning of their college career in comparison to their counterparts (Sorter, 1985). A more recent study with FGCSs from the Appalachians found no significant effects among psychological well-being, adjustment, and their spirituality or religious affiliation (Wathen, 2000). There has been research on the interaction between FGCSs and their parents to see how it affects students' perceptions of success as well as their aspirations for the future (Sinkowsky, 1996). When Rodríguez (1998) inquired into elements of family life that contributed to the success and activism of FGCSs, an important success factor was being able to identify with their status as persons moving into new academic and social areas of life, of being able to have access to their college environment. Rios (2001) focused on successful FGCSs enrolled at Indiana State University and found that a) high school GPA, b) Scholastic Assessment/Aptitude Test total score, c) hours spent on high school homework, d) gaining a college degree as a reason for attending college, and e) students' rating of their chances of permanently dropping out of college were factors that were able to predict their success. The students attributed their success to having structured their lives around the college setting and with their peers. The strategies they employed to confront barriers related to their academic work were based on a commitment to success, linked in part to proving themselves to those who doubted their capacity to succeed. When they had doubts about the future they became "good consumers" of the type of support offered at the institution. Although there have been studies that look at

student success (Kuh et al., 2006; Meetze, 2006), focusing on retention and defining it in terms of meeting certain measures of degree attainment includes an assessment of institutional efforts directed at meeting students' needs. Institutions become one part of the equation in efforts to help FGCSs attain success in a process they tend to find difficult to negotiate when compared to their counterparts. The other part comes from the support they get from their parents (Rey, 2006).

(ii) *Community College research.* The Community College Survey of Student Engagement (CCSSE in Kuh et al., 2006) data identifies many risk factors that hinder students' academic commitment. Their risk increases if they are also non-traditional students (NTS, those who did not enter college immediately after high school), single parents, or if they have to work more than 30 hours a week. Warner's (1992) research on the differences encountered between home and school in the experience of four African-American FGCSs who were also NTSs points to the importance of family history. There is also McDaniel's (2001) research on rural family literacy and the academic success of a group of FGCSs that offers evidence of the importance of the family and the community students come from. Calkins' (2005) research on FGCSs' parental influences attending a community college shows that their experience is different from the stage theories used in Educational Psychology and Sociology, the ones commonly used to guide institutional practices. Along these lines, Ammirati (2003) found striking similarities in the family and community academic literacy environment reported by a group of FGCSs at a highly selective institution.

Richardson and Skinner's (cited in Kuh et al., 2006) 1992 recommendations drew attention to helping first generation minority students get through community college as did

Wright's (1993) handbook for gifted FGCSs. These and other studies helped the Institute for Higher Education Policy (IHEP, see <http://www.ihep.org/>) address the needs of the rising force of FGCSs. In more recent developments, Trotter's (2001) report highlights some of the progress made by institutions while Hsiao (2007) suggests a number of measures community colleges can take to promote strategies of success for these students straddling two cultures and seeking a "safe haven" at the institutions they have chosen to attend (Zwerling cited in Hsiao, 2007). In general, the reports highlight the effectiveness of programs established for high-risk students who demonstrate lower levels of preparation upon entering college. In the process, concerns about retention rates have expanded the number of student typologies used in the admissions process to establish measures to help students finish school. Rendón (1995) focused on the needs of FGCSs transferring from community college, and the reflections of Puerto Rican students offered by Dalpes (2001) identifies the impact of program practices on FGCSs who benefitted from the federally funded TRIO Program (the combination of three programs: Upward Bound, Talent Search, and Student Support Services).

(iii) Research on students who are women. Early research suggests that women face obstacles related to a lack of social and family support, as well as the management skills and information required to navigate the bureaucratic nature of college (Attinasi Jr., 1989; London, 1989; York-Anderson & Bowman, 1991; Dittman, 1994; Terenzini, Springer, Yaeger, Pascarella, & Nora, 1996; Núñez, Cuccaro-Alamin, & Carroll, 1998). When D'Adamo Weinstein (2001) focuses on Latina women's college experience, she is responding to the triple burden of stereotypes associated with race, gender and low economic status as a way of getting institutions to respond to their problems. This feature appears in Peregrino's

(2003) research on Chicana FGCS success at a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) on the border with Mexico that encourages the development of high school college access programs, as well as in Skulley's (2004) study on Latina FGCS college experience perceptions. In more recent research, Barret (2005) found a group of non traditional age women FGCSs at a technical community college who reported a sense of self worth and a sense of identity attributed in part to the support they got from their children, family and community. There is also Mihok's (2005) study at a regional state university in New England where females from low income families who borrowed money for school showed higher persistence. Similarly, research on a group of self identified successful women at a community college resulted in policy suggestions for institutions (Luján, 2005), an example that demonstrates how research efforts can help students participate in institutional policy development.

(iv) *Attrition research.* Much of the work on attrition relies on organizational research directed at lowering student attrition rates (Billson & Terry, 1982; Bean, 1983; Latiesa, 1992). Additionally, Suarez (1997) looked at the major factors that influence FGCS retention and recruitment and found high school GPA to be the most important predictor for this group but once in college, the possibility of pursuing graduate or professional studies proved to be a much better predictor of retention than GPA or standardized test scores. Other research on a group of Latino students at Our Lady of the Lake University showed that GPA was the only variable associated with attrition where gender, standardized test scores, and FGCS status were also explored (Chowdhury, 2006). At the same time, first year attrition data shows that the rate for FGCSs is higher (Ishitani, 2003; Ishitani, 2006) and appears to be lower for those who are persistent (Joseph, 1995; Carroll, 2005). This information has gotten translated into

concerns about providing successful experiences for all students (Tierney & Hagedorn, 2002) and instituting programs directed at increasing the retention rates of minority students that have enhanced the chances of many students (Swail, Redd, & Perna, 2003). There is evidence of this in the oral histories in Benmayor's (2003) study on the "cultural citizenship" (Silvestrini, as cited by Benmayor) of FGCSs of Mexican origin at California State University Monterey Bay (CSUMB) who participated in programs directed at students from historically underrepresented groups. Moreover, Watson's (2004) focus on pedagogical approaches, as well as on issues of psychosocial, intellectual, familial and ecological integration were found to be significant in a learning communities program designed to enhance peer learning and faculty engagement to improve FGCS retention. The socialization model derived from the study offered student retention predictors related to a student's first semester GPA, first year academic standing, and ethnicity. In another program that focused on student writing, Jehangir (2004) found five themes regarding the experience of FGCSs in learning communities that followed a multicultural curriculum. The themes were place, voice, self, how they used conflict as a catalyst for change, and how they participated in bridge building and transformation learning. And a more recent national study on living-learning programs suggests that FGCSs' academic and social experience is facilitated by offering them structured activities with faculty as well as with other students (Kurotsuchi Inkelas, Daver, Vogt, & Brown Leonard, 2006). In the case of the Ronald E. McNair Program designed for first generation low-income college students (FGLIs) (Ishiyama & Hopkins, 2002), a performance assessment was done that controlled for ethnicity and race. While promoting the success of the program it also contributed to the profiling of the FCGS category.

(v) *Obstacles research.* Students face a series of obstacles upon entering college and in the case of FGCSs it is erroneous to assume that they understand how to go about being successful in this new endeavor (Ishitani, 2001). In some cases it is simply a case of not having information (Horn, Nuñez, & Bobbitt, 2000) while in others it becomes important to address social, economic and educational factors with respect to the detailed processes of getting through college (Hossler, Schmit, & Vesper, 2004). FGCSs face obstacles in developmental and cognitive areas (Terenzini, 1995), partly due to issues of identity formation as they cope with the challenges posed by identity confirmation, expansion, refinement, and exploration processes (Jervik, 1999). Along these lines, Wentworth and Peterson (2001) note the importance of social class in the identity development of women from working class families while Longwell-Grice (2002) offers similar evidence in research with working class white male college students.

Among research on institutional attempts at increasing student academic competence to lower attrition rates (Rendón, García, & Person, 2004; Reason, Terenzini, & Domingo, 2006), there are institutions that have responded to Academic Counseling and Guidance research on student maturity (VanFossen, 2005) and on the educational aspirations of FGCSs (Pagliarulo, 2004). In these cases, family involvement did not appear to help FGCSs attain the higher aspirations they set for themselves. At the same time, Moore (2003) found that family involvement programs helped lower income FGCSs in their process of adjustment to college while Miller (2006) found that FGCS significant knowledge of family history was associated with higher resiliency, persistence, and engagement. This family reference also helped the students navigate the discontinuity between the culture of the institution and that

of their family and community.

A longitudinal study found substantial evidence for a first generation "effect" in would-be-FGCSs in a group of High School and Beyond program participants (Barahona, 1990). It served as a justification for the establishment of programs designed to offset environmental factors that hinder students' chances of finishing college. Duran's (1994) attempt to test a coping model with FGCSs was able to predict the combined effects of expectancies and coping behaviors but was unable to demonstrate their social learning in response to a controlled modeling intervention. In response to Barahona's research on the obstacles FGCSs face, those in a study at an Ivy League school (University of Pennsylvania) showed that they tended to be self sufficient high achievers who successfully become part of the academic environment, and therefore not necessarily a burden for the institution (Clarke, 2000). There is also research on parents' perceptions of the importance of college that comes out as a good predictor for FGCS success despite the challenges their college experience poses to family and community norms (DeLong, 2003). Additionally, positive family relationship dynamics favor FGCS college adjustment to a small degree, suggesting that prior academic achievement and psychological coping may be more important predictors of adjustment for these students (DeWall, 2005). Along these lines, Sickles (2004) has called upon academic advisors to attend to the individual needs of all FGCSs since many of them do not participate in special programs. The sense of belonging students feel and their adjustment to college is the focus of McGee's (2004) study of the Extended Opportunity Programs and Services (EOPS), a program providing retention services for educationally disadvantaged low income FGCSs. In other research done on programs, Tierney (2004) suggested elements institutions

need to consider in the design of college preparation programs while Brewer and McMahan Landers (2005) found a connection between program participation and becoming a FGCS in a group of Tennessee high school students from low income families in the Talent Search program.

In terms of establishing predictors of academic success, non-cognitive variables (Ting, 2003) are better indicators in students of color. Some FGCSs in Puerto Rico reported that their success was a result of the career maturity they gained from their participation in TRIO programs (Thayer, 2000; Dahle, 2003). There are also claims that the development of college aspiration depends less on the influence of friends than on the impact of significant others and of the high school context of potential FGCSs (Bueschel, 2004). Other research using the National Education Longitudinal Study finds that higher teacher absenteeism in eighth grade lowers students' chances of becoming FGCSs (Bui, 2005), though there is also research that relates the community college-to-university transfer rate of FGCSs to the work and academic experiences they acquire throughout life, those involving goal-setting and self-advocacy, and those that help them improve their management skills (Byrd & MacDonald, 2005).

The definition of the FGCS advanced by obstacles research also depends on policies implemented by institutions to help students get through college. When Hewlett (1981) looked at a group of successful Black students, they were identified as having natural or adoptive parents who had not completed a baccalaureate degree. These students attributed their success to "significant others" in their lives, the institutions they chose, the programs they utilized, and the influence of role models who helped them meet their goal of finishing school. They also reported sharing their experience with immediate family members who

were likely to attend college.

In terms of predicting factors that institutions depend on, Swarns (2006b) offers a look at Mexican immigrants in the state of Georgia and in a later piece covering the same area notes how Hispanic high schools students are finding their way into a traditionally White community (2006a). Some of them may go to college and their expectations may be very different from what they find themselves doing in their first year at college (Kuh, 1999). High schools may begin to implement socialization programs that also encompass aspects of racial identity processes in adolescents, a move that offers African-American students a resiliency that results in higher educational attainment (Miller, 1999). In an email response dated April 18, 2007 to a question about a study done at a suburban high school, Peter Demerath (Demerath & Lynch, 2002) said it would be interesting to look at the impact of parental college attendance (specifically that of the mother) on techniques of an authoritative self in high school students' self fingerprint or footing-in-interaction. This would be done by mapping data on their identity work, habitual practices and institutional supports in their academic and social milieu. Similar research along these lines might also add to the literature that identifies variables that predict college success for FGCSs (Naumann, Bandalos, & Gutkin, 2003).

Finally, cultural identity issues faced by Indian American students (Bhattacharya, 1999), as well as the those faced by FGCSs from rural southern Appalachia (Darling, 1999) offer evidence of certain obstacles that institutions need to take into account. Along these lines Torres (2003) highlights the impact of family and the question of self perception when Latino students go to college and Lee (2006) notes how ethnicity matters in students who

participated in the First Generation Student Success Program. These examples point to Orbe's (2004) observation that cultural identity in the college environment has more salience than an identity in terms of FGCS status. At the same time, there are websites (see <http://www.collegeconfidential.com/cgi-bin/discus/show.cgi?5/94019>; http://home.okstate.edu/homepages.nsf/toc/first_generation2; http://www.towson.edu/coe/GEARUP/program%20descriptions/first_generation.asp) and handbooks (Mellott, 2005; Cushman, 2006) directed at helping FGCSs. The result of these efforts are reflected in the report on the initial phase of the FGCS Grants Program in Texas (TxHECB, 2004) that notes increased retention rates attributed to higher persistence, and an Ohio report (see <http://www.regents.state.oh.us/perfrpt/2004index.html>) that highlights the impressive low attrition rate during students' first two years at Youngstown State University, an institution with the second highest majority of students whose parents did not go to college.

(vi) *Comparative research.* In addition to the category of FGCS, research done on comparisons between students has proposed a host of other categories. Historically and traditionally, college students tended to be elite white adolescent sons of lawyers, prosperous merchants, ministers, and well-to-do farmers (Whitley, 1999). Since WWII and with the GI Bill (a program that provides college financial support for servicemen) the college population has become more diverse. In terms of the growing population of women and minorities on campuses, Lorenzano-Obergfell's (1997) focus on Italian-American women who were FGCSs found that they tended to have a) more fears, b) lower self-esteem, c) family issues, and d) a lack of experience with college. In other research comparing FGCS and second-generation college students, Middleton (1997) concluded that no differences were found in a) their

perceived importance of attaining their college goal outcomes, b) their progress towards attaining set outcomes, c) their perception of institutional contribution to their personal growth, and in d) their satisfaction with college. At the same time, it was difficult to confirm any differences with respect to a) lower outcome aspirations, b) working off campus outside of their college major, and to the c) time they spent in college clubs. In comparative studies between FGCSs and their counterparts using the Student Goals Exploration (SGE) Shaw (1990) shows minimal predictability for FGCS goal change resulting from goal conflict. In comparative research on adjustment between FGCSs and their counterparts, while family and friends' social support were stronger for the former, both groups' self efficacy was related to adjustment outcomes (Bartels, 1995). A fear of success premise has also been explored with FGCSs resulting in insignificant differences between them and their counterparts (Ems, 1997). More specific research followed, on the lack of information FGCSs have in the case of mathematics (Horn, Nuñez, & Bobbitt, 2000), as well as on their academic literacies (Matzen Jr., 2001). The former attributed a lack of information about how to choose courses to explain the lower FGCS participation in mathematics curricula during high school. The latter looked at cognition, communication value, and cultural difference theories to understand FGCS preference for composition curricula guided by uniform assignments, rhetoric lessons, and cultural topics as opposed to a TS preference for curricula guided by choice, expressive writing, and a commitment to writing across the curriculum. There has also been research based on the Student Information Questionnaire (SIQ) that looks at gender differences and retention characteristics for FGCSs. It suggests that there are a) no retention rate differences between men and women FGCSs, b) that high school GPA was a good predictor of retention,

while c) the SIQ measurements found that men went to college for financial reasons (Manuel, 2001). In a comparison between FGCSs and their counterparts on how they were prepared for academic work, the former tended to be a) female, b) from minority groups, c) have lower GPAs and standardized test scores, and d) show higher attrition rates (Bryant, 2005). Among this list of comparative studies there is Wang's (2003) longitudinal study from 28 colleges and universities in the Central Appalachian Region that supports the positive impact of being a male FGCS in the labor market. For both men and women, positive impact was found in those graduating from a private college, attending a less selective college, and especially for those students who graduated between 1974 and 1976. This data suggest that there may be a type of institution that fosters student persistence.

Additionally, the University of California Undergraduate Experience Survey (UCUES, 2003) gathered information on the contribution of FGCSs to the college learning environment, noting how they added to the college environment's socioeconomic diversity. FGCSs tend to work off campus, participate in community service activities while still finding time to take their studies seriously. In comparison to their peers they tend to have higher aspirations and the survey also reflects how the institution has been able to provide a sense of belonging for these students. At the same time, Williams and Hellman (2004) found lower levels of self-regulation in FGCSs participating in an online learning environment compared to their second-generation counterparts. This points out how comparative studies suggest the importance of developing a typology of students that highlights the resilient qualities required to attain academic success, specifically in the case of FGCSs at a community college and in terms of the attitudinal and experiential internal factors they

possess (Rowley, 2003). When Pike and Kuh (2005b) recommend "a typology of student engagement" for American colleges and universities they are writing about the type of environment a specific institution offers that is able to respond to the needs of specific students. This involves considering education's many stories about student success, of persons who have been able to overcome obstacles associated with their race, ethnicity, income, and immigrant status (see <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2005/08/10/first>). Yet, an analysis offered by Chen (2005) based on the Postsecondary Education Transcript Study (PETS) that focuses on FGCS coursetaking and performance variables reports no significant differences between these students and their peers whose parents had attended college.

Finally, it is important to offer early intervention to help FGCSs get into graduate school compared to children of college students (Hurley, 2002) since they are less likely to plan to attend graduate or professional school, and are more concerned about finding a job after graduation (Joyce, 1987). Evidence of the pervasiveness of obstacles in those who continue onto graduate school surfaces with new barriers such as a record of low performance, low test scores, and academic burnout (Fischer, 1995; Solórzano, 1995; Barrington, 2004). These are added to the ones they faced at the beginning of their academic career (Payne, 2006).

(b) Institutions and first generation college students

In addition to FGCS research based institutional policies, there are those that respond to the politics of education when student background demographic data and state economic forecasts begin to inform higher education enrollment composition policies (Murdock et al.,

2002). In turn, much of the higher education administration research focuses on evaluating what institutions do as they search for ways to ensure student engagement. This is especially important where institutions use predicting factors such as high school performance to enhance recruitment, transition to college, and retention programs to serve FGCSs. Tinto's (1994) examination of attrition factors, based on an interactionist theory grounded in Van Gennep's anthropological model of cultural rites of passage suggests that "institutional fit" efforts (Bouchard, 1994), combined with the identification of "at risk" populations (Smith, 2001) offer avenues for understanding student first year college adjustment (Moore, 2003). Along these lines, Tinto and Pusser (2006) highlight Jacqueline Fleming's book on *Blacks in College* to show how Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) provide a more supportive learning experience for their students. Similarly, Rendón (1994) suggests that increased involvement at an institution also requires validating students from "underserved" populations, along the lines of offering them a "safe haven" as stated in her research with other authors (Terenzini et al., 1994). Along with Hurtado (1994), this line of institutional climate research looks at the micro-aggressions related to students' sense of belonging and at the social integration obstacles that are often related to the values, beliefs, and norms of higher education as described by Jalomo (1995) in research on Latino student transition to college and Hurtado and Carter's (1996) research on belonging. Similarly, Cuyjet (1997) looks at the needs of African-American men in higher education and Solórzano, Ceja and Yosso (2000) use a critical race theory framework to understand the experiences of African-American students and the negative impact of racial micro-aggressions on campus climate. In a study with Chicano FGCSs at a predominantly White institution (PWI) they required a

dialectical process of "fitting" into school, consisting of working in a "fit" into the socially held representations of the ethnicity to which they pertained (González, 2000). Additionally, Clark's (1990) research speaks of a sense of loss experienced by students, and Mueller (1997) shows how obstacles tend to lower students' self-motivation and self-determination. While Tinto's model regards persistence as the primary outcome of the quality of students' interactions with the academic and social systems of the institution, Joseph (1995) found evidence that age, social integration, and institutional commitment directly affects persistence, suggesting that individual institutions need to look at factors favoring persistence since they vary with respect to the group of students being studied.

Engagement, in terms of belonging or integrating into the environs of academia provides a means of predicting the possibility of attrition, or for implementing measures to guarantee high retention rates. Organizational structures (Berger, 2002), residence hall climate (Kaya, 2004), and the role of faculty (Umbach & Wawrzynski, 2005) are some of the aspects that are taken into consideration. While success research focuses on student characteristics (McCarthy & Kuh, 2006), Hearn (2006) highlights the literature review on student success written by Kuh, Kinzie, Buckley, Bridges, and Hayek (2006) saying that "institutions should forcefully and repeatedly emphasize their core values and expectations" (p. A-3), especially with FGCSs who happen to come with an additional risk factor such as being economically disadvantaged. The review includes high school (High School Survey of Student Engagement, HSSE, 2005) and college (National Survey of Student Engagement, NSSE, 2005) data revealing lower engagement levels in FGCSs who are males, transfer students, and students who live off-campus.

Closely aligned with investigations on student engagement are those that focus on identifying factors that predict students' ability to meet certain measures of degree attainment. Bourdieu's concept of habitus in sociological research in education (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Harker, 1984; Lamont & Lareau, 1988; Horvat & Lareau, 1998; Trueba, 2002; Horvat, 2003; Kuriloff & Reichert, 2003; Calkins, 2005) offers a lens for understanding exclusion in terms of cultural and social capital, aspects that are closely associated with students' family, their race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status. The match between FGCSs' expectations may not always match their outcomes (Braxton, Versper, & Hossler, 1995) and research based on Bourdieu's cultural capital theory suggests that academic persistence responds to a combination of factors such as a) the type of institution, b) high school grades, c) parents' education and involvement in their student's education, d) socioeconomic status, e) ethnicity, f) age, and g) cultural capital (Martinez, 1999). Many of these factors arise in Escamilla's (2001) research on African-American, Anglo and Hispanic community college FGCS graduates. Their success depended on culturally based factors, the ones students bring, and the ones present in institutional cultural awareness policies.

Moreover, the analysis of Beginning Postsecondary Students Longitudinal Study (BPS: 96/98) data on how socioeconomic status affects student persistence (Settle, 2005) provides profile measures that help institutions identify those students with socioeconomic profiles who might not be able to maintain their year-to-year persistence without assistance. The resulting model is adaptable to institutional efforts directed at helping students base their persistence decisions on social capital (SC) factors such as their integration into the academic setting. Duggan's (2002; 2004) studies on student persistence based on data from the National

Center for Education Statistics (NCES) controlled for financial attitudes in addition to others like background, academic and social integration, and academic performance. The main SC factors of bridging and bonding were studied. The first refers to situations where students' SC includes the potential for contributing to their socioeconomic status, and the second corresponds to SC factors that serve to solidify their relationships. These two SC factors had little negative effect on FGCS status persistence. However, when the data was analyzed to understand the influence of being a student from a non-native English speaking family, SC was found to be a significant positive predictor of persistence.

There are also studies that focus on the cultural challenges students face (London, 1992; Turner, 1994; Cooper, 1998) and their importance in student advising and retention (Tinto, 2004). There is the suggestion that the concept of culture should be interwoven into the whole curriculum (Urrieta Jr., 2004) to avoid the "assisstencialism" linked to a cultural pervasiveness of education in the United States, similar to Grosvenor's (1999) historical account of education in the United Kingdom and the unquestioned category of Englishness as a national identity. Indeed, early work on African-American culture and education (Allen, 1992; Freeman, 1998) also included work on African-American gifted children (Freeman, 1998; Rowley & Moore, 2002) and the policy considerations institutions needed to make in their behalf, all the while seeking to meet the needs of students, including Latino's (Ortiz, 2004).

In other research, FGCS persistence has been related to educational inequities based on race, class, and gender suggesting that these students inhabit intersecting sites of oppression despite the diversity of college opportunities available in the country (Lohfink & Paulsen,

2005). Pino's (2005) study with Mexican American FGCSs at a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI) reported that the combination of self-concept, familial support, and institutional climate served as a basis for their academic persistence. For a group of African-American female FGCSs at a predominantly White university studied by Lane (2005), their perception of multiple disadvantage, of the unfamiliar terrain they were in, and the emergent identities they experienced were aspects that hindered their ability to navigate through college. Indeed, cultural capital or the "degree of ease and familiarity one has with the 'dominant' culture of society" (Bills in Pascarella, Pierson, Wolniak, & Terenzini, 2004, p. 252) directs us to important personal and institutional factors that favor persistence for FGCSs.

(c) The traditional student as the ultimate comparison

Despite all of the benefits of basing educational policies on the category of the traditional student, an uncritical insistence on such a premise in developing recruitment and retention measures has consequences of its own. The arena pertains to the micro-politics of integration, or exclusion and inclusion practices such as the ones reported by Dillon (2007) where the elimination of potential members of a sorority members was associated with policies directed a changing its image. Similarly, the riots that took place on the outskirts of Paris in the fall of 2005 resulted from the sheer complexity of integration policies responding to immigration and their implications for persons who are actually citizens (Koff, 2002). These practices take place in an interstitial space where differences and similarities are taken into account in the distribution of privileges, a space in which institutional policies also participate. Kuh, Kinzie, Buckley, Bridges, and Hayek (2006) highlight Kenny and Stryker's assessment of how "parents are unable to help much, even if they are so inclined as they, too,

lack knowledge of, or in some instances may find off-putting, certain activities that could lead to greater levels of engagement" (p. 45) in terms of looking at the social network characteristics of first-year students from racially and ethnically diverse populations. Institutions may choose to recruit students who demonstrate political commitment (Yates & Youniss, 1998) as a way of ensuring a population of persons who strive find ways of engaging in the college setting. Pike and Kuh (2005a) offer an institutional typology based on the student experiences. It uses NSSE data to differentiate between institutions reported as fostering low student involvement from others that are highly collaborative. Additionally, student engagement policies may also be a way of claiming the promise of diversity (Woodlief, Thomas, & Orozco, 2003) amid doubts institutions might have with regard to this type of commitment, and especially with respect to diversifying the composition of faculty and administration (Nora, 2003).

Institutional pressures to increase research endeavors while still offering their students a quality teaching environment sometimes leave professors little room to handle both jobs (Wolverton, 1998). One of the ways to mitigate this situation is to make sure prospective students are ready for college. This often leaves out potential FGCSs despite efforts to assuage institutional concerns about the suitability of these students for higher education as in the case of the Texas Guaranteed Student Loan Corporation FGCS literature review (Tym, McMillion, Barone, & Webster, 2004). Indeed, their academic suitability also qualifies them for the financial support needed to pay for their education. At the same time, while working-class students might bring diversity to a campus, they often go unnoticed due to the "overdetermined alignment of diversity with visible difference, notably racial difference"

(Casey, 2005 ¶ 2), producing somewhat of a quandary for those institutions that consider diversity to be an integral part of a good education. The institutional setting then, is a combination of policies intended to enhance the educational experience of students, and of institutional practices directed at promoting reasonable expectations in them (Kuh et al., 2005).

At the same time, an article about Hispanic high school students (Canedy, 2001) says the dropout rate for girls is highest in comparison to students from other groups. An online North Carolina State University newsletter repeats the list of risk factors related to academic outcome of students (having a mother did not finish high school; living on government subsidies; coming from a single parent family; and not having English as a primary language) to highlight how Hispanic students are more likely to meet one or two of them (see http://www2.chass.ncsu.edu/swisher/vol2_no1/resources/holly_marshall.html) and various programs are mentioned that provide help at the community level to help students stay in school. As Rendón and Hope noted (1996), given the growing number of students in this and other underrepresented groups the challenge is to educate a new majority. There are a number of programs that are providing solutions to the ongoing issue of including persons from underrepresented populations in education (Gándara & Moreno, 2002) despite characterizations such as those that consider the California education system as being the result of failed state policy (Oakes, 2003).

(d) Conclusion: Difference and the first generation college student

Institutions working to meet the quality measure of high retention rates are responding to diversity pressures that in turn respond to the politics and the economics of education

(Stampen & Cabrera, 1988; Gaither, 1999; Rendón, Jalomo Jr., & Nora, 2000; Longerbeam, Sedlacek, & Alatorre, 2004). The institutions in the U.S. are not alone in these efforts (Latiesa, 1992; Tomkinson, 2006), in a world where education is as much a source of tradition as a means through which we participate in our society. Moreover, our participation in education is one of the most important arenas that makes our society what it is. As such, the extant categories that suffuse our language of differences are not separate from the complexity of practices we participate in through our institutions.

Stevens (1970) alludes to the "new inheritors" in writing about immigrant students in the U.K., an issue Cleverly (1971) also addresses in Australia. With the growing importance of education in our world another group of potential FGCSs known as first-generation learners are said to come with all of their "social disabilities" (Chatterjee, 2004). Categorized as such, we shorten the bridge between analytical identities used by researchers and the practical ones we use in daily life (Brubaker & Cooper, 2002). This ample use of "identity categories" (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998) spans a variety of differences beyond those presented in terms of immigration (NIH, 1995). When Murphy (1998) writes about head of household Hispanic women, it is fitting to think about their children as persons "Bordering on Agency" when they begin to envision themselves as potential FGCSs. The gaps in educational opportunities (Rendón, 1998) for underrepresented persons, as well as those differences in their earnings (Núñez, 1998) make reference as much to the benefits of success as to a variety of obstacles these persons need to overcome. Research on the gaps in educational opportunities for underrepresented persons and the variety of obstacles these persons need to overcome appear to answer a list of questions based on an interest in cultural

differences (Gone, Miller, & Rappaport, 1999; Niemann, Romero, Arredondo, & Rodriguez, 1999). These in turn get contested by those who look at the political diversity of groups (Martinez-Ebers, Fraga, Lopez, & Vega, 2000; Schmidt Sr., Barvosa-Carter, & Torres, 2000), and as Mayer (2000) notes, research on a community and its complexity runs the risk of privileging certain aspects over others.

Still, other research shows that a strong ethnic identity is an important element in immigrant adaptation to a new setting (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001) while there is research that questions how those differences actually get played out in everyday life. This is a move away from a deterministic understanding of ethnicity and a move toward understanding the active role persons take in identity processes (Verkuyten & de Wolf, 2002). When Villanueva (2002) uses the word "racialization" she is noting how social positioning in terms of difference has economic implications. In this sense, understanding the influence of myth and ritual related to the working family (Shore, 2003) is an important step in understanding how we construct our lives amid a liberal discourse that reminds us that we are autonomous and independent subjects. However diverse we might be, the actual material existence of the FGCS, as constituted by institutions in their policies happens when the traditional student is equated with "sameness" and the FGCS with an "otherness" among an "endless series of new claims to difference" (Gaon, 2003 p. 9).

The task institutions have inherited in defining the future of higher education has inevitable consequences for the whole of society. On the one hand there are the stories of success such as when Robert C. Dynes gets quoted as saying he is a "first-generation college graduate whose life was transformed by educational opportunity" (Murphy, 2003) in an

article that recognized him when he became the new president of the The University of California System. In contrast, when Scott and Leonhardt (2005) write about Benjamin Franklin's biography, they find aspects that have gone unnoticed by historians that speak to the shadowy pervasiveness of class in the U.S. His rags-to-riches story gets debunked by a historian who tells us he was a second-generation Harvard man. This translates into doubts about the success narrative reflected in the Bush administration's No Child Left Behind program that defines the role of education in purely traditional terms (Gabbard, 2004), where students are expected to perform without leaving any room for them to question the assumptions upon which their education is based. Thus, being politically disenfranchised, they become subjects of educational practices that reproduce the traditional focus of higher education policies. They are policies based, for example, on an operationalization of high-minority enrollment and low-income schools to interpret data about the college predisposition in students (Hamrick & Stage, 2004). However, just as immigrant women have envisioned themselves beyond institutionally defined categories (Fountas, 2005), FGCSs participate in a variety of communities and networks such as those made possible by technology (see <http://www.danah.org/papers/AAAS2006.html>), all the while walking a long road to wholeness (Farina, 2006), one that immigrants know all too well.

4. First Generation College Student Expertise in a Recruitment DVD

The relevance of a category hinges upon the context in which it is intimated. This study attempts to reveal the category work done by persons at an institution of higher education in relation to the social category of first generation college student (FGCS), defined as those students whose parents have not attained a university degree. An example of this type of institutional practice is a marketing tool produced by an institution of higher education in the form of a DVD presentation that consists of an edited focus group interview directed at FGCSs. Recruiters use educational marketing tools to attract students to a school as well as to guide them through the programs of study offered by the institution. The DVD presentation analyzed here is an "institutional artefact" that prompted my interest in pursuing an ethnographic study at a public university in the southwestern United States. It caught my attention because as much as it satisfies common educational marketing tool objectives, it is also specifically geared towards the recruitment of FGCSs. Subsequently, it addresses their doubts about entering college as well as some of the problems they might have upon starting their higher education career. This is the analysis of a DVD presentation consisting of an edited focus group interview that has the expressed function of highlighting the transition to college experience of a group of students. The transcript consists of an interview moderated and edited by a university staff member at the institution who also acted as my primary field consultant for the ethnography. By the time I arrived to do the ethnography, the DVD had been released and distributed for use by those who work with high school students who might be thinking about going to college.

An educational marketing tool that focuses on a particular population offers evidence of

how a social category is constructed, offering evidence of identity work in the "broadest sense of *who people are to each other*" (original italics, Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 71). In turn, Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) offers a means of showing when a person is 'doing being an FGCS' and by extension, when one is 'doing being a not-FGCS'. It offers a way of thinking about how a person's incumbency of a category occurs in a given context, thereby answering the broad question of how the social category of FGCS functions in the daily practices of persons in institutions of higher education. Although it may seem that the analysis encompasses the work of university faculty and staff with a particular group of students, it also contemplates the practices of high school students contemplating a move towards taking on the category of college student.

The general objective is to reveal the higher education practices in an educational marketing artefact, of a DVD presentation that offers evidence of university policies "in action" participating in the construction of the social category of FGCS. More specifically, it is an analysis that helps us reflect on how the institutional representatives' statements are based on scientific literature that informs the university policies they are enacting. In particular, this chapter analyzes how the participant responses offer evidence of the ascription and the contestation of the FGCS social category and others that emerge throughout the transcript. The analysis consists of detailing the characteristics of the DVD, listing the specific parts that constitute the edited focus group interview of the DVD presentation, showing how the social category of FGCS is constructed by the institution's representatives, offering evidence of ascription and contestation in some of the participants' responses, and finally, to show how the social category of FGCS overlaps with other categories that emerge

throughout the transcript.

(a) Some technical aspects of MCA

Membership Categorization Analysis allows us to think about the particular categories applied to persons in the immediate orientation of the members in an interaction, the ones that are relevant for that same interaction to function. Harvey Sacks' definition of a membership categorization device (MCD) helps us figure out what category to use, it functions as an "explanatory apparatus" for how two categories go together such as being able to hear mother and child as belonging to the device of family. How an MCD works depends on the two basic rules of economy and of consistency. First, the economy of the application of one category resides in how it works as a "referentially adequate" description. For example, to adequately describe someone it is not always necessary to say they are a woman, a sister, a teacher and a singer. Secondly, the consistency rule refers to how a category from a certain device allows us to apply another category from that same device to another person. In the case of calling someone a soprano, there are other categories from the choir member device that permit us to call another person a tenor (Sacks in Butler & Weatherall, 2006). There is also what Sacks called a standardized relational pair (SRP), two categories that invoke each other through a set of rules and obligations for each of them (in Butler & Weatherall, 2006) as in the case of student/teacher. This is an example of Sacks' collection K, one in which there are two categories that are not co-equal based on some type of knowledge (K) differential. Sacks distinguishes it from a collection R, in which the set of rights (R) and obligations between two categories gives them co-equal status, as in the case of co-expert/co-expert (McHoul & Rapley, 2005).

In the analysis, the characteristics and activities associated with a category take it from merely having descriptive properties to offering evidence of how a it gains purchase in an interaction. Benwell and Stokoe (2006) use the term identity as the "broadest sense of *who people are to each other*" (original italics, p. 71) and offer four analytical categories analysts use in their attempt to identify the identity work accomplished in conversations. Of the four analytical categories, first there are *categorial* identities where speakers produce membership category-based identities for themselves and others. The second type refers to what Sacks' called *operative* identities where identities are transformed within an episode such as in dinnertime talk. Thirdly, there are *relational* identities where speakers engage in such a conversation as friends' talk. And finally, there are *unnoticed* identities where there is evidence of presupposed identities that are not explicitly articulated.

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| Identities | In its broadest sense 'identity' refers to " <i>who people are to each other</i> " (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006 p. 71). |
| <i>categorial</i> | where speakers produce membership category-based identities for themselves and others |
| <i>operative</i> | where identities are transformed within an episode such as in dinnertime talk (Sacks) |
| <i>relational</i> | where speakers engage in such a conversation as friends' talk |
| <i>unnoticed</i> | where there is evidence of presupposed identities that are not explicitly articulated |

Table 1: Analytical identity categories.

These analytical identity categories make it possible to say that 'narrator', 'moderator', and 'participant' are categorial within the structure of an edited focus group interview produced as an educational marketing tool. By the same token, a context in which ethnic membership gains relevance allows us to approach it as an operative identity. A relational

identity comes into play if and only if we permit ourselves to consider the world of viewers who watch the educational marketing tool, as an example of an unnoticed identity or one that is presupposed, not explicitly articulated, and that is taken for granted. Although unnoticed identity categories are used to highlight heteronormativity as something that is taken for granted in conversations (Kitzinger in Benwell & Stokoe, 2006), we can still consider the taken for granted norm of a narrator speaking to a camera and a viewer watching a screen as a way of describing the category bound activities for each of the parties. However, the pervasiveness of the MCD of media-participants makes viewers a *commodified* identity category, as in Bucholtz's work that was "motivated by the desire to insert the audience into the text as active participants in the meaning-making process" (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 201). In this sense, the relational identity pair of narrator - viewer affords us the opportunity to unpack how an educational marketing tool works.

Again, it is important to distinguish between a description and a category. For MCA, the consequential category work results from the members' tortuous process of description, one that consists of attempts that unfold to the point of establishing a specific context. This is what Benwell and Stokoe (2006) refer to when they talk about a member who "*treats her own choice of category as problematic*"(original italics, p. 74). By the same token, the process of landing on a category may also happen quite economically as in the case of a guest at a party becoming a police officer. This would happen if his host were to ask him to deal with someone who has arrived at the party uninvited. The transformation of the categorial identities of guest - host to the operative identities of complainant - police officer results from a sequence of events. In ethnomethodological terms, is important to unpack how a guest

moves from pertaining to the MCD of people-at-a-party to the MCD of people-vested-with-the-authority-to-enforce-rules. This also means that it would not be necessary for the guest-turned-police-officer to actually work as a police officer. For the sake of argument, we could have called him a 'bouncer' where the category bound activity (CBA) of telling someone that they are not following a rule does not require that our bouncer also be someone who regularly works at night enforcing dress codes at a club.

In summary, the economy and consistency rules of MCA set the stage for the inductive process of identifying how categories emerge and work together to give an interaction its meaning. The analytical tools described in this section will help us throughout the rest of the analysis in a process that seeks to unpack, for example, how both the categorial identity of narrator and the commodified identity of viewer garner relevance in an interaction. As we continue, the tools introduced here will help us delve into the complexity of the educational marketing tool that consists of the institutional setting of an interview as well as a narrative discursive environment in which a group of participants speak.

(b) Visual aspects of the DVD

In addition to the transcript of the presentation, it is helpful to explore the visual aspects of the DVD itself. Although the viewers of the DVD might not have the opportunity to see the image on the physical media or read the envelope in which it comes, the musical loop and the first images on the screen before the introduction segment work as precursors of meaning for the rest of the viewing experience. The relevance of the DVD for the viewer gets established in the introduction as a result of a scenic and a social framing where there are persons, activities, and objects similar to those found in Francis and Hart's (1997) analysis of

a narrative they wrote for a musical beer commercial that actually had no talk-in-interaction.

It demonstrates how productions such as these acquire a "narrative intelligibility".

Before actually getting to a narrated segment that introduces the edited focus interview of the DVD presentation, the viewer sees four pictures overlapping each other under a heading that reads FIRST GENERATION COLLEGE STUDENTS. The largest picture in the center of the screen is of a man and a woman standing behind a younger woman dressed in academic regalia and holding some roses. Everyone is smiling, making it sufficiently apparent that this is a family picture of some proud parents and their daughter who has earned a college degree. The second largest photograph is in the upper left hand corner slightly covering the left side of the mother's face. In this picture we see two sets of hands simultaneously in a handshake and in the handing over of a rolled parchment tied with a bow. We can comfortably say that it represents a diploma since it corresponds with the image of the daughter in academic regalia. In the third layer there are two smaller pictures with a lower degree of definition than the others. Of the two, there is one that is behind and partially exposed below the bottom left hand corner of the central picture. It is detailed enough to be recognized as a group of persons standing behind a sign with the name of a state university. The other image is also partially exposed behind and to the right of the central picture. It also has enough detail to be identified as a football team in action on a football field. Finally, at the bottom of the screen there are two more labels, one that reads PLAY and another that says PLAY SPANISH SUBTITLES. The following figure represents the layout of these elements on the initial DVD presentation screen.

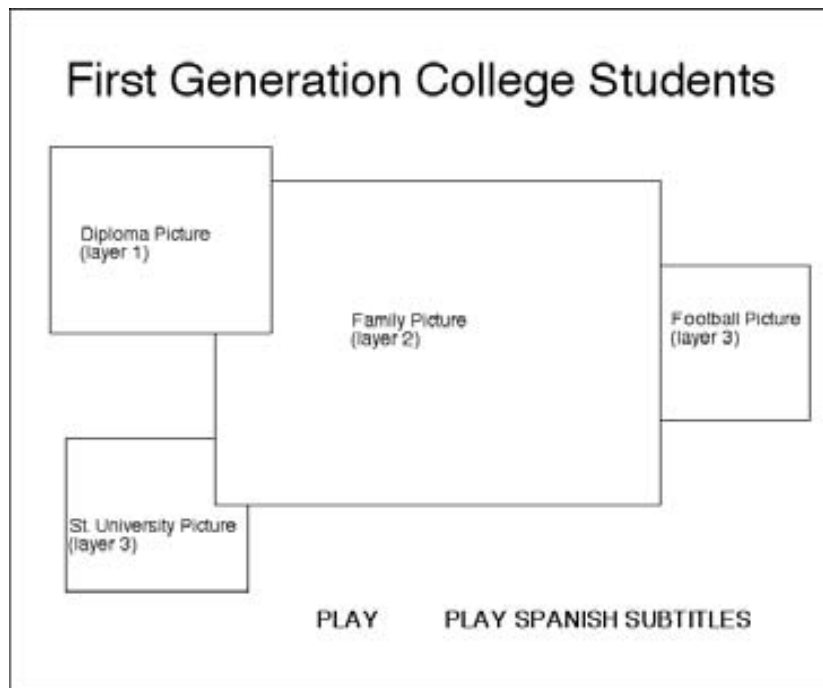


Figure 1: The layout of the initial DVD presentation screen.



Picture 1: Menu screen of the First Generation College Student DVD.

The unpacking of the combined images seen at the beginning of the presentation helps us understand how the categories that are put into play make the presentation mundanely comprehensible to a viewing public. There is a pairing of two higher resolution pictures, the one of the family in the center and the picture of the diploma that establishes a time after the second pairing, of the two lower resolution pictures in the third layer. This scrapbook page of pictures, of two that tell the story of having gotten a degree, and of another two that re-tell the story of having been a college student work together to establish both the scenic and social settings of what it means to go to college. The motivational texture of the main character is evident in the family picture. There is a young woman dressed in academic regalia and holding flowers, rewards of a journey that started at her first intimation of going to college. Similar to the analysis Francis and Hart (1997) offer in the case of a commercial where they specified the master character of a brand of beer, the visual data establishes the First Generation College Student as the master character. At the same time, although the student pictured on the cover of the DVD could be any college graduate, the Spanish subtitles option combined with the Hispanic features of the persons in the family picture also makes her an Hispanic college graduate.

We can begin to get a sense of how the presentation works from this initial analysis. The subsequent MCA of the transcript will help reveal more of the categories that emerge in the DVD presentation, and how they work together to give it its meaning. It will show how the visual aspects of the DVD, the narrator and moderator sequences, and the responses of the participants to the moderator's first question produce a series of categories the fit together in a particular way. The way the categories are used gives us a sense of who the people are and

how they fit into the presentation, where their situated identities (of narrator, moderator, and interviewees) are made clear while the inductive process of MCA allows us to identify a series of characteristics, some that are shared and others that are particular to certain participants.

Before continuing on to the audio transcript it is helpful to note that the narrator speaks directly to the camera and is alone in a full face shot with a front view of her head in the introductory segment. She states her own name and also mentions the name of the moderator in this segment that precedes the focus group interview. None of the focus group interview segment participants are identified by their names, leaving us with the need to rely on gender, race and ethnicity codes to identify the different FGCS participants. On the one hand it is conventional to use the words 'he' or 'she' to identify persons, and on the other, the relevance of the codes that call upon racial and ethnic categories has been established in the video itself. In addition to their relevance in the video, we can also presume a certain level of cultural competence that permits us to identify features related to gender, race, and ethnicity that would make the following seating chart analogous to what one would see by viewing the video. The seating chart shows a boy-girl-boy-girl convention where the males are evenly distributed: one male (HM), two females (HF3, WF), one male (BM), two females (HF2, HF1), one male (HMM), and one female (BF).

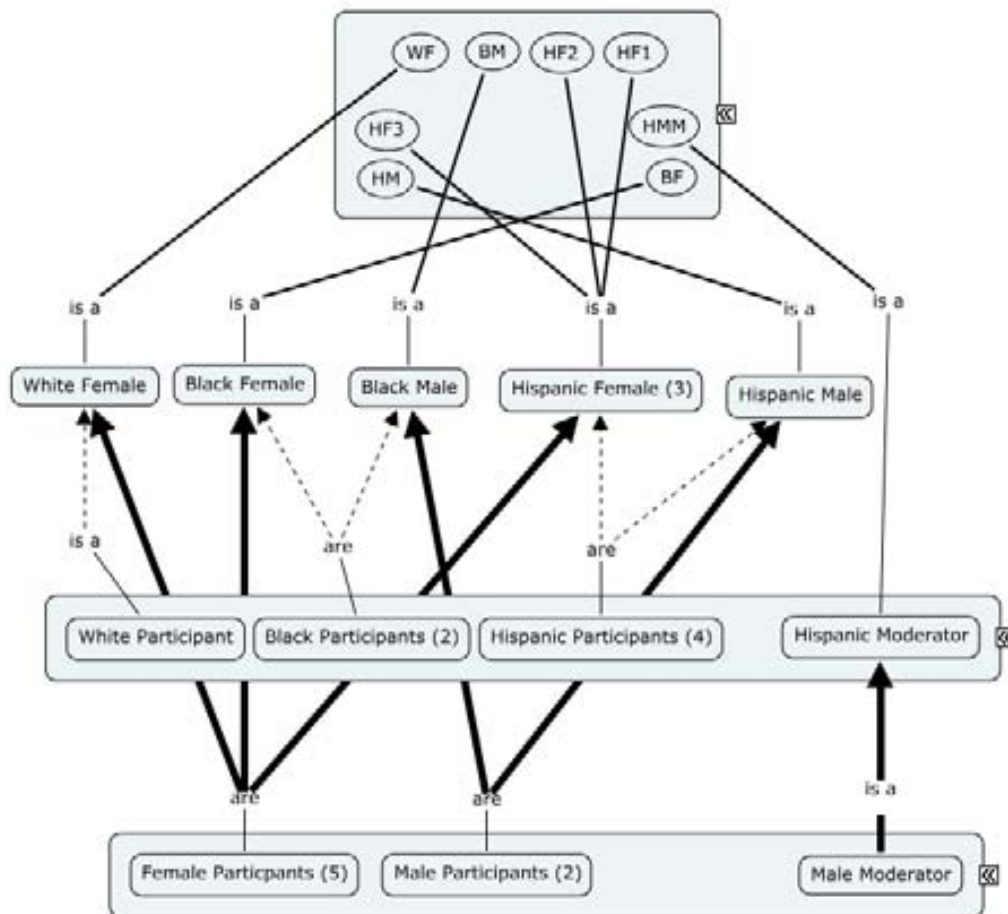


Figure 2: Seating chart of the DVD presentation. The thicker arrows point out the gender, racial, and ethnic codes used to identify the student participants and the interview moderator.

Clearly, we also could have looked for other features such as the clothes they are wearing to be able to say that the interview moderator (HMM) is the only person wearing a tie and has a clipboard. The rest of the focus group participants are dressed casually and the different modes of attire would simply point out that the members were dressed in accordance with the categories that have emerged in the transcript.

(c) The DVD transcript

The basic format of the DVD presentation consists of some introductory comments made by a female narrator (HFN) who is not a participant in the interview, and then the

interview itself. In this sense, the business at hand in the presentation is to present the experiences of a group of persons who have made "an effective transition to college" (line 35). This is made evident in the following extract that contains the final comments made by the narrator (Hispanic female narrator, HFN) in the introduction to the edited interview of the DVD presentation.

Extract 1: DVDtranscript

```
28 HFN: social support and fellowship .h in this
29 video: you will hear from a group of first generation college students
.h
30 facilitated by Dr. (...) (.) the advisor
31 for FGSO on campus .h
32 the unrehearsed interview: captures
33 some of the students thoughts on how they
34 negotiated the family and college cultures .h in order to
35 make an effective transition to college.
36 Music: music [music]
```

The introductory comments on the DVD serve as an abstract for the presentation, providing a rich source of categories for its viewers. At the same time, unlike a normal conversation, this presentation explicitly takes into consideration a viewing public. That it was produced with Spanish subtitles is an example of this, an aspect that is beyond the scope of this study and mentioned here only for how it highlights the dissemination objective of the presentation. Although this objective is implicit in how the presentation is structured, the above reference to "you" in line 29 is an explicit orientation towards the category of persons who view this DVD (which may also include those who analyze DVDs for an empirical study such as this one).

Another example of this objective occurs in the following extract where the interview moderator (Hispanic male moderator, HMM) makes a reference to a specific category of persons who might be viewing the DVD.

Extract 2: DVDtranscript

641 HMM: what would be <a a a>
 642 something you'd like to tell (.)
 643 a high school student that maybe:: (.) ah::
 644 is thinking of >going to< college but (.)
 645 maybe feels like (.) i- it's not for the:m
 646 or something like >this what< (.)
 647 do you wanna tell >if you had<
 648 something to say=

When the interview moderator says, "what would be something you'd like to tell" (lines 641-642), he is making at least two things happen. First he is reinforcing the relevance of an interlocutor who is not physically present in the interview. He is also orienting the interviewees towards a certain category of persons, as if they were speaking directly to them. This is in stark contrast to the introduction that consists of the Hispanic female narrator (HFN) orienting her talk towards anyone viewing the DVD. The moderator continues by asking the students to respond as if they were speaking directly to "a high school student that maybe is thinking about going to college but maybe feels like it's not for them" (lines 643-645). As such, he is also calling upon the interviewees to speak as "transition to college" (see line 35) experts, establishing the collection K standardized relational pair (SRP) that consists of 'prospective college students' and 'college student experts' that are not co-equal. And if we look at the first two lines of the transcript of the DVD presentation we find the relevance of a hierarchy of types of students that begins to gain purchase when the HFN describes herself as a "first generation graduate student" (FGGS, line 2).

Extract 3: DVDtranscript

1 HFN: hello. my name is (...)
 2 and I'm a first generation graduate student

Thus, the resulting SRP is FGGS - FGCS, where there is a knowledge differential (collection

K) between them based on the experience of those who have attained a university degree (graduate student) and those who are in the process of getting one (college student).

Furthermore, within the structure of the presentation, the appreciation of the expertise of the interviewees relies on the SRP of interviewer - interviewee. Sacks defined the rules of a device that helps understand how these two categories work together:

An “omni-relevant device” is one that is relevant to a setting via the fact that there are some activities that are known to get done in that setting, that have no special slot in it, i.e., do not follow any given last occurrence, but when they are appropriate, they have priority. Where, further, it is the business of, say, some single person located via the “omni-relevant device,” to do that, and the business of others located via that device, to let it get done. (in McHoul & Rapley, 2002, p. 75).

As such, this device establishes certain incumbencies for each of the categories of the interviewer - interviewee pair to actually work. That is, first the two categories are linked because one invokes the other, and secondly, it is incumbent upon the interviewer to ask the interviewees to take on a category such as that of being a 'high school to college student transition expert', not the other way around. Therefore, given the structure of the DVD presentation and the omni-relevant interviewer + interviewee device that is central to how the presentation works, it is helpful to establish at least three broad categories under which to group the analysis of the institutional representatives' and the students' contributions on the DVD. The *narrator categories* correspond to those invoked by the Hispanic female narrator (HFN) in the introduction. Those invoked by the Hispanic male moderator (HMM) fall under

the rubric of *interviewer categories*, leaving a third umbrella of *interviewee categories* or of those which are brought to bear by the first generation college student participants over the course of the interview. A rule such as this allows us to call the 'high school to college student transition expert' (of lines 641-648) an interviewer category. And finally, based on the incumbencies for each of the categories of the interviewer + interviewee omni-relevant device, the narrator's use of the word "facilitated" (line 30) makes 'facilitator' a euphemism for the interviewer's work as a 'moderator' throughout the interview.

(d) Narrator categories

Francis and Hart's (1997) analysis demonstrates how a television commercial acquires a "narrative intelligibility" and the narrator's introduction to the DVD presentation of this study shares two characteristics with their work. First, it is oriented to a viewing public seeing a scenic framing of Higher Education, and a social framing that consists of persons, activities and objects. Secondly, the "text" the narrator reads is a "mundanely apparent" story about university personnel and students through which we learn of a main character who is imbued with a "motivational texture". Embedded in higher education, there is a first generation college student who is overcoming the "unique challenges" (line 5) faced in the process of making a transition to college. By identifying and unpacking the categories that emerge in the data, the following analysis reveals how they work together to account for the DVD presentation's situated accomplishment of meaning.

We have already determined some of the narrator categories that have emerged from her references to a) herself as an FGGS, b) those persons who view the DVD, c) the interviewer as a facilitator, and to d) those persons who have made "an effective transition to

college". There are others that emerge from her references to a) college students, b) university personnel, c) the interviewer, and to d) the group of first generation college student participants or interviewees. Upon listening to the first two lines of the transcript we find at least one other category that emerges when we hear her switch between accents from her English first name to her Spanish last name when she introduces herself. This is an example of how "a characteristic (foreign accent) of the artefactual linguistic code helps to make" (Day, 1998, p. 161) her ethnic membership relevant, therefore making it possible to say that she is a Hispanic female narrator (HFN).

Extract 4: DVDtranscript

1 HFN: hello. my name is (...)
2 and I'm a first generation graduate student

At this point in the presentation, however, the category of narrator has more relevance for what she is doing. Similarly, there is no indication of the relevance of her status as a first generation graduate student unless we focus on how it fits into a hierarchy of persons that goes from high school student, to college student, and up through graduate student to yet other possible categories. In this sense and at this point in the introduction, FGGS can simply be heard as a description of a person who is a member of a sub-grouping of persons who have a certain degree of higher education experience. Moreover, the narrator of the introduction could have been any graduate student but we have been able to determine that she is also Hispanic. In addition to the relevance of their ethnicity and given the visual and audio aspects of the DVD presentation it is also possible to say that the graduate on the initial DVD presentation screen and the narrator share an 'FGCSness' in terms of the transitions represented in the pictures. This point brings us back to the significance of the narrator's

presentation of herself as an FGGS. In effect, she situates herself at a higher level of accomplishment and the possibility of having attained these goals is connected to the master character of the presentation. Nevertheless, the definition of First Generation College Student has not been made explicit in the DVD presentation data we have looked at thus far.

In the subsequent lines, the narrator makes reference to college students as well as to the sub-grouping of FGCSs. She proceeds to relay information about this last category to a public of DVD viewers. It is her work as an informant that is relevant here, fulfilling the convention of offering an introductory description to the DVD. On the one hand, as examples of what narrators do, the HFN reads a list of "unique challenges" (line 5) and of the college student enrollment statistics at a specific university (lines 9-13). On the other hand there is a public to whom the information is being imparted. The following extract shows how these two categories are invoked, one by the narrator and the other by the conventional structure of the presentation itself.

Extract 5: DVDtranscript

```
1 HFN: hello. my name is (...)  
2 and I'm a first generation graduate student  
3 at (this) university .h research reveals  
4 that first generation college students  
5 often face unique challenges .h  
6 some of these challenges include (.) conflicting obligations?  
7 false expectations (.)  
8 and lack of preparation or support .h  
9 first generation colleges students account for  
10 approximately: 30% of the student body at  
11 many colleges and universities .h  
12 on our campus .h one out of every four identifies  
13 themselves as first generation.
```

At the same time, the HFN's reference to college students offers a long list of categories, some of which may be taken up throughout the course of the interview and in tandem with

the categories invoked by the interview moderator. While these may suggest a long list of characteristics for the category of FGCS, it is important to distinguish between being offered a description and citing evidence, for example, of someone 'doing being' an FGCS-facing-conflicting-obligations. The description by itself, despite the statement "research reveals" in line 3, does not give these categories any relevance in terms of the interaction that is taking place at this point in the presentation. Such is the case for the other possible categories of persons 'doing being' an FGCS-with-false-expectations, an FGCS-with-a-lack-of-preparation, or an FGCS-with-a-lack-of-support.

Finally, when the HFN states that there are persons who identify themselves as FGCSs (lines 12-13) she reinforces a differentiation between two groupings of students without defining what an FGCS is. The definition of a standardized relational pair (SRP), as a collection of categories that invoke each other is helpful here to think about the following: At the very minimum, there is an MCD that is analogous to the Mass of the Roman Catholic Church (as an event that includes such categories as altar boy, priest, faithful, etc.) for an event such as presenting-watching-this-DVD. This device would explain how the categories of narrator and viewer go together, based not on the cultural competence of persons (or of those doing the analyzing) but on how they are relevant to a situated accomplishment of interlocutors. At the very least, it can be said that the narrator is orienting towards a category of viewers who are able to 'hear' that a difference is being made between FGCS and college student.

The next reference the HFN makes is to university personnel, as persons from whom FGCSs "can receive services" (line 15). The list that continues reflects the variety of offices

where university personnel work, each with a title that reflects a certain specificity.

Extract 6: DVDtranscript

14 HFN: at (this university) (.) first generation students
 15 can receive services from
 16 such offices as .h Multicultural Student Affairs (.)
 17 Counseling Center (.) Career Center? (.)
 18 Student Support Services .h Mentoring Program? and
 19 Student Activities and
 20 Campus Organizations .h these offices provide a
 21 place (.) of support? for
 22 first generation college students (.) the Hispanic Policy Network (.)

Again, we can imagine that the HFN is orienting towards a category of viewers who are able to 'hear' the difference between "multicultural", "counseling", and other separate offices at the university such as the one called "Student Support Services". These are all places where "first generation college students can receive services" (lines 14-15), making it comfortably possible to say that these services are also available for those students who are not FGCSs, or more simply, for all college students.

The list continues after the pause "(.)" in line 22 where the HFN mentions a category of persons who are available as mentors for "under-represented students" (line 24).

Extract 7: DVDtranscript

HFN:
 22 first generation college students (.) the Hispanic Policy Network (.)
 23 and the Coalition of Black Faculty & Staff .h serve as
 24 mentors for under-represented students .h

This is a new grouping that is linked to a "Hispanic" network and a "Black" coalition of university personnel (lines 22-23). As such, this description alludes to a category of university personnel, which includes a subcategory of those who participate in organizations that serve under-represented students. Here, as much as there are university personnel who are members of a Hispanic and/or Black university personnel organization, they may be

mentors who are available for a similarly identified student (mentee) who might also be an FGCS. Additionally, the 'under-representedness' of the mentors and of the mentees in this description is somehow relevant to the DVD presentation, and similarly suggests a category of persons who are 'not under-represented'.

The last thing described by the HFN is in reference to an organization, not of university personnel but of one that is "a place for academic guidance, social support and fellowship" (lines 27-28). It is called the First Generation Student Organization (FGSO) which was "established by" (lines 26-27) the university where the DVD presentation was produced.

Extract 8: DVDtranscript

```
25 HFN: the First Generation Student Organization (.)
26 or FGSO: .h was recently established
27 by (this university) to provide a place for academic guidance .h
28 social support and fellowship .h in this
```

As an organization, it would also be listed under the "Student Activities and Campus Organizations" office previously mentioned in lines 19-20, along with a number of others.

Extract 9: DVDtranscript

```
19 HFN: Student Activities and
20 Campus Organizations .h these offices provide a
21 place (.) of support? for
```

Towards the end of her introductory comments the HFN makes reference to the interview itself to introduce the interview moderator. Although she says it is "facilitated by" (line 30) him, the sense of duty and obligations associated with the onmi-relevant interviewer + interviewee device makes it more appropriate to call him a moderator. Additionally, the HFN repeats a case of group relevance when she switches between accents to pronounce the moderator's full Spanish name, thus making it possible to say that she is introducing the

Hispanic male moderator (HMM). And finally, in lines 30-31, she first identifies him as a "Dr.", again highlighting the relevance of the hierarchy of degrees attained in higher education. She then calls him "the advisor for FGSO on campus" suggesting that there are student members (in this case FGCSs) in this organization as well as such categories as president and treasurer that correspond to the MCD of student-organizations.

Extract 10: DVDtranscript

```
28 HFN: social support and fellowship .h in this
29 video: you will hear from a group of first generation college students
.h
30 facilitated by Dr. (...) (.) the advisor
31 for FGSO on campus .h
```

In the last lines of the HFN's introduction she makes a reference to the interview itself. By qualifying the interview as "unrehearsed" (line 32) she invokes an MCD of level-of-veridicality-of-an-interview where the phrase, "capture(s) some of the thoughts of [the interviewees]" (lines 32-33) makes it possible to think that there would be another level-of-veridicality-of-an-interview in the case of one that had been rehearsed.

Extract 11: DVDtranscript

```
32 HFN: the unrehearsed interview: captures
33 some of the students thoughts on how they
```

The last three lines refer to the students being interviewed where their "effective transition to college" (line 35) is constituted as a negotiation between their 'family culture' and the 'college culture', thus invoking the universe of categories that pertain to an MCD of family in the first case and of college in the latter, where cultural aspects are relevant in both.

Extract 12: DVDtranscript

```
32 HFN: the unrehearsed interview: captures
33 some of the students thoughts on how they
34 negotiated the family and college cultures .h in order to
35 make an effective transition to college.
```

36 Music: music [music]

In this section on the narrator categories we have been able to unpack how both the categorial identity of narrator and the commodified identity of viewer have garnered relevance in the introduction of a DVD presentation for the institutional setting of an interview that also constitutes a narrative discursive environment in which a group of participants speak.

(e) Interviewer categories

This section covers the categories introduced by the interview moderator (HMM) throughout the 19 minutes and 44 seconds (19:44) of the edited "unrehearsed interview" (line 32) of the DVD presentation. This is not a complete list of all of the categories mentioned by the Hispanic male moderator (HMM) since it is important to distinguish between the categories he introduces from those he takes up as they emerge in the interviewees' responses. The HMM's line of questioning throughout the interview allows us to break it up into the following five major sections: a) a prologue, b) a section where the HMM covers specific topics, c) another where he asks the participants to discuss their general impressions about their college experience, d) a third one where he asks the participants to address a category of potential viewers of the DVD presentation, and e) a conclusion.

■ Prologue: One culture in common (starting at line 36, 1:46)

■ Covering specific topics

- On the decision of attending college (starting at line 49, 2:22)
- Preparation for college work (starting at line 89, 3:40)
- The dormitory experience (starting at line 125, 4:45)

- College resources (starting at line 160, 5:48)
 - Experience of difference (starting at line 205, 7:19)
 - Organizations and events (starting at line 253, 8:55)
 - Financial difficulty (starting at line 302, 10:49)
 - Experience with mentors (starting at line 404, 14:03)
- Discussing general impressions
- Going back home (starting at line 456, 15:33)
 - Feel like quitting (starting at line 558, 17:42)
 - Where does that strength come from? (starting at line 598, 18:55)
- Addressing the viewers: Speaking as experts (starting at line 641, 20:04)
- Conclusion: Wrapping it up (starting at line 682, 21:11)

For each of the sections of the following analysis of the transcript there is at least one main category that surfaces. In addition to a detailed assessment of the categories that emerge, the objective in the following is to understand how the categories work within the structure of the DVD presentation.

(i) *Prologue: One culture in common.* The first line consists of the musical loop in the background that overlaps with the Hispanic male moderator's (HMM) introductory comment. In line 38 he enacts a category bound activity that pertains to the categorial identity of interviewer, he establishes the topic of "first generation students". However, when he says "we have one culture in common" (line 41) and by adding that "we're all first generation students" (line 42), the moderator actually makes first-generation-student an operative identity for himself. It is important to note that he is not using the complete phrase of 'first

generation college student' at this point, suggesting that 'first generation student' is an abbreviated form of saying the same thing. For the sake of brevity, the acronym FGCS will be used to refer to the topic or master character of this interview, as well as to refer to the interviewee participants.

Extract 13: DVDtranscript

36 Music: music [music]
 37 HMM: [we're going to be talking] today about
 38 <first generation students> and ah::
 39 you know we come from. different cultures (.)
 40 different family backgrounds (.) but we also
 41 have one culture in in ah: common
 42 and that is that we're all (.) first generation students?
 43 so we're going to talk
 44 >a little bit about< (.) our experiences. prior to
 45 coming to college and then
 46 during college and. >just< (.) >you know<
 47 some of your personal experiences
 48 with ah: education °and so forth.°

From lines 43-48 where the HMM establishes the parameters of the interview and specifies the prominence of the FGCSs' "personal experiences", he reverts to the categorial identity of interviewer. In line 44 the moderator continues to exercise his authority as the interviewer when he says they will be talking "a little bit about our" experiences. Given the structure of interview, we intuit that it would not be incumbent upon him to actually speak of his own personal experience as an FGCS. By the same token, his subsequent reference to "education and so forth" establishes the relevance of education as the scenic framing for the "personal experiences" of the group of participants (lines 47-48).

(ii) *Covering specific topics: Who encouraged you to attend?* The first topic the HMM introduces suggests a deciding-to-go-to-college device. It brings up the possibility of there being persons who do not consider college as an option, of those who 'decide' not to go to

college, as well as of those for whom college is the 'only' option. Clearly, an FGCS either decides to go to college or is among those persons for whom going to college is their only option. The importance of distinguishing between the different categories under a membership category device is to understand how the data in the transcript makes certain collections more relevant than others. For example, it might help reveal where 'deciding' fits under the culture device that emerges when the moderator says they have "one culture in common" (line 41). Extract 14: DVDtranscript

49 HMM: when did you first decide to
50 go college? and who: encouraged you to attend? °college°

Additionally, when the HMM asks "who encouraged" (line 50) the participants to attend college he is specifying a category bound activity for FGCSs. However, it does not suggest that being an FGCS means being a person who explicitly decided to go to college. We can imagine that among the universe of students who end up going to college, there are those who needed to be 'encouraged' and those who did not, or for whom the 'only' option was to go to college. The students' category bound activity also suggests that there are characteristics and activities related to 'encouragers' of those who decided to go to college, that would be different for 'encouragers' of students for whom college was the only option.

(iii) Covering specific topics: Preparation for college work. The next topic covered by the HMM is that of preparation for college work. The presentation of this topic in the interview suggests that there is a level-of-preparation device that is applicable to the FGCS participants. It would be associated with a set of characteristics and activities that might be different in the case of the same device being applied to non-FGCSs.

Extract 15: DVDtranscript

89 HMM: how did you feel? (.) in terms of your preparation.
 90 do you feel you were
 91 prepared for college? and was it difficult the first (.) yea::r
 92 or the first semester you were here?

The question, "do you feel you were prepared for college?" (line 90-91) produces a range of operative identities of FGCSs between two extremes of preparedness. The relevance of the question, however, relies on a supposed lack of preparedness, an assumption that would still need to be verified by looking at how the FGCS participants respond.

(iv) *Covering specific topics: The dormitory experience.* Unlike the question about the students' level of preparedness, this inquiry about their dormitory experience provides a more complex matrix of categories with specific characteristics and activities that emerge as the categorial identity of student-who-lives-in-a-dormitory gains purchase. The significance of this intervention rests on the HMM's statements that precede his direct question about the students' experiences "living in the residence halls" (line 131) that is also associated with being freshmen or first year students.

Extract 16: DVDtranscript

125 HMM: but you know when you come from
 126 ah ah s ah a town:: where. most people are like you
 127 and [so forth]
 128 MO: [uh uhm]
 129 HMM: and you come over here: like you said
 130 and it's different .h the dorm experience is
 131 different or the >you know< living in the residence halls?
 132 most of. freshmen live there
 133 MO: uh hum
 134 HMM: What was that like for (.) <most of you?>

In the first two lines there is an operative identity of students-who-come-from-a-town-where-most-people-are-like-you. While arriving at college means moving to a new place, the distinction the HMM makes is couched in terms of students coming from "towns" where people are "like [them]" (line 126). This is a difference that is based on a community-of-

origin device, one that includes a variety of towns with particular characteristics while marking the relevance of their homogeneity. When one of the male participants (MO, line 128) responds affirmatively there is evidence of a categorial identity that gets emphasized when the HMM says, "like you said". This last statement may have been in response to the same male participant in line 128 or to any of the other students present. At the same time, this may be the case of an interviewee category that the HMM has taken up at this point in the interview. However, it is not clear as to how this category is relevant to being an FGCS. We do not know if all the towns FGCSs' come from are homogeneous but under the community-of-origin device it might be possible to say that FGCSs come from places where "most people are like [them]" (line 126). This is a characteristic that can only be verified by looking at the FGCSs' responses.

(v) *Covering specific topics. College resources.* The topic of college resources is an example where the HMM took up an interviewee category. When he says, "I think you mentioned, some of you mentioned some resources" (lines 161-162), he takes up the topic by relating it to what might be considered another characteristic of being an FGCS. The resources are "some of those things that helped you to adjust or to get through some academic issues" (lines 162-164). In this sense we have two operative identities, of students-who-utilize-resources (at college) and students-who-adjust (to college).

Extract 17: DVDtranscript

```
160 HMM: there's numerous resources
161 I think >you mentioned< some of you
162 mentioned (.) some resources. what were some of those things that
163 helped <you to> adjust or to:
164 get through some of the academic issues if
165 you had some problems like that. [you think]
166 WF: [I like] the writing center h >ha ha<
```

167 HMM: >the writing center wh<?

Towards the end of the intervention, the HMM explicitly opens up the possibility of there existing FGCSs with "problems like that" (line 165). The overlap with the White female (WF) consolidates a categorial identity of student-who-utilizes-resources-to-be-able-to-adjust but only upon further exploration of the participants' responses will it be possible to determine how it is related to specific activities and characteristics.

(vi) Covering specific topics: The experience of difference. When the HMM takes up the topic of the experience of difference, he calls upon the previous topic of residence life to expand it to the area of friendships. It is not clear how he is able to speak with such certainty when he says, "you know, you were thrown into, in a sense, into a dorm with somebody new" (lines 206-207), suggesting that it may be related to his work as an administrator at the university or to his own experience as an FGCS. In any case, there is a difficulty-in-getting-to-know-new-people device at work that would encompass a wide degree of persons, from those who have trouble with strangers to those who easily establish close relationships with new people.

Extract 18: DVDtranscript

205 HMM: >the i the< i the idea of friendships
 206 >you know< you >you you're< thrown into
 207 >in a sense< into a dorm with somebody new and so forth.
 208 ah::: (click) did you find that difficult to make
 209 friends? sometimes >or or< maybe some people that are different than
 you=
 210 MO: =uh hum=
 211 HMM: in some way. for example >we talk about< language::
 212 >or just< culturally different? (.)
 213 or ethnically different?

When he takes up the topic of difference, one of the male participants responds affirmatively to, "maybe some people that are different than you" (lines 209-210). A device of relational-

problems-due-to-difference gets consolidated and expanded to include such aspects of difference in relation to language, culture and ethnicity (lines 211-312). As we continue analyzing the interviewees' responses to establish the relevance of the topic of difference, it might help to reflect upon the salience of these 'difference' categories with respect to the participants' FGCSness.

(vii) *Covering specific topics: Organizations and events.* The topic of organizations and events is closely related to the topic of college resources. In this case, the HMM explicitly couches his intervention in FGCS terms. In turn, his reference to a specific "first generation student group" (lines 254-255) is related to the topic of difference (line 256).

Extract 19: DVDtranscript

```
253 HMM: One of the reasons for for
254 trying to establish a first generation ah:.
255 student group. is: because first generation (.)
256 students come from >you know< different kinds of
257 cultural different kinds of cultural groups (...)
258 what kinds? of events (.) do you all attend or have attended (.)
259 that seem to have (.) sort of supported you in some way?
```

There are various devices working here that are not mutually exclusive of each other, of students-in-organizations and of students-who-go-to-events, as well as of types-of-organizations and types-of-events. At one level these MCDs suggest a wide variety of activities that might surface in the interviewees' responses. At another, they provide a basis from which to identify any event or organization preference that the participants might mention. A mapping of their responses may provide evidence of the HMM's assertion that "students come from different kinds of [...] cultural groups" (lines 256-257) that is somehow related to their stated need for being "supported" (line 259). Additionally, the analysis of the interviewees' responses might allow us to see how events and organizations are relevant to

the other MCDs as well as to a shared FGCSness.

(viii) *Covering specific topics: Financial difficulty.* The moderator asks the FGCSs to talk about their college experience in another way when he suggests an MCD of financial-difficulty in this following extract (302-304). The analysis of the responses may help us determine how this device is related to others and to the specific characteristics and activities of the FGCS category.

Extract 20: DVDtranscript

302 HMM: usually first generation students (.)
 303 find it a little difficult
 304 <financially> to come to school.

(ix) *Covering specific topics: Experience with mentors.* The last specific topic that the HMM inquires about has to do with the FCGSs' experience with mentors. Here again, there is evidence that this is a category that he has taken up from among those that have been mentioned by the FGCS participants when he says, "somebody mentioned mentors" (line 404). In any case, when the categorial identity of students-who-have-mentors is established, the characteristics and activities of the categorial identity of mentor are also suggested. They are people who provide support, encouragement, and can also be "a friend" (lines 405-409) to the students.

Extract 21: DVDtranscript

404 HMM: somebody mentioned mentors.
 405 who: are those people <that have> supported you
 406 and have kind of kept you
 407 in school and sort of encouraged you and become
 408 sort of like .h probably even more than a mentor but really
 409 a friend to you and so forth [(d...)]
 410 HM: [Doctor] (...) .h he's yeah (.) he's really been a
 411 good support (.) he he's help me out with all kinds of stuff:
 412 letters of .h recommendations and >you know< such.
 413 >you know< [it's really]
 414 HMM: [so what] in your case it's a professor right=

415 HM: =yeah he's my trumpet=
416 HMM: =yeah=
417 HM: =professor [>I take< lessons from him]
418 HMM: [ok:]

The Hispanic male's (HM) affirmation in line 410 leads to a description of a mentor who is also this participant's "trumpet professor" (line 414-416). The relational category of mentor comes through with the category bound activities of, "he helps me out with all kinds of stuff, letters of recommendations" (lines 411-412). When the HMM interrupts him in line 414, he truncates what may have been a continuation of the category bound activities for the relational identity of mentor. At the same time, the HMM helps us see that a mentor can also be a professor. The HM proceeds to say, "I take lessons from him" (line 417), giving us a category bound activity for the relational identity of professor. In the first case, the HM takes on the relational identity of mentee, and in the second case that of trumpet student. In the analysis of the responses of the other participants we may be able to identify other relational identities that emerge from under the mentee - mentor standardized relational pair (SRP).

(x) *Discussing general impressions: Going back home.* At this point we enter the part of the presentation where the HMM asks the participants to discuss some general impressions about their experience as college students and how it feels to go back home. When the HMM says they are "away from home" and adds that they "couldn't wait to get away" (lines 456-457), he is suggesting some activities that fall under the community-of-origin device. This is an MCD that first surfaced under the topic of the participants' residence life experiences while not excluding the possibility that at least one of the participants still lives at home and commutes to school.

Extract 22: DVDtranscript

456 HMM: now (.) you're away from home
457 some people said
458 >well I went and<. I couldn't wait to get away
459 and so forth. but what [about]
460 O: [hh]
461 HMM: visiting family now (.) do they see you differently?
462 are you a different person? because
463 <now you've> gone to college or maybe: .h
464 >you're< among the first to go to college
465 and so forth. do you see? (.)
466 do you see some differences? in terms
467 of how they treat you or what
468 they expect of you? and things like this?
469 FO: h.

Line 458 is an example of the HMM quoting at least one of the participants and the specific category bound activity (CBA) related to this response can only be verified by analyzing the participants' responses. At the very least, this case allows us to say that the CBA in question falls under the community-of-origin MCD. In this regard, towards the end of the HMM's description in lines 459-460 there is an overlap with one of the participants (O, whose exact identity was not able to be determined from watching or listening to the video). This person's exhale overlaps with what the HMM is saying immediately before he starts talking about "visiting family" (line 461) and it appears to show a strong sense of participation on the part of this person as the community-of-origin-device begins to gain purchase in the interview.

What continues are some characteristics and activities related to a student who returns home from college. The HMM asks if they are "seen differently" (line 461) and if they are "a different person" (line 462). He goes further and gives some reasons for why they might be different, such as because "[they have] gone to college" (line 463) and because they are among the "first to go to college" (line 464). These last two statements appear to be closely tied to the community-of-origin device. Two things happen here, the community-of-origin device begins to take the form of an umbrella that could cover the family device and as such,

the category of FGCS gets related to coming from a specific type of community as well as a from a family where their "firstness" is relevant to their college experience.

(xi) *Discussing general impressions. Feel like quitting.* This next extract focuses on the HMM's inquiry into participant retention, or how they personally may have responded to a sense that "this is not for me or I [want to] quit" (line 564) in relation to their college experience.

Extract 23: DVDtranscript

558 HMM: now (.) college is not always h .h smooth:
 559 >you know< there's (.) there's problems
 560 and there's academic problems and all kinds of social problems
 561 sometimes and so forth.
 562 did you ever get to a point >at at< some point
 563 where you felt like.
 564 th- this is not for me or: I wanna quit
 565 I wanna go back home or anything like this=

Line 558 gives us a college-as-not-smooth device that covers categories such as student-facing-academic-problems or student-facing-social-problems. In their responses, the participants may offer characteristics for each of these, as well as offer a set of new categories linked to modes of college success.

(xii) *Discussing general impressions, Where does that strength come from?* The HMM inquires into the participants' college persistence in the following extract.

Extract 24: DVDtranscript

598 HMM: I mean I >know that< (.)
 599 you feel like quitting at t:imes
 600 and things are going well (.) but
 601 something (.) kept you here:
 602 you're still here:. where does that come? from.
 603 where does that strength come? from

This question is connected to the previous college-as-not-smooth device and the activities related to "feel[ing] like quitting at times" (line 599). The HMM's use of the phrases, "things

are going well" and "you're still here" (lines 600-602) signal the categorial identity of successful-student. When he asks "where does that come from" (line 602), he is highlighting characteristics like the "strength" (line 603) that makes the participants' success possible.

(xiii) *Addressing the viewers: Speaking as experts.* The penultimate intervention included in the DVD presentation is where the HMM asks the participants to speak as experts. Within the framework of the DVD presentation, the relevance of the hierarchy of types of students reemerges with the mention of the "transition to college" (see line 35) expert. At the highest level there is the HMM himself, followed by the HFN as a graduate student, clearly putting the college student participants on a lower echelon.

Extract 25: DVDtranscript

```
641 HMM: what would be <a a a>
642 something you'd like to tell (.)
643 a high school student that maybe:: (.) ah::
644 is thinking of >going to< college but (.)
645 maybe feels like (.) i- it's not for the:m
646 or something like >this what< (.)
647 do you wanna tell >if you had<
648 something to say=
```

The HMM makes the categorial identity of undecided-high-school-student relevant when he mentions those who "maybe [feel] like [college is] not for them" (line 645). He asks the participants to speak from "what do you [want to] tell [them] if you had something to say" (lines 646-648) and as a result is asking them to act as transition-to-college-experts speaking to a category on a lower rung. At the same time, the HMM makes the undecided high school student identity relevant for the DVD presentation. It could also be argued that since the participants have been constituted as members of the FGCS category, it also is possible to hear them as FGCS-transition-to-college-experts speaking to imagined DVD presentation

viewers who are members of the category of potential-FGCS-undecided-high-school-student. That is, it appears that the major viewers of the DVD presentation are understood to be those high school students whose parents have little or no higher education experience and who are undecided about going to college.

(xiv) *Conclusion: Wrapping it up.* The HMM's concluding statements highlight the success of the FGCS participants. His comments suggest some of the activities related to being a successful student such as "doing pretty well", "making connections", and "getting involved" (lines 684-685).

Extract 26: DVDtranscript

682 HMM: =but for the most part it seems like.
 683 you've. done.
 684 pretty we:ll as far as making connections
 685 and getting invo::lved and
 686 .h >you know< ah:: (.) trying your best. >and< you've been
 687 doing pretty good? (smak) so we're
 688 [going to wrap it up right here
 689 and I want to thank you again
 690 for being he:re and ah ah I wish you
 691 the best next week on your finals.]
 692 Music: [music]

We are assured that they are students that have been successful. The HMM ends by wishing them well on their "finals" (line 691), highlighting the relevance of taking exams as a CBA of the college-student device.

(f) Interviewee categories

The "narrative intelligibility" of the DVD presentation relies on the "mundanely apparent" story told throughout the length of the introduction and the edited interview. The analysis up to this point has helped us establish that the DVD presentation is targeted towards a specific viewer. In this section we will focus on the categories that emerge in the

interviewees' responses and how these are related to the master character. As revealed, both the HFN and the HMM identified themselves as pertaining to the category of FGCS. We have also been informed that the interviewees are also members of the same population of college students whose parents have limited experience in higher education.

In the spirit of trying to see how the presentation works, it helps to understand that it consists of a combination of elements that create a situated accomplishment of meaning. What follows will be another opportunity to see how identities or categories emerge and the objective is to see how they are relevant to the participants as FGCSs. In terms of the totality of the presentation, it is the relevance between categories that helps us understand how the viewers (as well as we ourselves) are able to "know" what it's about. Understanding how the different elements work together helps us unpack how the members realize the project of being interviewees for this specific video.

As noted earlier, a description of a category can begin to offer information about its category bound activities (CBA). This allows us to see how the specificity of a category such as FGCS fits under a higher-education-student device while displaying characteristics and activities of its own. There would be a sharing of certain CBAs between all of those found under the MCD yet there would be at least one FGCS CBA that would be different from the other categories under the same device. In Membership Categorization Analysis, the co-selection of these features is what leads us to claim the relevance of a category in a specific interaction. It does not pretend to offer proof of the "stability" of any of these characteristics or activities in all contexts. It is only able to show how a category emerges in an interaction. In turn, it allows us to see how a particular feature fits a certain context or how it works to

construct the meaning of a specific interaction. This means that it may be possible to establish a list of characteristics and activities that are specific to persons who are acting as FGCSs among themselves or in an interaction with others. Depending on the context, the interaction may consist of exclusions or of overlaps with other categories. By looking at the extracts we will be able to think about the salience of the "master character" or of the FGCS category vis à vis any new categories that emerge. Due to the inherent complexity of focus group talk and to the length of the interview, this will only be an analysis of the participant responses to the first question posed by the HMM.

(i) *Who encouraged you to attend?* In the first question the HMM asks the participants who encouraged them to attend college, placing them as members pertaining to a deciding-to-go-to-college device .

Extract 27: DVDtranscript

49 HMM: when did you first decide to
50 go college? and who: encouraged you to attend? °college°

The first participant to answer is a Black female (BF). The BF responds as a person who was encouraged by her mother. This is a category that corresponds to one of many other possible ones found under an encourager MCD. From lines 51-54, the participant quotes her mother by saying, "you know, now you need to start now, we're going to start now ...". This quote combines encouraging a student to go to college with a sense of urgency and suggests that this might be a significant characteristic of the student-encourager device.

Extract 28: DVDtranscript

51 BF: my mother always said >you know< .h now you
52 >need to< start now >we're gonna< start
53 now looking for (.) a college for you to go to: .h cuz we wanna
54 get you up and running. so: it kind
55 of began like. >you know< as I (.) entered high school

56 and .h we took high. uhm college trips and we went and
 57 visited the places .h and I started
 58 developing an interest (.) in college (.) my mother
 59 was the one that pushed me.

The significance of her mother gets repeated in lines 58-59 when the participant says "my mother was the one that pushed me". Another source of encouragement emerges under a things-that-encouraged device when she mentions the "college trips" (lines 55-58). In this case she may be talking about an event but it is also possible to imagine people who are in the capacity of organizing the trips. These could be considered encouragers who are high school and college personnel. The Black female's response also relates a sequence of events in which the device of student-encouragers gains purchase, first with her mother's "pushing" and then with the college trips when the Black female says that she "started developing an interest in college" (lines 57-58).

The next participant to respond is the Black male (BM). He responds as a person who was doubtful about going to college. By taking his and the Black female's responses together, the relevance of doubting gathers purchase under the deciding-to-go-to-college device as a 'students who have doubts about going to college' category. In this sense, neither of these participants pertain to the category of 'high school students for whom college is the only option'.

Extract 29: DVDtranscript

60 BM: .hh >actually< (.) at first I never really thought
 61 I could: go but then:. after ah: couple of
 62 coaches talked to me >I was like< well maybe I could: go to college
 63 .hh ended up ah:. talking to a
 64 recruiter from (.) (...) that came to my house >and< (.)
 65 she pretty much talked me into going to
 66 >school and< (.) get all of my paperwork (.) >you know<
 67 and things >so now I'm< here
 68 HMM: >yeah<

The Black male calls upon the student-encourager device when he says a "couple of coaches talked to [him]" (lines 61-62). In this case they are high school personnel. There is also a sequence here that is similar to the one found in the previous participant's response when he says, "well maybe I could go to college" (line 62). The sequence continues and includes a "recruiter from [the university] that [went to his] house" (line 64) producing the category of 'university personnel as student encourager', someone who "pretty much talked [him] into going to school" (lines 65-66). In addition to talking to the student, the sequence offers other CBAs for the recruiter, she got "all of [his] paperwork [] and things" (lines 66-67) that he had to submit to get into college.

The third person to respond is the White female (WF). Her response allows us to reflect on the sequentiality of the previous responses where both the Black male and female spoke about the process of deciding to go to college. At the level of looking at each of their narratives, we can see how their responses are structured as a story and MCA highlights how the situated meaning depends on the co-selection of the categories that emerge. The narrative sequence in which the White female responds to the HMM's question shows a description of her decision to go to college, and a description of the persons who encouraged her. The resulting combination of descriptions work in such a way as to establish the category of 'high school students for whom college is the only option'.

Extract 30: DVDtranscript

68 HMM: >yeah<
69 WF: >I just< lucked out with the teachers >and< .h
70 I wa:nted to beco:me >you know< an
71 educator as well >and<. so I decided (.) college was [the]
72 HMM: [>yeah<]
73 WF: way to go there

The CBAs for this category are connected with "luck[ing] out with the teachers" (line 69), suggesting there is a relevance between the WF's affinity with her high school teachers which is connected to her interest in "[becoming] an educator as well" (lines 70-71). The sequence in her narrative has three parts, the affinity she has with her teachers, the desire she has to be an educator, and the logical conclusion of these first two in the form of "college [as] the way to go there" (lines 71 and 73). Given these statements it would probably be better to call this a category of 'high school students for whom college is *a clear* option' where the clearness depends on a series of contingencies. We could also translate these three to the categories of a) 'high school students in close relationships with teachers', b) 'students who know what they want to study', and of c) 'students who have a clear academic career plan'.

The next participant to respond to the question about deciding to go to college is the first Hispanic female (HF1). Here again we have a narrative sequence that introduces some new categories as well as new characteristics and activities for those that have already emerged.

Extract 31: DVDtranscript

74 HF1: nine years ago I moved up here from Mexico:
 75 I was just kind of like .hh ok I
 76 don't know now: cause I didn't know the language
 77 and it was like really hard kind of uhm (.)
 78 adjusting to the new: (.) <school system> (.) like >as to< like there's
 79 a lot of different cultures here and I
 80 was just used to just Hispanics .hh and:. (smak)
 81 bu:::t after I learned the >language which< didn't
 82 take me that long h hha .h um: (smak) I decided that
 83 I was gonna go: (.) bu:t both of my parents
 84 have always encouraged me

The narrative sequence begins "nine years ago" and in "Mexico" (line 74) that speaks of a time and a place that both belong to an immigrant device. The immigration event she

mentions makes her a 'person who immigrated as a child'. Given what has been said so far, it may be quite plausible to say that all of the interviewees are from high schools in the same state and the fact that she comes from Mexico has the effect of broadening the community-of-origin device.

The 'high school student for whom college is a choice' category begins to gain purchase when the HF1 says, "I was kind of like, okay, I don't know now" (lines 75-76). There is also the signaling of the category of 'person for whom English is a second language' in her reference to "[not knowing] the language" (line 76). This category fits under both the immigrant and community-of-origin devices. Indeed, we can imagine a 'person from a family that moves from one community to another' since she immigrated when she was a child. A member of this category would be likely to say it was "really hard [...] adjusting to the new school system" (lines 77-78) as well as note that "there's a lot of different cultures here and I was just used to just Hispanics" (lines 78-80). In the first case, the scenic framing of education extends itself beyond the borders of the U. S., and the second case marks the relevance of 'Hispanic culture' for persons who have had to emigrate from a 'home' in another country. We can gather that someone who is from Mexico is Hispanic since the HF1 appears to be using the terms Hispanic and Mexican interchangeably.

The narrative continues with what appears to be another precursor to being able to decide to go to college when the first Hispanic female says, "but after I learned the language, which didn't take me that long, I decided that I was gonna go" (lines 81-83). The narrative consists of a string of categories that get resolved in the last assertion. Being a person who was able to learn English in combination with the other categories that have emerged allude

to a number of obstacles she had to face to be able to decide to go to college. This sequence gives us an obstacles-to-college MCD under which we can speak of an immigrant student who was able to learn English, who was able to adjust to the new school system, and who was able to adjust to different cultures. It is this combination of categories that allowed her to pertain to those 'high school students who consider college as an option'. At the same time, her assertion gets subordinated when she adds, "but both of my parents have always encouraged me" (lines 83-84). Under the parent-child relational pairing, her parents' experiences parallel the one she has narrated. This places her within a family device that is similar to the pairing of the Black female with her mother, yet different since we are now talking about 'immigrant parents who are student encouragers'.

The last person to respond to the question posed by the HMM about who encouraged the participants to go to college is the Hispanic male (HM). In the short extract that follows the types of categories of places under the community-of-origin device gets expanded and a new category of persons emerges, of those who inhabit this new category of place.

Extract 32: DVDtranscript

```
85 HM: opportunities ah:. run dry >down there<  
86 there's really not much to do: .h basically  
87 everybody who lives the:re (.) works for the  
88 school system? or the factory there.
```

The significance of this response revolves around the question posed by the HMM, and assuming that this is the complete answer to the question about who encouraged the Hispanic male to attend college, it could be said that the 'place' encouraged him. Line 85 is about a place that lacks "opportunities" and where "there's really not much to do" (line 86) and where the inhabitants either work for the "school system or the factory there" (line 88). What is

clear is that the he pertains to the 'high school student for whom college is a choice' category. What this choice is based on is a combination of a category from the community-of-origin device and a category that corresponds to a persons-with-limited-options device. The duplicative organization of these two categories results in a category of 'persons who have limited opportunities by virtue of where they live'. This is how we can gather that it was the 'place' that encouraged him to decide to go to college.

(g) Concluding comments

At this point it would be helpful to recall that the objective of the MCA of the DVD presentation has been to understand how the categories work within its structure. It gives us an opportunity to see how identities or categories emerge and see how they are relevant to the stated fact that the participants are FGCSs. In terms of the totality of the presentation, it is the relevance between categories that helps us understand how the viewers (as well as we ourselves) are able to "know" what the DVD presentation is about. Understanding how the different elements work together helps us unpack how the members realize the project of participating in a video about First Generation College Students.

In addition to noting that a category reflects who a person is in relation to another in a specific context, it is also important in how it works to make the DVD presentation mundanely apparent. The following tables list the categories that have emerged throughout the video up to this point in the analysis. First there are the ones that point to the scenic framing of Higher Education.

| |
|---|
| Scenic framing categories |
| college; college personnel; persons who view the DVD; students; unrehearsed interview; Doctor |

Table 2: Categories related to the scenic framing of the DVD presentation.

As an unrehearsed interview of some college students, the DVD presentation is targeted towards a particular viewer. It was produced by a particular university personnel member who holds the title of Dr., a feature that speaks to the academic goal of completing educational cycles that result in the conferring of degrees.

The next table points out the social framing of the DVD presentation.

| Social framing categories |
|---|
| first generation college students, FCGS |
| first generation graduate students, FGGS |
| high school students for whom college is a choice |
| high school students for whom college is a clear option |
| high school students in close relationships with teachers |
| high school students undecided about becoming FCGSs |
| high school students who consider college as an option |
| high school students who decide to go to college |
| high school students who have a clear academic career plan |
| high school students who have doubts about going to college |
| high school students who know what they want to study |
| immigrant students who were able to adjust to different cultures |
| immigrant students who were able to adjust to the new school system |
| immigrant students who were able to learn English |
| interviewees |
| mentees |
| moderator |
| persons from an immigrant family |
| persons who immigrated as children |
| R-E Black persons |
| R-E Hispanic persons |
| students who make an effective transition to college |
| students with cultural differences |
| students with language differences |

Table 3: Social framing categories or those that make reference to the DVD presentation members.

As established earlier, the moderator's status of Dr. in combination with the graduate student status of the narrator mark the hierarchy of degrees earned in Higher Education. The social

framing these categories gives us elements to see the relevance of the motivational texture of the FGCS as the main character of the DVD presentation. At one point they pertain to the MCD of high-school-student and at another they pertain to the MCD of potential-college-student. In the process, various MCDs emerge that speak to the complex social circumstances that significantly mark the interviewees in terms of issues of difference, especially with regards to race and ethnicity (R-E). There is also the community-of-origin device that gets expanded to include Mexico when the immigration device emerges in one of the Hispanic interviewee's narrative about who encouraged her to go to college.

The social framing gets expanded to include some new actors, from the number of persons who encourage the students to go to college, to those who play important roles in their activities as college students.

| Categories that make reference to other actors |
|---|
| college personnel as encouragers |
| college recruiters as encouragers |
| high school personnel as encouragers |
| high school student encouragers |
| immigrant parents who are encouragers |
| mentors |
| mentors as friends |
| mentors as professors |
| parents as encouragers |
| persons who have limited opportunities by virtue of where they live |

Table 4: Categories that emerge in the DVD presentation that make reference to other actors.

Among these, the combination of the community-of-origin and student-encourager devices provides a category of respondent, one that connects the lack of opportunities of a place with the encouragement needed to decide to go to college.

This analysis of the DVD presentation is limited to the introduction, to all of the

moderator's questions, and to all of the interviewee's responses to the moderator's first question about who encouraged them to go to college. In the process, some new categories have emerged while there are some that gained characteristics.

| |
|--|
| Other categories that have emerged |
| FCGS transition to college experts freshmen students facing academic problems students facing social problems students from homogeneous towns students from under-represented populations students not prepared for college work students prepared for college work students who are dormitory residents |

Table 5: Other categories that have emerged throughout the DVD.

The relevance of the first year experience of the FGCS interviewees becomes palpable in terms of the problems they face, who they are, and where they come from. Their experience, however, also makes them experts. As they speak to the viewers of the DVD presentation, they are calling into being a subject who is at the threshold of a door that will take them on a path toward becoming a college student. In the case of these analysts, it provides an opportunity to re-member.

The narrator and moderator segments provide evidence of how the social category of FGCS gets constructed by the institution's representatives. They both ascribe themselves to the category and the edited focus group interview offers a forum in which the participants' ascribe to or contest this specific category. New categories also emerge in their responses to the interview moderator's first question about who encouraged them to attend college. In the first response to the question posed by the HMM, the Black female (BF) speaks as an FGCS and says her mother was an encourager. We see characteristics of both categories in her

response, a Black female FGCS talking positively about her mother as an encourager who provided her proactive support in her college choice process. As she continues, she also speaks authoritatively about the importance of high school and college institutional and personnel efforts to encourage her to look into going to college. The next person to answer is the Black male (BM) who speaks as an FGCS highlighting the encouragement he received from his high school athletic coaches especially in how they were able to help him assuage his doubts about the choice. As he continues, he talks about the college recruiter as another encourager, a person who helped him with the paperwork involved in the application process.

Piggybacking is perhaps too informal a term for what we see happening here, of the BM using an existing discourse as a basis or support for the telling of his own experience. Yet, as in any conversation, sequentiality either consists of an elaboration that evolves in line with a preceding statement or one that contests it within a varying degree of subtlety. Both of the Black participants speak of different levels of doubt about choosing to go to college which appears to make this choice of topic less of a race-bound category characteristic, and more of a pair of performances by two students who were asked to participate in a focus interview because they are FGCSs. However, the fact that they are Black raises doubts about the salience of the FGCS category. The relevance of these students' race may actually be gaining purchase if we entertain the idea that they are being asked to tell their story to an audience of FGCS viewers. The commodified category of being a 'Black FGCS participating in an interview that is being recorded for recruiting purposes' suggests that they are speaking to viewers who are like them. The duplicative organization of FGCS and race in terms of the commodified category linked with their participation in this recorded event makes the case

for suggesting that they are neither simply answering the HMM's questions, nor that the BM is simply piggybacking on the BF's comments. Allowing for this type of speculation rests on the categories that are continually emerging in interactions, the same ones that help us make sense of how it achieves its meaning.

Before continuing to explore whether race gains salience in the participants' responses, we need to consider the sequentiality issues related to the fact that we are dealing with an institutional artefact that is an edited version of a longer focus group interview. On the one hand, I did not identify the split editing work of the DVD presentation due to technical limitations and on the other, it is clear to me that to the extent that the final product is true to the participants', it is also true to the institutional ends of the final production itself. As a result, questions about participant sequentiality become less problematic than the sequentiality established as a result of the production's split editing work. This digression into the sequentiality issues of an edited object helps us situate the response of the next participant.

The White female (WF) speaks next and the analysis of her response brings up a 'high school students for whom college is a clear option' category given the characteristics that surfaced in her description of her encouragers and of how she arrived at her decision to go to college. The characteristics for the category consist of her affinity with her teachers and the voicing of a college choice process that appears to be a logical conclusion of her expectations for herself. In order to eliminate race as a relevant category in her response we would need to assume that FGCS consists of a variety of experiences in terms of encouragers and the college choice process, giving us reason to begin to question the usefulness of the category in

terms of being able to say what it means to be a student whose parents have limited or no knowledge about higher education. In this sense, the salience of the category evaporates, not because of race but because it begins to be a catch-all category that is indistinguishable from a category such as Traditional Student (TS). The clarity of her choice, particularly in terms of what appears to be a strong sense of individuality is perhaps why it is difficult to say anything about how her performance might resonate with a viewer under the commodified category used in the above analysis of the Black participants' responses.

The last two responses, in the way they are embedded in the DVD presentation appear to repeat the rhythm set above in the previous three responses. While the HF1 repeats the significance of her parents, the HM establishes a clear reason for his decision to go to college. In terms of sequentiality, the locality categories put into play establish a suitable substrate for both responses. The FGCS category begins to acquire new overtones that have to do with people coming from particular communities, suggesting that the Black participants may have actually been speaking to their community while the Hispanic participants may have made the subtle move to talk about their community as they were talking about themselves. The commodified category of being 'a person from a racial-ethnic minority population participating in an interview that is being recorded for recruiting purposes' helps us unpack the situated accomplishment of speaking as FGCSs. As much as we might try to make the case that the participants are simply answering the HMM's questions, the evidence points out that they are maintaining a synchronized sequentiality, especially if we see that the HM is effectively piggybacking on the WF's statements. The luck she had with her teachers and his lack of luck for coming from a town with limited opportunities formed the basis for

the clarity with which they approached their choice to go to college.

This analysis offers evidence of how the social category of FGCS gets constructed in an educational marketing tool. As a collection of interactions from an ‘unrehearsed’ interview that in turn form part of an edited production, it has been difficult to separate the participants’ responses from a message that could be attributed to the enactment of higher education institutional policies directed at increasing the diversity of the student body at a university in the U.S. southwest. At the same time, the DVD presentation allows us to explore certain FGCS category construction issues, particularly in terms of overlaps with other categories of persons who pertain to racial/ethnic, minority or underrepresented populations.

5. First Generation College Student Success and its Trappings

Throughout our lives we participate in a series of inclusions and exclusions in the day-to-day things we do. This is a process that makes us who we are. By the same token, institutions are born of a myriad of practices that make them what *they* are. Higher Education is a labyrinth of practices with doors that may be used simultaneously as exits and entrances. It is an institution that has contingent and pervasive links to other aspects of our lives, from the intimacy of the family to the public space of work. People who are able to chart a successful path through Higher Education get degrees and this experience has at least two results, it marks them at a personal level and their very passage through the halls of academia helps conform the institution itself.

This study uses Membership Categorization Analysis (MCA) to unpack ethnographic data captured in field notes and the information contained in printed documents gathered throughout the course of fieldwork at a university. An ethnomethodologically informed ethnography has a particular way of treating the categories or identities as they emerge in the data, as evidence of practices in the sense that Moerman (in Antaki, 1998) means when he says, "the 'truth' or 'objective correctness' of an identification is never sufficient to explain its use" (p. 2). Practices are central to an ethnomethodologically informed ethnography. As an approach, it takes social facts as the phenomena where the detailed description of practices is itself seen as a process of reflection on social interactions. It is being used to meet the emerging demands of information design research (Crabtree, Nichols, O'Brien, Rouncefield, & Twidale, 2000). It is also especially important in sociology and social psychology when ethnicity is couched in terms of a "situated practical accomplishment" (Hansen, 2005). These

are ways of responding to Garfinkel's (2002) reflection on the nuance in one of Durkheim's aphorisms. In contrast to the sense that 'the objective reality of social facts is sociology's first principle', there are many sociologists who are instead saying that 'the objective reality of social facts is sociology's fundamental phenomenon'.

In students' successful participation in an educational system, their communities and their families converge to make college admission possible. This consists of a complexity of practices that play an important role once students enter an institution of higher education. Their academic and personal success continues to depend as much on their individual ability as on the institutional measures taken on their behalf. In the process, a number of categories of students begin to take form. Some of the ways students are accounted for are based on gender, race, and ethnicity while other students may receive assistance based on having some type of special need. It is possible to imagine that a student may pertain to a variety of categories, sometimes overlapping in certain contexts. This investigation looks at institutional practices that are associated with the social category of First Generation College Student (FGCS). These are students whose parents have little or no higher education experience. While the focus is on institutional practices, they are understood in terms of what institutions do as well as on how students and administrators use categories in their day-to-day business at a university.

The interplay between ourselves and institutions is the focus of this study. I start by looking at what is considered the end result of having gone to college. "Crossing the stage" is that moment when graduates receive their diploma, when a degree is conferred on a person by a representative of an institution of higher education. This is a common practice at many

institutions that usually consists of wearing academic regalia. I have chosen to begin at that point when students graduate from college to be able to trace the significance of practices in reverse order. The last part of the study will look at a situation in which a young person gets addressed as a potential university student. In between the analysis of these two events I will look at a document specifically written to recruit First Generation College Students (FGCSs). The focus will be on categories, those that give interactions their meaning, and those in documents that are evidence of institutional practices geared towards the academic and professional success of students.

The data presented here comes from ethnographic fieldwork carried out over a period of ten months at a public university in the United States southwest. Throughout this period, a Hispanic male who works as a counselor under the division of student affairs acted as my consultant or primary contact. The previous chapter analyzed an educational marketing tool in the form of a DVD directed at recruiting FGCSs produced by my consultant, and this chapter starts by focusing on an extract where particular attention is placed on a multicolored sash given to a group of students that is worn as part of their academic regalia for the graduation ceremony. The second part will look at a document that is geared towards FGCS recruitment. The last part will focus on an interaction between a child and a group of people gathered in the hallway of a university building. The comments at the end of this paper will offer further reflections on the categories that have surfaced in the analysis. The question of "Why these data and not others?" will be redirected towards looking at how the evidence offered in this ethnomethodologically informed ethnography allows us to understand the interplay between ourselves and our institutions of higher education.(a) Talking about a sash

Before proceeding with the analysis it is important to note that any and all contextual references offered in the process of describing an event are themselves topics of analysis. As such, the contextual references in the following extract are the focus of this analysis. They are not intended to serve as a complete account of what happened since the focus of the analysis is on the categories that emerged in a specific interaction that took place in a meeting. In this sense, it could be said that the focus is on a sash and on how it gets connected to other things. There are categories that are put into play as the sash gets "talked about". They would need to be mundanely apparent to the persons in an interaction for it to function. MCA allows us to unpack and reveal how they are accounted for in an interaction, offering a window to the meaning making of "talk-in-action". In addition to revealing how the categories work to establish the meaning of an interaction, the first analysis presented here will also be an attempt to show how MCA is done.

The following extract is the beginning of a short narrative that serves as a recollection of a meeting in my consultant's office, with him and a Hispanic female senior.

Extract 33: Fieldbook entry, 20 Nov. 2005

This last function [a "*despedida*" (a "farewell" in Spanish)] is for the graduates, they get a sash that is worn at the graduation ceremony.

In this first sentence I mention a "function for graduates" that is identified here with the Spanish word for "farewell". The next item mentioned is a "sash" and is paired here with being "worn at the graduation ceremony". In the order offered, the sash is said to be presented to a certain group of students at a farewell function. It will then be worn at the graduation ceremony. The categories that result in this extract about the sash fall under the membership

categorization device (MCD) of graduating-college-student as well as one of sash-receiving-wearing-college-student. Under this last device, the use of the Spanish word for farewell makes the students' ethnic membership relevant due to the presence of the "artefactual linguistic code" (Day, 1998, p. 161) in the use of the word "*despedida*". This makes it possible for us to hear the category of 'Hispanic graduating college student who gets a sash' in the first part of this extract.

In the next extract, the phrase "later that afternoon" functions as a precursor for my recollection of the meeting in my consultant's office, with him and the Hispanic female senior.

Extract 34: Fieldbook entry, 20 Nov. 2005

Later that afternoon, I was able to see an issue of the [alumni bulletin], the one where [the university president] is giving a handsome young man his diploma.

The need to establish a place and a time for my narrative allows me to begin to introduce the event where "I was able to see an issue of the [alumni bulletin], the one where [the university president] is giving a handsome young man his diploma". At the same time, my recollection of this event begins with my description of the alumni bulletin. This is where a graduating-college-student device gets paired with a university-personnel device. In this case, 'handsome young man' pertains to the graduating-college-student device and 'university president' is a member of the university-personnel device. They also pertain to a persons-at-a-graduation-ceremony device and the standard relational pairing between these two categories corresponds to Sacks' collection K (in McHoul & Rapley, 2005), based on the lack of co-equal status between university presidents who confer degrees on graduating college students.

Moreover, this association is captured on the cover of an "alumni bulletin" in what we can comfortably say is a photograph. We could go further to say that the graduating college student's "handsomeness" may also be related to the characteristics associated with these types of publications. And by noting that the categories of persons under a graduating-college-students device cross over to become members of categories of persons under an alumni device at the moment they receive their diploma, the relevance of the publication as an "alumni bulletin" begins to gain purchase.

In the next sentence, the significance of the image presented on the cover of the alumni bulletin gets situated in the context of the meeting.

Extract 35: Fieldbook entry, 20 Nov. 2005

I remember being with [Hispanic female senior], in [my consultant's] office. She is about to graduate and said she wanted her sash.

When I write about being with the Hispanic female senior in my consultant's office, the words used in the coding begin to gain purchase. The words I choose allow me to *tell* the ethnography. The words used to describe persons, places, events, and things in an ethnography could be seen as abstractions but they can also be many other things, since what is being uncovered consists of a variety of categories. Some of these categories might be new to those not familiar with the field, giving us the possibility to problematize the socialization process of ethnographers. In this sense, field notes are reflections on the categories that emerge throughout the fieldwork. At the same time, although the coding used in an ethnography may have the tendency of distancing us from an interaction, the codes also play an important role as significance holders. In this case, the attempt at *telling* who the

"Hispanic female senior" is, needs to be done in conjunction with the narrative that alludes to her in the form of a code. She may be who she is, a wife, a daughter, a sister, a Roman Catholic, or even a psychology major. What is made relevant in the field note narrative, as this ethnographer's recollection of an interaction that took place in a specific office with one other person, is that she is a Hispanic female senior who "is about to graduate and said she wanted her sash". That a word in Spanish was used to describe the ceremony where she hopes to get the sash makes her membership under a Hispanic-college-student device relevant in the field note account of the interaction.

Many MCA studies present the totality of the corpus that is the focus of analysis at the very beginning. The analysis itself consists of looking at smaller extracts predicated on the objective of the study. One of the objectives of the previous analysis was to demonstrate the ethnomethodological process of MCA. The basics of sequentiality and of co-selection guide this mode of analysis and we were able to see the categories that emerged along side others throughout the extract. This allowed us to unpack or reveal how they work together to establish the meaning given to an interaction. The following extract presents the whole

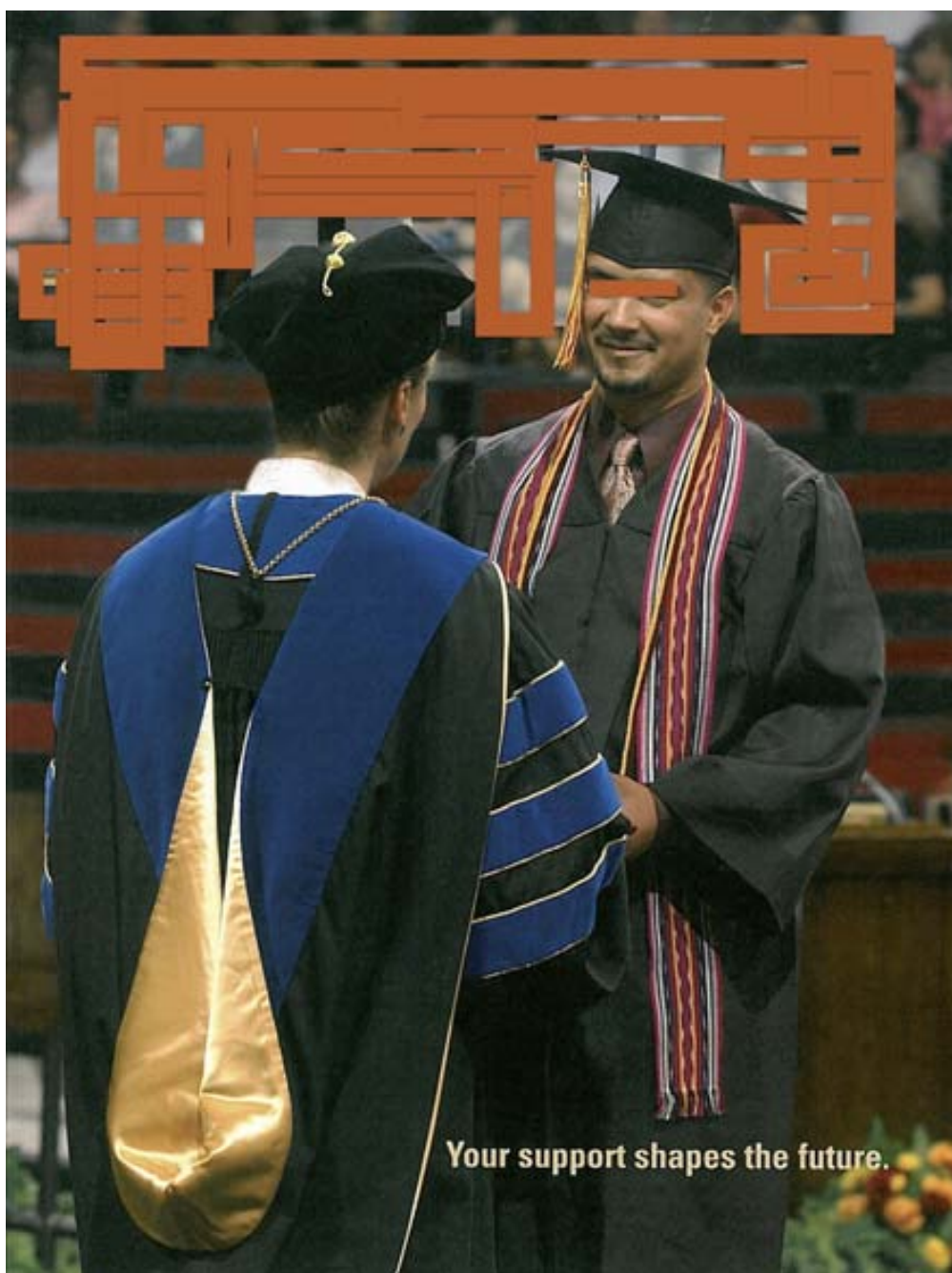
narrative as it appears in the field book. Extract 36: Fieldbook entry, 20 Nov. 2005

This last function [a "*despedida*" (a "farewell" in Spanish)] is for the graduates, they get a sash that is worn at the graduation ceremony. Later that afternoon, I was able to see an issue of the [alumni bulletin], the one where [the university president] is giving a handsome young man his diploma. I remember being with [Hispanic female senior], in [my consultant's] office. She is about to graduate and said she wanted her sash.

It is hoped that being able to read the extract in its totality at the end of this analysis offers the reader a chance to see evidence of the ethnomethodological approach. It also hopes to satisfy the primary objective of this study, which is to understand the interplay between ourselves

and institutions by revealing the categories that emerge in interactions. The rest of the extracts in this study will be offered in their totality before continuing on to the analysis of the minutiae contained.

The following picture is an edited copy of the cover of the university alumni bulletin mentioned in the previous extract. In addition to the traditional academic regalia, the graduating college student is wearing a sash that he received at a farewell function. At one level, the image on the cover of the alumni bulletin tells the story of the traditional practices associated with college graduation. The accoutrements of the university president establish a difference based on a hierarchy of degrees. Among other differences, the sash on the shoulders of the graduating college student is the only addition to his academic gown.



Picture 2: Front cover of the alumni bulletin that features a student receiving his diploma at a graduation ceremony.

At another level, we can see who is the subject of the photograph. The graduating college student's complete face is captured in the photograph, leaving the president's image in a

secondary position. This marks the graduating college student as the subject of the photograph. Indeed, it is *his* success that is being highlighted. At the same time, this aspect is related to yet another category that has already been mentioned. The caption at the bottom of the image calls to mind the relevance of where this image has been placed. It is on the cover of an alumni bulletin. From among a list of activities and characteristics related to an alumni device, becoming a university benefactor is a clear possibility. We can read evidence of this category in the caption, "Your support shapes the future".

The following extract makes reference to the meeting covered at the beginning of this section. In addition to marking the significance of this graduate's photograph on the cover of the alumni bulletin, it also helps situate the reflexive nature of the process of recalling events in the ethnographic practice of writing field notes. Have (2002) says ethnographers are also competent members of the interactions they choose to study and the repetitions found in ethnographic field notes offer additional details or the membership knowledge that becomes the topic for the analysis. Again, the interaction took place in my consultant's office, with him and the Hispanic female senior. Extract 37: Fieldbook entry, 20 Nov. 2005

This meeting took place on Thursday afternoon at about 15h00. [Hispanic female senior] noticed the [alumni bulletin] with the man accepting his diploma from [the university president]. She said he was cute and I agreed. At that moment I thought the man was Hispanic and it wasn't until later, when [Hispanic female senior] had left, that [my consultant] told me he had gone to [the university president] to thank her for getting that man's image on the cover of the publication.

The extract allows us to revisit some of the membership categorization devices that have emerged, those to which the categories of 'Hispanic student', 'graduating college student', 'alumni', and 'university president' pertain. By taking the bulletin as an "institutional artefact"

we can reveal a series of practices that are related to it and under the membership category device of higher-education. We also have a meetings-held-by-an-administrator device under which my consultant belongs to the category of 'host', while the Hispanic female senior and I pertain to the category of 'guest'. Moreover, the sequence of a meeting has certain features, from the greeting, to the "catching up", to the point at which the business at hand is addressed. Then we can imagine that at some point the business topics get settled. This gives each of the participants the leverage to initiate a meeting termination sequence. It was at some point in the meeting that the "Hispanic female senior noticed the alumni bulletin".

Extract 38: Fieldbook entry, 20 Nov. 2005

This meeting took place on Thursday afternoon at about 15h00. [Hispanic female senior] noticed the [alumni bulletin] with the man accepting his diploma from [the university president]. She said he was cute and I agreed.

My use of the word "noticed" suggests that the bulletin was not the focus of the meeting, because insertion sequences can be mixed in with the different stages of a business meeting that may include categories of talk that do not pertain to a business-related device. When I write, "she said he was cute and I agreed", the word "cute" pertains to a category of talk that is difficult to place within a business meeting in the office of a university administrative employee. What we have is a pairing of a category from a university-publications device with a category from a meetings-held-by-an-administrator device. The alumni bulletin, as a type of publication that celebrates both the successes of individuals and of the institution itself, gets noticed at some point in a meeting. It gets noticed for the image on the cover and I collude with the Hispanic female senior's acknowledgment of the attractiveness of the man under a meeting-talk device that does not appear to pertain to a business-related-talk device.

The next sentence deals with the alumni bulletin in a very different kind of way. The phrase, "I thought the man was Hispanic" evokes some type of movement. It may be associated with thought but if we look at the categories that have been emerging, we can see how the relevance of a racial-ethnic device begins to gain purchase.

Extract 39: Fieldbook entry, 20 Nov. 2005

At that moment I thought the man was Hispanic and it wasn't until later, when [Hispanic female senior] had left, that [my consultant] told me he had gone to [the university president] to thank her for getting that man's image on the cover of the publication.

In writing "at that moment I thought the man was Hispanic", a set of other categories that are different but related to 'Hispanic student' begin to emerge. The movement has to do with me writing, "when the Hispanic female senior had left", as an allusion to a meeting termination sequence that had occurred. By staying close to the narrative sequence of my field note we begin to see that this new emerging category can be associated with a movement in time, to the initiation of new meeting. It is in this "second" meeting where my consultant tells me about having gone "to the university president to thank her for getting that man's image on the cover of the publication". Again, although we do not have information that tells us exactly what this second meeting is about, we do know that the interaction is between my consultant and me. What follows is evidence of the category bound activities related to each of the categories in this type of interaction, of my consultant accounting for something he did, acting as an informant with me by talking about the practices he participates in at the university. It is helpful here to think about this relationship in terms of being a collection R, one that is based on the co-equal status of its members. Clearly, we might also be able to imagine an 'ethnographer consultant' collection K, where the 'ethnographer' finds himself

talking about his expertise in qualitative research or where the consultant talks about his experiences at the university in his 'administrative personnel' capacity. This suggests that it might be helpful to focus on "ethnographic talk" as a topic but since we are limited to basing our present analysis on field note extracts, *hearing* them as reports that reflect the collaborative nature of ethnography permits us to consider the relationship between this ethnographer and his consultant as a collection R.

Under the membership categorization device of university-personnel we can ask ourselves, "Who thanks whom for what and in what contexts?" The question helps us examine the characteristics and activities associated with different categories under a device. MCA focuses on the data to explore these connections and separations, avoiding the trap of constructive analysis by staying close to the "local contextual dimensions of contextualization" (Hester & Eglin, 1997, p. 13). The category bound activity of "thanking" in this case pertains to my consultant who has also been identified as a counselor. It is unclear how these characteristics offer us any reason to see the relevance of someone who goes "to the university president to thank her for getting that man's image on the cover of the publication". We will see how my ethnographic narrative shows how a pairing occurs between the category bound activity of "thanking" with the categories that emerge from what appears to become the topic of the new meeting introduced with, "at that moment I thought the man was Hispanic".

The talk about the sash and of the young male college graduate in the picture with the university president continues in the following extract. It helps settle the question about the category bound activity of "thanking" that occurs between two persons from different

categories under a university-personnel device.

Extract 40: Fieldbook entry, 20 Nov. 2005

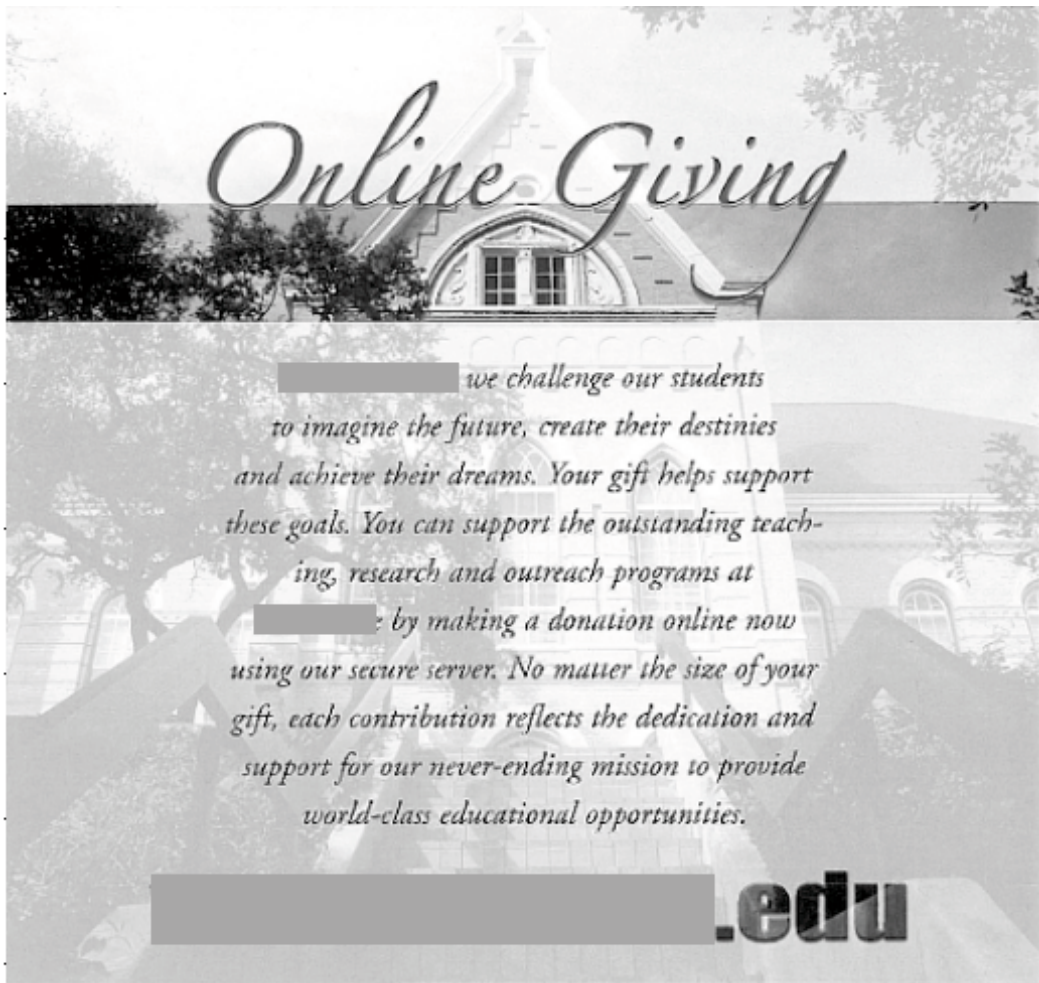
[My consultant] continued, saying that the young man in the picture is African American. He looked Mexican to me, I said. He added that that's why the picture was perfect, the ambiguity helps both minorities, the Hispanics think he's Hispanic and the Blacks know he's theirs.

The significance of my consultant's statement *told* in the field note extract marks how the phrase, "the young man in the picture is African American", is able to evoke a racial-ethnic-college-student device. Many categories begin to fit under this device, especially those categories of persons who wear a sash like the one worn by the 'African American graduating college student' pictured on the cover of the alumni bulletin. We can also begin to see the duplicative organization of two different categories under a university-personnel-who-care-about-racial-ethnic-issues device. In terms of the hierarchical distance between a 'university president' and a 'college student counselor', the latter "thanking" the former for the photograph on the alumni bulletin may correspond to an activity under a racial-ethnic-university-personnel device. Although it is not mentioned in the extracts we have analyzed, the relevance of the fact that my consultant is Hispanic could be seen as a strong incumbency factor in this regard. "Thanking" in this case, however, could also be an activity of any person who displays concern about the success of racial-ethnic-college-student device members.

A series of criteria had to be met for the photograph of the graduating college student on the cover of the alumni bulletin to be considered "perfect". The act of thanking the university president appears to be a way of recognizing someone for something they did. Given the rights and responsibilities under the category of 'university president', the fact that she may have had nothing to do with having chosen this particular image for the cover of the

alumni bulletin is irrelevant. The expression of gratitude brings two devices together under one category as a form of mutual acknowledgment. The duplicative organization under the university-personnel device consists of a 'university personnel who care about racial ethnic issues' category. A team is formed between two 'university personnel' members in the appreciative act. Indeed, the portrayal is characterized as being ambiguous, it is a photograph that makes the 'racially or ethnically identified student' category relevant in this interaction, one that corresponds to the phrase, "it helps both minorities, the Hispanics think he's Hispanic and the Blacks know he's theirs".

This analysis has examined talk about a sash that occurred in a meeting, and of an image of one that appears on the cover of a publication. First we looked at a specific interaction captured in some ethnographic field note extracts. These extracts then directed us to an image on a university publication. In order to finish this section it would be necessary to think about what it means to interact with an institutional artefact such as an alumni publication. Just as a meeting can be thought of in terms of its parts, there are ways of interacting with a publication. We tend to begin interacting with a publication by looking at its cover and although my intent here is not to speculate on how everyone engages a publication, we can see that a publication has parts. If we look at the whole cover of a publication we realize that it has two parts, a front and a back. Since the meeting extracts analysis offers scant evidence of the relevance of the pages between the covers, the next part of this analysis will focus on the back cover of the publication. This limitation, however, does not preclude the possibility of revealing categories pertaining to the contents of the publication. The following picture is of the back cover of the alumni publication.



Picture 3: Back cover of the alumni bulletin that features a request for online donations.

The image on the back cover of the alumni bulletin has two layers, it consists of a picture of a building behind a text overlay in a semi-transparent screen foreground. The picture of the building is taken looking up from some steps that approach the landing of what appears to be a two-story building. The semi-transparent screen overlay in the foreground gets interrupted forming a band across the top of the image. At this level and in the center of the image, two windows can be clearly seen. They are housed in the building's façade under the apex formed by the gable roof. The foreground layer has three parts, the top which is

above the transparent band which functions as a title holder with the words "Online Giving" centered on the page. The middle part has various words centered on the page that consists of ten lines. At the bottom, the letters of a website are in large transparent boldface type through which the steps of the approach to the building can be clearly seen. The text on the back cover of the alumni bulletin is in the following extract.

Extract 41: Text on the back cover of the alumni bulletin.

Online Giving

At [this university], we challenge our students to imagine the future, create their destinies and achieve their dreams. Your gift helps support these goals. You can support the outstanding teaching, research and outreach programs at [this university] by making a donation online now using our secure server. No matter the size of your gift, each contribution reflects the dedication and support for our never-ending mission to provide world-class educational opportunities.

[university Web address].edu

Part of revealing the how the alumni bulletin completes its project as an institutional publication directed at a particular audience involves seeing how the different parts are assembled to produce some type of meaning. The analysis of the front cover consisted of looking at an image of a graduation ceremony in which we also find a caption placed at the bottom that reads, "Your support shapes the future". It can be said that the caption belongs to the image on what has been identified as an alumni bulletin. From among a list of activities and characteristics related to categories pertaining to a college-graduate device, it is clear that they can overlap with those under an alumni-university-benefactor device.

By looking at the alumni bulletin in its totality, the categories that are brought to bear offer clues as to how the publication works to create meaning. Since the publication contents

were not the focus of attention in the interaction, I will limit myself to an analysis of both covers as a way of taking the publication as a unit of meaning for the interaction. The field notes revealed that this particular issue of the alumni bulletin addresses the institutional event of graduating. If we think about the phrase "your support" that is at the bottom of the front cover, it works as a caption that could be directed at anyone who happens to read it. At the same time, the publication offers viewers an opportunity to identify a number of categories represented by the two persons depicted in the image. Moreover, this pairing might have the effect of "self-identification", of persons identifying with particular categories that are being associated with a call for support with the use of the phrase, "Your support shapes the future". This identification may also expand to include all of those people who are engaged in higher education as a pairing that consists of a future-students-who-will-graduate device with an image that evokes a graduating-college-student device.

Graduating, as a step taken in higher education, evokes a sense of movement, or the impulse source of a moving on towards a future. It is the end result of a group of persons moving along a path through institutions of higher education. Moreover, graduation is associated with success, as something that requires the combined support of many. This sense of movement becomes evident in the image on the back cover of the publication. The view of the building is taken from the bottom of some steps looking up where the perspective offered by the handrails guides our attention upwards, up the steps and towards the building. Our sight is then directed to a transparent band across the page where we see two windows set in the façade of the building delimited by a gable roof. It is an image that takes us up a steep grade.

The sense of approaching a building is analogous to the path taken by students who choose to enter a higher education institution. Getting there and choosing it can also be seen as a journey towards some type of landmark. This point allows us to reflect on the architectural significance of the image on the back cover of the alumni bulletin as an image of a landmark building on the campus of the institution where I did my fieldwork. Here again, the image may have some "identification effects", giving viewers an opportunity to revisit a prominent building. At the same time, the focus on the windows is the main focus of the picture layer. If we consider Georg Simmel's (2001) appreciation of common architectural objects in which he describes decisions and doors as analogous to dreams and windows, it can be said that we walk through doors and we see through windows. We move through doors that open and close on hinges while the frames of windows offer us views that can help us plan movement. In the picture on the back cover, movement up the stairs is taking us towards something. Our attention is drawn towards a pair of windows through which we might see the dreams that move us towards the future.

Simply put, going to school is "going somewhere" and achieving a goal is "getting there". This is how the image is tied into the text on the foreground layer. It starts with the title, "Online Giving" that offers a way of thinking about how students meet challenges, while at the same time offering their dreams as a means through which benefactors can participate in helping students "imagine the future, create their destinies, achieve their dreams". Benefactor's gifts are another source of support when they help the institution foster a space where dreams are realized through "outstanding teaching, research, and outreach programs". It is at this point in the text that the reader (as potential benefactor) is directed to the

institution's "secure server" where "each contribution reflects the dedication and support for [its] never-ending mission to provide world-class educational opportunities". And as we have been able to see, the most important information is placed at the bottom. It is here that we see the institution's Web address in large boldface type.

(i) *Sash business*. In talking about a sash, in a meeting and the on the cover of a publication, we have been able to trace a number of higher education practices. Although we can call them institutional practices, they are actually put into action by persons throughout their everyday activities. Their jobs, projects, goals, objectives, and even their dreams come into play in a variety of interactions. Up to now I have offered evidence of people in higher education engaging in an intimate meeting and not specifically dealing with anything what would readily be considered "business". This latter term could be loosely associated with knowing how to be with others, as in knowing how to greet someone at the beginning of a business meeting or even how to make a transition from the "catching up" to the "actual business at hand". Indeed, the business of taking on business is business itself but what matters here is the importance of the mundane. The very fact that two persons in a business meeting took the liberty of mentioning their appreciation of an image on the cover of a publication offers us an opportunity to see the meaning making that takes place among a group of persons at an institution. It helps us know how to situate social aspects of identity in terms of the language and artefact bound membership categories that are brought to bear in an interaction. Similarly, the following analysis of a grant application looks at yet another aspect of higher education institutional activity that participates in making the social world we live in.

(b) Writing about needs

This section looks at part of an institutional document, a section of a public funds grant application written in terms of a set of needs for funding to help First Generation College Students attain a social work degree. The 138 lines of the needs section text can be found in Appendix B. My initial approximation will be limited to revealing the devices and categories in each of the four subsection's descriptions. I will then look more closely at the text in each of the subsections to reveal how categories work together to give the document its meaning. The following extract includes the text of the grant needs section title and the first needs subsection description (lines 1-4).

Extract 42: Needs transcript

```
1  Need for Assistance
2  Need 1: Well-prepared child welfare social workers who will
3  establish careers in [state] child
4  welfare settings.
```

The objective of looking at the subsection descriptions of the grant application is to reveal the backbone membership categorization devices from which other devices can be mapped out. It is the co-selection of categories that pertain to the different devices that helps us understand how the different elements of the document work together to give it its meaning. It is a process of description that allows us to reflect on the distribution of categories as well as on how they are utilized in the document.

The title of this section of the grant application, "Need for Assistance", belongs to a needing-assistance device that may include categories referring to certain entities or to particular groups of individuals. Line 2 of the extract is the beginning of the subsection description and it offers the category of "child welfare social workers" that pertains to a

child-welfare-professional device. Under this device we can start listing some characteristics that in this case would pertain to a preferred-professional for members who are "well-prepared" and by extension (or exclusion) we can begin to think of a dispreferred-professional device consisting of member categories of those who are not well-prepared. Finally, the last part of this subsection's description gives us an "object of need". It is the category of 'state child welfare agency', that needs preferred-professionals to establish "careers in state child welfare settings". Of the two figures that follow, the first is a concept-mapping key for the elements that emerge throughout the analysis presented with labels that differentiate between devices, categories, and characteristics/activities. The second figure summarizes the elements obtained from lines 1-4.

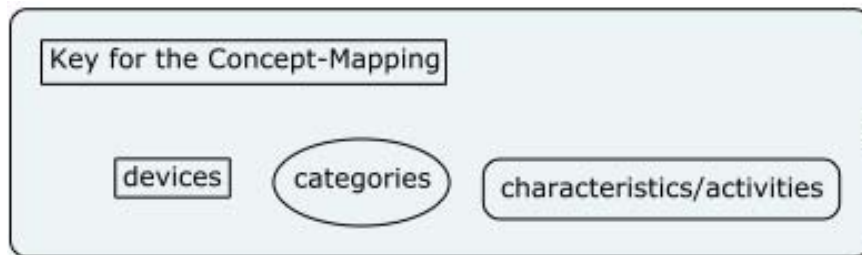


Figure 3: The concept-mapping key for the figures that present the elements that emerge throughout the "Need for Assistance" document analysis.

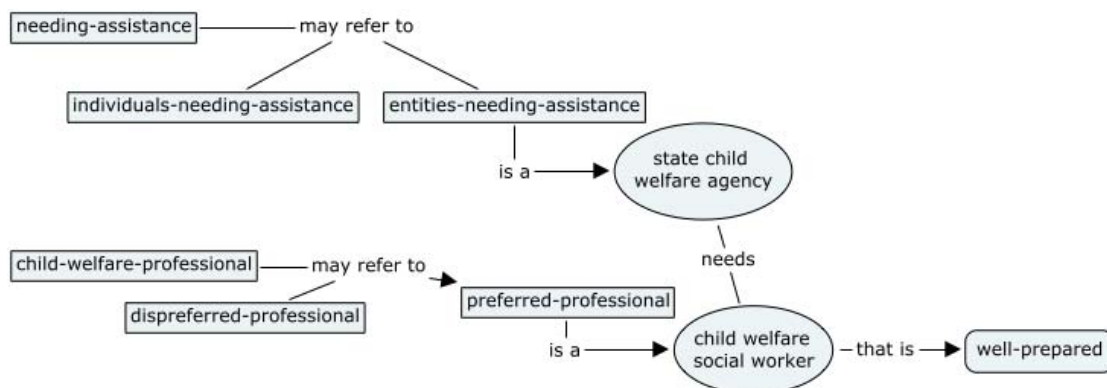


Figure 4: Devices and categories obtained from the "Need for Assistance" section title and the "Need 1" subsection description (lines 1-4).

The following extract contains the text of the second subsection description that corresponds to lines 25-27.

Extract 43: Needs transcript

25 Need 2: Child welfare professionals trained to effectively
 26 deal with the complex problems
 27 confronting children and families in the welfare system.

In this extract, the characteristic of "trained to effectively deal with" persons pertaining to a child-welfare-system-clients device pairs the child-welfare-professional and preferred-professional devices. Although the extract allows us to say a child-welfare-system-clients device consists of "children and families in the welfare system", we are limited to saying that the members under this device characteristically confront "complex problems". It is sufficient to establish the device, its two categories, and at least one of the characteristics they share since the focus is on how the phrase, "trained to effectively deal with", works to pair the preferred-professionals and entities-needing-assistance devices. The following figure summarizes the devices and the categories obtained from lines 25-27.

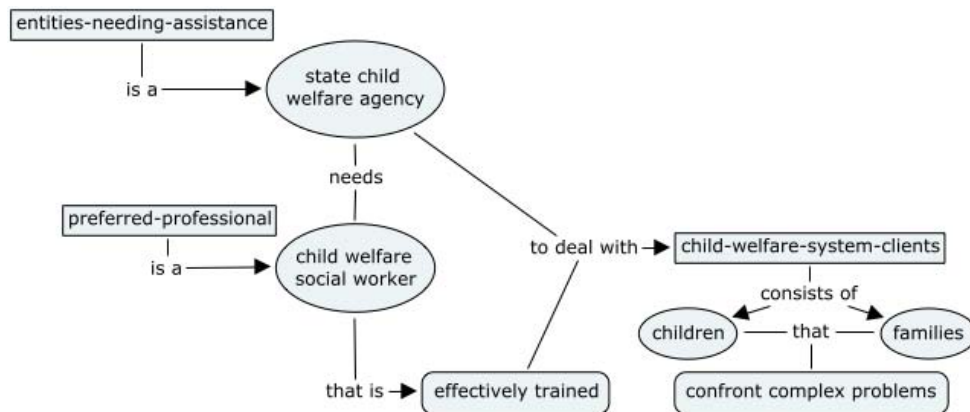


Figure 5: Devices and categories obtained from the "Need 2" subsection description (lines 25-27).

The following extract contains the text in the third subsection description that

corresponds to lines 25-27.

Extract 44: Needs transcript

56 Need 3: Child welfare professionals who are culturally
 57 competent and sensitive to the values,
 58 beliefs, and struggles of typical child welfare clients.

Similar to the mapping of the previous extract, the phrases "culturally competent", "sensitive to the values", "beliefs, and "struggles" work to pair the preferred-professionals and entities-needing-assistance devices. This pairing satisfies the needing-assistance device by connecting it to characteristics of a child welfare professional from a preferred-professional device. At the same time, these characteristics have been co-selected with the child-welfare-system-clients device members, a connection which occurs in the midst of the adjective "typical". Since the focus up to this point is on the needs connection, we are limited to saying that "typical" is simply one more characteristic for the "child welfare clients". The following figure summarizes the devices and the categories obtained from lines 56-58.

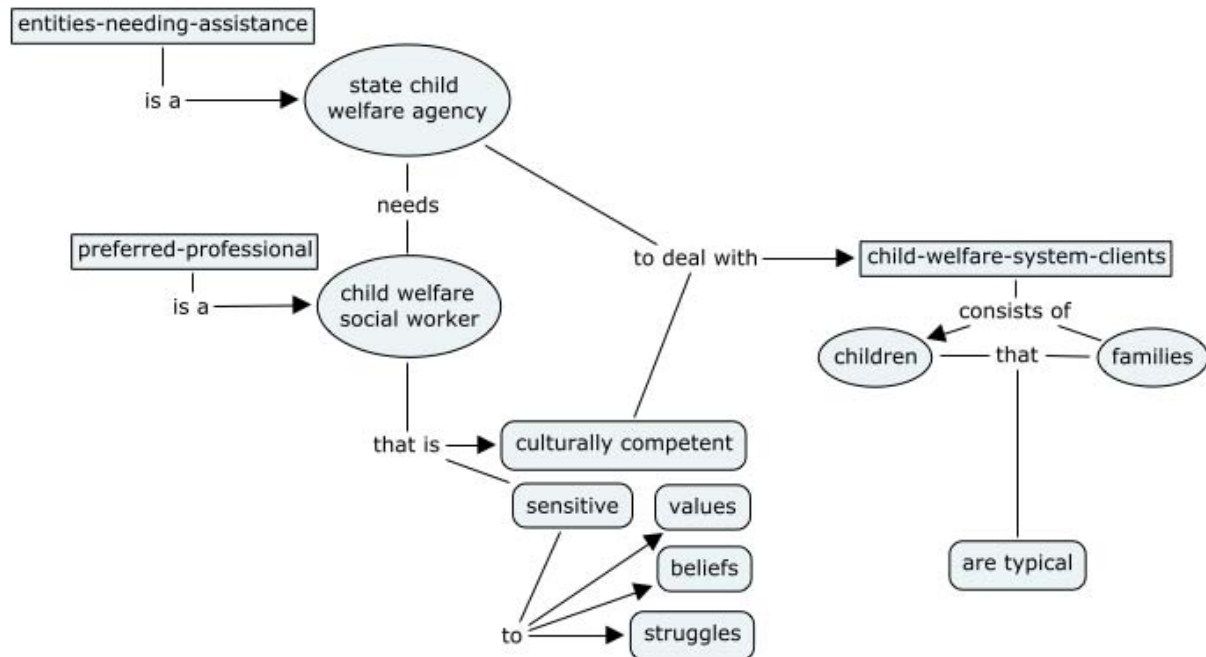


Figure 6: Devices and categories obtained from the "Need 3" subsection description (lines

56-58).

The following extract contains the text in the fourth subsection description that corresponds to lines 82-85.

Extract 45: Needs transcript

```
82  Need 4: Incentives to enable first-generation college
83  students to pursue and complete the BSW
84  degree, preparing for beginning careers in child welfare
85  services.
```

The focus of this extract changes from the entities-needing-assistance device to the "first-generation college student" category that pertains to the individuals-needing-assistance device. The first part of the description can be seen as a characteristic for the category of first generation college student in the sense that they need "incentives to enable" them "to pursue and complete the BSW degree". The extract restricts itself to a BSW-studies device that consists of the categories of 'BSW student' and 'BSW degree recipient'. By taking up the child-welfare-professional device it is also possible to map out the preferred-professional and dispreferred-professional devices under which a 'BSW degree recipient' is able to become a 'professional beginning a career in child welfare services'.

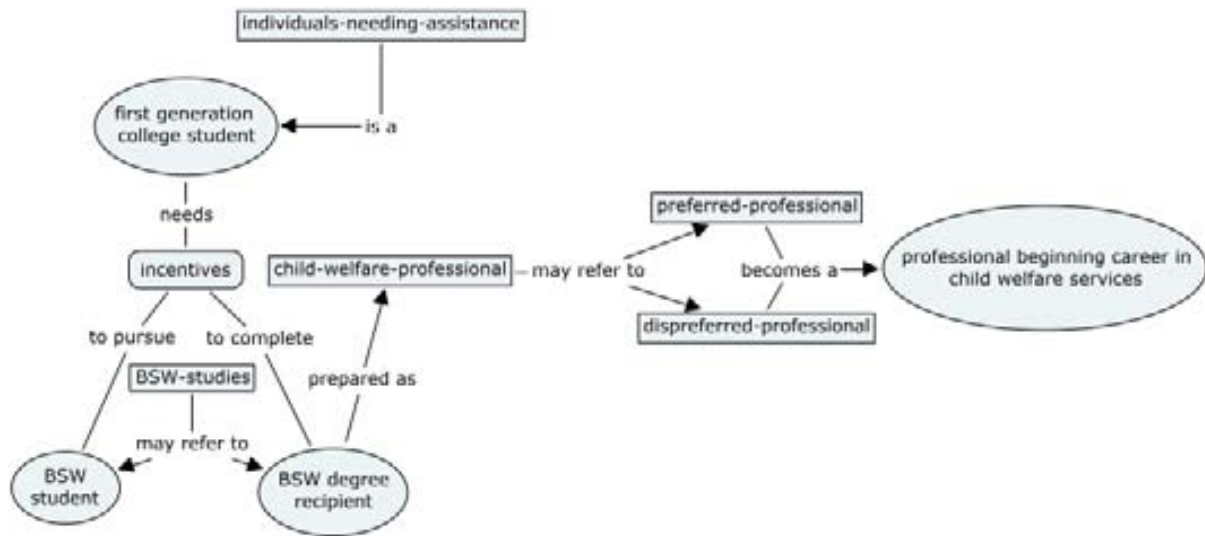


Figure 7: Devices and categories obtained from the "Need 4" subsection description (lines 82-85).

Membership Categorization Analysis looks at the co-selection of categories in terms of how they work together to give a text meaning. Narrative sequencing also plays an important part since pairings that occur at the beginning of a text often indicate the significance of pairings that occur throughout the rest of the text. Of the following two figures, the first one brings together all of the elements that emerged in the subsection descriptions noting the connections between the devices, categories and characteristics/activities. The second figure presents a summary in which the distribution of elements are grouped and numbered according to the subsection descriptions in which they appeared.

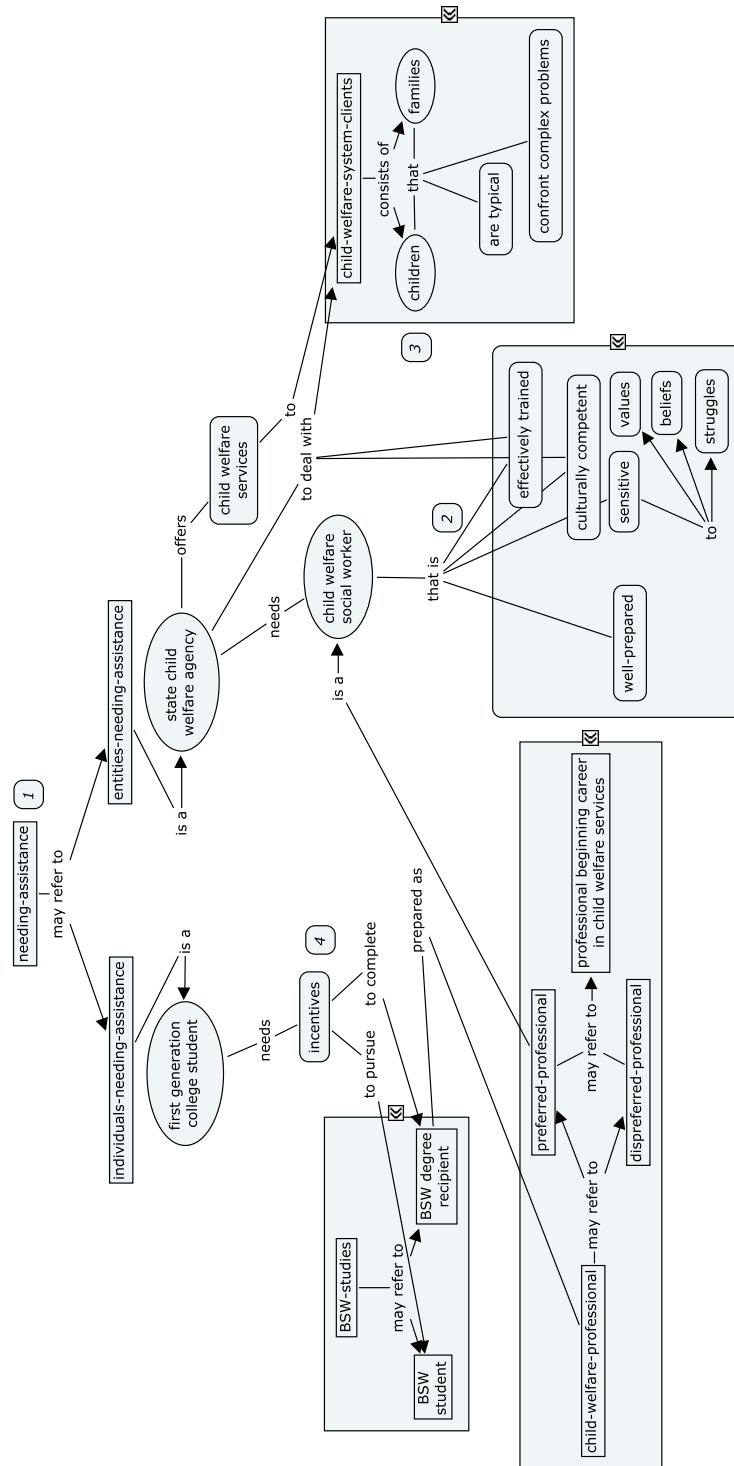


Figure 8: Elements that emerged in the subsection descriptions noting the connections between devices, categories and characteristics/activities.

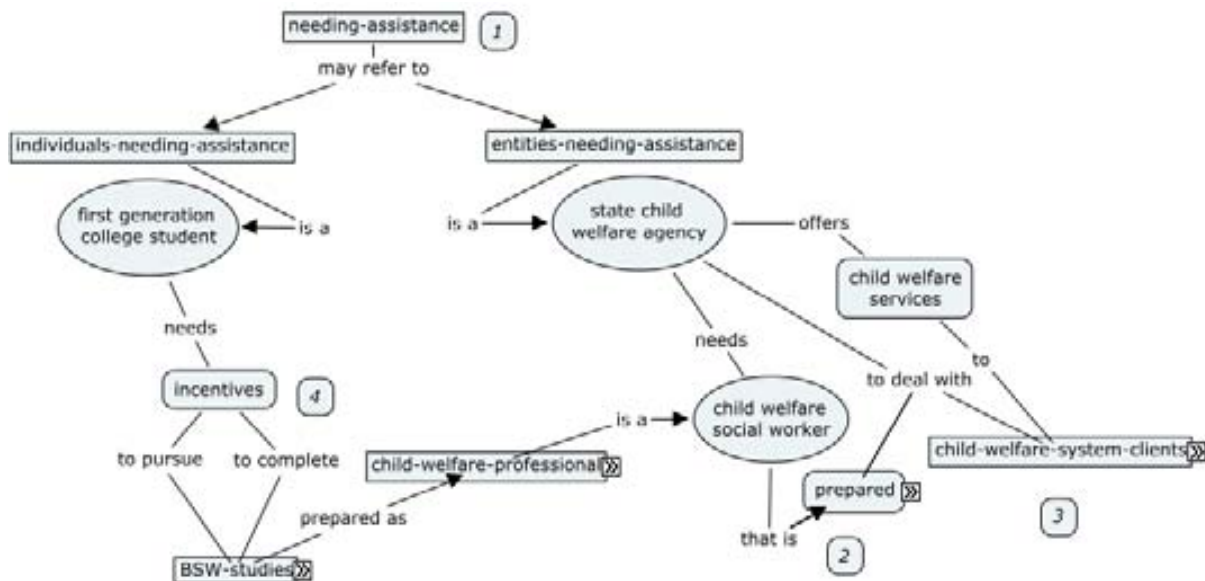


Figure 9: Summary of the numbered subsection description elements noting the connections between devices, categories and characteristics/activities.

The subsequent analysis of the text in each of the subsections will initially be limited to the proximal connections that have emerged in the subsection descriptions. In the case of the first subsection I will focus on the categories that confederate around the need established between the needing-assistance and child-welfare-system-clients devices. The analysis of the second and third subsections will be limited to the connection between the needing-assistance and child-welfare-professional devices with the child-welfare-system-clients device. The first of these looks at the categories that confederate around the characteristic of "confront complex problems" while the second looks at those that confederate around the characteristic of "typical". And finally, the analysis of the last subsection description will center on the categories that confederate around the need established between the individuals-needing-assistance and the child-welfare-professional devices. In the analysis of the text in each of the subsections I will first identify the new devices and categories that emerge throughout the

analysis and then look at how they are connected with others to demonstrate how their co-selection works to give the document its meaning.

(i) *Need 1*. The first category mentioned in the connection between the needing-assistance and child-welfare-system-clients devices is that of "staff" in line 5, as one that has a degree of "attrition". Lines 7-10 define this characteristic in terms of staff that "do not return to work after the first day on the job". In both cases, the severity of their attrition is marked by numbers ("46%-90%") and a rhetorical device ("first day on the job"), both of which are consolidated as factual by using the convention of citing references that support these assertions. These work together to tell us what the entities-needing-assistance device needs in relation to "staff", a category that we can comfortably include under the child-welfare-professional device, perhaps in contrast with other child welfare system workers who do not have direct contact with "clients". As we continue through the text, "one factor" for staff attrition is related to "employee's entry preparation level" (lines 11-12) where part of the problem appears to be that "only 28 %" of staff nationwide has a "social work degree" (lines 14-15). The question of preparation allows us to begin to list the categories that correspond to the preferred-professional and dispreferred-professional devices where the characteristic of having a BSW degree is a category under the first of these two devices and further supported by the description that follows in lines 16-17, "social-work degreed child welfare workers usually are more effective". The text also allows us to say that attrition is characteristic of those staff members who are 'other degreed' while staff with "specific child welfare training" "report higher levels of job satisfaction" (lines 19-20). The implication is that a BSW degree offers specific child welfare training while that specific type of training is not offered by

other degrees. By staying close to the need that links the entities-needing-assistance and preferred-professional devices, however, this simply tells us that being BSW degreed is a preferred-professional characteristic. Finally, the last sentence of this subsection brings up the category of First Generation College Student (FGCS). Although the insertion of this category may come as a surprise at this point in the analysis, it is helpful to remember that the category is included in the title of the grant application. At the same time, the fact that 'FGCS' is included here can still be problematized in terms of how it works in the text we are analyzing. This last category is co-selected with the project itself, one that is coming from a department at an institution of higher education charged with preparing BSW degreed persons who will work at a state child welfare agency. In this case, the need that connects these entities is established with the phrase "more stable child welfare professional staff" (lines 23-24). Upon initial observation the connection between the preferred-professional and entities-needing-assistance devices appears to be clear in terms of what a BSW department does and what a state child welfare agency needs. What is not clear is why the focus of this endeavor is 'FGCS', beyond this being a category among a number of other types of students who could feasibly get a degree in social work and become preferred-professionals members. This is especially problematic if we consider that any student who gets assistance to "obtain the BSW degree in exchange for committing to work with child welfare after graduating" (lines 21-23) could conceivably acquire the characteristics that would make them preferred-professional device members. In this sense, the category of FGCS could be considered a loosely associated confederate among the constellation of categories that have emerged up to this point in the needs section of the grant application.

(ii) *Need 2.* We see a new device emerge in this next subsection in reference to the needing-assistance and child-welfare-professional devices that "confront complex problems" when their activities are grouped with the phrase "child welfare practice" (line 28). This last phrase corresponds to a child-welfare-practice device that subsumes the child-welfare-professional device, taking into account the activities of state child welfare system staff with state child welfare system clients. This suggests that as much as there might be a hierarchy of staff members, we need to think about these different levels in terms of what they do. That is, talking about what a staff members does involves placing them under categories that have to do with their work with the child-welfare-system-clients device members (children and families). While the focus here might be to determine a taxonomy of staff persons that do certain things, it is rather directed at capturing the multiplicity of things they do as child welfare professionals. The next lines of the subsection begin to give us some of those activities that could be linked to specific categories. For a 'child welfare client that manifests drug and alcohol abuse' there would be a 'drug and alcohol abuse staff worker'. The categories for a staff person, as what she or he may do at a certain point in time in the fulfillment of child welfare practice, would need to be established in parallel with the "complex, interwoven problems due to drug and alcohol abuse, mental health problems, poverty, homelessness, violence, and crime" (lines 30-33). The child-welfare-practice device begins to gain purchase in lines 33-35 when a "stress of coping" link that "has dramatically increased" gets established for both of the child-welfare-professionals and child-welfare-system-clients devices. In this sense, the link working between the members of the first device and those of the second gets raised to another level, one in which both devices are said

to be under high levels of stress.

Before going on, we need to remember that the sequentiality of the text narrative plays an important role in MCA. Up to this point the narrative has worked at a level that could be considered a general description. Saying, "has dramatically increased for clients and professionals" (lines 34-35), is a way of establishing the magnitude of a problem as much as being a way of directing our attention to the categories of persons who share a problem. In terms of the sequencing of a narrative, we would expect that either a new problem or a new category of persons would begin to materialize in the text. It is at this point that MCA begins to function at two levels, one that reveals the next category or activity that materializes and another level that attempts to see how the categories of the first part work together with the ones in the second part to produce the meaning of the text. An example of these levels of analysis occurs in the next narrative sequence.

The requirement to move onto something else gets satisfied in lines 36-37. On the one hand the phrase, "these difficulties disproportionately affect minority populations" could function as a broad description but in the context of the subsection, it includes all of the "difficulties" for the whole of "minority populations". Indeed, it is unclear if the problems experienced by those members of the child-welfare-professionals device are different from those experienced by the members of the child-welfare-system-clients device. At the same time, being a member of a category under each of these devices is associated with different activities. A collection K standard relational pairing between the 'child welfare worker' and 'child welfare client' also occurs under the child-welfare-practice device (where K stands for the knowledge differential between professionals and clients). This collection helps us see

that the introduction of the term "minority populations" functions in parallel with the general description offered at the beginning of the narrative. And although the description that follows functions as a detailed description of "the state's minority population, especially Hispanics" (line 38), it is not necessarily referring only to those members of that minority population who pertain to a child-welfare-system-clients device. The text does say that the Hispanic population "is expected to increase and will be largely poor and vulnerable" (38-40), however, these characteristics can also be seen as simply being added to those mentioned in the previous subsection. Along these lines, we see that a Hispanic problem component faced by the members of the collection K is also added, consisting of "measures of child-well-being, with increasing rates of low birth weight babies, violent teen deaths, single teenage mothers, juveniles in custody, and children in poverty" (lines 40-44). Although the list is offered with reference citations, evidence that these characteristics are limited to Hispanics is difficult to sustain when the list starts by saying, "already, the state ranks 33rd among states" (lines 40-41) in these measures. Even if we look at this description in terms of an increase in the state's Hispanic population, we are still limited to saying that under a minority-population device there is a category of Hispanics in the state whose members "confront complex problems".

The next part of the narrative sequence in the second subsection of the needs section of the grant application connects the child-welfare-practice, the BSW-studies and the minority-population devices with the phrase, "existing social work curricula do not emphasize developing competencies for practice with minorities". The connection is made in terms of "understanding diverse cultural family structure and norms" (49-50) as a characteristic that

pertains to a BSW-child-welfare-practice-minority-competencies device. It is under this device that we can start to think about 'professor' and 'student' categories. The preferred-professional device also begins to gain purchase in lines 51-52 that say, "child welfare professionals need to be both culturally competent and prepared to deal with complex issues". By looking at lines 54-55 that say, "this project will enable [university department] to enhance the BSW curriculum to achieve this aim" we could tentatively consider the standard relational collection K pairing of the 'BSW professor' and 'future BSW degreed child welfare professional' categories. While the logic of including a cultural competency aspect in the BSW curriculum is clear, the text does not explicitly mention any 'BSW professor' characteristics beyond the implication that members of this category would also need to address the "complex problems confronting children and families in the welfare system" (lines 26-27) in a manner that is "culturally competent" (line 52). As such, without any clearly stated characteristics we are limited to saying that 'BSW professor' is a loosely associated confederate among the constellation of categories that have emerged up to this point in the needs section of the grant application.

(iii) Need 3. Similar to the previous subsection, the analysis of the third subsection will be limited to the connection between the needing-assistance and child-welfare-practice devices, and particularly with categories that confederate around the characteristic of "typical" (line 58) as it is ascribed to child welfare clients. The full description for child-welfare-system-clients device members is related to the characteristics of preferred-professionals device members who would need to be "culturally competent and sensitive to the values, beliefs, and struggles typical of child welfare clients" (lines 56-58). A new

category results in the narrative sequence of this subsection with the subsequent introduction of the phrase, "many child welfare clients come from families (which may well be minority)" (lines 59-60). It loosely pairs the child-welfare-system-clients device with a minority-population device and more concretely with the category of 'parents' when the text continues saying, "where parents are young, poor, unemployed, undereducated, raising children alone, coping with addictions, and lacking day care" (lines 60-63). Stated as such, the characteristics and activities of parents who pertain to a child-welfare-system-clients device overlap with those of parents who pertain to a minority-population device.

The relevance of the categories of 'families', 'parents' and 'children' is that they pertain to a child-welfare-system-clients device and more remotely to a minority-population device. Yet, in terms of the narrative sequencing of the text, the minority-population device begins to gain purchase with the phrase, "child welfare staff are disproportionately young, white females" (lines 63-64). This last phrase results in a White racial category, it pertains to a racial-ethnic category as well as to a not-minority-population device because of how it gets paired with the minority-population device in the collection K of the child-welfare-practice device. The sequencing of these devices under the collection K of the child-welfare-practice device helps us define the relationship between "parents who are child welfare clients" and the "young white female child welfare professionals". It is a collection that focuses on parents (who may well be minority) and young females who are explicitly referred to in the text in terms of a not-minority-population (who may well be White) device. Although the pairing forms a collection K that takes into account the properties of the child-welfare-practice device categories, the pairing of the minority-population and not-minority-population devices

appears to pertain to some other type of collection.

MCA offers a way to think about how we use categories in day-to-day talk such as when we say someone is a postal worker in one situation and then refer to her as a friend or a patient in other situations. In the text we are analyzing, the word "disproportionately" in line 63 offers us a clue as to the relevance of someone's job in one situation and of the same person's racial-ethnic device membership in another situation. More concretely, the analysis shows how a person can simply be a child welfare client or worker in one situation and how this person can pertain to either one of the minority or not-minority devices in another situation. Up to this point, the text has focused on the minority-population categories of those members who pertain to a child-welfare-system-clients device. In the case of members who pertain to a child-welfare-professional device, no characteristics have been listed that are applicable to a not-minority-population device. It is the word "disproportionately" (line 63) that introduces the not-minority-population categories of the members who pertain to a child-welfare-professional device. Paired with the word "disparity" in the phrase, "young, white females, resulting in disparities in the backgrounds, perspectives, and comfort zones of the professional and client" (lines 64-66), we can begin to place the minority-population and not-minority-population devices under a racial-ethnic device. The relevance of this device gains purchase with the phrase, "Many experts contend that this racial/ethnic disparity results in insensitivity and misunderstanding" (lines 66-68). It is this racial-ethnic device that sets the stage for a list of characteristics for members of the duplicately organized category of a 'young white female' who is a 'child welfare social worker'.

Watson's notion of 'device based properties' for a device occasioned by the duplicative

organization of other membership categories (in Housley & Fitzgerald, 2002) helps us make sense of the complexity posed by a number of devices, categories, characteristics and activities. He offers the example of 'hippy' as a membership category pertaining to a types-of-youth-subculture device that "could be hearably transposed into a device itself through its mapping onto device-based properties, e.g. smoking marijuana, wearing long hair and ascribing to unorthodox beliefs" (p. 62). It is Watson's notion of 'duplicative organization' that allows for "the possibility of membership categories becoming or being heard as membership categorization devices" (p. 69). This affords us the possibility to take up the dispreferred-professional device to talk about a 'young female white child welfare professional' without having to resort to the consolidation of a specific a device for this case. It keeps the 'young white female' aspect of the category from being heard as a marker for all dispreferred-professional device members. Here again, the words "typical" and "disproportionately" allow for an overlapping of devices where the characteristics of the categories under the child-welfare-system-clients and child-welfare-professional devices could feasibly pertain to either of the minority-population or not-minority-population devices. Furthermore, by joining these last two devices we are able to talk about a racial-ethnic device.

At yet another level, we need to account for all of the category generated features that are being put into play in this part of the text. Our concern is drawn to the "the situated and methodological work of members in accomplishing recognizable parameters of knowledge and the associated practice of claims making, decision making, opinion forming, offering advice, reporting information, assessment procedures and suggesting courses of action" (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2002, p. 75). This means we need to recognize that this is a grant

application written by at least one social work department representative. We have then, a grantor and a grantee and both of these "person" categories correspond to the state as a grantor institution and the department as a grantee institution. This simply permits us to recognize that we have two institutions talking to each other, a 'grant seeking institution' addressing a 'grant conferring institution', both of which pertain to a "non-personalized" entities-needing-assistance device. Furthermore, under this device we can look for evidence of a state that needs "well-prepared" child welfare workers as a justification for offering grants to educational institutions. This results in a constellation of collections K, not simply based on a series of rights and obligations but on an asymmetric authority of the state over its constituents that is based on the expertise of universities, and of some child welfare students prepared by the university to work with the system's clients. This broader conceptualization is built upon the occasioned collections thus far elucidated in the analysis. It allows us to understand how the grant application text works by focusing on 'members' methods and the local accomplishment of social organization without falling into the dualism of macro versus micro perspectivism" (Housley & Fitzgerald, 2002, p. 80).

The last part of the text that we looked at stated that, "many experts contend that this racial/ethnic disparity results in insensitivity and misunderstanding"(lines 66-68). Let us recall that the word "disparity" pertains to members of child-welfare-practice and racial-ethnic devices. Given the collection K, it is incumbent on some of the members of the child-welfare-practice device to be "sensitive and understanding". By the same token, the other members of this device need to be attended to in a "sensitive and understanding" manner. The sentence that says that there are those who "argue that child welfare practitioners and

managers must create more equitable, culturally competent services, instead of naively attempting to acculturate clients to majority values" (68-73). Although 'those who argue' is a reference to a scientific authority, it is being used to introduce the characteristics of preferred-professional device members. It can also be heard as a university-department-expertise device, one of a university social work department making recommendations to the state child welfare system. Indeed, it would refer to child-welfare-practice device members who would need to "create more equitable, culturally competent services". At the same time this directive applies to a racial-ethnic device under which services, defined in terms of this device, begin to gain purchase. The way it is phrased allows us to talk about a lack of "equitable and culturally competent services". The focus is on services which could be described in terms of "naively attempting to acculturate clients to majority values" (72-73). These series of descriptions, while pointing out the characteristics of preferred-professional device members also outline the characteristics of particular members of a child-welfare-client device in terms of their membership under a racial-ethnic device. The racial-ethnic device members of the 'child welfare worker' part of the collection K also need to be preferred-professional device members with a particular expertise. We need to look at the text to see how this racial-ethnic device works with evidence that up to now consists of an educational institution training "well-prepared" child welfare workers to meet the needs of the state and its constituents.

The next part of the text offers a solution. In order to know how it works in the text it is helpful to recall that this is the needs section of a grant application for public funds that uses the convention of describing a problem, establishing a need, and offering a solution. In terms

of MCA we can see what has been accomplished up to this point in the text and coupled with an understanding of narrative sequences, we can also show how it is mundanely apparent that a solution is about to be offered. Indeed, the phrase, "one means of creating culturally competent services", is an invitation to a solution or at the very least, an argument that may be one of many that serve as an introduction to a series of solutions. At the same time, the phrase highlights the link between the racial-ethnic and child-welfare-practice devices. Taking these devices into consideration, we are informed that a solution is "to recruit and retain staff who understand the world of typical child welfare clients" (74-76). It is here that the 'university department personnel' that come into play pertain to a BSW-studies device. They are able to "recruit" students (in terms of the 'professor student' collection K) who have the potential to pertain to a preferred-professional device. The phrase that follows in the text rehearses a narrative convention, one that functions as a recapitulation of a set of devices described earlier. Again, it could be used as part of an invitation to a solution or at the very least, as a summary for an argument that may be one of many that serve as an introduction to a series of solutions. The recapitulation of the text states, "social work students who come from culturally diverse backgrounds, who know personally what it means to be poverty-stricken, or who have themselves been involved with child welfare and other social service systems" (76- 80). It offers us the BSW-studies (students), the racial-ethnic (culturally diverse backgrounds), and the child-welfare-system-clients (personal experience with poverty or the welfare system) devices. As such, the students would be recruited because of their experience, one that the university department argues will make them candidates that will be able to satisfy the state's need for "well-prepared" child welfare workers.

In terms of the sequencing of this text, it would be helpful to recall that the first needs subsection analysis ended with the category of 'FGCS' as being a loosely associated confederate at that point in the text. There was also the loosely associated confederate of 'BSW professor', one that lacked any clearly stated characteristics at the end of the analysis of the second subsection of the needs section of the grant application. It is clear that the object of recruitment in the chain of devices at this point in the third subsection of the grant application is a student, one that pertains to the BSW-studies device under a 'professor student' collection K. With the last phrase, "are more likely first-generation college students" (lines 80-81), a connection is made via the description of the students' parents, as persons who may have been child-welfare-system-clients device members, thus evoking an array of student characteristics that may also be applicable to the category of 'FGCS'.

(iv) Need 4. The analysis of the last subsection description will center on the categories that confederate around the need between the individuals-needing-assistance and the child-welfare-professional devices. The connection made in the previous section between the child-welfare-system-clients (parents) and the BSW-studies (students) devices creates an overlap that gives us characteristics that are potentially applicable to the category of 'FGCS'. The description for this subsection connects the need for "incentives" (line 82) with the 'FGCS' category. Indeed, we could say that this category itself begins to achieve a device status due to the duplicative organization of 'children' and 'students'. Up to this point the needs confederating around the FGCS category lies among a constellation of devices. For all of the possible cases of children who might become FGCSs, it is possible to imagine that many of them may have never had parents who pertained to a child-welfare-system-clients device. At

the same time, for all of the possible cases of students who might pertain to a BSW-studies device, it is possible to imagine that many of them did not come from minority-population device families. Keeping this in mind, the first sentence in the fourth subsection states, "FGCS are those whose parents have no college experience" (lines 86-87) at which point various characteristics begin to be listed. Some of the characteristics in lines 87-90 are, "less likely to aspire to a bachelor degree; more likely to attend a two-year institution after high school; are less prepared for the rigors of higher education". These pertain to a list that comes from scientific references, revealing the expertise of at least one 'BSW professor' who is qualified to gather scientific information about a type of student. In the process of analyzing this description another category of student emerges. FGCSs are said to be "older than traditional students" (line 91) resulting in the category of 'traditional student'. The reference to this new category of student gets repeated in lines 93-94, stating that FGCSs "usually have fewer family and community supports than traditional college students". In MCA, a list of characteristics helps us determine which category bound activities are being put into play, while the appearance of new categories highlights the co-selection of categories in the text. Under a college-student device we have evidence of two categories that get co-selected. The question is how the pairing of the 'FGCS' and the 'traditional college student' (TCS) works to give the text its meaning.

In terms of the 'FGCS' and 'TCS' pairing, the text first talks about these students in terms of a high-school-student device and then under a college-student device. In the process, a series of characteristics get described that pertain to each of the categories under both devices ending with the following conclusion, "as a result, FGCS complete fewer credit

hours, study fewer hours, are employed more hours per week, and make smaller first-year reading comprehension gains than traditional students" (lines 95-98). Using MCA we could translate all of the characteristics to a mapping out of a series of categories such as 'working student', 'full-time student', 'part-time student', 'single student', 'poor student', 'rich student', etc. Although the process might help us think about all of the possible overlapping categories, the text at this point highlights a 'FGCS TCS' node where TCS appears to be the basis for all of the descriptions of FGCS. By extension, the TCS would be one who does not work, is a full-time student, is not married, is rich, etc. However, by thinking about these categories under a college-student-social-status device we could possibly imagine a TCS who is married and an FGCS who wins the lottery. That is, MCA does not simply speculate about all of the possible permutations of a categorization, it uses this type of speculation in a case such as this where a long series of characteristics is being used to categorize persons. The exercise helps us determine the devices that are being put into play and not based on preconceived notions of who we are but on the very characteristics that are being put into play in the text. The relevance, however, of the college-student-social-status device will depend on the subsequent analysis of the rest of the text.

Lines 99-101 begin with "although more FGCS are attending college, there is no corresponding increase in the proportion who graduate". By focusing on the word "attrition" used earlier in reference to dispreferred-professional device members, and going back to the first needs subsection description where there is a pairing of entities-needing-assistance and child-welfare-professional device members (the state and staff), we see how the pairing gives us the category of 'child welfare system worker', as those persons who have direct contact

with child-welfare-system-clients device members. The phrase in the fourth subsection could be a pairing of BSW-studies and child-welfare-professional device members (BSW student and child welfare system worker), where "graduation" makes it possible for an FGCS to move from the first device to the second. It must be noted, however, that the connection is not explicitly mentioned in the lines we are analyzing. Instead, 'FGCS' is alone as a topic of description at this point in the needs grant application. Upon further analysis we will be able to determine if the word "attrition" used in the first subsection is in any way related to how "no corresponding increase in the proportion who graduate" is being used in the fourth subsection description with reference to the 'FGCS' category.

The next phrase states that "FGCS are also more likely to be minority" (line 102). Lines 102-104 take up the minority-population device, producing a 'Hispanic student' percentage for this category of student in the BSW department. This introduces a students-by-racial-ethnic-population device where the 'FGCS' category gets paired with the college-student and BSW-studies devices in the phrase, "the percentage of FGCS enrolled in both the university and the university department has declined" (lines 104-106). The description up to this point has looked at variations in enrollment numbers without any connection being made between these numbers and the first description that centered on FGCS graduation rates (attrition). It can be stated, however, that being an 'admitted student' acts as a precursor for graduation and attrition. In lines 107-110, the focus continues to be on the 'admitted student' category in terms of the 'Hispanic student' category when the text states, "while the university is the state's six-largest public university and one of the nation's top 20 producers of Hispanic baccalaureate degrees". The focus immediately changes when the text refers to the 'admitted

student' in terms of the 'FGCS' category in lines 110-111 that state, "university enrollment of new FGCS declined from 42% in 1999 to 20% in 2003". This pairing is consistent with others that have been made throughout the text. It works to highlight the entities-needing-assistance device to which the state pertains. Moreover, the entities-needing-assistance device begins to subsume the 'university' and 'BSW department' categories when in lines 112-113 the text states, "the university department FGCS enrollment declined from 55% to 29% over that period". It is this device that permits us to *hear* the "decline" as one that is not favored, a point that can be clearly seen in the connection between the state's need and the 'well-prepared state child welfare system workers' as preferred-professional device members.

The text repeats the duplicatively organized 'Hispanic FGCS' when it is stated that, "the FGCS decrease is evident in the university's minority enrollment" (lines 113-114). With the numbers offered that give evidence of this "decline", the racial-ethnic-college-student device is also evoked when the text states, "In 2003, Hispanics accounted for 19% of the university undergraduates; 34% of these were FGCS, compared to 52% in 1999. African-Americans comprised 5% of the university's new undergraduates; 23% of these were FGCS, compared to 55% in 1999" (lines 116-119). Hispanics and African-Americans, while pertaining to a racial-ethnic device also pertain to a minority-population device. This is consistent with the previous usage of the word "disproportionate" in the third subsection that referred to the greater number of White female child welfare staff. By switching to the pairing of the entities-needing-assistance and preferred-professional devices, we can *hear* the lower representation in higher education of racial-ethnic device members who are also members of a minority-population device as a situation that is not favored. At the same time, while the

experience of members who are not White, not young, and not female appear to be requisites for preferred-professional device members, the combination of the all of the devices we have considered overrides a single device that takes into account the, race, ethnicity, age, and sex of the preferred-professional members. The weight given to the educational experience of students' parents offers a more precise way of talking about 'FGCS', in terms of a family-of-origin device.

Lines 120-138 are the last lines of the grant application needs section. It starts by making reference to "this project", in terms of the 'BSW department' requesting "incentives" from the 'state' for 'FGCSs' in order to be able to guarantee "well-prepared" 'state child welfare workers'. The project is said to "increase the university department's recruitment and retention of FGCS into the BSW degree, opening opportunities for underrepresented students and increasing the pool of competent child welfare workers" (lines 120-124). A new category emerges with the introduction of the phrase "underrepresented student". It can be connected with the analysis that allowed us to *hear* the lower representation in higher education of racial-ethnic device members in terms of minority device memberships. It was connected with a situation that is not favored, in which the categories pairing the entities-needing-assistance and preferred-professional devices was accomplished with the use of the word "disproportionate". It was used in reference to a list of minority device members' difficulties and the overrepresentation of child-welfare-professionals device 'young White females'. The family-of-origin device that connects the 'FGCS' and 'parents without higher education' categories begins to gain purchase, calling upon the "disproportionate" racial-ethnic and college-student-social-status device members who pertain to a child-welfare-system-clients

device. In this sense, the "opportunities" (line 123) are two-fold, for the FGCS who needs incentives and the state that needs "competent child welfare workers" (line 124).

Lines 125-126 address the state's need with the phrase, "a majority of the [university] students are [from the state]; most return to their residential communities after graduating" which alludes to college-student device members at the specific university in the specific state. Noting that the students will not leave the state satisfies the state's entities-needing-assistance device membership. The text in lines 127-136 satisfies the FGCSs' individuals-needing-assistance device membership under a student-financial-difficulties device. The characteristics of this device are that they "must work to pay expenses" (line 128), where "social work majors require financial aid" (lines 129-130). The connection established between the BSW-studies and the student-financial-difficulties devices gets further elaborated in lines 131-136. First the text states that BSW students "were employed for an average of 28 hours per week". The difficulty is then described in terms of the "students' final semester of field placement, which requires full-time commitment" (lines 135-136). And finally, the needs section of the grant application text ends by saying, "this grant will help [university] to retain FGCS so that they can complete the BSW degree". It brings together the 'grant seeking institution' and a 'BSW department' that is made up of 'BSW professors', all pertaining to a broader higher-education device as an occasioned collection dedicated as much to the success of some students as to the well-being of the state's constituents.

(v) *Needs requests.* The analysis of the needs section of the BSW grant application requesting incentives for FGCSs allows us to see how a series of categories and devices were put into play. The grant application as an institutional artefact, as well as the sash business

field notes and data offered opportunities to reflect on a number of higher education practices. Both the institutional reach of writing a grant and of persons participating in a "less serious" insertion sequence in a business meeting situate the actions of people in their everyday activities. In the first case we see evidence of identity performances while the grant application captures institutional "acts", as those performed by persons under a higher-education device. The analysis has shown that both "levels" entail a great deal of complexity that is mundanely apparent to the members involved. It is an apparentness that is evident to competent members. The how of making sense of an interaction, of an institutional artefact, and of some ethnographic field notes is successfully demonstrated by MCA where the basics of category sequencing and co-selection derive a series of collections that would otherwise be taken for granted. The next and final section looks at the practices of persons charged with reaching out beyond the walls of higher education.

(c) Talking to children

In this section we will return to my ethnographic field notes. As we saw in the first section, the reflexive nature of fieldwork writing attends to events in a circuitous manner. A variety of notes gather the details of the story, where each one of them tends to offer a different take on a single event. In this case I have chosen to focus on a very specific interaction between a child and some adults in the hallway of a building at an institution of higher education. Although we are already contending with a series of categories in this short introduction, it would be better to look at my field notes to attend to revealing the categories that make this specific interaction work. The following extract is the first of a series of entries that deal with and cover various aspects of an interaction between a child and some adults.

Extract 46: Fieldbook entry, 29 Oct. 2005

We are on the 3rd Floor of the [student center], well this was actually on Friday, I had been hanging around with the children since I had not been able to go to the FGSO presentation at the [NAME] Center. It was at about 14h, a between time of 30 minutes, between moving from being with the children who were now being allowed a "potty break" before then going to be loaded up on the bus to go back to [name] Intermediate School. I didn't know why at the time, but a bunch of adults dressed in business attire were in the hallway, [my consultant] among them, and I made my transition from the world of [a children's story with a Spanish name] of [author] to the world of Distinguished Alumni Photos; the hallway with pictures.

[My consultant] was there with [Hispanic author's] brother, he's a physician in [town in the state] and he's here today with his wife. Also with them is [Hispanic author's widow name], she is [Hispanic author's] widow. They are in [this town] for the [numbered] annual awards for children's literature, "this award will be given annually to the author/illustrator of the most distinguished book for children and young adults that authentically reflects the lives and experiences of Mexican Americans in the United States."

I approached [my consultant] and then I got introduced to the dignitaries, the persons representing [Hispanic author], a man who had written a story [Book title in Spanish], a children's book about being Mexican American (I still need to read the book but I'm still not sure if I should be reading because I'm afraid I won't find time to write, so if you allow me, I'll continue telling or reflecting on my participation in the Latino Book Award conference). We were standing there while we waited for the next function, we would need to go down to the [theater] at the [library].

There were children going back and forth checking in on friends and basically trying to make the best of today's field trip. There was a teacher who was trying to get the ebb and flow of children directed down the hallway to the exit that lead to the busses. I saw one child stop, he looked in our direction and I heard him ask his teacher "What do these people do?" He was a 5th or 6th grader, thin and had dark skin. He spoke English well and when he stopped to ask that question out loud, [my consultant] heard him and turned to him. He probably made eye contact with the teacher and then proceeded to take the boy, all the while explaining that we were honoring a man, to the space where [Hispanic author's] picture is displayed. I followed, watching my friend, wanting to see how this was going to play out, and when [my consultant] was sure that the boy had seen the

picture, he turned and pointed in the direction of [Hispanic author's] brother saying, "See that man with the grey hair?" He explained that he was here with his wife and sister-in-law for the conference. [My consultant] then took the boy by the shoulder and guided him in the direction of the people he had pointed out and I took the opportunity to whisper "preséntalo" ["introduce him" in Spanish], to later find out that I had whispered in his deaf ear. In any case, as he approached the group he said, "This young man wants to know who you are." [My consultant] stopped short to ask the boy his name: "This is [boy] and here is [Hispanic author's] brother, his wife ...". The introduction was formal and I stood there in what seemed an eternity. Someone said "Hi" but I was expecting for someone to reach out to the child, to shake his hand, like all the times I had been instructed to do upon being introduced.

[Hispanic author's widow] then asked, "Are you going to study at [this university]?" And I saw the boy move, light up as he said yes. Everyone responded saying things like "recruiting already". When [my consultant] and I discussed the interaction later on he said he gave the boy a "thumbs-up" and he told me that he heard his teacher tell him he had just been introduced to some important people, I guess she was acknowledging his interest, having had asked the question.

The first paragraph of the extract functions as an introduction in that it sets the stage in terms of location and time. It also describes the setting in terms of movement, first in terms of a space and then in terms of an event. The field note tells the story about something that happens on a Friday. Coupled with the place, this gives us a day-at-the-university device. The ethnographer says he is with 'children' while stating that he had the option of being with 'FGSO presentation participants' in another building. In the process of the description, a university-activities device gets established to which both the 'activity for children' and the 'FGSO presentation' pertain. Although an elaboration of the FGSO acronym is not offered in the field note, that fact that it is included makes it possible say that the intended reader would be able to recognize it as standing for the First Generation Student Organization. The word "student" places it under a college-student-activities device, an 'FGSO presentation' that took

place at another location. What is relevant, however, is that the field note is simultaneously referring to two different events that took place at the same time in two different places, where one was for children while the other one was for college students. In terms of the buildings, their names are mentioned but their relevance has more to do with pertaining to a university-building device. What is significant is that of the two, a culturally competent community member would be able to recognize that the student center is named after a president of the country who was from the state.

The next reference is specific to time, where "14h" is in the 'afternoon' while a specific reference to a "between time of 30 minutes" adds the category of a 'break' to a time device that has been put into play. The time references correspond to the movement of the ethnographer and the children. In turn, the movement allows for a description of 'children' in this space and at a time that is described as a "potty break". Subsequently, the 'children's break' is connected to what they will be doing next, that is getting "on the bus to go back to" their school. The fact that they are returning to another place makes them visitors or 'children on a field trip' who will be returning to their "Intermediate school". Here again, the name of their school is included in the text, suggesting the relevance of a building-name device.

The next phrase, "I didn't know why at the time", triggers a transition in the field note narrative and the new focus is on "a bunch of adults in business attire" who are "in the hallway". We might stop to consider that 'children on a field trip' dress differently than 'adults at an event' and begin to list characteristics for each of the categories. What is relevant, however, is the movement that is being traced as we are taken from an 'event for children' to another space. With the use of the word "bunch" to describe some type of disorganization, it

becomes possible to say that we are being taken to a break time for adults as well as for the children. In terms of the space and as the text continues, we find adults and children sharing a hallway, a place that has doors that lead to "potty" rooms as well as a 'hallway with pictures' that has "Distinguished Alumni Photos". If we stop to think about the name of the building and the fact that it has a hallway with distinguished alumni photos, the student center is a place where naming and showcasing pertains to a commemorative-function device. The student center's name commemorates a president of the nation and the photographs in the hallway of the building commemorate 'alumni'. Although not explicated in the text, a culturally competent member of the community would recognize that the president for whom the student center is named was also a university alumnus.

The first paragraph introduced a variety of devices that set the scene in terms of time and location, where the relevance of building naming evokes a commemorative-function device. A university-activities device allows for a list of categories to refer to what some children and adults are doing while a particular presentation is mentioned that corresponds to a college-student-activities device. Although references to myself in this paragraph place me as a field note writer and an ethnographer, it is these categories that allow me to be an adult attending a number of activities. The 'ethnographer' category I pertain to gains purchase in the first sentence of the following paragraph when I refer to "my consultant" who is identified as being among the adults in the hallway. It calls upon the 'ethnographer consultant' SRP of the collection R type that we pertain to while also placing us among the category of 'adults in the hallway'. The other adults present are then identified in reference to a "Hispanic author", as this person's brother, sister-in-law and widow. As a group, they pertain to a family device, the

brother is the only person identified in terms of a professional device when the text states, "he's a physician in [town and state]" while the place distinction gains purchase with the phrase, "they are in this town for the [numbered] annual awards for children's literature". The commemorative-function device helps us situate the significance of these adults, as 'guests' of the university who are related to a 'Hispanic author', where one of them is identified as his 'widow'. Moreover, the quoted description of the event, "this award will be given annually to the author/illustrator of the most distinguished book for children and young adults that authentically reflects the lives and experiences of Mexican Americans in the United States", while providing a summary of the event also helps us situate the relevance of the categories that have emerged in the text.

The next paragraph picks up a commemorative-function device with the use of the word "dignitaries" in the field note recollection of how I got introduced to the Hispanic author's family. It also co-selects a family device with a commemorative-function device while the ubiquitous presence of the word "Hispanic" begins to take shape under a racial-ethnic device. The author and his family's Hispanic incumbency becomes relevant with the description of his "children's book about being Mexican American", as well as when I mention the book's Spanish title. Mention of his work at the "Latino Book Award conference", in turn, co-selects the commemorative-function and racial-ethnic devices. With the insertion of a parenthetical statement, the text in this paragraph makes my category as an 'ethnographer' relevant, first to confirm my commemorative-function device bound story-telling, to repeat the significance of a racial-ethnic device, and finally to set the location and time categories in the field note: "We were standing there while we waited for the next

function, we would need to go down to the [theater] at the [library]"

The fourth paragraph is long and narrates the interaction that takes place when a child asks, "What do these people do"? MCA offers ways to think about how a question like this gets voiced and attended to in terms of the categories that emerge and not in terms of what people are thinking. Indeed, we can talk in terms of an "inquisitive" child but as a way of simply saying that a child asked his teacher a question. It corresponds to an activity that is characteristic of a 'teacher student' collection K standardized relational pair (SRP). MCA also permits us to see how the text attends to this collection. When it is stated, "I saw one child stop, he looked in our direction and I heard him ask his teacher, 'What do these people do'?", the text situates the question as one that was also within earshot of those of us in the hallway. Moreover, a co-selection of the time category of 'break' and the location category of 'hallway' that correspond to the devices that have been established in the analysis of the text make it possible to account for how my consultant was able to engage the child. In this sense, the first part of the paragraph offers a detailed description of the boy when the text states, "He was a 5th or 6th grader, thin and had dark skin. He spoke English well and when he stopped to ask that question out loud, [my consultant] heard him and turned to him". MCA allows us to understand how the co-selection of the child's "dark" features and his English language ability makes the racial-ethnic device relevant, while also showing how these categories participate in making the interaction possible.

Before analyzing the boy's question interaction, I first want to address some issues related to my ethnographic field notes in this long paragraph. There are some points in the text where I make reference to the 'ethnographer consultant' standard relational pair. They are

related to the collection R characteristics that make the use of the word "friend" possible when I write, "I followed, watching my friend, wanting to see how this was going to play out, and when [my consultant] was sure that the boy had seen the picture [...]". The word "friend" and the phrase that follows where I use his name account for our personal relationship as well as our research collaboration. More evidence of our personal collaboration emerges when I write, "I took the opportunity to whisper '*preséntalo*' ['introduce him' in Spanish], to later find out that I had whispered in his deaf ear". While whispering in his deaf ear offers evidence of a certain type of intimacy, it accounts for participant observer activities pertaining to an ethnography device as well as for a language device that accounts for our racial-ethnic device Hispanic category membership.

In terms of the boy's question interaction, the text states that my consultant "probably made eye contact with the teacher and then proceeded to take the boy, all the while explaining that we were honoring a man, to the space where [Hispanic author's] picture is displayed". The speculation in the first part of this phrase is part of these field notes that were written after the fact and without an audio or video recording of the interaction. Despite this fact, the reflexive act of writing accounts for how my consultant was able to engage the boy. The boy continues to pertain to the 'teacher student' collection K, where it could be said that the 'teacher' category gets passed on to my consultant. My consultant was recognized as a 'university activity participant', making it possible for the boy's teacher to allow my consultant to engage the boy. The next part of the phrase connects the 'university activity participant' to activities that pertain to a commemorative-function device, as well as to one that pertains to a location device. We can identify 'teacher' characteristics when I write, "[he]

proceeded to take the boy, all the while explaining that we were honoring a man, to the space where [Hispanic author's] picture is displayed". The next phrase, "when [my consultant] was sure that the boy had seen the picture, he turned and pointed in the direction of [Hispanic author's] brother saying, 'See that man with the grey hair?' He explained that he was here with his wife and sister-in-law for the conference", brings together a variety of devices, a commemorative-function device ('pictures'), a university-activities device ('conference'), and a family device to which the 'dignitaries' pertain.

Next we see how my consultant takes on the 'teacher' category, when "[he] then took the boy by the shoulder and guided him in the direction of the people he had pointed out". The narration of the interaction continues with, "as he approached the group he said, 'This young man wants to know who you are.' [My consultant] stopped short to ask the boy his name: 'This is [boy] and here is [Hispanic author's] brother, his wife ...'". The elegance of this interaction is in how economically the boy's question gets answered. The movement, of being "transferred" from one 'teacher' to another, taken to view a picture hanging on the hallway, directed to look in the direction of the 'dignitaries', then guided to be introduced to them ends with a restating of his question and a subsequent answer. The boy's original question about what they "are doing" that fits under a university-job device gets transformed into "who you are" that corresponds to a commemorative-function device.

When I write, "the introduction was formal and I stood there in what seemed an eternity", my reflection signals a sort of anticipation. Interestingly, my next comment accounts for this when I write, "Someone said 'Hi' but I was expecting for someone to reach out to the child, to shake his hand, like all the times I had been instructed to do upon being

introduced". As much as this may reflect what may have been my thoughts at that very moment, it provides evidence of conventions that are readily associated with how introductions proceed between children and adults. Indeed, the relevance of my "expectations" offers evidence of my participation in the interaction as a participant-observer, while also offering a means of accounting for the interaction itself.

The last paragraph of the boy's question interaction starts with, "[Hispanic author's widow] then asked, 'Are you going to study at [this university]?' And I saw the boy move, light up as he said yes". This is where the widow who pertains to the 'dignitary' category addresses the boy as a member of a 'potential university student' category. The interaction offers evidence of an inscription taking place, as noted in the text that states, "Everyone responded saying things like 'recruiting already'". The text narrative that continues takes us to a later time, one that is far removed from the interaction. The text states, "When [my consultant] and I discussed the interaction later on he said he gave the boy a 'thumbs-up' and he told me that he heard his teacher tell him he had just been introduced to some important people, I guess she was acknowledging his interest, having had asked the question". It helps us know how the interaction ended, how the boy is able to return under the purview of his teacher. On the one hand, the "thumbs-up" between my consultant and the boy functions as a farewell, while the interaction between the boy and his teacher, in which the question he had posed gets appraised, thus reinitiating the previously held collection K standard relational pairing of 'teacher student'.

The next two extracts are supplemental to the interaction story in the sense that they talk about a series of conversations I had with the adult participants.

Extract 47: Fieldbook entry, 31 Oct. 2005

I still have notes about things that happened throughout the Latino Book Award but I have to go back to those eternal seconds in which [Hispanic author's] brother, widow and sister-in-law met [boy]. As I already explained, I spent a lot of time with [my consultant] going over the interaction, trying to see how it worked and what it produced. [My consultant] said he saw the boy walk away with his teachers, she also took him by the shoulder and [my consultant], after his "thumbs up" heard her say something about how he had just met some important people, how wonderful that was.

Extract 48: Fieldbook entry, 31 Oct. 2005

I was able to speak to the couple, [in-laws of the Hispanic author's widow]. [Hispanic author's brother] said he found himself waiting as he spoke, he said his waiting was unusual because, as a pediatrician, he is used to dealing with children, used to making them feel important. His wife, said much the same thing, felt uncomfortable and perhaps waiting for [Hispanic author's widow] to take the lead, and she did.

The first extract repeats much of what was included in the boy's question interaction narrative while adding the word "shoulder", which offers evidence of a conventional way of how teachers guide boys. The second extract highlights a number of constraints associated with the dignitary category, offering a series of conversations I had with two of the dignitary family members where my question revolves around the "handshake" expectation found in the boy's question interaction narrative. First I spoke to the brother and then I spoke to his wife. Both of them offered a "waiting" explanation which in turn gave the Hispanic author's widow "the lead" in the introduction sequence of the boy's question interaction.

The focus on my expectations in the last two extracts shows how ethnographic field notes help describe an interaction while also providing an opportunity to reflect on how it gets accomplished. These two characteristics go together since the writing of the field notes consists of recreating events. An ethnography device has a dyadic nature, where instances of being a 'participant' alternate with others in which the category of 'observer' gains purchase in

the text. The two categories appear to be a pairing, one that modulates along with the categories taken on by the people in the field. As such, field notes are approximations of what is going on in the field that continuously swap with field notes that are evidence of the ethnographer participating in the creation of the very field that is being studied. MCA helps us draw a line between a witness and a participant report, however tenuous each of these categories might be. When I characterized the interaction as one in which, "I stood there in what seemed an eternity", the text is making reference to my expectations. There was a handshake that never happened, even after I had participated in getting the child introduced. When I later refer to "those eternal seconds", my reflections with my consultant about the interaction sent me on an exploration to try "to see how it worked and what it [had] produced". Of course, the evidence of how the interaction worked is solely in the interaction itself while the interviews I later had about it are something else. At the very least, my conversations with my consultant, the Hispanic author's brother and his wife produced a way of thinking about the interaction. I moved from being a participant to conducting an interview with a group of informants. In this sense, their responses are not evidence of what happened in the interaction. Their responses pertain to an interview interaction that took place, one in which they are asked to report on what had occurred between them and a child. Given my 'interviewer' status, their responses remove me from the scene of the original interaction. Moreover, there is field note evidence of my participation in the child's question interaction that helps us understand the significance of the categories that emerge in the interview interaction.

The second paragraph of the first extract of the child's question interaction states that

the Hispanic author's brother is a "physician". In the last extract presented here, the text states, "he said his waiting was unusual because, as a pediatrician, he is used to dealing with children, used to making them feel important". As noted at the beginning of this analysis, I had not made reference to the professions of the other dignitary family members. My mention of a convention where, "I was expecting for someone to reach out to the child, to shake his hand, like all the times I had been instructed to do upon being introduced" begins to be situated in an introducing device. Three categories come into play in this interaction, an introducer, an introducee, and the person(s) to whom the latter is being introduced. As an observer at that point of the interaction, it could be said that I was thinking out what I would do if I had been any of the three members of this interaction. As a 'teacher introducer' I probably would have instructed the child to offer his hand, and as 'child introducee' I would have offered mine as an enactment of how I had been instructed by my parents, teachers, etc. As a 'dignitary introducee', and one who has experience with children in a professional capacity, I would have reached out to offer my hand as a way of making the child feel important. None of these occurred.

By thinking beyond 'handshake' limitations, we can start to think of other introducing device categories. The analysis has already offered evidence of an inscription taking place when "everyone responded saying things like 'recruiting already'", yet we begin to see how a recruiting convention can successfully substitute the convention of handshaking under an introducing device. The 'dignitaries' who are at a university event, being introduced to a 'child' by a 'university activity participant' act accordingly. Indeed, the fact that the brother and his wife deferred to the Hispanic author's widow by waiting for her to take the lead in the

formal introduction also gives evidence of the ubiquitous commemorative-function device. At the same time, there is also evidence of my insistence on a handshake in my field notes. It would seem as if the appropriate introducing device activities between children and adults in this situation requires them to comport themselves in such a way as to avoid touching. In fact the recruiting convention was used in lieu of a handshake, the inscriptive force of the first meets the conventionally appropriate significance of the second. Moreover, the field notes offer evidence of an appropriate use of touch. This occurs under the 'teacher student' collection K standard relational pairing, the one that occurs when my consultant "took the boy by the shoulder and guided him in the direction of the people he had pointed out". The second time the boy is touched is when "[my consultant] said he saw the boy walk away with his teachers, she also took him by the shoulder and [my consultant], after his 'thumbs up' heard her say something about how he had just met some important people, how wonderful that was".

(i) *Children's questions.* The analysis of the child's question interaction draws attention to the many ways that higher education is able to act on people. It shows how an institution that opens its doors allows for people to chart their way through interactions. We were able to identify the confluence of a number of conditions that bring certain categories together. The devices, categories, characteristics and activities that emerged accounted for how the interaction was able to take place. Ethnographic field notes served as the basis for the analysis of the interaction that took place between a child and some adults in a hallway of a building at an institution of higher education. While offering a detailed reflection on what happened they also provided the data for the series of categories revealed in the analysis. This

section is similar to the analysis of the business meeting that included an insertion sequence about a sash. Although no field notes were used in the analysis of the second section that had to do with the BSW grant application requesting incentives for FGCSs, many of the categories and devices that were put into play in the grant correspond to the ones that emerged in the field note based sections. They all offer opportunities to reflect on a number of higher education practices where we are able to situate the actions of people in their everyday activities, of persons writing institutional grants, participating in "less serious" business meeting insertion sequences, and of children and adults taking their respective breaks in the hallway of a higher education building.

(d) Concluding comments

Central to a MCA mode is that although there are definitions of categories in terms of characteristics and activities, the focus is on how categories are used. This analysis takes data gathered throughout ethnographic fieldwork in the form of documents and field notes. They were selected in as much as the category of First Generation College Student gets subsumed or subsumes other categories depending on the contingencies of contexts, and beyond the contention that they are students whose parents have limited higher education experience. In this sense, the analysis works with the data to situate the FGCS category in a variety of higher education activities.

Starting from the last section and going back to the first, we have a recruitment intervention substituted with an introduction convention of a child who we can then imagine as a subject of a formal welfare system professional recruiting program. Once recruited, we can see how that student gets through college, graduates, perhaps getting established as a

welfare system professional which in turn makes it possible for the student to become an alumnus who chooses to support higher education as a benefactor. Although this person's biography is fictitious, it is based on a composite of categories that we saw put into place in the data. It allows us to think about a person in terms of a series of devices. The list begins to include family-of-origin, racial-ethnic, and social-status devices as well as others that come into play throughout a myriad of persons-in-higher-education activities.

A particular student's success also depends on the practices of persons in their family and community. This is where the significance of a sash that is worn at a graduation ceremony depends on where students come from and on how persons in higher education use it to bridge their community with their academic success. It is not a mere recognition of who the student is, it is taking these categories and using them to potentiate a series of projects. If we think about a graduation in terms of being an event that pertains to a commemorative-function device, we can see how it acts as a transverse beam of signification that supports the possibilities of a family and the future of a community that hinge upon the dreams of a student, the projects of higher education, and the concerns of the state.

The second section looks at the needs section of an institutional grant application for public funds. As a sort of conversation between an institution of higher education and the state, we can see a series of categories that get put into place. And as in any conversation, the negotiation of needs implies an interchange of substantive guarantees. It is a conversation that gets centered on numbers, as significance holders for problematic issues. Rose (1999) states that numbers, "like other 'inscription devices', actually constitute the domains they appear to represent" (p. 198). This shows how the reference citations in the data presented in

this analysis alludes to the voices of experts who have packs of information that serve as an explanatory background for how things are and what needs to be done to pursue particular goals. They form the basis of a negotiation that is necessary for the collaborative work that takes place between higher education and the state. In the process, a series of practices get put into place as a result of a connection that is established between the recruiting of FGCSs and the needs of the state's child welfare system. It is here that we see how a preferred-professional device cuts across a series of devices that have to do with a person's connection to a family and a community, an institution's responsibility to society, and the state's duty to its constituents.

The last section looks at an interaction that occurred between a child and a group of adults in the hallway of a higher education building. It also reveals the use of categories in a series of practices that transcend past and future events. When a child asks a group of adults what they do, he gets to meet the family of a person who is being commemorated for his work. The commemorative-function device, much like the one that gets put into place through the graduation ceremony in the first section, puts a series of categories into play that pertain other devices. Of these, the ubiquity of a racial-ethnic device gets situated in who is being commemorated, in who are the participants in the interaction, as well as in the person doing this ethnographic study. Personal relationships gain purchase throughout the analysis, from what happens at an institution level to what occurs between two research collaborators who are also friends.

Location and time devices set the stage for the chance meeting in the hallway, where the voicing of a question can be seen as a product of a complexity of categories that have

been put into play. A child's question gets heard by a group of university event participants, some of who are guest dignitaries. As much as it might be fun for a group of kids to be on a field trip, this gets translated into the serious work of reaching out to the community to instill some type of appreciation for the importance of higher education. Again, the analysis allows us to think about the contingencies that made the interaction possible while also helping us see how a series of pervasive categories are put into play. A child and some adults meet in a hallway of education, as that institution that goes from pre-kindergarten to graduate school. He finds himself at an event where he is taken to see a Hispanic author's image that is hung on the wall of a hallway, as evidence of the significance of a commemorative-function device. He meets the dignitary family members who in turn respond with a recruitment convention, the part of the interaction that substitutes an introduction device for one of recruitment. While this summary of the interaction only touches upon a few of the categories that converged to make it occur, it shows the radical importance of (our) practices as sources of social action.

The categories that have surfaced in the analysis invites the obvious question of, why these data and not others? Choosing among the vast amount of data gathered throughout the ethnographic study involves a process of determining objectives, staying within intelligibility constraints to convey the complexity of the data, and attending to the possibilities the data offers to capture that complexity. The process of telling the ethnography requires a certain immediacy or a capturing of a slice of life that is able to make the narrative sequencing apparent while being able to decipher how categories get co-selected, one that corresponds to the dissemination rule of economically demonstrating the category and device meaning-

making-work of their respective characteristics and activities.

6. Conclusions: Student Differences, University Policies, and 'Identity Work'

The Methodological Notes chapter addresses how I proceeded in my ethnographic approximation to the field as well as how I carried out my ethnomethodological approach in the analysis of the data I collected throughout the fieldwork. In order to establish a backdrop for the conclusions to this investigation I find it necessary to trace back to a time before the formal initiation of the investigation, to the first time I met Isaac (a pseudonym), my primary consultant. The story begins when I was pursuing a master's degree in counseling at the same institution where I did this ethnography. I got involved in a research project that sought to understand the counseling needs of Hispanic, Black, and of gay and lesbian students. I accepted an invitation to join the project and although I could have worked with any of the groups, I offered to recruit Hispanic students to participate in the study. A Filipina woman and I formed a Hispanic counseling team and we decided to meet with Isaac at the university counseling center after having identified him as one of the few staff persons who at that time had a Hispanic surname. What followed was a series of group sessions and discussions with the leaders of the other two project teams, however, the research project lost its funding and to my knowledge nothing was ever done with the hours of recorded sessions.

Despite the failure of the project, Isaac and I continued working together on other projects. We developed a close friendship and he became one of the persons who encouraged me to get a higher degree. I decided to pay him a visit the semester before I was to begin my studies at the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona. I found him in his office at the counseling center's location in a brand new building. We both looked a little older and he still talked about being swamped with work. He said he had time to speak before having to go to a

meeting, then interrupted himself to say that he would like for me to join him. Though I asked, he did not offer any details about this meeting so I decided not to insist. After all, the 70 kilometers I had traveled from my hometown allowed me the leisure to explore the new campus facilities with my friend.

We went to one of the meeting rooms in the large new student center and soon thereafter a few of the students began to arrive. I remember most of them being Hispanic like Isaac and me. I got introduced to each of them as they settled into the chairs around a large table. It was not until the meeting had started that I was informed that it was a business meeting for the First Generation Student Organization (FGSO). As I sat there looking at the undergraduates, I found it surprising how I immediately identified with the FGCS category. Upon hearing it and after listening to some of the student's comments, it gave me a way of storying how it was for me to have gone through college as an undergraduate. I thought how beneficial it would have been to participate in a similar type of support group when I had been in college. Being in that room with Isaac and the students also helped me realize how I had been able to get my undergraduate degree, and how I had continued to surround myself with people who have helped me throughout my academic career.

The feeling I had that day, however, did not deter me from thinking about psychotherapy in the United States and wondering about the relationship between a therapist and a client who are culturally or racially different. Based on a premise that a therapist is someone who functions normally in everyday life, I wanted to explore the impact on the therapist of the client's experiences, seen as comparably successful attempts at living a full life. My interest in psychotherapy as a technology of the self implied an exploration of

therapist-client interactions to understand the effects they have on each other, where the experiences that get shared in the intimacy of the counseling relationship have a way of improving or changing the therapist's life as much as the client's. However, due in part to the strict confidentiality restrictions of doing an ethnography of the therapeutic consulting room, I opted for an exploration of Higher Education to study the interactions between our institutions and ourselves. It was not until I began to think about counseling as a space that echoes an institutionalized technology of the self that I was able to broaden my understanding of who we are as people who are acted upon in terms of gender, race, ethnicity, and a number of other categories. These are some of the ways we are acted upon and the premise here is that institutions result from a combination of practices, of activities where people act upon others, creating the very institutions we deal with in our everyday lives.

Institutions afford a public space where I have been able to pursue my interest in the technologies of the self that are propagated by the very selves we are. Having moved from the interplay between a therapist and a client in the intimacy of a counseling relationship, I now found myself studying the pervasive reach of institutions on who we are as individuals. The phrase, "identity work" helped me understand the similarity between the intimacy of psychotherapy and the pervasiveness of institutions, both of which depend on the practices of persons in specific interactions. Much like the small and intimate counseling relationship, Higher Education offers expansive and pervasive "identity work" events. We soon discover that therapeutic interactions are as much an example of what takes place between people in social spaces as the interactions that occur in institutions.

It is these interactions that can be studied as evidence of how we live, where every-day

life or the quotidian takes center stage. It is the commonsensical requisite of interactions that make us who we are. They form a space that functions as a substrate from which our projects emerge. This investigation, then, is a walking through the door of ethnography to understand how the social category of First Generation College Student gets used in the daily activities of people at an institution of higher education. It is their membership, as the hinges of doors opening and closing that creates the noise of categories in a variety of specific contexts. The second chapter on ethnography as a social science perspective establishes a basis for an ethnomethodologically informed ethnography as a place from which to reflect on the practices of persons doing what they do in the day-to-day of what it is to be in the halls of academia. As such, the evidence analyzed in the fourth and fifth chapters emerged more from the field itself and less from the information gathered in the third chapter on the scientific research done on First Generation College Students, or even from my personal, academic and professional membership knowledge about the category.

The biographical notes I have offered up to this point bring us to a less distant past. Isaac continued writing to me and sometimes we chatted on the phone or on the Internet. At one point he told me he was working on a DVD presentation, that it was an edited version of a taped first generation college student focus group interview. Upon viewing the copy I had received in the mail, I remembered how I had felt at the FGSO meeting I had been invited to when I went to visit him at the university. This combination of events lead me to pursue a line of investigation that inquires into how the social category of First Generation College Student gets used in higher education. It has resulted in an ethnography and the subsequent membership categorization analysis of some of the field work data that was gathered at a

university in the southwest United States.

(a) The ethnography

The second chapter argues for the benefits of doing an ethnomethodologically informed ethnography, at the very least to meet some of the disciplinary requirements of social psychology. This approach can be seen in how I "handle" the field data I was able to gather. On the one hand, my concern about categorizations removes me from classification attempts as well as from simply assuming the density of extant categories. The categories of lived interactions take center stage, as the ones that are constituted by its members. It moves us from contemplating the communication of thoughts and intentions, to seeing how interactions are sustained through members' performances. It is the relevance of a category, and how it works to create meaning for an interaction that helps us speak of its density in a specific context. In terms of language and density, the relevance of a category in a particular interaction depends on words used and the significance they amass.

There are at least two uses for the word ethnography, as a way of talking about how one is going to be in the field, and as the written product or the report of the field experience. The second definition entails the sorting out of a massive amount of data that in turn results in some type of analysis. The data culled from field notes and artefacts is often presented in a narrative, incorporating the process of arriving at the field, aspects of the ethnographer's socialization, and how a saturation point was reached that signaled some type of culmination or point at which data collection was terminated. In thinking about all of the experiences I had throughout the ten months of field work, it is safe to say that my field notes could have been presented in variety of ways. My report could have been autoethnographic, writing

about my personal past in tandem with the evidence accumulated about FGCSs in the field. I could have also used the field notes as the basis for a narrative in the form of a novel about higher education and the FGCS category, perhaps with Isaac as the Higher Education administrative personnel activist, a counselor protagonist who draws attention to student diversity issues at the university. Although the chapter on Methodological Notes covers some of these aspects of this ethnography at a university in the southwest U.S., the field note data was instead analyzed for the categories that emerged in specific contexts in order to make the mundane available for reflection.

I limited my "story telling" in this dissertation to a selected number of data sets. I also limited my presence in these data sets by attending to the ethnomethodological details of interactions. It involved going about the business of revealing the categories that made the data interesting in the first place. I was drawn to four data sets. The first one was the DVD presentation on First Generation College Students as an institutional artefact or something that was produced in the field. The second one was also an institutional artefact, an alumni bulletin that became the focus of attention in a meeting in my consultant's office. The third data set consisted of a third institutional artefact, a grant application directed at the recruitment of FGCSs into the BSW program at the university. The last data set consisted of an interaction where a boy sharing a break with a bunch of adults in the hallway of the student center lined with pictures of distinguished alumni poses a question.

Although Paul ten Have (2002) uses the phrase "detached observation" in his description of three studies that rely on direct observation, he maintains that the studies' reflections are focused on membership knowledge, where the reflective stance of an

ethnomethodologically informed ethnography respecifies objectivity and subjectivity research aims. This ethnography is a reflective description that focuses on the membership knowledge of participants, from the analysis of the direct and mediated observations. In this sense, I focused on direct observations of specific interactions captured in ethnographic field notes, as well as on mediated observations of a transcribed DVD presentation and the text of a grant application.

(b) The analyses

The results of this study are in line with an objective that would be characteristic of Membership Categorization Analysis, that is, to reveal how the social category of First Generation College Student is used in Higher Education. The analysis of the DVD presentation gave us a series of membership categories (MCs) that came into play in the focus group while the second data analysis chapter gave us a series of Membership Category Devices (MDCs) that came into play in the interactions captured in the field book and in the institutional artefacts. In addition to showing how MCA is done, the principal objective of the fourth chapter was to reveal how the DVD presentation 'works'. This makes the chapter an MCA exercise as well as an analysis of how the DVD, as an educational marketing artefact, is able to satisfy its intended goal. One of the most prominent features of the DVD presentation is that as much as it presents a group of students as FGCSs, it has also been produced to be viewed by students who come from similar backgrounds. In this sense, there is a "subject" in play, one that is represented by the DVD participants that at some level is similar to the intended viewers of the DVD. At another level, there are the DVD presentation participants themselves, as the moderator who also happens to be my primary consultant, a

narrator who is a graduate student at the university, and a group of undergraduates who agreed to participate in the production of the DVD. As a group, their participation is an enactment of an institutional endeavor, one that corresponds to policies geared at broadening the possibility of higher education beyond the well represented population of traditional students (TSs).

The caution at this point is to heed to the complexity of the field and not capitulate to the forces of extant categories. By saying ‘traditional’ and using it to describe a type of student, it is important to remember that the scientific context of my exposition on the social category of FGCS in the third chapter largely rests on comparisons with the social category of TS. These categories are discrete insofar as TSs are those who come from families where at least one parent has some higher education experience. Yet, insofar as FGCSs pertaining to racial-ethnic categories that are commonly associated with ‘underrepresentedness’, the TS and FGCS categories begin to show some overlap. Additionally, based on the references cited in the third chapter, it would be incorrect to categorize students who are not traditional as “non-traditional students” since this last social category refers to students who did not begin their college career immediately after high school.

Of the four data sets that this study focuses on, the first one is a DVD presentation that is basically an educational marketing artefact directed at recruiting first generation college students. Many categories emerged from the DVD presentation analysis of the fourth chapter, some of which appear in the third chapter that covers the Higher Education scientific literature. In terms of the co-selection of categories that occurs in a narrative sequence, the data presented in the fifth chapter corresponds to the journey of a student who successfully

walks through the halls of higher education, from a recruitment interaction between a boy and some adults at a university commemorative function, to a grant application submitted by a university department that argues for the recruitment of FGCSs, and finally to the representation of a student graduating from college on the cover of an alumni bulletin that became the topic of discussion in a meeting. The fifth chapter covers this narrative in reverse order, making the cover of an alumni bulletin directed at potential university benefactors the second data set as well as being another subject of analysis that is an example of an educational marketing artefact. Of the remaining two data sets, there is one that consists of a social work department grant application for funds to recruit FGCSs as potential child welfare agency professionals, and another that consists of an interaction between a boy and some adults in the hallway of a university building lined with alumni pictures. This last one is less identifiable as an institutional artefact and more easily understood as an interaction that occurred at an event hosted by an institution of higher education.

The data sets analyzed in the fourth and fifth chapters provide evidence of the translation of institutional policies into action, explicitly in terms of a set of recruitment practices. Many different subjects get constructed in the process. First there are the potential college students whose parents have limited higher education experience. Secondly, the section that starts with the image of a student on the cover of an alumni bulletin shows how the social category of FGCS sometimes overlaps with others that are ethnic or racial. The third data set offers concrete examples of overlaps, especially in terms of how the BSW grant application for a FGCS recruitment project bases its claims for an "other" in terms of the social category of TS. The last and final data set is the most problematic since its focus is

broader. In addition to focusing on the ethnic category of Hispanic, it also looks at the recruiting practices directed at students who are younger than high school age. It adds to the variety of artefacts and events gathered in this ethnomethodologically informed ethnography to represent some of the ways university policies are put into action as they participate in the construction of the FGCS category and a number of others.

This summary that describes the different data sets offers a way of addressing the question, "Why these data and not others?" Choosing from among the vast amount of data gathered throughout the ethnographic study involved a process of determining objectives while attending to the intelligibility constraints involved in conveying the complexity of the data. The telling of this ethnography consists of attending to a slice-of-life-immediacy; deciphering how categories get co-selected in specific interactions while staying close to the apparent narrative sequencing of the events. An ethnomethodologically informed ethnography offers a means of demonstrating the category and device meaning-making-work of interaction members' characteristics and activities, that results in the discovery of social practices through the very descriptions offered by the analysis, not constructed through coding procedures but through making observable the "situated actions and practices in and through which members make sense and produce" (Crabtree, Nichols, O'Brien, Rouncefield, & Twidale, 2000, p. 671) higher education marketing artefacts and events directed at particular types of students.

(i) *Categories*. While the fourth analysis chapter focused on showing how the DVD presentation 'works', we can also look at it in terms of how the questions posed by the interview moderator reflect the FGCS scientific literature in chapter three. As an example, the

community-of-origin MCD that overlaps with immigrant and culture devices that are implied in the moderator's questions reflect much of that research literature. When Amelink (2005) states that FGCSs' academic success is fostered by participation in discussion groups, we see that the DVD participants are doing something that will increase their chances of finishing college despite other categories that emerged throughout the edited focus group interview. There is also a college-not-so-smooth device that covers categories that have to do with the financial situation and academic preparedness of the students. At the same time, these and a number of other categories in the DVD presentation present the actual stories of a group of students for a potential audience with a similar background, resulting in a "foregrounding" (Baum & Payea, 2004; Bart, 2004; Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005) that gets enacted and that allows the DVD viewers to imagine themselves in the future. They are brought in as actors in a scenic framing that corresponds to a particular social framing that consists of a variety of categories that emerge throughout the presentation. In combination, these categories claim a "cultural citizenship [that affirms] the right as Mexican-origin students to receive quality education, to be on college campuses in significant numbers, and to be appropriately supported in their academic and career development. In other words, the right to first-class student status" (Benmayor, 2003, ¶ 5).

It is quite reasonable to imagine that my consultant may have familiarized himself with the research on FGCSs in preparation for his performance as the moderator for the recording session. The use of research to inform his line of questioning corresponds to an administrator's activity, as someone who puts some Higher Education research categories into play while giving voice to a series of institutional policies intended to expand the college

experience to persons who do not come from TS populations (Bui, 2002; Moore, 2003; Lohfink, 2004; Settle, 2005). We find these policies in action with the use of the FGCS category, through the questions about their admissions process, about people who encouraged them, the obstacles they have faced, and especially about differences between who the participants are as persons with respect to those they met when they found themselves in the new context of college life. Beginning with the interview moderator’s prologue that mentions the phrase, “one culture in common”, the specific topics covered with the DVD participants had to do with a) how they decided to attend college, b) if they felt academically prepared, c) what they thought of their dormitory experience, d) what resources they used to stay on top of their studies, e) how different the college experience was for them, f) what organizations or events they attended, g) how they handled the financial pressures of going to college, and h) what their experiences were with mentors. The interview moderator also focused on the general impressions the participants had with respect to their “going back home” experiences, and inquired into where they found the strength to continue in school despite sometimes feeling like quitting. In the last segment of the edited DVD presentation, the moderator asks the participants to act as ‘students who made an effective transition to college’ experts. He asks them to address the DVD viewers as persons who might have doubts about going to college.

Of course, the significance of this analysis lies less on successfully identifying sources that permeate the narrator’s and interview moderator’s statements and more on demonstrating their relevance in the DVD presentation as a whole. By the same token, when FGCS chapter source categories appear in the participants’ responses to the moderator’s questions, they

provide evidence of a series of category ascription and contestation events. For example, there are sources that note how students' success is a response to the encouragement they are offered (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001), especially the family support underlying the persistence of Mexican-American students (Pino, 2005; Rey, 2006). The responses to the questions about who encouraged the students contests literature that notes a pervasive lack of family support for FGCSs (Mueller, 1997; Barrett, 2005; Nolan, 2005), pointing us to other sources that show how they become good consumers of the support offered on college campuses (Rios, 2001). These examples attest to the complexity of what it means to be a FGCS and more importantly, to how the DVD reproduces the category itself and in a constant contrast to the ubiquitous social category of Traditional Student. While having a point of comparison is tantamount to establishing the scientific reality of a construct, inquiring into the comparison itself would perhaps serve to reflect upon the very constructs used in the day-to-day implementation of institutional policies.

(ii) *Devices*. One way to reflect on our practices is to appreciate the span of Membership Category Devices (MCDs) that emerge in our day-to-day activities. As opposed to the focus on categories in the fourth chapter, the composite montage of artefacts and events presented in the fifth chapter in such a way as to simulate the stages students go through from lower levels of education to successfully graduating from college focuses on MCDs. The BSW FGCS recruitment grant application bridges the graduation picture on the cover of the alumni bulletin with the child's question interaction with some adults at a university sponsored event. They allow us to reflect on the MCDs of family, student, high-school-student, college-student, and higher-education. In terms of what people do, there are also the

MCDs of student-encourager and deciding-to-go-to-college. MCDs like community-of-origin and immigrant refer to where people come from and there are also some MCDs that emerge from institutional ways of doing things as in the case of needing-assistance, child-welfare-system-clients, preferred-professional, racial-ethnic, and minority-population. Taken together as devices that result from practices that participate in the construction of the FGCS, we can find evidence of many of them in the third chapter FGCS literature review.

Again, the significance of this analysis lies in revealing the practices in the ethnographic data by providing evidence of how they participate in the construction of the social category of FGCS. The first device of the list is the most telling. The family device's predominance in the ethnographic data reflects the definition of FGCSs while the scientific literature in chapter three takes their parents' lack of college experience very seriously. For some, FGCS status affects their transition to college (Long, 2005; Tandberg, 2007) while others inquire into the status in terms of policies that are enacted in their behalf that are based on traditional student stage theories (Calkins, 2005), or focus on parent characteristics that might influence their academic career (Sorter, 1985; Sinkowsky, 1996; Demerath & Lynch, 2002; DeLong, 2003). Categories under a community-of-origin device come into play in inquiries about rural family literacy (McDaniel, 2001), the social capital implications of the link between parent education and their involvement in their student's academic plans (Martinez, 1999), or in research showing that FGCSs and their parents both lack knowledge about higher education institutional procedures (Kuh, Kinzie, Buckley, Bridges, & Hayek, 2006). While no differences were found between FGCSs and TSs on coursetaking and performance variables (Chen, 2005), a university with a high enrollment of FGCSs reports an

impressive low attrition for students with this status (see <http://www.regents.state.oh.us/perfrpt/2004index.html>). While this last report alludes to a community-of-origin device, the established tendency to explore racial-ethnic and minority-population devices has a foothold in the literature. When inquiries are made into who encouraged Black students to pursue college (Hewlett, 1981), the data becomes part of the type of knowledge institutions depend on, as in the case of summaries that allude to Hispanic or immigrant devices that speak of family factors that increase academic outcome risk such as coming from a single parent family or not having English as a primary language (see http://www2.chass.ncsu.edu/swisher/vol2_no1/resources/holly_marshallburn.html).

The last three MCDs that appear to be relevant in this study are the ones of child-welfare-system-clients, needing-assistance, and preferred-professional especially as they appear to be closely related to a community-of-origin MCD as one example bound with various inclusionary and exclusionary implications. The grant application in which this constellation of devices appears makes it possible to highlight the significance of the social category of first generation college student whereby the future of a group of individuals, their families, and their communities gets connected with the interests of the State and via the bridge of Higher Education. The significance of the text, as a source of practices, lies less in the references cited throughout the document and more in how this analysis attests to how a series of claims are put into social action. Just as it is incumbent upon university personnel to put university policies into action, their work is part of a varied network of actors or a "membership complex" that puts devices into play, practices that give the social category of first generation college student a certain density or degree of salience. When the devices of

child-welfare-system-clients, needing-assistance, and preferred-professional get duplicatively organized with racial-ethnic or minority-population devices, categories such as Hispanic or Black related to cultural difference, lower income status, and student population diversity issues decrease the "identity work" of categories related to a group of students' parent level of higher education experience.

(c) The question of instrumentality

This study does not pretend to offer an ethnomethodologically informed ethnographic social science research perspective to settle a debate that has yet to take place, between a reflexivity understood in terms of researcher field positioning and representation, and one that places reflexivity in the realm of researcher field method scrutiny and objectivity (Langenohl, 2009). It is a study that revolves around a membership that inextricably places us in a position to reflect on what we do as members of the field and as scientists. As an ethnography that stays close to membership knowledge, it does not ascribe to the formulaic assumption that ethnographers need to be objective to be able to represent their subjects of the study. Instead, their work entails a reflexivity that attests to the politics of practices in terms of what could be called subjectivity and agency studies, governance studies, or simply social psychology. A set of objectives that respond to the requirements of the field, coupled with analytical procedures that can reveal the immediacy of interactions provide an intelligibility of a complex matrix of practices. Perhaps in the process of evading the debate between representation and objectivity concerns, we might instead choose to attend to how the knowledge we produce participates in creating who we are and the institutions we inhabit. I believe the policy implications for this kind of approach lies in realizing that despite the

high degree of complexity of our forms of life, we can reveal how they work. In turn, as we realize that acting upon this knowledge inescapably pertains to attempts directed at particular practices, the ones we choose to interrupt are themselves inextricably set in a recursive assemblage of the social.

The social category of First Generation College Student, how it is put into play in Higher Education, and the categories and devices it winds through in interactions offers us an opportunity to see how it gets constructed. While the category membership heuristic is central to this analysis, we can also say that the milieu we navigate every day acquires meaning due to the distinctions that emerge in interactions. In this sense, being an FGCS is not without its exclusions and inclusions. This study has revealed how the ubiquitous social category of Traditional Student functions as a predicate to the construction of former. Yet it is an ubiquity that can be problematized based on how the fixity of what appears to be a dichotomous pair begins to get refuted, opening the possibility of inquiring into how either of the categories gets sustained by a set of practices that have been the subject of this study.

The reflective work in this ethnomethodologically informed ethnography has evolved into one that problematizes the ubiquity of the social category of Traditional Student. Indeed, it resulted from concerns about the “identity work” of some university policies directed at the diversification of the student body at a university. Although these policies are explicit in much of the data, the assumptions or the standard for what it means to be a student was not as evident. This ethnography, as a contrived composite or montage of four data sets is a small stage production that provides numerous opportunities for reflection on a set of higher education practices, due to and in spite of the specific knowledge produced by research work

that attends to the immediacy of interactions.

7. Methodological Notes

The natural history of an ethnography covers many of the methodological decisions made throughout the research process, from those that influence the choice of topic to the ones made in the field. The research process ineluctably consists of an initial objective that then opens up to newer ones. For this report I will be referring to my field book notes, a printed copy of my PDA's electronic calendar, field documents, as well as a number of saved chats and emails that mostly consist of exchanges with Dr. Isaac Ybarra (pseudonym). He and I became friends when I worked with him on a research project that looked into the counseling needs of Hispanic college students in his capacity as a counselor during the time I was enrolled as a professional counseling graduate student at the same university in the United States southwest that is the field site for this ethnography. He later became my primary consultant for this study.

(a) Pre-official something or other

Leading up to the ethnography proposal for this study, I had a chat with Isaac at the end of August, 2003 where he suggested that I work, "with a group caught between two cultures such as people like [his] kids". His reference was to the fact that his college educated children did not "fully know or speak the [Spanish] language and live a white and Hispanic life". We had this chat during the period I was finishing the research project for the social psychology master's degree, an ethnography of public call centers (*locutorios*) in Barcelona (Alvarado, 2006). I had decided not follow the same line of research for the dissertation and was thinking about a topic as well as a "laboratory" where I could do the fieldwork. This was before Isaac had told me he was producing an educational marketing tool that consisted of an

edited interview with a group of First Generation College Students (FGCSs), those whose parents have little or no higher education experience.

One of the earliest emails (March 7, 2005) I received from Isaac alludes to his work on an FGCS DVD. In it he promised to send me the video abstract by email and a copy of the video by regular mail. He also promised to include information about Alfred Lubrano's (2004) book, *Limbo: Blue Collar Roots, White Collar Dreams*. The first line of this book reads, "I am two people" and it is based on interviews with white collar professionals from working class families. Chatting about the DVD helped us recall the time he had invited me to a meeting the day I visited him at the university, in 2002 and months before knowing if I had been accepted to into the social psychology doctorate in Barcelona. That day, he simply told me that as the advisor for a student organization he needed to make a meeting and when we got there I found out it was with the First Generation Student Organization (FGSO) members. It was our discussion about his work on the DVD that reminded me of the personal connection I had felt with the social category of First Generation College Student at that meeting years ago .

I sent Isaac an email two days later where I told him I had proposed the research topic to my dissertation advisor and was about to write the proposal, one that was later formally presented that year (June 30, 2005). I told him I was working on an itinerary that included plans to visit him. This marked the beginning of the pre-official part of my field work since becoming official later depended on the provost's approval at the university where I intended to do the ethnography. The approval, which consisted of a response to a letter of introduction sent from my social psychology department to the president of the institution, did not come

through until the month of October, 2005.

The general objective of the study was to know how the social category of First Generation College Student (FGCS) gets used by persons at an institution of higher education. I left Spain and arrived in the United States on April fifth but I did not go visit Isaac at the university until Monday, April 18. We met at his office, took the elevator down to the bar in the student center where we talked about my research interests. We spoke in terms of him being a doorkeeper, someone who would make it possible for me to connect with students, administrators and other people involved or affected by the social category of FGCS. The meeting could be summarized in a simple request, that I needed a desk and a lamp somewhere at the university. He began by mentioning some people at the university who work with Hispanic college bound high school students, adding that these students tended to be FGCSs. As he thought about the desk I was asking for, he mentioned Dr. Sal Sierra's work with Hispanic student recruitment as an office where I could work writing demography based proposals. I told him I was not interested in paid work because I wanted the freedom to do my fieldwork. At the same time, I insisted that a desk on campus would be a necessity. The conversation then centered on what my role would be, recognizing the importance our friendship which had begun with me looking for someone who could identify some Hispanic students for a professional counseling master's program research project ten years before, and anticipating the transformations that would take place in our relationship as I began this ethnography.

The following day Isaac concentrated on the FGCS DVD. He was concerned about its official presentation, what I jokingly referred to as the "renowned, famous, world premier"

that would be taking place on Wednesday, April 20 with administrative and faculty personnel attending. He showed me a folder with all of the emails that had to do with the production of the DVD, pointing out one where he had explicitly told the students not to wear white or bright colored shirts for the recording session. One woman who did not get the message had arrived wearing a white blouse. He added that he had lost contact with most of the students who had participated but most of them had been members of the FGSO.

The following day at the premier, the smell of fresh popcorn made in a free standing machine filled the space and there were also candies spread out on some tables at the entrance, making us feel as if we were in a movie house. The session started with introductions and Isaac thanking everyone who had participated in the production. Some FGSO members were introduced but none of them were the students who had participated in the DVD. The occasion was also used to garner support for a DVD dealing with the history of mariachi at the university. On the whole, the presentation offered an opportunity to think about how to use DVDs such as the one being presented today as college recruiting aids with high school students.

After the premier I had to travel to Mexico on personal business. This gave me the opportunity to think about what had happened during these first few days at the university. One of the words that came up was “marketing”, and there was also the phrase Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI), a federal designation that would grant more financial support for the university. A similar topic came up in a conversation with a friend of mine who worked at a private college. With respect to the impact of this designation she told me that despite the HSI status of the university where she worked, she said the university president had

expressed an interest in recruiting white male students because they tended to be benefactors as alumni.

I stayed in chat contact with Isaac and he informed me that Dr. Sierra might be able to take me on through a “supplementary grant”, perhaps to write proposals for community college student transfers who also tend to be FGCSs. As I discussed how these projects might help me in the ethnography I found myself being convinced that doing a comparison between groups would provide me a more workable set of specific objectives. When I said that I was interested in how the category of FGCS gets used by people at the university my response was met with bewilderment. Dr. Sierra said I was interested in the “red ink” of research to which I answered questioning the red-black ink dichotomy of research data. This conversation and others began to question the specificity of the social category of FGCS. I began to see how it worked as an umbrella category, subsuming other categories to which people pertain to in the process of it being used to satisfy particular institutional objectives. I believe maintaining a broader approach toward institutional practices avoids a one-sided problematization. Instead of simply trying to identify a subject, I became more convinced that my objective was to pursue research that looks at the effects and consequences of institutional practices, and move beyond evaluative studies geared toward the refinement of policies that get put into action.

The emerging practices up to this point appeared to be based on a concern about increasing the number of Hispanic students at the university as well as finding ways to help them be successful. I found myself torn between writing about an institution convinced of the importance of its objectives and a research posture that reveals the implications of these same

objectives. Of course, I could have also chosen to question my own comprehensive line of inquiry, and simply for the sake of sacred knowledge. I began to ask myself what color of ink I would be writing in.

I returned from Mexico and was in the United States for a few days before returning to Barcelona. Once there and sitting at my computer in my flat, I was able to chat with Isaac who told me some representatives of the faculty and staff Hispanic organization had been invited to a meeting arranged by an homologous Black organization with the university president to discuss policy concerns about programs allegedly geared in favor of, or with a greater focus on Hispanics. I told him I did not know what to say, that it felt odd to feel the tug of a researcher's perspective. He responded by saying I always seemed to be "in the mode". This news pulled me in different directions, to being a journalist who captures and relates the minutes of a meeting or to a political scientist focused on the interests involved. I guess the anthropologist took over, along with the social psychologist who tries to place the event within practices related to university administration. Yes, my ethnographic field would be the university, not so much as a microcosm of society but as a place that reproduces practices in the name of liberty and the social action implemented towards its end.

I returned to the United States to begin my field work. The first entry in my field book in the middle of August describes my living situation, a room I rented in a house I shared with three other men. Marcos Galván, a friend of Isaac's who often helped out in local university recruitment efforts as a community member had given me the landlady's telephone number. It turned out that she lived in the house across the street. The house was located in a predominantly Mexican-American neighborhood, close to the interstate highway and about a

mile away from the campus. Walking and biking would be my basic modes of transportation and I would be using the Wi-Fi at an Internet café that was across the railroad tracks and in front of the town hall on the way to the university until I got a service contract at home. I had contracted a mobile phone with my parents, which turned out to be a perfect solution for staying in touch with them since they lived 45 miles down the interstate in my hometown. What I did not have was a desk and a lamp at the university, something I would never get despite many attempts to formalize my link with the university through some type of temporary contractual arrangement. The one connection I did establish was by purchasing an alumni card that allowed me to use the computers at the library.

(b) Fieldwork attempts

Soon after having gotten settled into town I met with Isaac to talk about how to proceed. I had noticed a BSW flyer announcing a special scholarship for First Generation College Students on his desk and asked him if he could make the contact for me. He handed me his phone and insisted that I call the department myself. I spoke to Dr. Joan Treviño who agreed to meet me the next day at the FGCS orientation panel that was scheduled for the BSW-FGCS participants of the program announced in the flyer. It was described as an opportunity for faculty and staff to share their experience as college students whose parents had little or no knowledge of higher education. Other faculty and staff members from around the university had also been invited to be on the orientation panel to talk about the services available at the university. After I hang up, and as I spoke about my interest in the program, Isaac informed me he was going to be on the panel to talk about his work at the university counseling center. That said, he changed the topic to tell me that the program Dr. Sierra was

working on to get grants for Hispanic students was not going as well as planned. He asked me to “lay-low”. With this I realized that the plans we had discussed before I had gone to Barcelona were falling through despite my attempt at writing a proposal for a community oriented program called “Education as the Original Cause: *La Causa Promotora*”.

The university recruiting efforts of Hispanic persons are becoming increasingly important and the hiring of persons to go out to targeted communities to promote higher education has been proposed as an effective way to increase their numbers in higher education. They would be called "*Personas Promotoras*", persons that provide the generative force to get students into school. They would be familiar with the existing persons and organizations that serve as higher education liaisons in the community to which they would be assigned; in most cases the *Promotoras* would be working in their own communities.

The *Promotoras* would have been a good line of work despite the existing implementation problems Dr. Sierra was confronting, all having to do with using funds to help get students into the specific university where I was doing the ethnography. I argued that it would not matter if a student decided to go to another school. The response was that the resources would need to be targeted to high school students committed to attending this university. What I imagined was at least two tennis balls stuck on a velcro strip, the relevance of a combination of categories such as Hispanic and FGCS joined with others that attest to their commitment to a particular university.

I had a similar sense about the combination of categories when I went to the BSW-FGCS orientation. My visit was cut short when I told Dr. Steven Walker, a Black professor and the other director of the program about my research. He said he felt that my presence was

not in the best interest of the students. I did not argue the point and asked him if he would be willing to meet with me on a later date. He agreed and said it would be best if Dr. Treviño joined us since they were co-directors of the program. At the same meeting, I met a Black woman who was the library director and when I asked her if she could process an interlibrary loan for me even though I was not a student, she agreed. I offered not to take the book out of the library and she said she knew how to get it back from me. She said she knew me, suggesting that she was willing to trust me with the item.

Legitimacy on campus as a researcher was becoming a problem for me and this made it clear to me that my relationship with students would have to be very specific; they did not come to college to be my research subjects. As a matter of fact, no one at the university had any reason to be part of my research. I found myself writing about my legitimacy concerns when Isaac called me on his way home up the interstate. I told him about my concerns and he started to mention other people I might be interested in meeting. His words helped me see beyond my restless speculation about a situation that was feeding a number of self-flagellating thoughts, opening me up to remember the details of a number of conversations. I realized that I was being transparent, despite the fact that it was probably difficult for my interlocutors to understand what I was talking about when I said things like, “how people take on categories” or “how categories are used in combination with others”. As I thought about the BSW-FGCS orientation, I realized that I was curious about a lot of things, primarily at how everyone there seemed to act as if the category of FGCS brought them together despite the diversity of people in the room. Indeed, questioning the reason for getting together would not be in the best interest of the students. Perhaps it would be better to say

that my interests center around the administrative aspects while still clarifying that I am interested in their effects and consequences. My experience at the orientation taught me one thing: I am dealing with one gate-keeper after another at every turn, each of them a door-opening-opportunity to see how people engage in and live around a category.

Dr. Joan Treviño is the other director of the BSW-FGCS recruiting grant program. We met alone in her office and I explained my pre-official status that included mentioning my research collaboration with Isaac. She thought I was an intern from the university counseling center. I showed her my blue Miquel-Rius® notebook as evidence of my work but still found it difficult to explain that I was actually studying her activity as a someone putting university policies into action. We spoke about my relationship with the BSW-FGCS project and agreed that it would be limited but she promised to send me a copy of the grant application since it was a public document. I told her it would serve as a window to my institutionally focused study of this university.

(c) Introductions

It was the month of August and I was feeling insecure about my field presence. I was able to talk to Isaac about this and he agreed to be my primary contact, a term that eventually evolved into primary consultant for the ethnography. The time I had spent looking for a desk and a lamp through Dr. Sierra's Hispanic recruitment grant money office would have been better spent on formalizing my collaboration with Isaac. Evidence of this is how one day he informed me that the FGCS category had not been included in the diversity programming for the present year or for the following one. I did not offer a solution but noticed Isaac's disappointment. We then talked about writing some type of letter to formalize a research link

between his university and mine in Spain. Instead of a collaboration, Isaac preferred to highlight our collegial relationship.

I went to the university president's convocation, an annual presentation in which she sets the pace for the coming academic term. Although Isaac was there to introduce me to people, there were others I had met who would then introduce me to yet others who worked at the university. Dr. Mario Gómez, an Hispanic dean was given a student service award and I later met him in person. He was the person who informed me that I needed to get an introduction letter from my university president sent to the president of this university to be able to continue doing my research. I was stunned when he told me and I immediately informed Isaac that our letter plan was the route to take. I sent an email to my thesis advisor who told me it would be impossible to get a letter from the rector but offered the option of getting the director of the department to submit one directly to the president's office. I was charged with writing the letter in Spanish and in English. This was the beginning of a situation that did not get resolved until the first week of October when I got an email letter from the university provost giving me permission to pursue my fieldwork.

In the meantime, I continued introducing myself, mentioning the letter, and saying that I was pre-officially doing my research at the university. It still was not clear if the president would require that I submit a report with the university's institutional review board (IRB) so I would also add that I was looking into those requirements. Almost everyone took an interest in my work and offered resources that might help me get through any foreseeable bureaucratic problems. Isaac was very supportive and reminded me that there was a calendar full of activities starting and associated with the celebration of Hispanic heritage at the

university. He invited me to sit under a canopy that housed various organizations in the middle of a campus mall on a sunny day in September. It was the heritage recognition functions' kick-off. Here again, as in the case of the BSW-FGCS orientation, many of the university service offices were represented. I joined Isaac and Rosa Ferrer, both university counseling center staff members. When the sign-up list came around to our table Isaac chose to sign in as the only representative of the FGSO who was present at the function. I did not sign it.

Dr. Pili Salazar, an anthropology professor stopped by the booths to say hello. I had met with her in August when Dr. Sierra's suggested that I look for a contact in a disciplinary area that might be able to sponsor my research. I would later attend one of her classes where she hosted a meeting with a woman who had fought for farm workers' rights along with César Chávez in California. I remember asking myself, what does this woman have to do with the category of FGCS? What became clear was that her politics were based on getting ordinary and less affluent people to participate in politics. Her community work proved to her that things could change when people work together. Later at a reception for this woman, Dr. Imelda Sánchez came and introduced herself to me. I knew she was the newest of the three Hispanic deans at the university. This was her first semester and I later found out that one of the many reasons for her move to this region, after having worked in a northern state, was to be closer to her aging mother. After telling her about my situation that also involved mentioning the possibility of IRB intervention, she left by saying "our paths will cross". I told her I would be going to her reception, one that was planned for a later date hosted by the Hispanic faculty and staff professional organization. Later that evening, at a function where

the woman activist spoke, I noticed the bow-work of an Asian violin member of the university's mariachi group that was there to entertain us. He was definitely classically trained I thought, while my eyes teared up perhaps because the voices were good and the trumpets were bright.

I remember being close to the university president at a student dinner in honor of the woman activist. This reminded me that I was still pre-official but I also understood that this would not be the right time to ask her to consider my case. I decided to wait since I had been informed that the letter was on its way from Spain. I had also taken up Isaac's suggestion to email a copy of the letter, my CV, and the study's proposal abstract to the president's office. In addition to sharing my impatience about the situation, I would also tell Isaac about some of the things I had seen and included in my field book. When I told him that I had noted down how he had signed in as an FGSO member at the Hispanic heritage kick-off, he said there was more. He told me how there was a secretary complaining about having too much work that kept her from sending some money that had to do with the production of the FGCS DVD in Spanish. He also told me that a vice president of a new university had gotten in touch with him about the FGSO constitution, perhaps to use it as a model for a similar organization at that institution.

The next time I found myself close to the university president was at a Black and Latino playwright conference hosted by the theater department of the university. I had invited Carlos to join me. He was the only other Hispanic roommate at the house. We had become friends and had spent a lot of time together. We saw two plays and at the reception celebrated afterwards, I found myself standing directly in front of the president. I asked Carlos if I

should go introduce myself. He knew about my situation and I had even told him that Isaac had mentioned something about the Hispanic faculty and staff professional organization president's concern about me taking advantage of Dr. Imelda Sánchez' reception to present my case to the university president.

My approach consisted of two separate interactions, a first one that was simply introductory with idle chat about her husband's line of work. We separated and a few minutes later, perhaps because the crowd in large theater lobby was sparse or because my body positioning or language brought her back to me. She came back and I stretched out my hand one more time. She responded and I started. Yes, I was nervous and I said I was impressed by her focus on first-generation students as well as her HSI designation initiatives for the university. I interrupted myself to tell her about me; that I was doing a doctorate, etc. I ended that part by saying her administrative assistant had received an email with the introduction letter from my department in Spain. She listened, and I remember looking at her face to see some type of reaction. "She's good", I said to myself, "very difficult to read." I summarized my research interest by stating the title of my proposal and explained that I intended to do an ethnography where identifying the actions by name was not as important as how those actions participate in doing the work of the institution.

(d) Meeting students

I had a chance to speak to a student who worked for the catering service hired for Dr. Imelda Sánchez' welcome reception. Towards the end of the function, I found Isaac talking to him about Alfred Lubrano's book and the FGCS conference that was being planned for April. I joined the conversation even though I wondered why the student was not breaking-down the

set-up along with the other catering staff. The student was Mexican-American and said he was in pre-legal studies. What was peculiar about the situation was that I noticed Isaac move away and leave me alone with the student. This offered us a chance to talk about what it is like to take government classes with professors from different ends of the political spectrum. When I returned to the FGCS topic it seemed to resonate with him. I remember saying I felt like I had just taken my finger off of the whole in a dike and did not know how to stop the flow of water. This helped us close the conversation so he could get back to his duties. At about that point Isaac returned and jokingly said that my three minutes were up, signaling that he had intentionally left me alone with the student. All three of us laughed as I said I was going to let him work, we all agreed and I walked away with Isaac, my primary consultant.

At another function, a very famous Black female poet spoke eloquently about courage surrounded on all sides by students who had gathered to hear her at the same mall where I had joined Isaac for the Hispanic heritage kick-off. This time I sat on the ground, directly in front of the poet and about 7 meters away from the dais among the crowd of students who had arrived to hear her speak. As we waited, I was able to speak to three students, a young man and to young women. They said they were from towns situated closer to the border with Mexico. We spoke in Spanish and they knew *prepa* was short for high school and *chido* was the equivalent of the slang usage for cool. I asked them what they were studying and when I joked that the man studying marketing was going to be the rich one, one of the women came back saying she and her friend were going to be in charge of teaching his children. There came a point in time where it was difficult to speak to them in Spanish since my accent is different from the regional way of speaking the language.

As I looked around I saw some students in black t-shirts with the words “there was NO FIGHT” on the front, and “but the struggle still continues” on the back. Most of them were African-American and they were wearing the shirt in response to an alleged fight in a parking building between some Black students and some university security officers. I recognized some of the students as being Hispanic, particularly one who was bald. I would eventually have a chance to talk to him and learn that his name was Isaiah. I had seen him at the woman activist meeting and among other students who I was noticing because he appeared to be active in the diversity programs on campus. The next place I saw Isaiah was at an the open philosophy seminar scheduled and run by Dr. Shannon Duncan. I went to the seminar because I wanted to meet some students in an academic setting. After the first session, I introduced myself to Dr. Shannon Duncan and told her about my work. She found it interesting and hoped that I would continue attending. She said she wanted me to continue coming because she liked how my participation added to the session.

The following day I had the opportunity to run into Dr. Steven Walker. He was coming into the student center and I was walking out. I stopped to talk to him and started by saying I was sorry he had not been able to make the meeting with Dr. Joan Treviño. I explained that I was still pre-official and described the difficulty I was having while still waiting for the provost to make a decision about my approval. He seemed to say that this was very appropriate and I laughed, perhaps because I was voicing my frustration about not knowing where I was going to be. He said my work was interesting, it would be helpful to know if the university’s efforts were effective. He spoke about education and FGCSs using the word “indoctrination” to talk about his experience with BSW students and the way they need to

shape themselves to be successful. In turn, I made it clear that institutional and program assumptions that serve as a basis for work with students could also be questioned. He added that he liked his program and the university as a whole because many of his colleagues shared the FGCS experience. Despite all of the topics we were able to cover, we stood in the vestibule for what had actually been a short conversation.

Afterwards, I headed to the elevator to go up to the counseling center unannounced. The receptionists and some of the counselors knew I was working with Isaac. The center's director also knew what I was doing. He remembered me from my work with Isaac back in 1993. As I was walking out of the elevator I saw Isaac coming in. He said he was going down and I said I was free and willing to walk around with him. Isaiah entered the elevator at the next stop as we were going down. I would later find out that he did not speak Spanish despite having an Hispanic surname. We had spoken briefly at the philosophy seminar and despite his aloof demeanor, I still decided to initiate a conversation with him in the confines of the elevator. I asked him about a red-headed guy who had also been among the group of students wearing the black protest t-shirt. He said he could not place him and I thought to myself, how is it possible that I continue pairing darker skin color with speaking Spanish, especially after having lived in Barcelona. When I mentioned a shorter version of this thought, Isaiah laughed saying it probably had to do with the context, that in this state, being light-skinned and especially red-headed does not describe someone who is Hispanic. As the door opened, I wondered to myself if Isaiah was also a FGCS.

I rode with Isaac in his car to the edge of the campus to visit with Linda Ríos at her office in a house that had been turned into a community health and social services center

staffed by the social work department. Both she and Isaac were baffled about the future plans for the center due to a sudden lack of grant money. I learned that this situation could have been avoided if Linda had continued to do the grant writing. It appeared that the person who had been assigned to pursue the funds had not been able to get the funding. It was interesting to see how a conversation that dealt with the complicated internal politics of the university evolved into the issue of Linda pursuing doctoral studies. As I sat there I remembered a conversation that took place standing on the back of a fire truck at the fire station where I had worked, one in which Isaac had urged me to pursue my academic interests. Just as it was for me then, it was interesting to see Linda begin to feel free to think about pursuing her studies.

I spent the following weekend at home 45 miles down the interstate. I learned that my brother's family was with his son for "family weekend" at his university in the northwest part of the state. I called him and asked if he had gone to any of the family functions to which he said, "we didn't go to all that shit". He said he spent most of his time at my nephew's fraternity lodge and also went to a football game with the whole family. We talked about the cost of education and similar to what had happened in my case, our income levels precluded qualifying for most of the tuition aid that was available. On the road back up to my research site I called my mother who was at a local community college at the presentation of a Hispanic mural. She told me the mural had an image of a labor rights activist, a woman who had worked as a pecan-sheller, the work my grandmother did when she first arrived from Mexico. My mother told me she had been interviewed by a reporter. When she mentioned that she had a son doing a doctorate, the reporter assumed it was at the university in town. As I thought about the variety of institutional connection attempts to attract Hispanics, I also had

to recognize that there is also a dearth of political participation in this community. If only this majestic sleeping volcano would begin to show some activity.

(e) Officialdom

I finally got approval to do my research at the university. This was great news after an equally exciting weekend in my hometown where I met with friends and went to a screening of a historical documentary about Hispanics in the state. When I met with Isaac there was a sense of not knowing what to do next, as if we were anticipating something new now that I was official. I spent the next few days scanning the pages of my field book to send them to my thesis advisor. I also contacted as many people as possible to tell them I had the provost's approval to proceed with my ethnography. Although I had come to the library, followed Isaac around to meetings, and spent time looking for things to do when I was not meeting with people on campus, I still did not have what could be called a proverbial desk and lamp. As I wondered if a cubicle at the university would have been beneficial, I remembered that I would be joining Isaac for a Hispanic student retreat hosted by the Hispanic faculty and staff organization on campus. This combination of circumstances revived discussions about our relationship. Isaac said he liked the idea of being my supervisor, and with an interest in overseeing my academic work. I found this odd since I already had an advisor in Barcelona. In order to avoid the bureaucracy of arranging for two advisors, Isaac agreed to be my "primary contact" meaning that I could introduce myself saying that I was working with him on what the university does with FGCSs. For example, Isaac showed me some recruitment materials produced by the state. He told me the packet included a video where he had been interviewed in Spanish about the services universities offer in the interest of helping students

adjust to the academic environment. I decided against getting a copy of the packet since it is not free, hoping that I might be able to see him use the materials in his work at the university and in the community at large.

Isaac invited me to attend a meeting of the Hispanic faculty and staff organization. The acting president reported that the welcome reception for the Hispanic deans had been a great success, proof that he was presiding over an important organization on campus. The president of the university had said she would be at the reception for a short while but ended up staying an hour longer than initially planned, more proof that it had been a “classy” event. The organization members also discussed their work on a scholarship for Hispanic students. It was previously only limited to university employee dependents. Application requirements had recently been extended to include self-identified Hispanic students, with an extra point given for being university employee dependents, and another for being FGCSs.

As I sat in the counseling center waiting room before meeting with Isaac to cover some details about the upcoming retreat for Hispanic student organization leaders, I saw the August 2005 edition of a popular monthly state magazine covering arts, culture and opinion. In it I found an article about education, predicting a “demographic tsunami of lower-income students who will arrive at our colleges and universities around 2015, where they will discover that neither the quality of education nor the quantity of financial aid is adequate to the task of educating the state’s future workforce”.¹ I thought, these are the kind of reports that are fueling activities geared towards getting people interested in higher education. This

1. Written by Paul Burka and located on page 126 of the magazine alluded to here in this narrative.

also reflects Isaac's concern about student leadership that participates in increasing the diversity of students in higher education.

I had arrived a little late for the meeting that had been planned to iron out some issues about the upcoming retreat that was being organized by Isaac and with the help of a senior year female student named Aracely who knew many of the organization leaders on campus. She arrived 15 minutes later and while we were waiting for her I was able to talk to Isaac about my research progress. I was also able to ask him for the magazine I had read in the waiting room; more data. When Aracely arrived she took out her list of Hispanic student organization leaders. She said the list was incomplete but foresaw that she could give Isaac a more exact attendance number in two days. Isaac brought up the issue of the BSW-FGCSs, noting that Dr. Joan Treviño had said that these students had not been invited to the retreat. He clarified that he had originally only considered inviting student campus organization members. He said he told Dr. Treviño that although the BSW-FGCS program is not a student organization, the retreat was also open to its participants.

After the meeting I had a chance to talk to Aracely in the hallway. Two women, Dr. Brandy Graham, a Black staff person and Dr. Blanche Corona, an Hispanic staff person walked passed and greeted both of us. Aracely said she was on her way to meet with them in their multicultural events office down the hall. Isaiah also walked by and despite having shaken hands with him, I did not introduce him to Aracely. He did not say much, smiled and without barely breaking his long stride continued on his way. While in the hallway, Aracely said she was probably going to pursue a degree to be a professional psychologist while adding that she was more interested in activism than in therapy or research. I told her about

my studies in Spain and she responded by saying she wanted to populate the state with a bunch of children and stay close to her family. We also commented on how impressively well the Black students had organized in response to the alleged fight in the parking lot with the local security, that it was difficult to imagine that sort of solidarity among the Hispanics. Aracely ended by saying she is a committed Chicana feminist, noting the significance of identity and how it affects people's movement through work, school, and their everyday life.

After my conversation in the hallway with Aracely I went to inquire about a job possibility in the computer lab at the humanities building. I was told that the position was filled so I decided to go to upstairs to the multicultural studies office to meet Dr. Delores Parker, a Black woman professor. Her secretary said she was in. I was allowed to go to her office and when I introduced myself the professor said she had limited time to hear about my research. She was taken aback when I couched my study in terms of one that studies her. She said she needed to be prepared, that she wanted for me to come prepared with specific questions. I said I simply wanted her to know who I was without mentioning that I was hoping she might help me cross-over to the African-American side of faculty and staff activities as they relate to FGCSs, as well as to the university's HSI initiatives. When I told her about some of my contacts she informed me of her work on a organizing committee for the 100 years of Hispanic student presence events at the university. I told her I would like to attend some of the meetings and then she used the phrase "critical mass" in the context of higher education student population diversity when I suggested that FGCS might function as an umbrella category that impacts minorities, especially since it helps us bypass the affirmative action debate. Before I left I made sure to tell her that I would be sending her

information about what I was doing by email, along with a copy of the provost's acceptance letter.

(f) Filling in the gaps

Isaac told me that Dr. Sylvia Martínez of the BSW program had asked him to do a presentation about work with Mexican-Americans in social work and clinical settings. Isaac had introduced me to her in August and she had been the person who had introduced me to Dr. Mario Gómez at the university president's August convocation. Since I had already spoken to her I felt comfortable enough to offer to do the seminar and although I had offered to do it, she instead chose to have a Spanish fluent White woman who had lived in Mexico for a while to do the presentation. Isaac told me he had not agreed to do the presentation because of time constraints. When we discussed the possibility of me leading the session, he told me he probably would have focused on poverty, discrimination, oppression, and the importance of class, adding that most of these presentations tended to be more utilitarian. From my point of view, I told him it opened up an opportunity to hear about the politics of social worker-client interactions. I was able to talk to Dr. Sylvia Martínez about my research a few minutes before the presentation started. This would be the second time she would tell me she did not understand what I was doing. This made me feel odd about what I was doing or perhaps it was an opportunity for me to explore the parameters of an incompatibility that was hindering my ethnographic work, I was not sure.

I stayed for the presentation and participated in some of the activities. It focused on delineating common differences in family values and characteristics found between Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans. One example was in terms of the pride in the self-

sufficient nuclear family of the former versus the tendency of the latter to engage in extended families based on closeness and not necessarily delimited by blood or legal relationships. I met various students at the presentation when we were asked to do some group exercises that involved working with some vignettes having to do with problems confronted by social workers in their work with Mexican-American clients. I worked with Aurora and Simón and after the presentation we shared some critical comments about the recipe-type formulations about cultural difference. When I told them about my research they both told me they were in the BSW-FGCS program.

Later that day when I spoke to Isaac, he told me he had already gotten the attendance list from Aracely and Linda Ríos for the Hispanic student leadership retreat. This meant we did not need to meet and we agreed to arrive early Saturday morning to set-up the space. Since it was still early, I made plans to meet with Dr. Sal Sierra at his office to talk about my progress and about a note I had sent to Rebeca, a Hispanic student worker who had been put in charge of getting some alumni together to help recruit Hispanic students. He said he had told Rebeca not to get back to me since I had said I would be contacting them when I responded to the website notification included in the alumni list-serve email. I probably had not found time to get back because of the work I had been doing. I was informed that my response was one out of less than a half-dozen responses and that one of them had been negative. I suspected it was from someone who has problems with special-interest or special-group student recruitment campaigns.

Among the Hispanic heritage activities that were still going on, I went to the film festival banquet that took place at the same conference center where the student leadership

retreat would be taking place on the following day. On Saturday morning, I found the cleaning staff diligently at work and began to set-up the hall for the retreat with Isaac. At the end of the day our assessment was that it had gone very well and Isaac was planning on sending the participants thank-you notes. I told him I was happy to have been offered a public forum to introduce myself, it had felt formal even though it had not been planned in advance. When I was introduced, I remember saying that I had an *inquietud* about how our difference is part of how our institutions act on us. What I did not mention was that I was having problems separating my FGCS from an Hispanic focus or designation. Of the speakers, there was an Hispanic male alumnus serving on the city council and Dr. Imelda Sánchez. Dr. Sylvia Martínez helped with some of the activities and after she left, Isaac and I stayed alone talking about the retreat. The focus had been on goals, objectives, and modes of motivation. Dr. Imelda Sánchez had spoken about change while the councilman had encouraged the Hispanic student leaders to get the first year students to participate, referring to a recent past when Hispanic students seemed to be more politically engaged at the university.

(g) Revealing my hand

I met a woman graduate history student named Mona at one of the Hispanic film festival viewings a few days before the banquet I had attended on the Friday night before the Hispanic student retreat. I also met Gerardo who was the other person sitting in the viewing hall enjoying a film about local Hispanic music groups. When that film ended, and after a long wait Mona protested because the schedule said there would also be a viewing of a film about the precarious living conditions in the *colonias* along the border with Mexico. The attendant acquiesced and projected the film and it was Mona's insistence that drew my

interest to her. I chose to talk to her at that point in time and I would later have the opportunity to establish personal contact with Gerardo at another function. When I told Mona about my work she said she was working with some of the history department professors to gather information for the commemoration of the 100 years of Hispanic presence at the university.

Towards the end of the month of October Mona and I met at Dr. Delores Parker's office. Before going, however, I called to make sure I could attend the meeting. When I arrived, Dr. Pili Salazar from anthropology was already sitting at the conference table. Dr. Delores Parker walked towards the table and asked me if I was going to work on the committee. I said I would. I said I planned on doing participant-observation in my capacity as an ethnographer, unless there was a specific restriction. Mona arrived at this point in our negotiation where I was saying my work as a researcher would not be incompatible with participant-observation. By that time, Dr. Peter Smith from the history department had arrived and Dr. Delores Parker pointed out that he was going to be "leading the charge". Dr. Parker's student worker joined us and we began to look at a number of articles, pictures, and a list of students who had attended the university at the beginning of the last century. Mona talked about doing interviews to establish an oral history archive. She also pointed out that people anglicized their names as in the case of a name change from Díaz to Days. These issues came up as we attempted to settle on the name we would use for a Hispanic woman who had written a book. She had studied at the university at the beginning of last century and while her maiden surname was Spanish, her married surname was not. The committee work was an curious combination of historical academic work that resulted in a sundry list of

documented “more significant” facts. A long discussion ensued when I said it might be better to explicitly write about what was being evoked by fact that we were doing this work. Dr. Smith argued that it would be harder to write something evocative and left saying he was late for another meeting. I had noticed that Dr. Pili Salazar had left in the middle of our discussion and when the meeting had ended, Mona and I decided to go for lunch. In our conversation she said there was no place for my concerns about community, and the stories we create for it, among a society of “pay to pray religions”. As a Native American, she spoke about traditions and community while I commented on the academic need to separate social psychology from history and from philosophy. She invited me to her graduate history class where I was able to meet her history professor, Dr. Robert Adams. I recognized his name and told her he had been interviewed by Alfred Lubrano for a book about people bridging their blue collar root experience with their white collar professions.

At my next meeting with Isaac I told him I thought I was going to be writing about institutional resistance. Yet, as I thought about it, the right word would be inertia. It is not exactly the right word since it describes the physical state of objects, I thought. Moving objects might get diverted by the wind but for those of us with auto-mobility, inertia is more about our own movement, like the strategies we go through to get a bite to eat. On my way to lunch I decided to stop by the admissions offices. I told the secretary about my research interest, how it was connected to the issue of admissions and she arranged for me to meet with Omar Elliott. When I asked him how recruitment was connected to the student admissions process he said they were separate. There appeared to be no limits with respect to the use of ethnicity and race throughout the recruitment process but they were not used for

making decisions about admission. I mentioned the work of a demographer whose data shows the growth in the state's lower-income and Hispanic population. In terms of a question about how demographic data influences admissions policy, Mr. Elliott did not really have an answer about how policies are influenced by knowledge such as demographic data. I also made reference to some research done with third-grade reading scores in certain states to predict the number of prison beds that will be needed in the future. I told him the woman farm worker activist and Dr. Imelda Sánchez had alluded to this "school-prison" connection in their presentations. These examples helped me situate my research that includes the phrase, "University Policies in Action" in the proposal title. This helped me talk about policies directed at the retention and recruitment of FGCSs. Later when I told Isaac I had visited Omar Elliott, he said he was surprised to know that he was still around and recalled that he had been quite active with the Hispanic organization of faculty and staff members, during the first years of the organization when Isaac had acted as its president.

It had been a little less than a month since the provost had approved my research and I could sense that I was in a different mind-set, challenging persons who had gone through a life-long process to be able to fulfill the duties of their jobs at this university, bound to different degrees by the demarcations between who they are as people and what they do in their service, clerical, faculty, or administrative positions. I began to think about how they all responded to university policies directed at attracting certain persons over others. In terms of identity formation, I wondered if the debates and the arguments I was engaging in was atypical of a researcher who should be simply trying to present the living and ongoing negotiation of what an institution is becoming. In the process, I heard about problems, power,

and about the status quo, while others talked about money, tenure, and moving up. There were those who used the words competence, passion, and apathy. All the while, I seem to be waiting for someone to say, “the fact of the matter is”, someone who would force me to listen and make me understand the truth.

Perhaps I was beginning to understand the truth of conventions, where evidence is manipulated and placed within a framework, remembered and leaned upon the structural assemblages we call reality. By linking conventions and evocations, where the former are steep in the customs and agreements of history while the latter emanate from the power of memory and imagination, I thought I might be able to reveal the workings of a living and breathing institution. This combination of practices might also help me understand the people the institution acts on, the same ones who also participate in making her the university she is. I thought, the product of my research will be this story.

(h) Purposeful observation

The end of the month of October marked the middle of the first semester of the academic year, forming the head of a wave that begins to break when the Thanksgiving dinner plans of late November arrive that places people’s focus on the intimacy of their homes. Among the confluence of conventions and evocations at this university, there was the education department’s participation in a children’s Hispanic book award conference in honor of an alumnus who had written a story about the experiences of a Mexican-American migrant farm boy. The conference brought children to the campus. I saw them running back and forth between a teacher who stood out as beacon shining at the edge of the school they would be returning to and the restrooms conveniently located in a student center hallway lined with

pictures of distinguished alumni. One student stopped short and asked out loud, “What do these people do?”, referring to a bunch of adults who were standing in the middle of this public space.

Buoyed up by undercurrents of activity at an institution, this child who found himself inquiring about some adults became the subject of a recruitment convention steeped in the traditions of academic life. He was a fifth or sixth grader, was thin and had dark skin. He spoke English well and Isaac was the first one to respond to his question. He first guided the child to a picture of the honored alumnus and then took him to meet the author’s widow, brother, and sister-in-law. I could not help but notice that no one extended a hand and it was the widow who broke what seemed to be an eternal silence by asking him if he would be attending this university. The child’s “yes” was met with laughter and a comment about recruiting people who were so young. For me, the interaction was an enactment of the *raison d’être* of the Hispanic book award conference.

I saw or heard of other enactments, some less forceful than others such as Dr. Sal Sierra’s recruitment function for high school seniors where about a dozen students showed up. Some of our discussions cast the efficacy of pot-luck dinners against investing time to obtain catering funds for these type of events. For as much as I wanted to influence these decisions, Isaac helped me redirect my energies towards a better use of my intensities in my field work. I told him about a play produced by the theater department for the book award conference about the story of an Hispanic girl from a lower-income family who lived in a predominantly Mexican-American town, and how she finally decided to take up the challenge posed by a college acceptance letter. I was dismayed by the fact that there were no plans to

get the play out to the community where it was needed.

At the play, I was able to mingle with the cast and this is where I met Dr. Yolanda Ortiz, a new professor in the sociology department. Both of us went up to talk to a young Hispanic man who had played the part of the troubled teen who did not go to college. Out of character, his barrio demeanor and accent had disappeared. We told him we were impressed with his acting, and after he thanked us Yolanda and I continued talking. I briefly mentioned what I was doing and she immediately referred to the young man's case, as someone with talent confronting parental skepticism about his plans to pursue acting. She said they were pushing him to be a school counselor or something practical like that. Dr. Ortiz said she wanted to know more about my research. We made plans to meet and at the end of the conversation we agreed that it was a pity that this was going to be the only presentation of the play. Although I wrote to the playwright, he never responded to my request for a printed version of the play.

The semester was coming to an end and sitting in the library I saw students studying for final exams and completing term papers. Before getting to the library I had gone to a vigil organized by a Hispanic women's student organization commemorating the murdered women of Ciudad Juárez. They wore black t-shirts with pink lettering that read "*¡Basta!* Not one more." on the front and "*Juárez: Voces sin eco.*" on the back. I met a number of students there and had a chance to talk to Dr. Sylvia Martínez, the advisor for the women's organization. I mentioned that I would like to speak to some of the BSW-FGCS project participants and she said I should go by and do some shadowing. At the same time, I sensed a cautious enthusiasm in her offer that I attributed to the tenure-seeking and course-load pressures she had mentioned in a previous conversation.

Wandering about the lounge that looked out onto the outdoor space where fire safety restrictions about lit candles had forced us to celebrate the vigil, I saw Gerardo sitting at a table with three other students. He noticed my reluctance to sit and jokingly said that the seat next to him had been especially cleaned for me. When I sat down I asked the students who were gathered there if they knew what I was doing, briefly explaining my research for those who did not know. Many of the students were psychology majors and I asked them what they were planning to do with their degree. Two of them wanted to be child psychologists and Gerardo noted that he was having a hard time finding a profession that offered hands-on work with children that did not strictly have a therapeutic or teaching focus.

Dr. Blanche Corona was also at the vigil. We had been introduced before and on that occasion we realized that we had gone to the same Catholic elementary school. She had told me that her mother had worked at the church rectory. I asked her if she had spoken to her mother to see if she knew my parents and she said she had not. She told me she was co-advising the Hispanic women's organization with Sylvia. As the function began to wind down, I was able to ask Gerardo if he was a FGCS. He said no, and spoke highly of his mother who had worked as a teacher before having had a debilitating accident. A young woman who was part of the conversation said she would be going to the state capital to protest the Klu Klux Klan march the next day. She also said she was from my hometown and had gone to the public schools in the district where I had grown up.

(i) Assessments

It is at this point in the compilation of my corpus that I had gotten to the end of the blue Miquel-Rius[®] notebook and had to start writing in the black one; I had purchased both of

them in Barcelona. Beginning to write in the second notebook brought me to worry about not having gone to an FGSO meeting. I still had not met its advisor and I wondered if I should concentrate on speaking to more staff persons, perhaps those from the office in charge of community outreach. It had been this office that had allowed me to eat lunch in one of the university cafeterias where I sat with Coral, Miranda, Sonya, and Ana. These four girls had come from a local elementary school to participate in a ceremony commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the signing of a bill that provided funding for people not able to afford the cost of higher education. I wondered if these girls would ever get to college, and then thought they might actually prefer to do something else. It helped me think about what I was doing and concluded that the only thing we could do was to offer people the option to go to college.

Before lunch I had been to the second organizing committee meeting of the 100 years of Hispanic student presence at the university events. Dr. Delores Parker was ready! She had decided to take on the leadership position, given that she had organized the commemoration events for forty years of Black student presence that had been held some years before. She had a task list broken down by categories. When it came to talking about pictures, Abel Rankin, a staff person I had previously met who was active in the Hispanic faculty and staff organization said he had pictures of a Hispanic Spanish professor who had started working at the university around the time the education bill had been signed. Abel, a White man that spoke Spanish fluently said this professor was also one of the academic committee members of the *Real Academia Española*, founded to “*fijar las voces y vocablos de la lengua*

*castellana en su mayor propiedad, elegancia y pureza*²² as described on its website. I offered to help scan images and Dr. Parker asked if I was going to use the images in my research. I said no, that our activity was more important; as persons working on writing the history of Hispanic presence at the university.

Local elections were being held across that state and because I wanted to go down to my hometown to vote, I was not going to be able to attend the education bill signing ceremony. It was good that Abel had invited me to a lunch meeting organized to meet some of the original bill writers. The lunch had been organized by Dr. Alexa Noble, the vice president of student administrative services. It was held at a local restaurant and the tables were set up in a large square. I sat between Abel and Isaac and, after a few words of introduction, we were asked to introduce ourselves. At my turn I used a word offered jokingly to me by Jacobo Santos when I had met him at one of the Hispanic faculty and staff organization meetings. I said my research was about FGCSs and university policies in-action, not be be confused with the word “inaction”. I remember making eye contact with Jacobo while everyone at the meeting laughed at the borrowed play on words.

It was at this meeting that one of the honored guests informed us that the phrase “first-generation college student” was first used in 1992 legislation. After he confirmed the date with the other guest they discussed the effect of affirmative action court battles on higher education funding legislation. After the lunch I was able to speak to Dr. Mercedes Medina about the changes Dr. Imelda Sánchez was making in the education department. Mercedes,

2. fix the voices and words of the Castilian language in their most proper, elegant, and purest form

originally from Mexico came to study in the United States at a very young age and specialized in bilingual education and curriculum development. We commented on Dr. Sánchez' move to replace the chair from her area of study in the interest of encouraging course content design that reflects the regional experience of primary, middle, and secondary school students.

The formal meeting with the education bill writers the next morning consisted of various presentations. It resulted in a debate about how to fund education, beginning with the presentation of some legal history, followed by a description of existing federal education funding, and ending with a political assessment of the future of state education funding. In the process, it became clear that local education funding was not meeting the needs of the population while higher level education funding was increasingly depending on getting smart prepared students in and out of college as quickly as possible. The state official who had been invited to speak at the meeting said that given the existing political will, "it was prescient to use our existing resources efficiently". To a question from the audience asking if our federal and state moneys were being invested wisely and if we were investing enough, one of the legislation experts responded by saying "no". He said history has taught us what works and that we are not doing it. Dr. John Núñez, a standardized testing agency representative closed the presentation saying there were a lot of differences of opinion. I want to think he said this because nothing would be resolved at this meeting; it was time to eat.

Before the meeting had started, I was able to tell Isaac I had planned on taking a bus to my hometown because I wanted to vote in the local elections. He said he did not plan on going to the meeting because he was quite familiar with the state official's "spiel". I told him

that when I first arrived, I had overheard the university president talking to Dr. John Núñez about the Hispanic student percentage numbers. She had pointing out that the university's high retention rate and the enrollment numbers were getting closer to the qualifying federal HSI designation levels. I told him this reminded me of one of the legislation expert's comments at the lunch meeting the day before about HSI. He had said some national Hispanic organizations were concerned about universities getting the designation and the moneys that came with it, without doing anything different when it came to working with Hispanic students. I also told Isaac about Dr. Yolanda Ortiz' comment about how Hispanic organizations needed to be more open to Gay/Lesbian & Transgendered persons.

I ran into Yolanda on my way across the campus. We spoke while we walked to her office. Once there, and despite a phone call she had to take from her father inquiring about a medical exam she had recently had, we talked about my research. She related my work to the HSI initiatives of the university, noting how she had been constantly courted for a professorship because she was of Mexican descent. She said she considered herself a 1.5 generation person, explaining that her father was from Mexico and that her mother was a Hispanic who had been born in this country. I explained that my interest in FGCS had to do with a family of origin characteristic, of a student whose parents have little or no higher education experience.

She said she brought up her 1.5 generation status because she had recently confronted a White male student who had submitted a paper with the comment "fuck-off" added at the end. She said his response to her question about the comment was unclear, that he apologized saying it was a misunderstanding, and adding that one of his roommates or dormitory

companions was the person who had actually written those words on the paper. Yolanda told me that before talking to the student about the problem she had gone to the department chair to inform her of the incident. Pointing out that the chair was a White woman, she said she asked her what she had to do about the words that had been added to the paper. She told me the department chair person said, "I don't think it has to do with being first-generation".

She continued talking about her ethnic origin, couching it in terms of a tax or a first-generation Latino hook used in the recruitment process, adding that this political tactic does not work for everyone. There are some Mexican-American/Hispanic/Latino scholars who are more interested in moving up into the academic positions most other scholars aspire to. This means refusing jobs in low-tier universities with large Hispanic populations and choosing positions at more prestigious schools with few Hispanics. In her case, she spoke in terms of deciding between lateral moves and the lower one she chose. Wanting to be here did not mean "moving back" or returning, she said. However, she noted that the assumptions recruiters make about minority scholars do not work for everyone. Along these lines, she said many of the students who transferred to her class were Hispanics, students who said the other White male sociology teacher had scared them. She said she values being open and available for her students and then we eventually we got around to talking about sociological theory and how it helps us understand everyday practices.

Upon getting back to the university the following week, and after visiting with Dr. Yolanda Ortiz, I went to the Hispanic faculty and staff organization meeting. In my meeting with Yolanda, she said she was happy to report that the biopsy results had come back negative for cancer. She said her experience in medical sociology had helped her be able to

know how to think about the procedures she had to endure. I joined her in a sigh of relief and went on to ask her how she liked the university. After I heard her repeatedly say that she had seen how people at the university were very good at putting others in their place, I asked her what she meant. Before she expanded on the question she said this had to be in my notes. She said she had spoken to Dr. Imelda Sánchez at the welcome reception celebrated for her and another Hispanic dean. In their conversation they touched upon the subject of the impending closing of the community health and social services center staffed by the social work department. Dr. Sánchez had asked Yolanda if she would be interested in looking into the benefits of having her education school take it over from the BSW department that pertained to the health school. She said the conversation left her feeling good, it had been a brainstorming conversation that had evoked a number of research collaboration possibilities. She was not specific about who she had talked to about it in her sociology department but told me she got a carbon copy of an email directed to the sociology chair. It had been sent by one of the master's level associates of the department. In it, the associate asked if it was appropriate for Yolanda to be making plans to collaborate with the dean of the education school, questioning her scholarship and professionalism. When Yolanda realized that her character was being questioned, she immediately called the chair to inform her that her discussion with Dr. Sánchez had been strictly informal and that the research possibilities they had spoken about were purely hypothetical. She concluded the story by saying she wondered if this incident was now part of her personal file, a comment that questions her scholarship.

(j) Personal and institutional stories

Isaac had opened the door for me to attend the Hispanic faculty and staff organization

meetings at the very beginning of my fieldwork. The last weeks of November marked a time for the organization to assess the progress on their projects for this academic year, one of which was to recruit more university personnel to join. Dr. Yolanda Ortiz told me the dues were too high for her to join but when I later asked Isaac about the cost, he said their dues were nominal and that Yolanda was probably confusing the local organization with a separate national academic and university staff Hispanic association with significantly higher dues. I did not pursue the matter with Yolanda since she appeared to be quite connected with many of the members of the organization.

Among new members at today's meeting was Dr. Raúl Castillo. He said he was new to the university, having come from a northern state where he had been active in a similar organization. He wore a short sleeve shirt while most of us had sweaters and jackets to keep us warm. I could tell he was originally from Mexico because of his accent. When he introduced himself, he said he was working with students in an engineering scholarship program designed to attract students from underrepresented populations to science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. This took the discussion to agenda items about Hispanic related events that were being planned. One of them was the *despedida* or farewell for fall term graduating students, a celebration held in conjunction with other organizations for minority population students where they receive a multi-colored sash that can be worn as part of their academic regalia for the official graduation ceremony.

After talking briefly to Raúl about my research and setting a time for our meeting the next day, I went to Isaac's office to wait for a meeting we had scheduled to talk about the FGCS conference that was being planned for April of the following semester. The conference

included Alfred Lubrano's presentation of his book. Isaac was able to get grant money from a famous bottling company to help with some of the expenses and had asked Aracely to help him plan the conference. During the meeting there came a point at which she noticed an alumni bulletin with the picture of a male student on the cover. He was wearing the multicolored sash he had received at the multicultural farewell or *despedida*. In the image, the young man is on stage receiving his diploma from the university president and Aracely said he was cute. I agreed and then she said she wanted her sash. When she left, Isaac told me he had gone to thank the university president for getting that man's image on the cover of the alumni bulletin. I asked if the student was Black and he said no, adding that the image was perfect, "the Hispanics think he is Hispanic and Blacks know he is theirs". He then showed me a framed picture of a young Hispanic folkloric dancer that had appeared in the university paper adding that he had plans to frame the alumni bulletin image of the man with the sash in academic regalia.

When I arrived at Raúl's office the next day, he immediately told me was working with two Hispanic student organizations, one for studies in science and the other for engineering. I explained that I knew a little about the program because my roommate had been a participant during his senior year. Carlos, a computer science major, had told me that he would have applied earlier but had not heard about the the program until his last year at the university before he graduated. When I told Raúl I had not spoken to any students he took me to the learning center, one that is set up as a space for student collaborations. First I met the student worker who was in charge of the center. She looked Hispanic to me and when I asked her about her major, she told me it was mathematics. The subject of the scholarship program

came up and she said she was not a participant. Then a young man came in and Raúl told me he was a scholarship participant. He had an Arabic name and was a biology major. Raúl explained to me that he had not been able to see the student's presentation of a collaboration project that had been held a day before. When I got a chance to talk to him, he seemed to be genuinely interested in the brief description of my research.

Raúl then showed me the tutoring room, and as we walked down the hall back to his office he showed me the learning center director's office. He said she was also the coordinator of the scholarship program for students from underrepresented populations. When we got back to his office I told him about Isaac's plans for the FGCS conference, about Alfred Lubrano's visit, and about his book. Later that weekend in a phone conversation with Isaac, I told him I had spoken to Raúl about the Lubrano visit and he cautioned me to not get too far ahead on the FGCS conference since it was still in the planning stages. I also told Isaac that I had gone to visit Dr. Sal Sierra to ask him about his recruiting programs. Isaac told me it might be better to focus on other areas since the progress of Sal's program was a sensitive issue at this time. The visit had been short and informative, I said, but that every time I pressed him about how things were going, Dr. Sierra would start to tell me what I needed to do to finish my dissertation. Isaac and I agreed that it was ideally better for Dr. Sierra to address my work than for him to talk about what he was doing to recruit Hispanic students to this particular university. It was definitely a difficult situation because I could imagine a student getting three acceptance letters. From my point of view, if a Hispanic student I recruit gets into college, that is a win. However, Dr. Sierra considers it a loss if that student ends up choosing not to come to this university.

During the weeks before the Christmas break I was able to talk to Richard Muñoz one day when I chose to work at one of the desks in one of the study areas at the student center. I had met him once before on the patio when he had come by to greet Isaac. I later found out that Isaac had seen him looking quite distressed and decided to approach Richard to ask him if he needed some help. Richard explained that he was having difficulty with some classes. They were courses he needed to take before getting accepted into a master's program that would prepare him for a career as a physical therapist. At that first meeting on the patio he told me that he had been in the Marines and had lived in 26 countries. He said the Spaniards thought he was Mexican and that he did not like Egypt because some kids had robbed him. They took \$20.00 after having threatened him with razors.

Richard already had a bachelor's degree in physical education but he explained that it did not qualify him for the master's program he was interested in. This is why he was taking science courses. He said he has had to overcome many difficulties. Among them, there were the two skull fractures he suffered during his military service. He also said that he had been resuscitated twice when he had drowned in a training exercise. He said a Lebanese man who works on staff at the university suggested that he seek "disability accommodations". Since then he has been able to get more time to take tests, and in a room by himself.

At this, our second meeting, I asked him if he was a FGCS. When I explained what that was, he told me his mother had a Associate's degree but that his father had not gone to college. We agreed he was a FGCS given the variety of definitions for this category. He added, however, that he was actually a non-traditional student. As a member of the non-traditional student organization (NTSO), he said he had peer tutors and a room where there

was a refrigerator and a microwave. It was then that I realized that was I actually working in NTSO student center study area.

(k) The challenge of diversity

After the Thanksgiving holiday, Isaac cautioned me about how the intensity with which I was approaching my fieldwork would not match what was actually sensed as December's fall semester closing-out period by everyone else at the institution. He invited me to a staff meeting for diversity activities. He had come to the meeting to talk about the FGCS conference plans, hoping to find staff members who could advertise the function. He introduced me as someone who was doing research at the university, as well as a person who was helping him with some of his diversity activities. We described how my interest in the social category of FGCS was linked to others related to ethnicity and race.

I was able to have sushi with Dr. Yolanda Ortiz one day when we both happened to be at the university bookstore. She was wearing a scarf that covered the surgical removal of a growth in her throat. While we were eating, she told me about a woman who was in counseling. She said the person was about to move to a university up north. She related this to how the academic pressures Mexican-American women felt often forced them to stay away from controversial issues. She then compared this to the student's inappropriate comment on the paper we had talked about the last time. On the one hand she considered it a serious event, while her department head was quick to consider it a silly mistake. She continued talking about how many Latino students, many of them women, open up to her about their problems. She compared this to her White colleagues who often complained about the personal attention some students expected from them. She noted that most of her male

counterparts were more distant, sometimes even rude in class. Of the men and women students who were responding well to her interactive mode of teaching, she said most of them were from first-generation families, those that recently arrived in the country. We hypothesized about the reasons for this difference in comparison to other students who tended to be more aloof. As she thought about the Black students in her class, she said it might have something to do with authority in the family. Black students tend to respond well in her class, she said.

Later that day when I met with Isaac, and on the way to the stadium to pick up some tickets for an upcoming football game he told me he was upset because the word “*despedida*” had been eliminated from the invitation to the celebration that would be taking place this month for the students from minority populations who were graduating at the end of this semester. He said he had gone to ask about the omission at the multicultural events office, that he had spoken to a Black woman graduate student who later complained that she had felt as if she had been blamed for the omission. I did not pursue the incident since it appeared that Isaac was satisfied with having spoken to someone at that office about what he considered a serious omission.

By this point in the semester, Simón and I had met a few times to talk about his experience in the BSW-FGCS program. He would qualify as a FGCS as well as a non-traditional student since he was 58 year old student pursuing a degree in social work. He told me he would be free to hang around with me as soon as he got through with some exams one day when met for lunch at a local Mexican restaurant. After lunch I went to visit Dr. Mario Gómez to return a dissertation he had lent me. He had been interviewed for the dissertation,

in which had been asked about his experience in academia as a Hispanic person who had been able to become a university official. He also showed me a five minute video about some of the work he was doing with students from lower-income areas. He insisted that the program's interventions were research based. They focused on experiential learning exercises designed to strengthen group work through individual efforts. After visiting with him, I was able to attend Abel's mariachi DVD presentation, a meeting that got connected with preparations that were being made for the following year's Hispanic celebrations. These would be marking the century of Hispanic presence at the university and I remember one of the women insisting that there be a big Mexican fiesta set-up along the length of the university mall. The mariachi director at the university whose work was highlighted in the video was also at the presentation. I asked him about the Asian violin player I had noticed at the farm worker activist's presentation and he told me the young man was classically trained, and that many students who were not Mexican-American had the opportunity to perform with the university's mariachi. After the mariachi DVD presentation, Abel and I had a chance to spend some time alone. The event had been held in a bar and we talked about the DVD, the Hispanic celebration that was being planned for the following year, and particularly about who to invite as a keynote speaker for the commemoration of the century of Hispanic presence at the university.

The last bit of news I got before the Christmas break was that Linda Ríos had gotten another staff assignment due to the closure of the community social service center that had been run by the social work department. When I called to congratulate her on the new job, we had a chance to talk about the FGCS conference that was being planned. Her new position

freed her up to help out and she added that she was reading the Lubrano book Isaac had lent her.

(1) Hand shakes

When I got back to the university after the Christmas break I was able to find Dr. Robert Adams in his office. His office building also housed the conference room where many of the Hispanic faculty and staff organization had been held. It was the same space where I had accompanied Mona to her graduate history class with Dr. Adams. In order to meet with him today, I had previously checked his appointment hours. He recognized me when I appeared at the door of his office. When we shook hands I remembered his large hands. He gave me a “blue-collar” handshake, strong and with big movements, with the force of an ocean wave.

I remember asking him why he had so many diet soft drink cans on his window sill. He said he had not had time to through them out. I also mentioned a folk festival that was being held up in the next large city on the interstate because I knew he was interested in the historical relevance of protest music. When I got around to the reason for our meeting he remembered that I had mentioned the FGSO conference at our last visit. Although I was only helping Isaac out with some of the details, I told him about some of the plans for the event without getting into a detailed account. In our conversation he talked about the two references to him in Alfred Lubrano’s book. They were the one about the girlfriends and the one about him mentoring with students from blue-collar families. I asked him if he would be interested in doing a presentation of about 40 minutes and relate it to the interview he had with the author. As we spoke he talked about what he would have liked to have added to the interview.

Before he got into more detail about this I said those type of things would make for a great presentation. He agreed and said he needed to know the dates and time. By this time, a student who had made an appointment with him was standing in the hallway and within eyeshot of the door. We shook hands again to say good-bye and on the way out I said I would have Dr. Isaac Ybarra send him the information about the FGCS conference by email.

(m) Survey work

I went to meet with Isaac and instead of discussing the FGCS conference that would be taking place in April he asked me to help him work up a survey about the professional personnel composition of student counseling service areas at various universities around the state. He showed me the program of a university counselor's conference that would be taking place in February at the state university in my hometown. In it he saw that someone was going to give a presentation about counseling with Hispanics. I looked at the name and when I saw that it was Dr. Rodrigo Hernández, I realized that it was the name of a psychiatrist who was also an elder at my protestant church. I had first met him when I was an undergraduate because at that time he had been on the board of trustees of my college. When I told Isaac I knew him, I immediately offered to look for him, that it was time that I visited my old church. I had not been able to attend a service since I had chosen to cross a few borders and at least one ocean to pursue my studies.

I called Dr. Rodrigo Hernández in order to make sure he had plans to go to church on Sunday. He answered a message I had left him that inquired about his participation in the conference, adding that Isaac and I were interested in including a survey at the end of his presentation. When he called me I quickly reminded him who I was. When he placed me he

said meeting at church would work for him. In anticipation of the conversation I would have with him, I felt I would have to differentiate between Isaac's interests and mine while also describing how they were connected. I realized I was following someone who goes around asking certain questions and posing certain problems that he thinks need to be addressed. In the case of the Isaac's interest in the survey, it has to do with the paucity of Hispanic or Spanish fluent counselors at universities in a state that has a large Hispanic population. He has also talked to me about his impatience with Hispanic faculty and staff who coast along and refuse to exercise pressure on Hispanic issues. Along these lines, he said he feared that the Hispanic presence activities being planned for the following year were going to be a disaster because he had trouble sensing any real momentum about the event.

My conversation with Dr. Rodrigo Hernández after the church service was quite short. He knew I was licensed as a counselor in the state because I had worked with him while I was interning at a non-profit counseling center. The narrow focus of the survey I described fit in with the work he did at the medical school where he worked closely with Hispanic medical students. At my next meeting with Isaac, and after describing the combination of factors that were coming into play he told me Dr. Hernández had left him a message with his office and home phone numbers. He then showed me the receptionist's note where Dr. Hernández had also included his home number. They had a chance to speak later that evening, a conversation in which Dr. Hernández said he was not sure he had enough material for a 1.5 hour presentation. This would only be a problem in terms of the continuing education credits that would be offered to participants of the conference. At the same time, the conference coordinator was concerned about taking time away from Dr. Hernández. Our solution was to

offer the option of connecting the survey to the presentation. This would mean addressing the issue of personnel composition in terms of counseling with Hispanics.

(n) Records and intimacies

Between meetings, I found time to spend hang out with Simón who told me he had applied for an clerk position with the police department. The day he had the interview I called to ask him how it had gone. He told me there were lots of people applying for the job but he sounded hopeful. We avoided getting into the details of his situation but as difficult as it was for him to feel good about his situation, it was also hard for me to find a way to be supportive. Simón's criminal record from 38 years before was marring the possibilities offered by the BSW-FGCS program. He said he had spoken to Dr. Sylvia Martínez who in turn suggested he talk to another person on the academic staff who was closer to the state social worker examiner's board members. He was concerned about his future and said he was thinking about becoming a phlebotomist because he needed to get his financial situation in order. Although he lived in a house he inherited from his father, he had substantial debts.

In our conversations we considered a number of possible solutions and I often told him that his accumulation of experiences were valuable. Although his record precluded him from working with children or in nursing homes, it would allow him to work as a substance abuse counselor. He knew I was a counselor and he asked me if I would be interested in partnering with him in private practice. I immediately told him I might never practice counseling but also considered it foolish to cancel my license altogether.

One of the times Carlos joined Simón and me in a conversation at the house, he told Simón that I had helped him feel better about what he was doing. In his description, it seemed

as if he had accepted who he was, in terms of his interest in producing documentaries and working as a substitute teacher and without feeling like that was the end of the story. We had a long conversation about “understanding our past” as a way of being able to move on. The conversation lifted some of the intensity of past experiences but did little to offer a solution for a medical situation *Simón* was facing. Talking about the past also brought up a surprising coincidence. *Simón* and I realized that we had gone to the same elementary school. I told him Dr. Blanche Corona had also studied there. She was the youngest of the three of us, creating a time-span of about 20 years between the time *Simón* had entered and Dr. Corona had graduated from that school. It seemed odd that the youngest of us was already a doctor, that I was in the process, and that *Simón* was getting his first higher education degree. On another occasion he brought a class picture where he stood among a number of other children wearing Catholic elementary school uniforms. I recognized one of the teachers. I knew she had already died but before today I had never seen her looking younger than I had ever imagined her.

(o) Prescient pause

My meetings with Dr. Yolanda Martínez were always stimulating, due perhaps to an affinity between sociology and social psychology. I found her editing part of her dissertation for a conference paper one afternoon and I offered to help. She would later send me an email telling me that her paper had been accepted and to thank me for my help. In that email she added that I had just left the university before a critical time. She wrote to me on April 3 saying she had been hearing students, faculty, and staff in the hallways and outside of the entrance of buildings talking about illegal immigration like never before. By that time I had

already been in Spain for a month, where I found myself reading the news about demonstrations taking place across the country in support of progressive immigration legislation.

Perhaps because it was still early in the spring semester, Isaac was quite busy and had to depend on me to work-up the survey for the university counselor's conference that would be taking place in a about a week, at the beginning of February . I had arrived early at the counseling center one morning to meet with him but he came out to tell me he would not be free until one o'clock. I took advantage of the time to go off campus for lunch and then stopped by a coffee shop that was frequented by students. I saw Aurora walk in. I had not seen her since the time we had met at the social work presentation about working with Mexican-American clients. As we spoke, she told me she had lived in Sant Cugat and in a *casa okupa*. I told her she might be interested in my social psychology program but she insisted that she wanted to go on to finish the master's in social work since that only meant nine more months of school. I wondered out loud if she was having a hard time paying for school and she responded saying she could find the money to do almost anything since her foster child stipend would help her. She said she barely knew her biological parents and talked about her life as a foster child. She added, that as a dependent of the state the Barcelona option was a distinct possibility.

Meeting Aurora made me think about the importance of having family support. Isaac and his son had the habit of having a cup of coffee together every evening after supper. It was a time for them to talk about "stuff". He had moved back in with his parents because he had recently graduated from the university in my hometown. As I thought about my family

situation, nothing similar was ever established and I wondered if I had ever had a time to just talk about “stuff” with my father. These kind of talks were commonplace with my mother but as I thought about this, I realized my father was clueless about what I was doing. I guess my mother did the explaining.

On most days after work I would go with Isaac to pick up his wife, Esperanza, who worked as a diagnostician at a local public school. On the way to the interstate they would drop me off close to where I had left my bike or a few blocks away from my house so they could easily get on the highway’s frontage road that took them home. It was on these rides that I heard about their family business. On one of those trips Esperanza gave me her son’s thank you card for the gift I had taken to his graduation party. She apologized for the informality, saying that she did not know my mailing address. I accepted the card and took advantage of the situation to remind her that she had once mentioned having to buy Dr. Blanche Corona’s daughter a gift for her birthday or *fiesta de quince años*. She agreed and said they had not had time to do much of anything. She explained that she had been working with her son on his CV, among other things that had to do with the every day routine of life.

I would also hear them talk to each other about work. I heard Isaac tell her about something we had discussed at our meeting today. He told her about an email announcing the promotion of a Black male staff member. Isaac said the Blacks were promoting their own. Esperanza and I agreed and then Isaac added that Hispanics would probably do the same sort of thing. It was clear to him that the man had gotten the promotion because Dr. Alexa Nobel had become the vice president of one of the university administrative divisions. In the same conversation he also told her that we had finally finished the survey. We told her we knew

what the results would show. They would reflect the dearth of Hispanic or Spanish fluent personnel in university counseling. The formality here was academic, showing results with graphs and tables that might somehow influence hiring trends across the state.

(p) Spanning home

The night before I was to appear with Isaac at the counselor's conference at a university in my hometown, I went to a presentation given by the president of an important nationwide psychoanalytic association who was also the student psychological services director at a private college in the northeastern part of the country. We had some things in common. Aside from both of us being of Mexican-American descent, we had attended the community college in our hometown and transferred to colleges that were further north to finish our degrees. His presentation had to do with culture and identity. It made me think about the survey I would be distributing the next day to counselors from around the state at the university. Construction of the university had started when I was a child. I remember viewing it from afar, sitting between my parents in my father's truck on our way back home from having visited a German couple who lived in a German town north of the city. I remember sitting up to catch a glimpse of the tops of the buildings that rose far away and above the live oak trees of an expansive ranch that ran along the highway. I pointed out towards the campus and told my parents I would be going there as soon as I finished high school.

I have taken a few courses at the public university in my hometown but I got my degree from somewhere else. I was about to join Isaac and Dr. Rodrigo Hernández for a presentation at the conference here at this university. We were able to establish a connection between our survey and Dr. Hernández' presentation on counseling with Hispanics and the plan was to ask

the counselor's to give us information about the counseling personnel composition at their institutions. We distributed a survey packet that included a self-addressed stamped envelope for the participants to fill out and mail back to Isaac's office. Everything went as planned and although Dr. Hernández said he was simply a medical doctor, I could tell that his reflections on his experiences in Hispanic mental health exhibited the ethnographic acumen of an experienced anthropologist.

After the presentation I was able to speak to a counselor from the private college in the north of the state where I had graduated from. In contrast to the focus of the presentation, she said she preferred to speak of the students as individuals. She spoke in terms of treating them with respect to which I asked her what that would look like. She agreed that speaking of being respectful is not necessarily the same as knowing how respect is done. I told her a bit about my research and when I asked her about her work with students she mentioned her work with a White female student who was also a FGCS. In her description she spoke about self-esteem issues, alluding to how the student had said she was not good enough. She also mentioned something about overweight issues. Before getting into more detail we decided to close the conversation, agreeing that counseling practice itself is much more complicated than any case description we might try to offer.

Later that evening at my parent's house, my mother told me about her volunteer work on the interviewing committee for a Mexican-American student scholarship program established by her high school alumni association. She clarified that there had been some controversy about how to determine if someone was Hispanic or not. The only solution appeared to be by self-designation. We commented on how this difficulty has arisen given

that the neighborhoods which are largely made up of Mexican-American families have recently become home for immigrants from Guatemala, El Salvador and other countries. While the term Hispanic has become broader, there is evidence that it revolves around a specificity that has itself become more difficult to simply couch in terms of ethnicity.

A week after our presentation with Dr. Hernández, Isaac told me that 4 of the surveys had been returned. He gave me a copy so I could enter the data in a spreadsheet I had designed. In other business, Isaac was planning another retreat for Hispanic student organization leaders. When he called Aracely to work-up another attendance list she told him she had lost the October list. She apologized and provided him a list of student leaders and the organizations they pertained to. Added to the shared frustration of having to start compiling a new list, they noted the over all dearth of interest in organizing among Hispanic students at the university, especially given the amount of money other groups were successfully applying for to pay for their activities. The FGSO was among those less active organizations. It had been one of Isaac's initiatives and at today's meeting with Aracely he said he was thinking about forming a coalition of Hispanic student leaders. In order to avoid having to pay for meeting space at the university, it would also have to be a formal organization, perhaps one that could harness funds for Hispanic organization activities and eliminate the need for smaller organizations to compete against each other.

(q) Tensile bridges

I went to visit Dr. Yolanda Ortiz at her office after attending my last meeting of the Hispanic faculty and staff organization. I told her I had met Dr. Cordelle who had gone to the meeting to talk about a nationwide geography conference that would be held the following

fall term at the university, and possibly in conjunction with the Hispanic presence commemoration. She said Dr. Cordelle had “put her in her place” when he rejected an idea she and Dr. Pili Sánchez had offered, to invite some important people from western states to talk about identity and place at the conference he was working on. Although they had recommended people who were recognized in their fields, his idea was to highlight local scholars for the national conference. Dr. Ortiz had spoken to him and found out that he was a man who had lived trying to be White. He had told her one of his parents was Mexican and she noted that now that being Hispanic was in vogue, he was now moving to the front-line on issues related to ethnicity, gender, and race. She said they had a long conversation about these type of issues, especially with respect to her dissertation topic. He said he was amazed that she had done bilingual work in the dissertation, not holding herself to the accepted back translation methodology since she was able to analyze the Spanish data directly.

In the meantime, Isaac said he was thinking about taping the FGCS conference which meant finding money for the event. I decided to go to Dr. Sierra’s office to see if I could get some enrollment statistics that could give me a FGCS break-down. He said that information was not readily available since the category did not presently hold the interest of administrators, related in part to how numbers are used to take gender, race, and ethnicity into consideration. I saw how my inquiry about the FGCS break-down started to cause a ripple effect even though the numbers were within reach. Actually getting them required that I go through administrative channels. Isaac told me he had a list of FG students by name, simply for the purpose of passing it on to the FGSO president so that she could get in touch with students who might be interested in the organization. I said I was only interested in the

numbers but I never got them.

There was a cable company that was interested in showing the FGCS DVD on television and Isaac needed to consult the university lawyers about the contract even though it did not involve an exchange of money. It turned out that the lawyer was in the same building where I would be returning my internet router the next day. On the way back, Isaac told me that a woman by the name of Amelia Limón from a local not-for-profit organization had left him a message. When we got to his office we checked their website and left her a message on the site's message service in addition to leaving a phone message at both of her numbers. It was not clear what she wanted but we thought the noise being made about FGCS was helping people network. As I thought about this, I asked Isaac if he ever thought about the connection between non-traditional students (NTSs) and FGCSs. He said he was more concerned about the students in their first two years at the university. This would be closely related to his efforts to help increase the university's retention rates.

It was late February and my time at the university was drawing to a close. I realized that I had not been to any of the Black heritage events being celebrated this month. I also realized that I had never walked into the multicultural events office even though I knew the directors and they had allowed me to eat for free at a number of functions they had organized. I had relied heavily on the university website's student calendar during the previous term and now worried about not having paid as much attention to it in the last two months. The worry list seemed to be getting longer as I thought about the time I had left to be on campus.

In addition to Dr. Sierra, Isaac had also invited Dr. Hal Crawford, a person from the career office, to meet with Amelia Limón. She arrived at the health center's conference room

with another woman and we were surprised to hear them say that someone had told them we had some research about FGCSs. We told them they had been misinformed. Dr. Sierra explained some of the institutional barriers to any efforts in this regard, stemming from an administrative interest in Hispanic enrollment and other similar types of issues. Dr. Hal Crawford said some graduate students in his office were doing some research but their daily job pressures did not allow them to pursue their interests in special populations. He said there was one person interested in the category but was unable to focus on it at the office.

The women told us they offered services to students enrolled in their retention program. Their retention rate (46%) for Hispanics was similar to the one at this university (77%) in that both percentages were considered low. The women said they tried to find out how to get people to finish college and reported that the drop-out reason was 21% for economic pressures, 14% for personal issues, and 11% for academic suspension. They considered the problem to be due to a lack of support and Dr. Sierra talked about a plan to offer child care, public transportation, and subsidized housing at this university. Isaac noted that there was also a trend at the university to enroll fewer undergraduates and a move towards making it a research institution with a programs for graduate students. He said these students tend to need little extra help, pointing out that student self-sufficiency was becoming the key to improving active enrollment numbers.

Many numbers rolled off the lips of the administrators at the meeting, coupled with a general sense of frustration about what to do to help students achieve academic success. The important aspect of the percentage of students on probation (22%) came up in the meeting. As they talked about those numbers I remembered having joined Isaac when he gave a

presentation on self-identity. It was an opportunity for some students to get to "know themselves", if not just to show up and be counted since being on the university probation list required them to attend these type of presentations.

Isaac and I walked back to his office to find 4 more completed surveys in his mailbox. That would make it 8 and half of the number of institutions that had been represented at the university counselor's conference. He said he was pleased, then moved on to the topic of the Hispanic student leader's retreat and showed me his agenda for the meeting. I had learned by then that he already knew what he wanted from the meeting. When he said, "I know my people" I asked him if he meant Hispanics and he clarified that he was referring to everyone, or almost everyone he has had to work with at the university. They tend to be non-committed or "not as active" as he would like for them to be. I said I sensed that he did a lot of propping up for the people he acted on. He agreed and said he also knew when to let go, when to sit back and watch them do things. Our conversation centered on how students, particularly Hispanics have changed. He said he had seen how the Hispanic organizations on campus had slowly dissipated. There were fewer organizations and the ones that were left were not collaborating with each other. He alluded to a coalition that had existed before and I thought, he's trying to create the coalition he once knew.

(r) Harmony

I eventually stopped by Dr. Delores Parker's office to pick up a proof of the Hispanic presence events brochure that would be printed later. It said there would be a companion booklet to an exhibit of Latino faculty, staff, and students who have been at the university over the past century. It would serve as an archival document, a recruitment document

connected to HSI designation, and a way to promote the Hispanic presence commemoration that would be taking place the following fall term.

I had made plans to go to a presentation given by the Dr. Alexa Nobel in which she planned to describe her vision of how to care for students as the vice-president of student administrative services. She used the metaphor of a symphony where the harmony between the different service areas would offer the kind of care the students needed. I wondered about the dissonance that music needs to make it interesting, perhaps because I believe all metaphors have their limits.

Isaac and I continued waiting for the surveys we had distributed at the conference for university counselors. We also talked about the retreat that was planned for this month. He told me he had gotten an email from an Hispanic student who asked if the lunch meeting was going to be a formal event. We realized that we had not specified this aspect but were still surprised that a student would be so concerned about what to wear for the retreat.

(s) Back in Barcelona

Moving back to Barcelona meant looking for a place to live. I was able to find time to write about what had happened during those last days at the university. The retreat for Hispanic students had taken place at Dr. Imelda Sánchez' house. I had gone to a social gathering for Latinas at the university with Simón where we were able to play pool and visit with students, faculty, and administrative staff.

Moving is always a messy process. I remember spending a whole day organizing my things to go back to my parents' house. Carlos, my roommate, wanted to talk to me about a book I had lent him. We never had time to have another one of our long discussions but he

did make it a point to visit me in my hometown. We went out to see a movie and on his way back he left me at my brother's house on the north side of town. My brother recognized him from his visits to a cement factory and they were able to talk about the people they knew in common. Later that night when Carlos had left, my brother commented that the working conditions at the cement factory were one of the worst and that the work he had seen my friend do was one of the most difficult.

Being back on the eastern side of the Atlantic Ocean helped me think about what it was like to be in the field with Isaac. We often joked at how some people said it seemed as if we were joined at the hip. As we talked about this, we realized that we were not alone. We commented that Drs. Brandy Graham and Blanch Corona seemed to be connected at the hip which made sense because of their administrative positions in the multicultural office. Isaac continued to write to me by email, once to tell me that he had sent a FGCS conference flyer to a local high school teacher who had expressed interest in these type of activities. It turned out that he knew about various local high schools that had first generation clubs. In the email, the high school teacher thanked Isaac for having inspired people to do something for first generation students who were planning on going to college. Isaac wrote, "you just never know who you are going to inspire."

(t) Writing the dissertation

In every ethnography there comes a time when one must decide to stop collecting data and to start writing the ethnography itself. For as much as I wanted to expand on everything that had happened, I still had the limitation of having to structure the dissertation.

Ethnography was my data gathering method and this made me wonder about the impact of

this methodology on social psychology and other social sciences. I chose to explore this by gathering ethnographic social science articles. I worked up a database for these references and then began to elaborate conceptual maps for all of the major topics covered in the references and then wrote the chapter on ethnography as a social science perspective based on these maps. I continued in the same mode with the social category of FGCS by compiling a database of references that later served for a conceptual mapping of the major topics found in the data. This is what I used to be able to write the chapter on first generation college students.

The literature reviews did not allow me to spend any time with my data that consisted of my field books and a plastic box full of documents I had collected. It could be said that I had established a psychological distance from my data yet I was amazed at how reading my field book and looking through my documents brought back memories of a many of the things I had done at the university and with Isaac. My next task was to transcribe my field notes, establish text files for the emails I had collected, and organize all of the documents that were in the plastic box.

After transcribing my field book and cataloging the documents I proceeded to transcribe the audio of the recruitment DVD presentation. Once that was done I was ready to begin to analyze it. Perhaps due to the methodology I used for the ethnography and the FGCS chapters, I found myself doing a concept map of everything that was mentioned on the DVD. It offered an interesting content analysis of the topics that had come up in the DVD but it was unable to show how they had been made relevant in the particular contexts of conversations. I realized that I had to step away from the conceptual mapping to be able to apply Membership

Categorization Analysis. This required that I look at the categories that emerged in the DVD by attending to the transcript's narrative sequentiality aspects. It was not until I finally got the hang of the method that I was able to proceed with the analysis for the first analysis chapter.

For the second analysis chapter, I dove into my plastic box of documents and chose a few of those that had been mentioned in my field book. In this sense, I was choosing to attend to the narrative sequencing of my notes. They served as a background for how the documents fit into the field book narrative. The relevance of the alumni bulletin in an interaction grew to where I could situate the significance of the elements included on its cover, and how they worked together to give the interaction in the office with Aracely and Isaac its meaning. It was a meeting where our attention was drawn to a sash worn by a graduation student on the alumni bulletin.

Similarly, I was also able to analyze the BSW-FGCS grant application for how it repeated many of the categories that had already surfaced. The final part of the analysis that focused on what happened when a child asked a question in the middle of the hallway of the student center reinforced many of the categories that had come up in the previous analyses, offering further evidence as to how they work to give meaning to the specific interactions in which they emerge.

8. References

(a) Introduction

Bolaño, Roberto. (2004). 2666. (pp. 62-63). Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama..

(b) Ethnography as a Social Science Perspective: A Review

- Abu-Lughod, Lila. (2005). La interpretación de la(s) cultura(s) después de la televisión. [The interpretation of cultures(s) after television]. *Etnografías Contemporáneas*, 1(1), 57-90.
- Altheide, David L. (1987). Reflections: Ethnographic content analysis. *Qualitative Sociology*, 10(1), 65-77.
- Anderson, Gary L. (1989). Critical ethnography in education: Origins, current status, and new directions. *Review of Educational Research*, 59(3), 249-270.
- Andrews, Molly (Ed.). (2000). *Lines of narrative: Psychosocial perspectives*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Araya Gómez, Gabriela. (2003). Etnografía audiovisual y escrita: Una reflexión desde la antropología feminista. [Written and visual ethnography. A reflection from feminist anthropology] [Electronic version]. *Revista Austral de Ciencias Sociales*, 7, 153-164.
- Ardèvol, Elisenda, Bertrán, Marta, Callén, Blanca, & Pérez, Carmen. (2003). Etnografía virtualizada: La observación participante y la entrevista semiestructurada en línea. [Virtualized ethnography: Participant observation and the semi-structured on-line interview]. *Athenea Digital* 3. Retrieved January 2, 2007, from <http://antalya.uab.es/athenea/indice/index.html>
- Arellano Hernández, Antonio, Ortega Ponce, Claudia, & Martínez Miranda, Rubén. (2004). ¿Es global o local la investigación? La proliferación situada de polímeros, transgénicos y colectivos. [Is research global or local? The situated proliferation of polymers, transgenics and collectives] [Electronic version]. *Convergencia*, 11(35),

133-169.

Asad, Talal. (1998). *Anthropology & the colonial encounter*. New York: Humanity Books.

Assaél, Jenny, Cerda, Ana María, Santa Cruz, Eduardo, & Sepúlveda, Rodrigo. (2000). La búsqueda por borrar estigmas sociales: Una forma de construir ciudadanía. [Seeking ways to erase social stigmas: A way of constructing citizenship] [Electronic version]. *Revista de Psicología*, 9.

Atkinson, Paul. (1984). Wards and deeds: The research process in educational settings. In Robert G. Burgess (Ed.), *The research process in educational settings: Ten case studies*. London: Falmer Press.

Atkinson, Paul & Delamont, Sara. (2005). Analytic perspectives. In Norman K. Denzin & Yvonna S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*. (3rd ed., pp. 821-840). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Augé, Marc. (1996). *Los no lugares: Espacios del anonimato* [No-places: Spaces of anonymity]. Barcelona: Gedisa.

Aull Davies, Charlotte. (1998). *Reflexive ethnography: A guide to researching selves and others*. London/New York: Routledge.

Ball, Stephen. (1983). The ethnography of schooling. In M. V. Hammersley (Ed.), *Case study research in education: Some notes and problems*. (pp. 77-104). Driffield: Nafferton Books.

Ball, Stephen. (1984). Beachside reconsidered: Reflections on a methodological apprenticeship. In Robert G. Burgess (Ed.), *The research process in educational settings: Ten case studies*. (pp. 69-96). London: Falmer Press.

- Barba Martín, José Juan. (2001). Aprendiendo a hacer etnografía durante el prácticum. [Learning to do ethnography in a practicum] [Electronic version]. *Revista Interuniversitaria de Formación de Profesorado*, 42, 117-190.
- Bartolomé, Miguel Alberto. (2003). En defensa de la etnografía. El Papel contemporáneo de la investigación intercultural [In defense of ethnography. The contemporary role of intercultural research]. *Revista de Antropología Social*, 12, 199-222.
- Becker, Howard S. (1967). Whose side are we on? *Social Problems*, 14(3), 239-247.
- Behar, Ruth & Gordon, Deborah A. (Eds.). (1996). *Women writing culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bernard, H. Russell. (2002). *Research methods in anthropology* (3rd ed.). Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.
- Bialakowsky, Alberto L., Grima, José M., Costa, María Ignacia, & López, Néstor. (2005). Gerencia de empresas recuperadas por los trabajadores en Argentina [Management of recuperated companies by workers in Argentina] [Electronic version]. *Revista Venezolana de Gerencia*, 10(31), 359-384.
- Bickman, Leonard & Rog, Debra J. (1997). *Handbook of applied social research methods*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Birth, Kevin. (2001). Sitting there: discourses on the embodiment of agency, belonging, and deference in the classroom. *Journal of Mundane Behavior*, 2(2), 233-244.
- Bohannon, Paul & van der Elst, Dirk. (1998). *Asking and listening: Ethnography as personal adaptation*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press.
- Bonnett, Alastair. (2000). *White identities: Historical and international perspectives*.

- Englewood Cliffs, NC: Prentice-Hall.
- Bourgois, Philippe. (2002). Ethnography's troubles and the reproduction of academic habitus. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 15(4), 417-420.
- Bridge, Gary & Watson, Sophie (Eds.). (2000). *A companion to the city*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Brueggmann, Walter A. (2001). *The Prophetic Imagination: Revised Edition*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Burgess, Robert G. (Ed.). (1985). *Field methods in the study of education*. London: Falmer Press.
- Burgess, Robert G. (Ed.). (1985). *Issues in educational research: Qualitative methods*. London: Falmer Press.
- Burgess, Robert G. (Ed.). (1989). *The ethics of educational research*. London: Falmer Press.
- Callejo Gallego, Javier. (2002). Observación, entrevista y grupo de discusión: El silencio de tres prácticas de investigación [Observation, interview and discussion group: The silence of three research practices] [Electronic version]. *Revista Española de Salud Pública*, 76(5), 409-422.
- Calvo, Beatriz. (1992). Etnografía de la educación [Ethnography of education]. *Nueva Antropología. Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 42, 9-26.
- Campbell, Rona, Pound, Pandora, Pope, Catherine, Britten, Nicky, Pill, Roisin, Morgan, Myfanwy et al. (2003). Evaluating meta-ethnography: A synthesis of qualitative research on lay experiences of diabetes and diabetes care. *Social Science and Medicine*, 56(4), 671-684.
- Castro Neira, Yerko. (2005). Teoría transnacional: Revisitando la comunidad de los

- antropólogos [Transnational theory: Revisiting the community of anthropologists] [Electronic version]. *Política y Cultura, Primavera*(23), 181-194.
- Castro-Gómez, Santiago. (2005). *La poscolonialidad explicada a los niños* [Postcoloniality explained to children]. Popayán: Editorial Universidad de Cuaca.
- Christensen, Pia & James, Allison. (2000). *Research with children : Perspectives and practices*. London: Falmer Press.
- Cisneros Puebla, César A. (2000). Qualitative social research in Mexico [33 paragraphs]. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research 1(1)(1)*. Retrieved January 4, 2007, from <http://www.qualitative-research.net/fqs-texte/1-00/1-00cisneros-e.htm>
- Clifford, James & Marcus, George E. (1986). *Writing culture: The poetics & politics of ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Coast, Ernestina. (2003). An evaluation of demographers' use of ethnographies. *Population Studies*, 57(3), 337-347.
- Cohen, Elizabeth G. (1972). Sociology and the classroom: setting the conditions for teacher-student interaction. *Review of Educational Research*, 42(4), 441-452.
- Cohen, Louis, Manion, Lawrence, & Morrison, Keith. (2000). *Research methods in education*. London: Falmer Press.
- Crabtree, Andy, Nichols, David M., O'Brien, Jon, Rouncefield, Mark, & Twidale, Michael B. (2000). Ethnomethodologically informed ethnography and information system design. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science*, 51(7), 666-682.
- Crang, Mike. (2002). Qualitative methods: The new orthodoxy? *Progress in Human*

- Geography*, 26(5), 647-655.
- Cunningham, Michael. (1999). *The Hours*. London: Fourth Estate.
- Delamont, Sara. (1978). Sociology and the classroom. In Lev Barton & Ronald Meighan (Eds.), *Sociological interpretations of schooling and classrooms: A reappraisal*. (pp. 59-72). Driffield: Nafferton Books.
- Delamont, Sara & Atkinson, Paul. (1980). The two traditions in educational ethnography: Sociology and anthropology compared. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 1(2), 139-152.
- DeMarrais, Kathleen B. & LeCompte, Margaret D. (1998). *Way schools work: A sociological analysis of education*. White Plains, NY: Longman.
- Denzin, Norman K. (2006). The politics and ethics of performance pedagogy: toward a pedagogy of hope. In D. Soyini Madison & Judith Hamera (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Performance Studies*. (pp. 325-338). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- DeVault, Marjorie L. (1993). Different voices: Feminists' methods of social research. *Qualitative Sociology*, 16(1), 77-83.
- Díaz Iglesias, Sebastián. (2005). Hacer etnografía en la propia comunidad: Problemas de expectativas, atribuciones y responsabilidades [Doing ethnography in one's own community: Problems, expectations, attributions and responsibilities] [Electronic version]. *Revista de Antropología Experimental*, 5(7), 1-11.
- Dicks, Bella, Soyinka, Bambo, & Coffey, Amanda. (2006). Multimodal ethnography. *Qualitative Research*, 6(1), 77-96.

- Dobbert, Marion L. (1982). *Ethnographic Research: Theory and Application for Modern Schools and Societies*. New York: Praeger.
- Dunaway, David K. & Baum, Willa K. (Eds.). (1997). *Oral history: An interdisciplinary anthology*. Walnut Creek/London: Altamira Press.
- Duncan, Nancy (Ed.). (1996). *BodySpace: Destabilizing geographies of gender and sexuality*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Duque, Félix. (2002). *En torno al humanismo. Heidegger, Gadamer, Sloterdijk* [About Humanism. Heidegger, Gadamer, Sloterdijk]. Madrid: Tecnos.
- Edelman, Marc. (2001). Social movements: Changing paradigms and forms of politics. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 30, 285-317.
- Eisenhart, Margaret A. (2001). Educational ethnography past, present, and future: Ideas to think with. *Educational Researcher*, 30(8), 16-27.
- Elliott, Robert, Fischer, Constance T., & Rennie, David L. (1999). Evolving guidelines for publication of qualitative research studies in psychology and related fields. *British Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 38(3), 215-229.
- Ellis, Carolyn. (2004). *The ethnographic I: A methodological novel about autoethnography*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Ellis, Carolyn & Bochner, Arthur P. (1996). *Composing ethnography: Alternative forms of qualitative writing*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Emerson, Robert M., Fretz, Rachel I., & Shaw, Linda L. (1995). *Writing ethnographic fieldnotes*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Erickson, Frederick. (1984). What makes school ethnography 'ethnographic'? *Anthropology*

& *Education Quarterly*, 15(1), 51-66.

- Escobar, Arturo. (1991). Anthropology and the development encounter: The making and marketing of development anthropology. *American Ethnologist*, 18(4), 658-682.
- ESRC. (2003). Economic and Social Research Council, Guide to natural histories of research. Retrieved from Teaching and Learning Research Program, Research Capacity Building Network, Cardiff University School of Social Sciences, Glamorgan Building, King Edward VII Avenue, Cardiff CF10 3WT. Retrieved April 2, 2006, from <http://www.cf.ac.uk/socsi/capacity/Activities/Themes/Expertise/guide.pdf>
- Estalella Fernández, Adolfo. (2005). Pobrecito hablador. Conflictos por la libre participación en una comunidad colaborativa. Etnografía simétrica de un weblog colectivo dedicado a la producción de noticias mediante filtrado [Poor gossip. Conflicts due to open participation in a collaborative community. A symmetrical ethnography of a collective weblog dedicated to the production of news through filtering]. *Athenea Digital* 7. Retrieved January 2, 2007, from <http://antalya.uab.es/athenea/indice/index.html>
- Evans, Rob. (2002). Ethnography of teacher training: Mantras for those constructed as 'other'. *Disability & Society*, 17(1), 35-48.
- Fetterman, David M. (Ed.). (1991). *Using qualitative methods in institutional research*. New York: Jossey-Bass.
- Fetterman, David M. & Pitman, Mary Anne (Eds.). (1986). *Educational evaluation: Ethnography in theory, practice, and politics*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Fetterman, David M. (Ed.). (1984). *Ethnography in educational evaluation*. Beverly Hills,

CA: Sage Publications.

Fine, Gary Alan. (1993). Ten lies of ethnography: Moral dilemmas of field research. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 22(3), 267-294.

Fonseca, Claudia. (2005). La clase social y su recusación etnográfica [Social class and its ethnographic refusal]. *Etnografías Contemporáneas*, 1, 117-138.

Foucault, Michel. (1984). The masked philosopher (Alan Sheridan, Trans.). In Lawrence D. Kritzman (Ed.), *Michel Foucault: Politics, philosophy, culture (Interviews and other writings: 1977 - 1984)*. (pp. 323-330). New York: Routledge.

Gadamer, Hans-Georg. (1998). *Praise of theory: Speeches and essays*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Gálvez Mozo, Ana. (2004). Producción de compromiso y sentido de realidad en los entornos virtuales. Un análisis etnográfico [The production of commitment and of a sense of reality in virtual spaces. An ethnographic analysis]. *Athenea Digital* 5. Retrieved January 2, 2007, from <http://antalya.uab.es/athenea/indice/index.html>

Gálvez Mozo, Ana. (2005). Sociabilidad en pantalla. Un estudio de la interacción en los entornos virtuales [Sociability on the screen. A study of interaction in virtual spaces]. *Revista de Antropología Iberoamericana*, número especial.

Garfinkel, Harold. (2002). *Ethnomethodology's program: Working out Durkheim's aphorism*. Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield.

Gastaldo, Denise, Mercado-Martínez, Francisco J., Ramasco-Gutiérrez, Milagros, Lizardi-Gómez, Alejandra, & Gil-Nebot, María Ángeles. (2002). Qualitative health research in Ibero-America: The current state of the science [Electronic version]. *Journal of*

- Transcultural Nursing*, 2, 90-108.
- Geertz, Clifford. (1986). The uses of diversity. The Tanner lectures on human values. Delivered at The University of Michigan November 8, 1985. Retrieved January 11, 2007, from <http://www.tannerlectures.utah.edu/lectures/geertz86.pdf>
- Glaser, Barney G. & Strauss, Anselm L. (1964). Awareness contexts and interaction. *American Sociological Review*, 29(5), 669-679.
- Goetz, Judith Preissle & LeCompte, Margaret D. (1984). *Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research*. New York: Academic Press.
- Goodson, Ivor. (1983). The use of life histories in the study of teaching. In M. V. Hammersley (Ed.), *The ethnography of schooling*. (pp. 131-154). Driffield: Nafferton Books.
- Gouldner, Alvin W. (1968). The sociologist as partisan: Sociology and the welfare state. *American Sociologist*, 3(2), 103-116.
- Gregorio Gil, Carmen. (2005). Contribuciones feministas a problemas epistemológicos de la disciplina antropológica: Representación y relaciones de poder [Feminist contributions to epistemological problems in the discipline of anthropology: Representation and power relationships] [Electronic version]. *Revista de Antropología Iberoamericana*, 1(1).
- Gutiérrez Monclus, Pamela. (2005). Discursos y prácticas de gobernabilidad hacia las adolescentes. Aproximación etnográfica a la educación del tiempo libre en Barcelona [Discourses and practices of governability towards adolescents: An ethnographic approximation of free-time education in Barcelona]. *Athenea Digital* 8. Retrieved

- January 2, 2007, from <http://antalya.uab.es/athenea/indice/index.html>
- Hallam, Elizabeth & Street, Brian (Eds.). (2000). *Cultural encounters: Representing otherness*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Hammersley, Martyn V. (1984). The researcher exposed: A natural history. In Robert G. Burgess (Ed.), *The research process in educational settings: Ten case studies*. London: Falmer Press.
- Hammersley, Martyn V. (1991). *What's wrong with ethnography?* London/New York: Routledge.
- Hammersley, Martyn V. (1995). Theory and evidence in qualitative research. *Quality and Quantity*, 29(1), 55-66.
- Hammersley, Martyn V. (2006). Ethnography: problems and prospects. *Ethnography and Education*, 1(1), 3-14.
- Hammersley, Martyn V. & Atkinson, Paul (Eds.). (1995). *Ethnography: Principles in practice*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Hammersley, Martyn V. (Ed.). (1986). *Controversies in classroom research: A reader*. Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press.
- Hansen, Alan D. (2005). A practical task: Ethnicity as a resource in social interaction. *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, 38(1), 63-104.
- Hargreaves, Andy. (1987). Past, imperfect, tense: Reflections on an ethnographic and historical study of middle schools. In Geoffrey Walford (Ed.), *Doing sociology of education*. (pp. 17-44). London: Falmer Press.
- Heath, Shirley Brice. (1982). Ethnography in education: Defining the essentials. In Perry

- Gilmore & Allan H. Glatthorn (Eds.), *Children in and out of school*. (pp. 33-55).
Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Heath, Shirley Brice. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life and work in communities and classrooms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heath, Shirley Brice. (1999). Discipline and disciplines in education research - elusive goals?
In Ellen Condliffe Lagemann & Lee S. Shulman (Eds.), *Issues in educational research: Problems and possibilities*. (pp. 203-223). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Herbert, Steve. (2000). For ethnography. *Progress in Human Geography*, 24(4), 550-568.
- Hertz, Rosanna (Ed.). (1997). *Reflexivity and voice*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Hillman, James & Ventura, Michael. (1993). *We've had a hundred years of psychotherapy and the world's getting worse*. San Francisco: Harper.
- Hinchman, Lewis P. & Hinchman, Sandra K. (Eds.). (1997). *Memory, identity, community: The idea of narrative in the human sciences*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Hine, Christine. (2000). *Virtual ethnography*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Holt, Nicholas L. (2003). Representation, legitimation, and autoethnography: An autoethnographic writing story [Electronic version]. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 2(1), Article 2.
- Hughes-Freeland, Felicia (Ed.). (1998). *Ritual, performance, media*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Humphreys, Michael, Brown, Andrew D., & Hatch, Mary Jo. (2003). Is ethnography jazz? [Electronic version]. *Organization*, 10(1), 5-31.

- Hymes, Dell H. (1980). Educational ethnology. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 11(1), 3-8.
- Iñiguez Rueda, Lupicinio. (1995). Métodos cualitativos en psicología social: Presentación [Qualitative methods in social psychology: Presentation]. *Revista de Psicología Social Aplicada*, 5(1-2), 5-26.
- Jiménez, Sergio. (1990). *El Evangelio de Stanislavski* [The Gospel of Stanislavsky]. México: Grupo Editorial Gaceta.
- Jones III, John Paul, Nast, Heidi, & Roberts, Susan M. (Eds.). (1997). *Thresholds in feminist geography: Difference, methodology, representation*. Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Jones, Alison. (1991). *At school I've got a chance: Culture/privilege Pacific Islands and Pakeha girls at school*. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.
- Krieger, Susan. (1991). *Social science and the self: Personal essays on an art form*. Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Lahelma, Elina. (2002). School is for meeting friends: Secondary school as lived and remembered. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 23(3), 367-381.
- Lancy, David F. (Ed.). (1993). *Qualitative research in education : An introduction to the major traditions*. White Plains, NY: Longman.
- Lassiter, Luke Eric. (2005). Collaborative ethnography and public anthropology. *Current Anthropology*, 46(1), 83-106.
- Law, John & Urry, John. (2003). *Enacting the social*. Published by the Department of Sociology and the Centre for Science Studies, Lancaster University, Lancaster LA1

- 4YN, UK. Retrieved July 20, 2006, from <http://www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/sociology/papers/Law-Urry-Enacting-the-Social.pdf>
- LeCompte, Margaret D. (2002). The transformation of ethnographic practice: Past and current challenges. *Qualitative Research*, 2(3), 283-299.
- LeCompte, Margaret D. & Goetz, Judith Preissle. (1984). Ethnographic data collection in evaluation research. In David M. Fetterman (Ed.), *Ethnography in educational evaluation*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- LeCompte, Margaret D. & Preissle, Judith. (1993). *Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- LeCompte, Margaret D. & Schensul, Jean J. (1999). *Designing & conducting ethnographic research*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Lees, Loretta. (2003). Urban geography: 'New' urban geography and the ethnographic void. *Progress in Human Geography*, 27(1), 107-113.
- Lindlof, Thomas R. & Shatzer, Milton J. (1998). Media ethnography in virtual space: Strategies, limits, and possibilities. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 42(2), 170-189.
- Lindlof, Thomas R. & Taylor, Bryan Copeland. (2002). *Qualitative communication research methods* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lofland, John, Snow, David A., Anderson, Leon, & Lofland, Lyn H. (Eds.). (2006). *Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis*. (4th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- López Carrera, Juan Cristóbal. (2005). La hermenéutica en la antropología, una experiencia y

- propuesta de trabajo etnográfico: La descripción densa de Clifford Geertz
[Hermeneutics in anthropology, an experience and a proposal for ethnographic work:
Clifford Geertz' thick description] [Electronic version]. *Ra Ximhai*, 1(2), 291-301.
- López Gómez, Daniel. (2005). Aplicación de la teoría del actor-red al análisis de la
interacción en los entornos virtuales [The application of actor network theory to
analyze interaction in virtual spaces]. *Revista de Antropología Iberoamericana*,
número especial.
- Madison, D. Soyini. (2005). *Critical ethnography: Method, ethics, and performance*.
Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Maggs-Rapport, Frances. (2000). Combining methodological approaches in research:
Ethnography and interpretive phenomenology [Electronic version]. *Journal of
Advanced Nursing*, 31(1), 219-225.
- Marcus, George E. & Cushman, Dick. (1982). Ethnographies as texts. *Annual Review of
Anthropology*, 11, 25-69.
- Marcus, George E. & Fischer, Michael M. J. (1999). *Anthropology as cultural critique: An
experimental moment in the human sciences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Markowitz, Fran. (2000). Creating coalitions and causing conflicts: Confronting race and
gender through partnered ethnography. *Ethnos*, 67(2), 201-222.
- Márquez, Ma. Teresa. (2002). Etnografía de los recursos en el laboratorio: Tecnología y
presentaciones identitarias [The ethnography of laboratory resources: Technology and
identity presentations] [Electronic version]. *Estudios sobre las Culturas
Contemporáneas*, 8(16), 96-119.

- Martínez, Isabel & Vásquez-Bronfman, Ana (Eds.). (1995). *La socialización en la escuela y la integración de las minorías: Perspectivas etnográficas en el análisis de la educación de los años 90* [Socialization in schools and the integration of minorities: Ethnographic perspectives in the analysis of child education in the 90s]. Madrid: Aprendizaje.
- Masemann, Vandra Lea. (1982). Critical ethnography in the study of comparative education. *Comparative Education Review*, 26(1), 1-15.
- McCaslin, Mark L. & Wilson Scott, Karen. (2003). The five question method for framing a qualitative research study. *The Qualitative Report* 8(3)(3), 447-461. Retrieved June 17, 2006, from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR8-3/mccaslin.pdf>
- Michael, Mike. (2004). On making data social: Heterogeneity in sociological practice. *Qualitative Research*, 4(1), 5-23.
- Miller, Delbert C. & Salkind, Neil J. (2002). *Handbook of research design and social measurement* (6th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Montes del Castillo, Ángel. (2001). Films etnográficos. La construcción audiovisual de las "otras culturas" [Ethnographic films. The audiovisual construction of the "other cultures"] [Electronic version]. *Comunicar*, 16, 79-87.
- Mookerjea, Sourayan. (2003). Migrant multitudes, western transcendence and the politics of creativity [Electronic version]. *Journal for Cultural Research*, 7(4), 405-432.
- Mookerjea, Sourayan. (2003). Native informant as impossible perspective: Information, subalternist deconstruction and ethnographies of globalization. *Canadian Review of Sociology & Anthropology*, 40(2), 125-151.

- Morales Galindo, Luislis. (2004). Etnografía de un taller literario [Ethnography of a literary workshop] [Electronic version]. *Sapiens*, 5(extraordinario), 81-107.
- Mountz, Alison, Miyares, Ines M., Wright, Richard, & Bailey, Adrian J. (2003). Methodologically becoming: Power, knowledge and team research [Electronic version]. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 10(1), 29-46.
- Mulhauser, Frederick. (1975). Ethnography and policymaking: The case of education. *Human Organization*, 34(3), 311-315.
- Murcia Peña, Napoleón & Jaramillo Echeverri, Luis Guillermo. (2001). La complementariedad como posibilidad en la estructuración de diseños de investigación cualitativa [Complementarity as a possible structuring for qualitative research designs] [Electronic version]. *Cinta de Moebio*, 12, 31-43.
- Murray, Carola. (1986). Qualitative research methods in special education: Ethnography, microethnography, and ethology. *Journal of Special Education Technology*, 7(3), 15-31.
- Myers, Michael D. & Young, Leslie W. (1997). Hidden agendas, power and managerial assumptions in information systems development: An ethnographic study. *Information Technology & People*, 10(3), 224-240.
- Nespor, Jan. (2006). Annotated bibliography on qualitative research methodology. Retrieved May 18, 2006, from <http://filebox.vt.edu/users/nespor/qualbib.html>
- Nicholls, John G. & Hazzard, Susan P. (1993). *Education as adventure: Lessons from the second grade*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Ogbu, John. U. (1981). School ethnography: A multilevel approach. *Anthropology &*

- Education Quarterly*, 12(1), 3-29.
- Ortner, Sherry B. (2003). *New Jersey dreaming: Capital, culture, and the class of '58*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Owusu, Maxwell. (1978). Ethnography of Africa: The usefulness of the useless. *American Anthropologist*, 80(2), 310-334.
- Pallí Monguilod, Cristina. (2006). Diferencias que importan: Haraway y sus amores perros [Difference that matter: On love in the kennel of life] [Review of the book *The companion species manifesto: Dogs, people, and significant otherness*]. *Athenea Digital10*, 250- 258. Retrieved November 13, 2006, from <http://antalya.uab.es/athenea/num10/palliM.pdf>
- Palonsky, Stuart B. (1987). Ethnographic scholarship and social education. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 15(2), 77-87.
- Páramo, Pablo & Otálvaro, Gabriel. (2006). Investigación alternativa: Por una distinción entre posturas epistemológicas y no entre métodos [Alternative research: For a distinction between epistemological approaches and not methods] [Electronic version]. *Cinta de Moebio*, 25.
- Paredes, Américo. (1977). On ethnographic work among minority groups: A folklorist's perspective. *New Scholar*, 6, 1-32.
- Parra Sabaj, María Eugenia. (1998). La etnografía de la educación [The ethnography of education] [Electronic version]. *Cinta de Moebio*, 3.
- Pasco, Rebecca J. (2003). *Capital and opportunity : A critical ethnography of students at-risk*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

- Patton, Michael & Westby, Carol. (1992). Ethnography and research: A qualitative view. *Topics in Language Disorders, 12*(3), 1-14.
- Perdiguer, Enrique & Comelles, Josep M. (Eds.). (2000). *Medicina y cultura. Estudios entre la antropología y la medicina* [Medicine and culture. Studies between anthropology and medicine]. Barcelona: Bellaterra.
- Philip, Kavita. (1998). English mud: Towards a critical cultural studies of colonial science. *Cultural Studies, 12*(3), 300-331.
- Pignatelli, Frank. (1998). Critical ethnography/poststructuralist concerns: Foucault and the play of memory. *Interchange, 29*(4), 403-423.
- Piña Osorio, Juan Manuel. (1997). Consideraciones sobre la etnografía educativa [Considerations of an educational ethnography] [Electronic version]. *Perfiles Educativos, 19*(78).
- Pollard, Andrew. (1985). Opportunities and difficulties of a teacher-ethnographer: A personal account. In Robert G. Burgess (Ed.), *Field methods in the study of education*. (pp. 217-233). London: Falmer Press.
- Pollner, Melvin & Emerson, Robert M. (2007). Ethnomethodology and ethnography. In Paul Atkinson, Amanda Coffey, Sara Delamont, John Lofland, & Lyn H. Lofland (Eds.), *Handbook of Ethnography*. (pp. 118-135). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Reed-Danahay, Deborah E. (Ed.). (1997). *Auto/ethnography: Rewriting the self and the social*. Oxford: Berg.
- Reid, Alan & Gough, Stephen. (2000). Guidelines for reporting and evaluating qualitative research: What are the alternatives? *Environmental Education Research, 6*(1), 59-91.

- Rhedding-Jones, Jeanette. (1996). Researching early schooling: Poststructural practices and academic writing in an ethnography. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 17(1), 21-37.
- Risjord, Mark. (2000). The politics of explanation and the origins of ethnography. *Perspectives on Science*, 8(1), 29-52.
- Rist, Ray C. (1982). On the application of ethnographic inquiry to education: Procedures and possibilities. *Journal of Research in Science Teaching*, 19(6), 439-450.
- Rose, Dan. (1990). *Living the ethnographic life*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Rose, Nikolas. (1999). *Powers of freedom: Reframing political thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rueda Beltrán, Mario, Delgado Ballesteros, Gabriela, & Jacobo, Zarbel (Eds.). (1994). *La etnografía en educación: Panorama, prácticas y problemas* [Ethnography in education: Panorama, practices and problems]. Mexico, D. F.: CISE/UNAM.
- Sampson, Helen. (2004). Navigating the waves: The usefulness of a pilot in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, 4(3), 383-402.
- Sánchez-Candamio, Marga. (1995). La etnografía en psicología social [Ethnography in social psychology]. *Revista de Psicología Social Aplicada*, 5(1-2), 27-40.
- Sarno, Charles. (2004). On the place of allegory in the methodological conventions of a critical sociology: A case study of Max Weber's protestant ethic. *Critical Sociology*, 30(2), 265-285.
- Savage, Jan. (2000). Ethnography and health care [Electronic version]. *British Medical Journal (Clinical research ed.)*, 321(7273), 1400-1402.

- Schatzman, Leonard & Strauss, Anselm L. (1973). *Field research: Strategies for a natural sociology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Schensul, Stephen L. (1999). *Essential ethnographic methods*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Schumacher, Sally. (1979). *Ethnographic inquiry: Theory and application in educational research and evaluation*. (Report No. CS 005 361). East Lansing, MI: National Center for Research on Teacher Learning. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED184108).
- Scollon, Ron, Bhatia, Vijay, Li, David, & Yung, Vicki. (1999). Blurred genres and fuzzy identities in Hong Kong public discourse: Foundational ethnographic issues in the study of reading. *Applied Linguistics*, 20(1), 22-43.
- Sherman, Lawrence W. & Strang, Heather. (2004). Experimental ethnography: The marriage of qualitative and quantitative research. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 595(1), 204-222.
- Shockley, Betty, Michalove, Barbara, & Allen, JoBeth. (1995). *Engaging families: Connecting home and school literacy communities*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Smith, Dorothy E. (1987). *The everyday world as problematic: A feminist sociology*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Smith, Louis M. (1978). An evolving logic of participant observation, educational ethnography, and other case studies. *Review of Research in Education*, 6, 316-377.
- Smith, Louis M. (2004). Yesterday, today, tomorrow: Reflections on action research and qualitative inquiry. *Educational Action Research*, 12(2), 175-196.

- Smith, Louis M. & Brock, J. A. M. (1970). *"Go, bug, go!": Methodological issues in classroom observational research*. St. Ann, MO: Central Midwestern Regional Educational Laboratory.
- Smith, Louis M. & Pohland, Paul A. (1976). Grounded theory and educational ethnography: A methodological analysis and critique [Monograph]. In Joan I. Roberts & Sherrie K. Akinsanya (Eds.), *Educational Patterns and Cultural Configurations: The anthropology of education*. New York: David McKay Company, Inc.
- Sorrell, Jeanne M. & Redmond, Georgina M. (1995). Interviews in qualitative nursing research: Differing approaches for ethnographic and phenomenological studies. *Journal of Advanced Nursing*, 21(6), 1117-1122.
- Tani, Rubén. (2004). Continuidad de algunos temas en la teoría antropológica [Continuity in some themes of anthropology theory] [Electronic version]. *Nómadas*, 10.
- Tobin, Joseph & Davidson, Dana. (1990). The ethics of polyvocal ethnography: Empowering vs. textualizing children and teachers. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 3(3), 271-328.
- Tomás i Justribó, Santiago. (2004). Estudi etnogràfic d'un grup híbrid on-line/off-line [The ethnographic study of a hybrid group online/offline]. *Athenea Digital* 5. Retrieved January 2, 2007, from <http://antalya.uab.es/athenea/indice/index.html>
- Trueba, Enrique T. (2000). Las voces de las mujeres mexicanas inmigrantes en California central: Etnografía crítica y "apoderamiento" [The voices of Mexican immigrant women in central California: Critical ethnography and "empowerment"] [Electronic version]. *Estudios sobre las Culturas Contemporáneas*, 6(11), 89-111.

- Tufte, Thomas. (2003). *Living with the rubbish queen: Telenovelas, culture and modernity in Brazil*. Luton, UK: University of Luton Press.
- Uribe Alvarado, Ana Bertha. (2004). Una perspectiva cualitativa en un estudio de recepción televisiva. Apuntes metodológicos [A qualitative perspective in the study of television reception. Methodological notes] [Electronic version]. *Estudios sobre las Culturas Contemporáneas*, 10(20), 141-168.
- VanderStaay, Steven L. (2003). Believing Clayboy. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 9(3), 374-394.
- Velasco Orozco, Juan Jesús. (2003). La investigación etnográfica y el maestro [Ethnographic research and the teacher] [Electronic version]. *Tiempo de Educar*, 4(7), 153-169.
- Velasco, Honorio M. & Díaz de Rada, Ángel (Eds.). (1996). *La lógica de la investigación etnográfica* [The logic of ethnographic research]. Madrid: Trotta.
- Velasco, Honorio M. (1997). *La lógica de la investigación etnográfica: Un modelo de trabajo para etnógrafos de la escuela* [The logic of ethnographic research: A working model for ethnographers in schools]. Madrid: Trotta.
- Villenas, Sofia. (1999). This ethnography called my back: Writings of the exotic gaze, "othering" Latina, and recuperating Xicanisma. In Elizabeth A. St Pierre & Wanda S. Pillow (Eds.), *Working the ruins: Feminist poststructural theory and methods in education*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Wainwright, Steven P. (2004). Epiphanies of embodiment: Injury, identity and the balletic body. *Qualitative Research*, 4(3), 311-337.
- Walford, Geoffrey. (2004). Finding the limits: Autoethnography and being an Oxford University proctor. *Qualitative Research*, 4(3), 403-417.

- Walters, Evon. (2001). The use of qualitative research methods in student affairs: A practical guide. *Journal of College Student Retention*, 3(2), 183-194.
- Warrington, Molly. (1997). Reflections on a recently completed PhD. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 21(3), 401-410.
- Whitehead, Philip, Coleman, Simon, Simpson, Robert, & Mills, David. (2001). Anthropology 'outside in': A response to S. Coleman & B. Simpson. *Anthropology Today*, 17(5), 25-26.
- Winders, Jamie G., Jones III, John Paul, & Higgins, Michael James G. (2005). Making güeras: Selling white identities on late-night Mexican television. *Gender, Place and Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, 12(1), 71-93.
- Wolcott, Harry F. (1975). Criteria for an ethnographic approach to research in schools. *Human Organization*, 34(2), 111-127.
- Wolcott, Harry F. (1999). *Ethnography: A way of seeing*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Wolf, Diane L. (Ed.). (1996). *Feminist dilemmas in fieldwork*. Boulder, CO: Westview.
- Woods, Peter. (1985). New songs played skillfully: Creativity and technique in writing up qualitative research. In Robert G. Burgess (Ed.), *Issues in Educational Research: Qualitative Methods*. (pp. 86-106). London: Falmer Press.
- Woods, Peter. (1986). *Inside schools: Ethnography in schools*. London/New York: Routledge.
- Woods, Peter, Boyle, Mari, Jeffrey, Bob, & Troman, Geoff. (2000). A research team in ethnography. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 13(1), 85-98.
- Zollers, Nancy J., Ramanathan, Arun K., & Yu, Moonset. (1999). The relationship between school culture and inclusion: How an inclusive culture supports inclusive education.

International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 12(2), 157-174.

(c) The First Generation College Student: Beholding a Category

Allen, Walter R. (1992). The color of success: African-American college student outcomes at predominately White and Historically Black public colleges and universities. *Harvard Educational Review*, 62(1), 26-44.

Alvárez-Monteserín, María Antonia, Martínez Arias, María del Rosario, González, M., Chacón Fuentes, Fernando, Rojo, C., Rubio, A. et al. (1999). Risk factors in adolescence. *Psychology in Spain*, 3(1), 98-103.

Amelink, Catherine T. (2005). *Predicting academic success among first-year, first generation students*. Unpublished dissertation, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

Ammirati, Theresa Perri. (2003). *Making the grade: Academic literacies and first-generation college students in a highly selective liberal arts college*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Rhode Island.

Anderson, James A. (1995). Toward a framework for matching teaching and learning styles for diverse populations. In Ronald R. Sims & Serbrenia J. Sims (Eds.), *The importance of learning styles: Understanding the implications for learning, course design, and education*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Antaki, Charles & Widdicombe, Sue (Eds.). (1998). *Identities in Talk*. London: Sage Publications.

Arredondo, Marisol. (1999). *First-generation college students at a selective, four-year institution: Transition to college, adjustment in college, and self-image*. Unpublished dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Attinasi Jr., Louis C. (1989). Getting in: Mexican Americans' perceptions of university

- attendance and implications for freshman year persistence. *Journal for Higher Education*, 60, 247-277.
- Bailey, Thomas, Jenkins, Davis, & Leinbach, Timothy. (2005). *Graduation rates, student goals, and measuring community college effectiveness (CCRC Brief Number 28)*. New York: Columbia University, Community College Research Center.
- Barahona, Doris Deyanipa. (1990). *The first-generation college student: A longitudinal study of educational outcomes*. Unpublished dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Barrett, Catherine Elise. (2005). *Educational experiences of first-generation women community college students of nontraditional age*. Unpublished dissertation, North Carolina State University.
- Barrington, Kelly Adele. (2004). *First-generation college graduates attending graduate school: A phenomenological study*. Unpublished dissertation, Massachusetts School of Professional Psychology.
- Bart, Russell. (2004). Minority rule: read how a first-generation American, born of Mexican parents, became a U.S. congresswoman.(your future). *Scholastic Choices*, 20(2), 26.
- Bartels, Kim M. (1995). *Psychosocial predictors of adjustment to the first year of college: A comparison of first-generation and second-generation students*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Missouri - Columbia.
- Baum, Sandy & Payea, Kathleen. (2004). *Education pays 2004: The benefits of higher education for individual and society*. New York: The College Board.
- Bean, John P. (1983). The application of a model of turnover in work organizations to the

- student attrition process. *The Review of Higher Education*, 6(2), 129-148.
- Benmayor, Rina. (2003). *Narrating Cultural Citizenship Oral Histories of First Generation College Students of Mexican Origin*. Paper presented at the Inside Out Conference, Ipswich, Australia.
- Berger, Joseph B. (2002). The influence of the organizational structures of colleges and universities on college student learning. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 77(3), 40-59.
- Bhaerman, Robert D. (1979). *What "first-generation" research on career education says to the classroom teacher--and vice versa (Information series)*. ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education, National Center for Research in Vocational Education, Ohio State University.
- Bhattacharya, Diya. (1999). *The college experience and the construction of cultural identity among first generation Indian American undergraduates*. Unpublished dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, NY.
- Billson, Janet Mancini & Terry, Margaret Brooks. (1982). In search of the silken purse: Factors in attrition among first-generation students. *College and University*, 58(1), 57-75.
- Bouchard, E. E. Sissy Walsh. (1994). *Fitting in at college: A comparison of first generation and second/subsequent generation college students*. Unpublished dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington, IN.
- Bourdieu, Pierre & Passeron, Jean-Claude. (1977). *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture*. London: Sage Publications.

- Braxton, John M., Versper, Nick, & Hossler, Don. (1995). Expectations for College and Student Persistence. *Research in Higher Education*, 36(5), 595-612.
- Brewer, Ernest W. & McMahan-Landers, Jama. (2005). A Longitudinal Study of the Talent Search Program. *Journal of Career Development*, 31(3), 195-208.
- Brubaker, Rogers & Cooper, Frederick. (2002). Beyond "identity". *Theory and Society*, 29, 1-47.
- Bryant, Ronda M. (2005). *A comparison of first-generation and traditional students in the University of North Carolina system*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.
- Bueschel, Andrea Conklin. (2004). *Hopes on me: Factors that affect college aspiration in first-generation students*. Unpublished dissertation, Stanford University.
- Bui, Khanh T. Van. (2002). First-generation college students at a four-year university: background characteristics, reasons for pursuing higher education, and first-year experiences - Statistical Data Included. *College Student Journal*. Retrieved March 21, 2007, from http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0FCR/is_1_36/ai_85007762/print
- Bui, Khanh T. Van. (2005). Middle school variables that predict college attendance for first-generation students. *Education*, 126(2), 203-218.
- Byrd, Kathleen L. & MacDonald, Ginger. (2005). Defining college readiness from the inside out: first-generation college student perspectives. *Community College Review Fall*. Retrieved February 21, 2007, from http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0HCZ/is_1_33/ai_n15623950

- Cabrera, Alberto F., Stampen, Jacob O., & Hansen, W. Lee. (1990). Exploring the effects of ability to pay on persistence in college. *Review of Higher Education, 13*(3), 303-336.
- Calkins, Maria Vita. (2005). *First-generation college students: Family influence and the road to college*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Massachusetts Amherst.
- Canedy, Dana. (2001, March 25). Troubling Label for Hispanics: 'Girls Most Likely to Drop Out'. *The New York Times*, 1 p. 1.
- Carroll, Dana D. (2005). *First-generation college students: Identifying the precollegiate characteristics of first-generation students who persist to their second fall semester*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Missouri - Columbia.
- Casey, Janet Galligani. (2005). Diversity, discourse, and the working-class student. *Academe*. Retrieved February 25, 2007, from <http://www.aaup.org/publications/Academe/2005/05ja/05jacase.htm>
- Cejda, Brent D. & Kaylor, Alice J. (2001). Early transfer: A case study of traditional-aged community college students. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice, 25*, 621-638.
- Chatterjee, Sati. (2004). *Entering the world of logos : first generation learners and their predicaments*. Kolkata [West Bengal, India]: National Council of Education Bengal.
- Chen, Sibyl. (2002). *Our treasury: The shaping of first-generation Taiwanese Americans*. Intercollegiate Taiwanese American Student Association.
- Chen, Xianglei. (2005). First-generation students in postsecondary education a look at their college transcripts (NCES 2005-171). United States Dept. of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. Retrieved March 2, 2007, from <http://>

/purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS62728

- Chowdhury, Jamir. (2006). *Factors affecting retention of first-year Latino students in a private university*. Unpublished dissertation, Morgan State University, Baltimore, MD.
- Choy, Susan P. (2001). *Students whose parents did not go to college: Postsecondary access, persistence, and attainment. (NCES 2001-126) U.S. Department of Education*. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics.
- Clark, Jeffrey R. (1990). *Reflections on the meanings of a higher education by first-generation college graduates: A hermeneutic study in the student services field*. Unpublished dissertation, University of San Francisco.
- Clarke, Deborah Yarber. (2000). *First in the family: First-generation college students in the Ivy League*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Cleverley, John F. (1971). *The first generation: school and society in early Australia*. Sydney, Australia: Sydney University Press.
- Conway, Jill Ker. (1988). *First Generation of American Women Graduates (Educated Women Higher Education, Culture, and Professionalism, 1850-1950)*. London: Taylor & Francis.
- Cooper, Catherine R. (1998). Theories linking culture and psychology: universal and community-specific processes. *Annual Review of Psychology*. Retrieved February 25, 2007, from <http://www.findarticles.com/m0961/v49/21036279/p1/article.jhtml>
- Cushman, Kathleen. (2006). *First in the Family: Your College Years: Advice About College from First Generation Students*. Next Generation Press.
- Cuyjet, Michael J. (1997). African-American men on college campuses: Their needs and their

- perceptions. *New Direction for Student Services*, 80, 5-19.
- D'Adamo-Weinstein, Lisa Carmen. (2001). *Kaleidoscope tapestries: Weaving patterns from first-generation college women of color's telling-stories*. Unpublished dissertation, Indiana University.
- D'Amico, Mark M. (2004). *The academic performance and retention of first-generation college students at a four-year state-supported university*. Unpublished dissertation, The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.
- Dahle, Tammi Stewart. (2003). *Selected predictors of career maturity attitudes of first-generation college students*. Unpublished dissertation, The University of Alabama.
- Dalpes, Paulette Marie. (2001). *Reflections of first-generation, low income, Puerto Rican college students on the impact of a high school Upward Bound program on their ability to succeed in post-secondary education*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Massachusetts Amherst.
- Darling, Ruth Ann. (1999). *The experience of rural, southern Appalachian, first-generation college students at a university: A narrative study*. Unpublished dissertation, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN.
- Deil-Amen, Regina & López Turley, Ruth N. (2007). A review of the transition to college literature in sociology. ID Number: 12583. *Teachers College Record* 109(10)(10), 6-7. Retrieved March 5, 2007, from <http://www.tcrecord.org>
- Delong, Allen W. (2003). *Parents of first-generation college students: Their perceptions on the importance of college*. Unpublished dissertation, The Ohio State University.
- Demerath, Peter & Lynch, Jill. (2002). *The social construction of advantage in a suburban U.*

- S. high school: Techniques of the authoritative self*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, LA.
- DeWall, Deborah Ann Baker. (2005). *Family relationship and college adjustment of first-generation college students*. Unpublished dissertation, Iowa State University.
- Dillon, Sam. (2007, February 25). Sorority evictions raise issues of looks and bias. *The New York Times*.
- Dittman, Sarah. (1994). *Students who are the first generation of their family to attend college: A comparative study of Western Washington University frosh (Report)*. Office of Institutional Assessment and Testing, Western Washington University.
- Duggan, Michael Barry. (2002). *The effect of social capital on the first-year persistence of first generation college students*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Massachusetts Boston.
- Duggan, Michael Barry. (2004). Being from home where English was not the primary language as social capital and its impact on first-year persistence of 4-Year college students: Preliminary findings. Retrieved February 21, 2007, from www.suffolk.edu/files/Enrollment_Research_PDF/english_not_primary.pdf
- Duran, Ronnie Franco. (1994). *The effects of modeling on the adjustment of first-generation college students: A social-cognitive approach to stress and coping*. Unpublished dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Elkins, Susan Kaye Anderson. (1996). *The ties that bind: A study of persistence of first-generation college students in a 4-year institution*. Unpublished dissertation, Peabody College for Teachers of Vanderbilt University.

- Ems, Rebecca Suzanne. (1997). *Fear of success among first-generation college students*. Unpublished dissertation, Truman State University.
- Escamilla, Mark Steven. (2001). *Factors affecting African-American, Anglo and Hispanic first-generation community college students, who have persisted and graduated from four-year institutions between 1990 and 2000 in Texas*. Unpublished dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin.
- Espanola, Mirasol Caronongan. (2004). *First-generation college students: Academic preparation, academic involvement and retention*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Southern California.
- Farina, Susanna. (2006). *Journeys to wholeness: A multicultural study of integration as a mode of acculturation in first-generation immigrants in the San Francisco Bay Area*. Unpublished dissertation, Institute of Transpersonal Psychology, San Francisco, CA.
- Fischer, Norman M. (1995). *The long term effects of undergraduate student involvement experiences on selected outcome measures*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Institutional Research, Boston, MA.
- Fountas, Angela Jane (Ed.). (2005). *Waking up American : coming of age biculturally : first-generation women reflect on identity*. Emeryville, CA: Seal Press.
- Freeman, Kassie. (1998). African Americans and college choice: Cultural considerations and policy implications. In Kassie Freeman (Ed.), *African American culture and heritage in higher education research and practice*. (pp. 181-194). Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Gabbard, David A. (2004). A Nation at Risk - Reloaded: part II. *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*, 2(1).

- Gaither, Gerald H. (Ed.). (1999). *Promising practices in recruitment, remediation, and retention*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Gándara, Patricia & Moreno, José F. (2002). *The Puente Project: Issues and perspectives on preparing Latino youth for higher education*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.
- Gaon, Stella. (2003). *Difference, differend, différance: post-structural investigations of social identity*. Paper presented at the 75th Annual Meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association.
- Gómez Moliné, Margarita. (2003). *Algunos factores que influyen en el éxito académico de los estudiantes universitarios en el área de química* [Some factors that influence college chemistry students' academic success]. Unpublished dissertation, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Bellaterra, Spain.
- Gone, Joseph P., Miller, Peggy J., & Rappaport, Julian. (1999). Conceptual self as normatively oriented: The suitability of past personal narrative for the study of cultural identity. *Culture & Psychology*, 5(4), 371-398.
- González, Kenneth P. (2000). Toward a theory of minority student participation in predominantly White colleges and universities. *Journal of College Student Retention: Research, Theory & Practice*, 2(1), 69-91.
- Grosvenor, Ian. (1999). 'There's no place like home': Education and the making of national identity. *History of Education*, 28(3)(3), 235-250.
- Gulikers, Goedele, Meredith, Massey, & Swartz, Brenan. (2004). Standardizing generation 1.5 programs in Maryland. Retrieved February 27, 2007, from http://academic.pgcc.edu/instruction/if/if_19_03/gulikers-massey-swartz-3-04.pdf

- Gunnin, Kimberly Lee. (2003). *The experience of first-generation college students from the Appalachian region at Walters State Community College*. Unpublished dissertation, East Tennessee State University.
- Hamrick, Florence Aileen & Stage, Frances K. (2004). College predisposition at high-minority enrollment, low-income schools. *The Review of Higher Education*, 27(2), 151-168.
- Harker, Richard K. (1984). On Reproduction, Habitus, and Education. *British Journal of Sociology*, 117-127.
- Hayes, Jessica. (2006). *The differences between first-generation and non-first-generation freshmen private college students on college adjustment*. Unpublished dissertation, Dowling College, Long Island, NY.
- Hayes, William Donald. (1999). *A naturalistic investigation of first-generation college graduates: From alienation to empowerment*. Unpublished dissertation, Northern Illinois University.
- Hearn, James C. (2006). Student success: What research suggests for policy and practice. NPEC Executive Summary. Retrieved March 2, 2008, from www.uga.edu/ihe/research/hearn/synth_hearn.pdf
- Herrera Aragón, D. (2003). School success of Moroccan youth in Barcelona. Theoretical insights for practical questions. *Athenea Digital* 4, 1-12. Retrieved December 28, 2004, from <http://antalya.uab.es/athenea/num4/herrera.pdf>
- Hewlett, John H. (1981). *First generation Black students who are college graduates*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

- Hinlicky, Sarah E. (1999). *Talking to Generation X.: An article from: First Things: A Monthly Journal of Religion and Public Life*. Institute on Religion and Public Life.
- Horn, Laura, Nuñez, Anne-Marie, & Bobbitt, Larry G. (2000). Mapping the road to college: First-generation students' math track, planning strategies, and context of support. Statistical analysis report (NCES 2000-153). United States Dept. of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. *Postsecondary education descriptive analysis reports*. Retrieved March 2, 2007, from <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2000/2000153.pdf>
- Horvat, Erin McNamara. (2003). The interactive effects of race and class in educational research: Theoretical insights from the work of Pierre Bourdieu. *Penn GSE Perspectives in Urban Education*, 2(1), 1-25.
- Horvat, Erin McNamara & Lareau, Annette. (1998). Moments of social inclusion and exclusion: Race, class and cultural capital in family school relationships. *Sociology of Education*, 72(1), 37-53.
- Hossler, Don, Schmit, Jack, & Vesper, Nick. (2004). *Going to College: How Social, Economic, and Educational Factors Influence the Decisions Students Make*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Hsiao, Karin Peterson. (2007). First-generation college students. ERIC digest. Retrieved March 21, 2007, from <http://www.ericdigests.org/1992-1/first.htm>
- HSSE. (2005). *High School Survey of Student Engagement (HSSE). Getting Students Ready for College: What Student Engagement Data Can Tell Us*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University.
- Hurley, Pamela S. (2002). *Comparing the graduate degree choices and influences of first-*

- generation college students and children of college graduates*. Unpublished dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Hurtado, Sylvia. (1994). The institutional climate for talented Latino students. *Research in Higher Education*, 35, 210-241.
- Hurtado, Sylvia & Carter, Deborah Faye. (1996). Latino students' sense of belonging in the college community: Rethinking the concept of integration on campus. In. (Ed.), *College students: The evolving nature of research*. Needham Heights, MA: Simon & Schuster Publishing.
- Ishitani, Terry T. (2001). Using the SIQ to identify characteristics of first generation students at ISU. Retrieved February 21, 2007, from Indiana State University Office of Strategic Planning, Institutional Research, & Effectiveness website <http://irt2.indstate.edu/home/stats/briefs/2001/2001no3.pdf>
- Ishitani, Terry T. (2003). A longitudinal approach to assessing attrition behavior among first-generation students: Time-varying effects of pre-college characteristics. *Research in Higher Education*, 44(4), 433-449.
- Ishitani, Terry T. (2006). Studying attrition and degree completion behavior among first-generation college students in the United States. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 77(5), 861-885.
- Ishiyama, John T. & Hopkins, Valerie, M. (2002). Assessing the impact of a graduate school preparation program on first-generation, low-income college students at a public liberal arts university. *Journal of College Retention: Research, Theory & Practice*, 4(4), 393-405.

- Jalomo Jr., Romano E. (1995). *Latino students in transition: An analysis of the first-year experience in the community college*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Arizona State University, Tempe, AZ.
- Jehangir, Rashne Rustom. (2004). *In their own words. The experience of first-year, first-generation college students in a multicultural learning community: An interpretive case study*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Minnesota.
- Jervik, Kevin Terrance. (1999). *Identity formation in first-generation college students*. Unpublished dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Joseph, Lauren K. (1995). *Institutional persistence of first-generation college students: A test of the Tinto model*. Unpublished dissertation, West Virginia University.
- Joyce, Beverly Ann. (1987). *"First generation" college students: A study of college choice*. Unpublished dissertation, Boston College.
- Kaya, Naz. (2004). Residence hall climate: Predicting first-year students' adjustment to college. *Journal of the First-Year Experience*, 16(1), 101-118.
- Koff, Harlan. (2002). Let's talk: Dialogue across disciplines on immigration and integration issues. Working Paper No. 60. The Center for Comparative and Immigration Studies. Retrieved February 21, 2007, from <http://www.ccis-ucsd.org/PUBLICATIONS/wrkg60.pdf>
- Komada, Nancy Marie. (2002). *First-generation college students and resiliency*. Unpublished dissertation, Temple University.
- Kuh, George D. (1999). A framework for understanding Student Affairs work. *Journal for College Student Development*, 40(5), 530-537.

- Kuh, George D., Gonyea, Robert M., & Williams, Julie M. (2005). What students expect from college and what they get. In Thomas E. Miller, Barbara E. Bender, John H. Schuh, & Associates (Eds.), *Promoting reasonable expectations: Aligning student and institutional thinking about the college experience*. (pp. 34-64). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass/National Association of Student Personnel Administrators.
- Kuh, George D., Kinzie, Jilian, Buckley, Jennifer A., Bridges, Brian K., & Hayek, John C. (2006). *What matters to student success: A review of the literature*. Paper presented at the National Symposium on Postsecondary Student Success: Spearheading a Dialogue on Student Success, Washington, DC.
- Kuriloff, Peter & Reichert, Michael C. (2003). Boys of class, boys of color: Negotiating the academic and social geography of an elite independent school. *Journal of Social Issues*, 59(4), 751-769.
- Kurotsuchi Inkelas, Karen, Daver, Zaneeta E., Vogt, Kristen E., & Brown Leonard, Jeannie. (2006). Living-Learning Programs and First-Generation College Students' Academic and Social Transition to College. *Research in Higher Education*. Retrieved February 17, 2007, from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/s11162-006-9031-6>
- Lamont, Michele & Lareau, Annette. (1988). Cultural capital: Allusions, gaps and glissandos in recent theoretical developments. *Sociological Theory*, 6(2), 153-168.
- Lane, Joy Stephens. (2005). *Navigating success: The construction of self in the journeys of persisting African American female first-generation college students*. Unpublished dissertation, Indiana University.
- Latiesa, Margarita. (1992). *La deserción universitaria* [University desertion]. Madrid: CIS.

- Lederman, Doug. (2005). Debating Equity and Excellence. *Inside Higher Ed*. Retrieved February 21, 2007, from <http://www.insidehighered.com/news/2005/05/02/equity>
- Lee, MaryJo Benton. (2006). *Ethnicity matters : rethinking how Black, Hispanic & Indian students prepare for & succeed in college* (Adolescent cultures, school & society, v. 39). New York: P. Lang.
- Lee, Wynetta Y. (2004). Transforming the first-year of experience of African Americans. In Laura I. Rendón, Mildred García, & Dawn Person (Eds.), *Transforming the first-year experience for students of color*. (Monograph No. 38, pp. 93-107). Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, National Resource Center for The First-Year Experience and Students in Transition.
- Leider, Anna. (1998). *I Am Somebody: College Knowledge for the First-Generation Campus Bound (I Am Somebody)*. Octameron Associates.
- Lohfink, Mandy Martin. (2004). *Determinants of first-to-second year persistence for first-generation and continuing-generation students at four-year institutions*. Unpublished dissertation, University of New Orleans.
- Lohfink, Mandy Martin & Paulsen, Michael B. (2005). Comparing the Determinants of Persistence for First-Generation and Continuing-Generation Students. *Journal of College Student Development*.
- London, Howard B. (1989). Breaking away: A study of first generation college students and their families. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 97, 144-170.
- London, Howard B. (1992). Transformations: Cultural challenges faced by first-generation college students. *New Directions for Community Colleges*, 20(4), 5-11.
- Long, William J. (2005). *Pioneering journeys: A qualitative study of first-generation students*

- and their transition to college*. Unpublished dissertation, New York University.
- Longerbeam, Susan D., Sedlacek, William I., & Alatorre, Helen M. (2004). In their own voices: Latino student retention. *NASPA Journal*, 41(3), 538-550.
- Longwell-Grice, Robert Michael. (2002). *Working class and working college: A case study of first-generation, working-class, first-year, white male college students*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Louisville.
- Lopez, David E. (1982). *The effect of schooling abroad on the socioeconomic and language patterns of first generation Hispanics and East Asians (Technical notes)*. National Center for Bilingual Research.
- Lorenzano-Obergfell, Nancy. (1997). *A study of the factors which lead to college success for first generation female college students who are of Italian-American descent: A conceptual model*. Unpublished dissertation, Indiana University.
- Luján, Linda Ann. (2005). *A researcher's journey: The stories of 'successful' female, non-traditional, first-generation college students at the Community College of Denver*. Unpublished dissertation, Colorado State University.
- Lundberg, Carol A., Helsel, K. K., Larde, P. A., & Murphy, Michael M. (2003). *First generation students: Succeeding in 10,000 different ways*. Paper presented at the ACPA National Conference, Minneapolis, MN.
- Manuel, Ralph Stephen. (2001). *Gender differences and retention characteristics for first-generation college students*. Unpublished dissertation, Indiana State University.
- Martín Cabrera, Eduardo, García García, Luis Alberto, & Hernández Hernández, Pedro. (1999). *Determinantes de éxito y fracaso en la trayectoria del estudiante universitario*

- [Determinants of success and failure in the trajectory of college students]. Canarias, Spain: Universidad de La Laguna.
- Martinez-Ebers, Valerie, Fraga, Luis, Lopez, Linda, & Vega, Arturo. (2000). Latino interests in education, health, and criminal justice policy. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 33(3), 547-554.
- Martinez, Daniel. (1999). *Cultural capital and the persistence of first-generation college students*. Unpublished dissertation, The Claremont Graduate University.
- Martínez, Julia A., Sher, Kenneth J., Krull, Jennifer L., & Wood, Phillip K. (2009). Blue-collar scholars?: Mediators and moderators of university attrition and first-generation college students. *Journal of College Student Development*, 50(1), 87-103.
- Matzen Jr., Richard N. (2001). *A theory about writing: Research with first-generation college students from a cross-cultural perspective*. Unpublished dissertation, Indiana University of Pennsylvania.
- Mayer, Vicki. (2000). Capturing cultural identity/creating community: A grassroots video project in San Antonio, Texas. *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 3(1)(1), 57-78.
- McCarthy, Martha M. & Kuh, George D. (2006). Are students ready for college? What student engagement data say. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 87(9), 664-669.
- McDaniel, Betty Willis. (2001). *Rural family literacy: Portraits of first-generation college students and their families*. Unpublished dissertation, University of South Carolina.
- McGee, Sandra. (2004). *Academic success and belonging among first-generation community college students*. Unpublished dissertation, The Wright Institute.
- Meetze, Tracy E. (2006). *Factors contributing to first-generation college student success*.

- Unpublished dissertation, University of South Carolina.
- Mellott, Melissa. (2005). *The Little College Handbook: A First Generation's Guide to Getting In and Staying In*. Advocacy Press.
- Merranko, Sarah Evenson. (2005). *Factors that influence the college choice selection process of first-generation college students attending 4-year public institutions*. Unpublished dissertation, The George Washington University, Washington, DC.
- Middleton, Tracy. (1997). *First generation college students: Cognitive development, personal development, and satisfaction with college*. Unpublished dissertation, The University of Iowa.
- Mihok, Sonia Y. (2005). *Persistence of first-generation low-income students receiving financial aid at a public regional New England university*. Unpublished dissertation, Johnson & Wales University.
- Miller, David B. (1999). Racial socialization and racial identity: Can they promote resiliency for African American adolescents? *Adolescence, Fall*.
- Miller, Rhoda. (2006). *The association of family history knowledge and cultural change with persistence among undergraduate low-income first-generation college students*. Unpublished dissertation, Dowling College, Long Island, NY.
- Moore, Natasha Datta. (2003). *The relationship of family environment and academic performance to college adjustment of first-generation, low-income college students after a summer program and fall semester transition*. Unpublished dissertation, Rutgers The State University of New Jersey - New Brunswick.
- Mueller, Kathryn Lynne. (1997). *Involvement as a critical factor in the persistence of seniors*

- who are first-generation college students*. Unpublished dissertation, California State University, Long Beach.
- Murdock, Steve H., White, Steve, Nazrul Hoque, Md., Pecotte, Beverly, You, Xiuhong, & Balkan, Jennifer. (2002). *A summary of the Texas challenge in the twenty-first century: Implications of population change for the future of Texas*. College Station, TX: The Center for Demographic and Socioeconomic Research and Education.
- Murphy, Catrina G.
- . (2006). *Differences in academic and social expectations of first-generation and non-first-generation undergraduates at a historically black university*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Virginia.
- Murphy, Dean E. (2003, June 12). The University of California Names Insider as President. *The New York Times*, p. A22.
- Murphy, Kathleen M. (1998). *Bordering on agency: Female heads of household in Matamoros, Mexico, and Brownsville, Texas*. Paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association Meeting, Chicago, IL.
- Naumann, Wendy C., Bandalos, Deborah, & Gutkin, Terry B. (2003). Identifying variables that predict college success for first-generation college students. *Journal for College Admission*, 181, 4-9.
- Niemann, Yolanda Flores, Romero, Andrea J., Arredondo, Jorge, & Rodriguez, Victor. (1999). What does it mean to be "Mexican"? Social construction of an ethnic identity. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 21(1), 47-60.
- NIH. (1995). Research on U.S. immigration PA NUMBER: PA-95-036. *NIH Guide* 24(7)(7).

<http://grants.nih.gov/grants/guide/pa-files/PA-95-036.html>

- Nolan, Ronnie. (2005). *First-generation college graduates: An examination of the relationship between the barriers to graduation and the motivating factors*. Unpublished dissertation, North Carolina State University.
- Nora, Amaury. (2003). Access to higher education for Hispanic students: Real or illusory? In Jeanette Castellanos & Lee Jones (Eds.), *The Majority in the Minority: Expanding the Representation of Latina/c Faculty, Administrators and Students in Higher Education*. Sterling, VA: Stylus.
- NSSE. (2005). *National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE). Student Engagement: Exploring Different Dimensions of Student Engagement*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Center for Postsecondary Research.
- Núñez, Anne-Marie. (1998). *First-generation students: A longitudinal analysis of educational and early labor market outcomes*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Higher Education, Miami, FL.
- Núñez, Anne-Marie, Cuccaro-Alamin, Stephanie, & Carroll, C. Dennis. (1998). *First-generation students: undergraduates whose parents never enrolled in postsecondary education* (NCES 98-082). Washington DC: U.S. Department of Education. National Center for Education Statistics.
- Oakes, Jeannie. (2003). Education inadequacy, inequality, and failed state policy: What William v. State of California reveals about accountability. *Veffie Milstead Jones Distinguished Lecture*. California State University, Long Beach.
- Orbe, Mark P. (2004). Negotiating multiple identities within multiple frames: An analysis of

- first-generation college students. *Communication Education*, 53(2), 131-149.
- Ortiz, Anna M. (2004). Promoting the success of Latino students: A call to action. In Anna M. Ortiz (Ed.), *Addressing the Unique Needs of Latino American Students, New Directions for Student Services*, (105). (pp. 89-97).
- Ortner, Sherry B. (2002). 'Burned like a tattoo': High school social categories and 'American culture'. *Ethnography*, 3(2)(2), 115-148.
- Ortner, Sherry B. (2003). *New Jersey dreaming: Capital, culture and the class of '58*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Pagliarulo, Graziella Michele. (2004). *The influence of parental involvement on the educational aspirations of first-generation college students*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park, MD.
- Pascarella, Ernest T., Pierson, Christopher T., Wolniak, Gregory C., & Terenzini, Patrick T. (2004). First-generation college students: Additional evidence on college experiences and outcomes. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 75(3), 249-284.
- Pascarella, Ernest T. & Terenzini, Patrick T. (2005). *How college affects students: A third decade of research*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Payne, Tracey Hodges. (2006). *Perceptions of first-generation college students: Factors that influence graduate school enrollment and perceived barriers to attendance*. Unpublished dissertation, The University of Alabama.
- Peregrino, Sylvia. (2003). *At the borderlands: Experiences of successful first-generation Chicana college students*. Unpublished dissertation, Arizona State University.
- Phinney, Jean S., Horenczyk, Gabriel, Liebkind, Karmela, & Vedder, Paul. (2001). Ethnic

- identity, immigration, and well-being: an interactional perspective. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(3), 493-511.
- Pike, Gary R. & Kuh, George D. (2005a). A Typology of Student Engagement for American Colleges and Universities. *Research in Higher Education*, 46(2), 185-209.
- Pike, Gary R. & Kuh, George D. (2005b). First- and second-generation college students: A comparison of their engagement and intellectual development. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 76(3), 276-300.
- Pino, Diana Marie. (2005). *Persistence of first-generation Mexican American university students in a Hispanic serving institution*. Unpublished dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin.
- Reason, Robert D., Terenzini, Patrick T., & Domingo, Robert J. (2006). First Things First: Developing Academic Competence in the First Year of College. *Research in Higher Education*, 47(2), 149-175.
- Rendón, Laura I. (1994). Validating culturally diverse students: Towards a new model of learning and student development. *Innovative Higher Education*, 19(1), 33-50.
- Rendón, Laura I. (1995). *Facilitating retention and transfer for first generation students in community colleges (SuDoc ED 1.310/2:383369)*. U.S. Dept. of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Educational Resources Information Center.
- Rendón, Laura I. (1998). *Access in a democracy: Narrowing the opportunity gap*. Commissioned Report of the Policy Panel on access of the National Postsecondary Education Cooperative, Washington, DC.
- Rendón, Laura I. (2006). *Reconceptualizing success for underserved students in higher*

- education (draft of October, 2006)*. Paper presented at the National Postsecondary Education Cooperative: Spearheading a dialogue on student success, Washington, DC.
- Rendón, Laura I., García, Mildred, & Person, Dawn. (2004). A call for transformation. In Laura I. Rendón, Mildred García, & Dawn Person (Eds.), *Transforming the first-year experience for students of color*. (Monograph No. 38, pp. 3-22). Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, National Resource Center for The First- Year Experience and Students in Transition.
- Rendón, Laura I. & Hope, Richard O. (1996). *Educating a new majority: transforming America's educational system for diversity*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Rendón, Laura I., Jalomo Jr., Romano E., & Nora, Amaury. (2000). Theoretical considerations in the study of minority retention. In J. M. Braxton (Ed.), *Reworking the Student Departure Puzzle*. (pp. 127-156). Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Rey, Christina M. (2006). *Defying the odds: First generation college students at American University*. Unpublished dissertation, The American University, Washington, DC.
- Reynolds-Shaw, Kathleen A. (2006). *A comparative study of adjustment to college of first-generation and second-generation college students*. Unpublished dissertation, State University of New York at Buffalo.
- Rios, Thomas Robert. (2001). *Successful first-generation college students at Indiana State University*. Unpublished dissertation, Indiana State University.
- Rodriguez, Sandria Diann. (1998). *Giants among us: A study of first generation college graduates*. Unpublished dissertation, Loyola University of Chicago.
- Rowley, Shaun Emerson. (2003). *The internal worlds of first-generation community college students: Students' critical reflections on the role of resilience in their academic*

- success*. Unpublished dissertation, University of San Francisco.
- Rowley, Stephanie, J. & Moore, Julie A. (2002). Racial identity in context for the gifted African American student. *Roeper Review*, 24(2), 63-67.
- Sanchez, Jorge R., Laanan, Frankie Santos, & Wiseley, W. Charles. (1999). Postcollege earnings of former students of California Community Colleges: Methods, analysis, and implications. *Research in Higher Education*, 40(1), 87-113.
- Scarborough, Elizabeth Ann & Furumoto, Laurel. (1989). *The Untold Lives: The First Generation of American Women Psychologists (Kings Crown)*. Columbia University Press.
- Schmidt Sr., Ronald, Barvosa-Carter, Edwina, & Torres, Rodolfo D. (2000). Latina/o identities: Social diversity and U.S. politics. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 33(3), 563-567.
- Scott, Bradley. (1996). A different kind of will: Education equity and the school reform movement. *Intercultural Development Research Association Newsletter*.
- Scott, Janny & Leonhardt, David. (2005, May 15). Class in America: Shadowy lines that still divide. *The New York Times*, 1 p. 1.
- Settle, Jim. (2005). *The effect of socioeconomic status on year-to-year persistence of first-generation and continuing-generation college students at two-year and four-year institutions: Developing a conceptual model*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Missouri - Saint Louis.
- Shaw, Kathleen Mary. (1990). *Comparing perceived goal conflict and goal change among first-generation and non first-generation college students*. Unpublished dissertation,

- University of Michigan.
- Shore, Bradd. (2003). Family time: Studying myth and ritual in working families. The Emory Center for Myth and Ritual in American Live. Working Paper No. 27.
- Sickles, A. R. (2004). Advising first-generation students. Retrieved February 21, 2007, from NACADA Clearinghouse of Academic Advising Resources Web site http://www.nacada.ksu.edu/clearinghouse/AdvisingIssues/1st_Generation.htm
- Sinkowsky, Aleksandra. (1996). *Issues affecting first-generation college students*. Unpublished dissertation, Rutgers The State University of New Jersey - New Brunswick.
- Skulley, Kathryn Lyn. (2004). *Latinas first-generation college students' perceptions of their college experiences*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Northern Colorado.
- Smith, Sheril R. (2001). *The impact of first-generation student status on choice of academic major and future aspirations: A predictive model*. Unpublished dissertation, Georgia State University.
- Solórzano, Daniel G. (1995). The doctorate production and baccalaureate origins of African Americans in the sciences and engineering. *Journal of Negro Education*, 64(1), 15-32.
- Solórzano, Daniel G., Ceja, Miguel, & Yosso, Tara. (2000). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions and campus racial climate: The experiences of African American college students. *Journal of Negro Education*, 69, 60-73.
- Sorter, Dorienne. (1985). *First generation college students: Parents and peers in terms of dogmatism and intolerance of ambiguity (separation, individuation)*. Unpublished dissertation, New York University.

- Stampen, Jacob O. & Cabrera, Alberto F. (1988). Is the student aid system achieving its objectives: Evidence on targeting and attrition. *Economics of Education Review*, 7, 29-46.
- Stanfield, John H. (1993). *A History of Race Relations Research: First-Generation Recollections (SAGE Focus Editions)*. Sage Publications.
- Stevens, Frances M. (1970). *The new inheritors: some questions about the education of intelligent "first-generation" children*. London: Hutchinson Educational.
- Striplin, Jenny J. (1999). *Facilitating transfer for first-generation community college students*. Los Angeles, CA: ERIC Clearinghouse for Community Colleges, University of California at Los Angeles.
- Suarez, Michael Phillip. (1997). *First generation college students: The major factors that influence their recruitment and retention*. Unpublished dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.
- Suggs, Welch. (2005). *A place on the team : the triumph and tragedy of Title IX*. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
- Swail, Watson Scott, Cabrera, Alberto F., Lee, Chul, & Williams, Adriane. (2005). *Latino students and the educational pipelines: A three-part series. Part III: Pathways to the Bachelor's Degree for Latino Students*. Stafford, VA: Education Policy Institute.
- Swail, Watson Scott, Redd, Kenneth E., & Perna, Laura W. (2003). *Retaining Minority Students in Higher Education: A Framework for Success. ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report No. 2*. Washington, DC: The George Washington University, School of Education and Human Development.

- Swarns, Rachel L. (2006a, December 31). Hispanic Teenagers With Outsider Roots Are Finding a Way In. *The New York Times*, p. A17.
- Swarns, Rachel L. (2006b, August 4). In Georgia, newest immigrants unsettle and old sense of place. *The New York Times*, p. A1.
- Tandberg, David. (2007). O pioneers: First-generation college students. Retrieved February 21, 2007, from <http://www.personal.psu.edu/users/d/a/dat179/First%20Gen%20paper.pdf>
- Terenzini, Patrick T. (1995). *First-generation college students characteristics, experiences, and cognitive development (SuDoc ED 1.310/2:387004)*. Washington, DC: U.S. Dept. of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement.
- Terenzini, Patrick T., Rendón, Laura I., Upcraft, M. Lee, Millar, Susan B., Allison, Kevin W., Gregg, Patricia L. et al. (1994). The transition to college: Diverse students, diverse stories. *Research in Higher Education*, 35, 57-73.
- Terenzini, Patrick T., Springer, Leonard, Yaeger, Patricia M., Pascarella, Ernest T., & Nora, Amaury. (1996). First-generation college students: Characteristics, experiences, and cognitive development. *Research in Higher Education*, V37(1), 1-22.
- Thayer, Paul B. (2000). *Retention of students from first generation and low income backgrounds*. Washington, D.C: National TRIO Clearinghouse : U.S. Dept. of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Educational Resources Information Center.
- Thomas, Liz & Quinn, Joyce. (2007). *First Generation Entry into Higher Education*. Open Univ Pr.

- Tierney, William G., Corwin, Zoë B., & Colyar, Julia E. (Eds.). (2004). *Preparing for College: Nine Elements for Effective Outreach*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Tierney, William G. & Hagedorn, Linda Serra. (2002). *Increasing Access to College: Extending Possibilities for All Students*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Ting, Siu-Man Raymond. (2003). A longitudinal study of non-cognitive variables in predicting academic success of first-generation college students. *College and University*, 78(4), 27-31.
- Tinto, Vincent. (1994). *Leaving College: Rethinking the causes and cures of student attrition* (2nd ed.). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Tinto, Vincent. (2004). Student retention and graduation: Facing the truth, living with the consequences. (Occasional Paper 1). Washington, DC: The Pell Institution for the Study of Opportunity in Higher Education.
- Tinto, Vincent & Pusser, Brian. (2006). *Moving from theory to action: Building a model of institutional action for student success (draft of June, 2006)*. Paper presented at the National Postsecondary Education Cooperative: Spearheading a dialogue on student success, Washington, DC.
- Tomkinson, Christine. (2006). Christine's Conference Feedback: Student Retention and Progression Conference supported by UUK and SCOP 16 Feb 2005. Retrieved July 18, 2007, from <http://www.hecsu.ac.uk/hecsu.rd/203.htm>
- Torres, Vasti. (2003). Influences on ethnic identity development of Latino college students in

- the first two years of college. *Journal of College Student Development*, 44(4), 532-547.
- Tough, Paul. (2006, November 26). What it takes to make a student. *The New York Times*, 6 p. 44.
- Trotter, Andrew. (2001). *Report highlights progress, inequity, and first-generation college students: An article from: Education Week*. Editorial Projects in Education, Inc.
- Trueba, Henry T. (2002). Multiple ethnic, racial and cultural identities in action: From marginality to a new cultural capital in modern society. *Journal of Latinos in Education*, 1(1), 7-28.
- Turner, Caroline Sotello Viernes. (1994). Guests in someone else's house: Students of color. *The Review of Higher Education*, 17(4), 355-370.
- Turner, Richard C. (1998). Teaching English to another generation of students. Unpublished manuscript, Indiana University.
- TxHECB. (2004). First generation college student initiatives: A report on the initial phase of the First Generation College Student Grants Program, Fiscal Year 2004. Retrieved February 21, 2007, from Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board World Wide Web Site <http://www.thecb.state.tx.us>
- Tym, Carmen, McMillion, Robin, Barone, Sandra, & Webster, Jeff. (2004). *First-Generation College Students: A Literature Review* (Research and Analytic Services). Round Rock, TX: Texas Guaranteed Student Loan Corporation.
- UCUES. (2003). The contribution of first-generation college students to the University of California learning environment: Preliminary results from the Spring 2003 University of California Undergraduate Experience Survey (UCUES). Retrieved March 2, 2007,

from www.universityofcalifornia.edu/news/compreview/0308_meeting/ucues.pdf

- Umbach, Paul D. & Wawrzynski, Matthew R. (2005). Faculty do matter: The role of college faculty in student learning and engagement. *Research in Higher Education*, 46(2), 153-184.
- Ungar, Michael T. (2000). The myth of peer pressure. *Adolescence Spring*. Retrieved February 24, 2007, from http://www.findarticles.com/cf_0/m2248/137_35/62958281/print.jhtml
- Urrieta Jr., Luis. (2004). Assistencialism and the politics of high-stakes testing. *The Urban Review*, 36(3), 211-226.
- VanFossen, Michael L. (2005). *A family affair: A study regarding the impact of parental involvement on the personal development of traditional first-year college students*. Unpublished dissertation, Saint Louis University, Saint Louis, MO.
- Verkuyten, Maykel & de Wolf, Angela. (2002). Being, feeling and doing: Discourses and ethnic self-definitions among minority group members. *Culture & Psychology*, 8(4), 371-399.
- Villanueva, Margaret, A. (2002). Racialization and the Latina experience: Economic implications. *Feminist Economics*, 8(2), 145-161.
- Wang, Jenny Jie. (2003). *First-generation college students: College impacts and labor market outcomes*. Unpublished dissertation, The University of Iowa.
- Warburton, Edward C, Bugarin, Rosio, & Nuñez, Anne-Marie. (2001). Bridging the gap: Academic preparation and postsecondary success of first-generation students (NCES 2001-153). *Education Statistics Quarterly* 3(3)(3), 73-77. Retrieved February 21, 2007, from The NCES World Wide Web site <http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2001/2001153.pdf>

- Warner, Neri Francois. (1992). *From their perspective: Issues of schooling and family culture of four African-American first generation college students*. Unpublished dissertation, Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College.
- Wathen, Sandra Duncan. (2000). *The relationship between spirituality, religious affiliation, psychological well-being, and adjustment of undergraduate, Appalachian, first-generation college students*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Cincinnati.
- Watson, Marcellene L. (2004). *Learning communities and first-generation college students: A mixed method study of student retention, peer learning, and faculty engagement*. Unpublished dissertation, University of the Pacific.
- Wentworth, Phyllis A. & Peterson, Bill E. (2001). Crossing the Line: Case Studies of Identity Development in First-Generation College Women. *Journal of Adult Development*, *V8*(1), 9-21.
- Whitley, Sheila Marie. (1999). *A comparative study of the persistence rate of first-generation college students and other undergraduates*. Unpublished dissertation, The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.
- Williams, Peter E. & Hellman, Chan M. (2004). Differences in Self-Regulation for Online Learning Between First- and Second-Generation College Students. *Research in Higher Education*, *V45*(1), 71-82.
- Wolverton, Mimi. (1998). Treading the tenure-track tightrope: Finding a balance between research excellence and quality teaching. *Innovative Higher Education*, *23*, 61-79.
- Woodlief, Blaze, Thomas, Catherine, & Orozco, Graciela. (2003). *California's gold: Claiming the promise of diversity in our community colleges*. Oakland, CA: California

Tomorrow.

- Wright, Avis L. (1993). *Helping gifted children and their families prepare for college a handbook designed to assist economically disadvantaged and first-generation college attendees (SuDoc ED 1.310/2:379848)*. U.S. Dept. of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Educational Resources Information Center.
- Yates, Miranda & Youniss, James. (1998). Community service and political identity development in adolescence. *Journal of Social Issues Fall*. Retrieved February 21, 2007, from http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0341/is_3_54/ai_53870358
- York-Anderson, Dollean C. & Bowman, Sharon L. (1991). Assessing the college knowledge of first-generation and second-generation students. *Journal of College Student Development*, 32(2), 116-122.
- Zwerling, L. Steven & London, Howard B. (Eds.). (1992). *First-generation students: confronting the cultural issues*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

(d) First Generation College Student Expertise in a Recruitment DVD

Benwell, Bethan & Stokoe, Elizabeth H. (2006). *Discourse and Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Butler, Carly & Weatherall, Ann. (2006). "No, we're not playing families": membership categorization in children's play. *Studies in ethnomethodology and conversation analysis*, 39(4), 123-151.

Day, Dennis. (1998). Being ascribed, and resisting, membership in an ethnic group. In C. Antaki & S. Widdicombe (Eds.), *Identities in Talk*. (pp. 151-170). London: SAGE Publications.

Francis, David & Hart, Christopher. (1997). Narrative intelligibility and membership in a television commercial. In S. Hester & P. Eglin (Eds.), *Culture in action: studies in membership categorization analysis*. (Vol. 4, pp. 123-151). Washington, D.C: International Institute for Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis & University Press of America.

McHoul, Alec & Rapley, Mark. (2002). "Should we make a start then?": A strange case of (delayed) client-initiated psychological assessment. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 33(1), 73-91.

McHoul, Alec & Rapley, Mark. (2005). A case of attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder diagnosis: Sir Karl and Francis B. slug it out on the consulting room floor. *Discourse & Society*, 16(3), 419-449.

(e) First Generation College Student Success and its Trappings

Antaki, Charles. (1998). Identity as an achievement and as a tool. In Charles Antaki & Sue

Widdicombe (Eds.), *Identities in Talk*. (pp. 1-14). London: SAGE Publications.

Crabtree, Andy, Nichols, David M., O'Brien, Jon, Rouncefield, Mark, & Twidale, M. B.

(2000). Ethnomethodologically informed ethnography and information system design.

Journal of the American Society for Information Science, 51(7), 666-682.

Day, Dennis. (1998). Being ascribed, and resisting, membership in an ethnic group. In

Charles Antaki & Sue Widdicombe (Eds.), *Identities in Talk*. (pp. 151-170). London:

SAGE Publications.

Garfinkel, Harold. (2002). *Ethnomethodology's program: Working out Durkheim's aphorism*.

Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield.

Hansen, Alan D. (2005). A practical task: Ethnicity as a resource in social interaction.

Research on Language & Social Interaction, 38(1), 63-104.

Have, Paul ten. (2002). The notion of member is at the heart of the matter: on the role of

membership knowledge in ethnomethodological inquiry. *Forum Qualitative*

Socialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research 3(3)(3). Retrieved January 15,

2008, from <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0203217>

Hester, Stephen & Eglin, Peter. (1997). Membership categorization analysis: an introduction.

In Stephen Hester & Peter Eglin (Eds.), *Culture in action: studies in membership*

categorization analysis. (Vol. 4). Washington, D.C: International Institute for

Ethnomethodology and Conversation Analysis & University Press of America.

Housley, William & Fitzgerald, Richard. (2002). The reconsidered model of membership

categorization analysis. *Qualitative Research*, 2, 59-83.

McHoul, Alec & Rapley, Mark. (2005). A case of attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder diagnosis: Sir Karl and Francis B. slug it out on the consulting room floor. *Discourse & Society*, 16(3), 419-449.

Rose, Nikolas. (1999). *Powers of freedom: reframing political thought*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Simmel, Georg. (2001). *El individuo y libertad: ensayos de crítica de la cultura* [The individual and liberty: essays on the critique of culture]. Barcelona: Península..

(f) Conclusions: Student Differences, University Policies, and 'Identity Work'

- Amelink, Catherine T. (2005). *Predicting academic success among first-year, first generation students*. Unpublished dissertation, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.
- Barrett, Catherine Elise. (2005). *Educational experiences of first-generation women community college students of nontraditional age*. Unpublished dissertation, North Carolina State University.
- Bart, Russell. (2004). Minority rule: read how a first-generation American, born of Mexican parents, became a U.S. congresswoman.(your future). *Scholastic Choices*, 20(2), 26.
- Baum, Sandy & Payea, Kathleen. (2004). *Education pays 2004: The benefits of higher education for individual and society*. New York: The College Board.
- Benmayor, Rina. (2003). *Narrating Cultural Citizenship Oral Histories of First Generation College Students of Mexican Origin*. Paper presented at the Inside Out Conference, Ipswich, Australia.
- Bui, Khanh T. Van. (2002). First-generation college students at a four-year university: background characteristics, reasons for pursuing higher education, and first-year experiences - Statistical Data Included. *College Student Journal*. Retrieved March 21, 2007, from http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0FCR/is_1_36/ai_85007762/print
- Calkins, Maria Vita. (2005). *First-generation college students: Family influence and the road to college*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Massachusetts Amherst.
- Chen, Xianglei. (2005). First-generation students in postsecondary education a look at their

- college transcripts (NCES 2005-171). United States Dept. of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. Retrieved March 2, 2007, from <http://purl.access.gpo.gov/GPO/LPS62728>
- Crabtree, Andy, Nichols, David M., O'Brien, Jon, Rouncefield, Mark, & Twidale, M. B. (2000). Ethnomethodologically informed ethnography and information system design. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science*, 51(7), 666-682.
- Delong, Allen W. (2003). *Parents of first-generation college students: Their perceptions on the importance of college*. Unpublished dissertation, The Ohio State University.
- Demerath, Peter & Lynch, Jill. (2002). *The social construction of advantage in a suburban U. S. high school: Techniques of the authoritative self*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, New Orleans, LA.
- Have, Paul ten. (2002). The notion of member is at the heart of the matter: on the role of membership knowledge in ethnomethodological inquiry *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 3(3). Retrieved January 15, 2008, from <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0203217>
- Hewlett, John H. (1981). *First generation Black students who are college graduates*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Kuh, George D., Kinzie, Jilian, Buckley, Jennifer A., Bridges, Brian K., & Hayek, John C. (2006). *What matters to student success: A review of the literature*. Paper presented at the National Symposium on Postsecondary Student Success: Spearheading a Dialogue on Student Success, Washington, DC.
- Langenohl, Andreas. (2009). *Zweimal Reflexivität in der gegenwärtigen Socialwissenschaft*:

- Anmerkungen zu einer nicht geführten Debatte [25 paragraphs]. [Two reflexivities in current social science: remarks on an absent debate]. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 10(2) Art. 9. Retrieved March 31, 2009, from <http://nbn-resolving.de/nbn:de:0114-fqs090297>
- Lohfink, Mandy Martin. (2004). *Determinants of first-to-second year persistence for first-generation and continuing-generation students at four-year institutions*. Unpublished dissertation, University of New Orleans.
- Long, William J. (2005). *Pioneering journeys: A qualitative study of first-generation students and their transition to college*. Unpublished dissertation, New York University.
- Martinez, Daniel. (1999). *Cultural capital and the persistence of first-generation college students*. Unpublished dissertation, The Claremont Graduate University.
- McDaniel, Betty Willis. (2001). *Rural family literacy: Portraits of first-generation college students and their families*. Unpublished dissertation, University of South Carolina.
- Moore, Natasha Datta. (2003). *The relationship of family environment and academic performance to college adjustment of first-generation, low-income college students after a summer program and fall semester transition*. Unpublished dissertation, Rutgers The State University of New Jersey - New Brunswick.
- Mueller, Kathryn Lynne. (1997). *Involvement as a critical factor in the persistence of seniors who are first-generation college students*. Unpublished dissertation, California State University, Long Beach.
- Nolan, Ronnie. (2005). *First-generation college graduates: An examination of the relationship between the barriers to graduation and the motivating factors*.

- Unpublished dissertation, North Carolina State University.
- Pascarella, Ernest T. & Terenzini, Patrick T. (2005). *How college affects students: A third decade of research*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Phinney, Jean S., Horenczyk, Gabriel, Liebkind, Karmela, & Vedder, Paul. (2001). Ethnic identity, immigration, and well-being: an interactional perspective. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(3), 493-511.
- Pino, Diana Marie. (2005). *Persistence of first-generation Mexican American university students in a Hispanic serving institution*. Unpublished dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin.
- Rey, Christina M. (2006). *Defying the odds: First generation college students at American University*. Unpublished dissertation, The American University, Washington, DC.
- Rios, Thomas Robert. (2001). *Successful first-generation college students at Indiana State University*. Unpublished dissertation, Indiana State University.
- Settle, Jim. (2005). *The effect of socioeconomic status on year-to-year persistence of first-generation and continuing-generation college students at two-year and four-year institutions: Developing a conceptual model*. Unpublished dissertation, University of Missouri - Saint Louis.
- Sinkowsky, Aleksandra. (1996). *Issues affecting first-generation college students*. Unpublished dissertation, Rutgers The State University of New Jersey - New Brunswick.
- Sorter, Dorienne. (1985). *First generation college students: Parents and peers in terms of dogmatism and intolerance of ambiguity (separation, individuation)*. Unpublished

dissertation, New York University.

Tandberg, David. (2007). O pioneers: First-generation college students. Retrieved February 21, 2007, from <http://www.personal.psu.edu/users/d/a/dat179/First%20Gen%20paper.pdf>

(g) Methodological Notes

- Alvarado, José Gerardo. (2006). Los unos, los otros y las cosas normales de la vida: una etnografía de locutorios en Barcelona [Those, the others, and the normal things of life: an ethnography of the public call centres in Barcelona]. *Athenea Digital*, 9. Retrieved May 21, 2009, from <http://psicologiasocial.uab.es/athenea/index.php/atheneaDigital/article/view/283/283>
- Lubrano, Alfred. (2004). *Limbo: Blue Collar Roots, White Collar Dreams*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

9. Appendices

(a) Appendix A: Transcript: DVD Presentation

1 HFN: hello. my name is (...)
2 and I'm a first generation graduate student
3 at (...) university .h research reveals
4 that first generation college students
5 often face unique challenges .h
6 some of these challenges include (.) conflicting obligations?
7 false expectations (.)
8 and lack of preparation or support .h
9 first generation colleges students account for
10 approximately: 30% of the student body at
11 many colleges and universities .h
12 on our campus .h one out of every four identifies
13 themselves as first generation.
14 at (...) (.) first generation students
15 can receive services from
16 such offices as .h Multicultural Student Affairs (.)
17 Counseling Center (.) Career Center? (.)
18 Student Support Services .h Mentoring Program? and
19 Student Activities and
20 Campus Organizations .h these offices provide a
21 place (.) of support? for
22 first generation college students (.) the Hispanic Policy Network (.)
23 and the Coalition of Black Faculty & Staff .h serve as
24 mentors for under-represented students .h
25 the First Generation Student Organization (.)
26 or FGSO: .h was recently established
27 by (...) to provide a place for academic guidance .h
28 social support and fellowship .h in this
29 video: you will hear from a group of first generation college students
30 .h
31 facilitated by Dr. (...) (.) the advisor
32 for FGSO on campus .h
33 the unrehearsed interview: captures
34 some of the students thoughts on how they
35 negotiated the family and college cultures .h in order to
36 make an effective transition to college.
37 Music: music [music]
38 HMM: [we're going to be talking] today about
39 <first generation students> and ah::
40 you know we come from. different cultures (.)
41 different family backgrounds (.) but we also
42 have one culture in in ah: common
43 and that is that we're all (.) first generation students?
44 so we're going to talk
45 >a little bit about< (.) our experiences. prior to
46 coming to college and then
47 during college and. >just< (.) >you know<
48 some of your personal experiences

48 with ah: education °and so forth.°
49 when did you first decide to
50 go college? and who: encouraged you to attend? °college°
51 BF: my mother always said >you know< .h now you
52 >need to< start now >we're gonna< start
53 now looking for (.) a college for you to go to: .h cuz we wanna
54 get you up and running. so: it kind
55 of began like. >you know< as I (.) entered high school
56 and .h we took high. uhm college trips and we went and
57 visited the places .h and I started
58 developing an interest (.) in college (.) my mother
59 was the one the pushed me.
60 BM: .hh >actually< (.) at first I never really thought
61 I could: go but then:. after ah: couple of
62 coaches talked to me >I was like< well maybe I could: go to college
63 .hh ended up ah:. talking to a
64 recruiter from (.) (...) that came to my house >and< (.)
65 she pretty much talked me into going to
66 >school and< (.) get all of my paperwork (.) >you know<
67 and things >so now I'm< here
68 HMM: >yeah<
69 WF: >I just< lucked out with the teachers >and< .h
70 I wa:nted to beco:me >you know< an
71 educator as well >and<. so I decided (.) college was [the]
72 HMM: [>yeah<]
73 WF: way to go there
74 HF1: nine years ago I moved up here from Mexico:
75 I was just kind of like .hh ok I
76 don't know now: cause I didn't know the language
77 and it was like really hard kind of uhm (.)
78 adjusting to the new: (.) <school system> (.) like >as to< like there's
79 a lot of different cultures here and I
80 was just used to just Hispanics .hh and:. (smak)
81 bu:::t after I learned the >language which< didn't
82 take me that long h hha .h um: (smak) I decided that
83 I was gonna go: (.) bu:t both of my parents
84 have always encouraged me
85 HM: opportunities ah:. run dry >down there<
86 there's really not much to do: .h basically
87 everybody who lives the:re (.) works for the
88 school system? or the factory there.
89 HMM: how did you feel? (.) in terms of you preparation.
90 do you feel you were
91 prepared for college? and was it difficult the first (.) yea::r
92 or the first semester you were here?
93 BM: first semester here I had ah:: (1.0) biology .h >I was like<
94 this ain't what we talked about
95 when I was in high school >they was< telling me stuff
96 I'd never heard before >so like< .hh I ended up
97 going to ah:: >using< to trying use up my resources
98 such as >studying< something like that so >I really had<
99 to re pick my game up ah .h to ah:: to keep my grades up
100 cuz: (.) couldn't >you know what I'm< saying (.)

101 couldn't get [bad]
102 HMM: [no]
103 BM: grades but drop out and >nothing like that< so.
104 I wasn't ready: mentally (.) physically I thought
105 I was but hey? I'm still here so
106 FO: mhh
107 HMM: >good<
108 WF: I took AP classes and [>you know<]
109 HMM: [ah ha]
110 WF: so I felt I >you know< was all ready: >you know< knew how to study:
111 and knew how to .hh you know (.) manage my
112 time and everything and (.) you get here? and it's different.
113 >you know< .hhh you don't know [h h h]
114 HMM: [what] was the first difference you noticed?
115 WF: well the classes were big
116 HMM: [ok]
117 WF: [and] >you know< I'm used to being able to just study
118 with my friends after school or
119 whatever and (.) you don't? know any of the people here: so
120 >you know< it's not like you have your friends you
121 can just go study with .h cuz everybody's
122 taking different classes and [.hh]
123 HMM: [right]
124 WF: it's ^<not that easy?>^ but (.) you adjust
125 HMM: but you know when you come from
126 ah ah s ah a town:: where. most people are like you
127 and [so forth]
128 MO: [uh uhm]
129 HMM: and you come over here: like you said
130 and it's different .h the dorm experience is
131 different or the >you know< living in the residence halls?
132 most of. freshmen live there
133 MO: uh hum
134 HMM: What was that like for (.) <most of you?>
135 HF2: Living in the dorm was. good for me
136 because I didn't know anybody: (.) from
137 my high school that came here .h <and so:> I needed to make
138 more friends and .h um my roommate
139 and I got put together and .h we became good friends
140 and we're still roommates (.) now: and we live in
141 an apartment together so .h it was because we got paired(.)in the dorm
142 BF: as far as: >you know< being active
143 and being involved on campus it's good to
144 live in a dorm: especially if you don't know anybody
145 MO: >uh hum<
146 BF: you can make more friends
147 BM: I made a lot of my close friends
148 >my closest friends< in the dorms .h and we're
149 pushed into a situation to where:: uhm. >you you< you gotta leave your
150 comfort zone: so it's like .h once you
151 leave your comfort zone you open up to somebody new
152 >you know what I'm saying< you end
153 up letting in (.) probably most time good friends

154 >I know a lotta< (.) girls have a lot of horror stories
155 about their roommates
156 VO: ha ha
157 BM: switching: two or three roommates in the semester but=
158 FO: =>ah< ha .h=
159 BM: =hopefully they'll work it out
160 HMM: there's numerous resources
161 I think >you mentioned< some of you
162 mentioned (.) some resources. what were some of those things that
163 helped <you to> adjust or to:
164 get through some of the academic issues if
165 you had some problems like that. [you think]
166 WF: [I like] the writing center h >ha ha<
167 HMM: >the writing center wh<?
168 WF: the writing center yeah:: .h cuz you go there?
169 and some of your professors'll give ya
170 extra credit for going on a paper and >you know<
171 that boosts your gra:de by going?
172 >you know< them just helping out=
173 HMM: =uh hum=
174 WF: =helps so much >and then< (.) you get another boost on your grade
175 if you (.) luck out with your professors .h it rea:lly helped a lot:.
176 HF1: to me: it was my instructors (.)
177 cuz every time that I asked them for help
178 they would always tell me like: (.) or work around my time
179 if I couldn't like (.) meet them at their
180 office hours? .h they're always there to help me=
181 HMM: =aha=
182 HF1: =so. they help me out a lo:t.
183 BM: my roommate was a upperclass and
184 >so it was like< some of the classes >that I<
185 was taking at the time: >he'd already took< .h or who
186 knew somebody who took em >so it was like< .hh
187 as far as learning how to study >and stuff like that< I did >kinda<
188 I learned that on the fly:
189 you know >what I'm just saying just<(.) learning(.) how to deal with(.)
190 academics and (.) ah: a social life .h
191 studying with them or (.) having them (.) telling me how to study
192 or who to ta:ke for a class? .h
193 >that helped out a lot<
194 BF: I didn't go often but there's SLAC
195 in the: up in the library: ah. the student
196 learning assistance center .h they help up you up there a lot
197 if you need help with tutoring >but< I did go:
198 talk with my teachers >those'll be< the people that
199 can really help you .h >and you've< also got to
200 ask around. to find somebody who had that cla:ss .h that
201 could help you or have old notes?
202 MO: mm
203 BF: you know: that could help you out.
204 it'll help you with your grades.
205 HMM: >the i the< i the idea of friendships
206 >you know< you >you you're< thrown into

207 >in a sense< into a dorm with somebody new and so forth.
208 ah::: (click) did you find that difficult to make
209 friends? sometimes >or or< maybe some people that are different than
you=
210 MO: =uh hum=
211 HMM: in some way. for example >we talk about< language::
212 >or just< culturally different? (.)
213 or ethnically different?
214 WF: I got here: and I was actually put
215 in an upperclassmen dorm .h and um.
216 everybody was just so:: nice >you know< I thought.
217 well they're >already gonna have< their
218 cliques and >you know< it's just going to be just like
219 high school again .hh but it was different
220 >you know< you can just talk to somebody when you're
221 riding the <bus to class> or .hh in the quad
222 >you know< everybody is really friendly?
223 FO: >(some)<
224 BF: there were some people in my dorm
225 or that I met >here< .h that hadn't been
226 arou:nd minorities or hadn't been around any
227 African-Americans .h and just their views on thi:ngs
228 >you know< but they couldn't help? it >you know<
229 they would have some .h negative views on
230 things and >it was like< my place >to be like<
231 hey::? you know ah? .h it's not like that or
232 whatever or I've experienced some (.) situations that have
233 been uncomfortable .h >you know< but
234 you can't. sometimes you can't change a person's mind >but<.
235 overall? it's been (they're right)
236 HF2: I think our campus is really:
237 really diverse and I think that .h em most people
238 here are really accepting and .h em. don't. really hold as m.
239 as much prejudices as=
240 HMM: =uh hum=
241 HF2: =like in high school: there was always: you know:: (2.0)
242 that kind of thing going on and=
243 HMM: =people kind of group together=
244 HF2: =yeah=
245 HMM: =they kind of had their little cliques (.)
246 like you were talking about=
247 HF2: =yeah [and]
248 HMM: [and]
249 HF2: >I think< more people are open .h they may have
250 a >a group of< friends that they hang
251 around with all the time but they're
252 .h they're more accepting of people coming in:
253 HMM: One of the reasons for for
254 trying to establish a first generation ah:.
255 student group. is: because first generation (.)
256 students come from >you know< different kinds of
257 cultural different kinds of cultural groups (→ø?)
258 what kinds? of events (.) do you all attend or have attended (.)

259 that seem to have (.) sort of supported you in some way?
260 BF: °well° I'm uhm I'm president ah:
261 of an organization called harmabv©
262 and it's a: a dance
263 group that we have here on campus .h uhm and (.)
264 at the beginning of the year: we uhm >well< from
265 >last year< we had a small group of girls and this was mostly .h
266 African-American girls dancing with us
267 or whatever .h and once we danced at a (.)
268 freshman convoca:tion? (.) <we got girls of every> colo:r
269 shape (.) size: dance style:: .h >I mean< I was literally blown away:
270 I was standing in practice like (.)
271 we're not going to fit and here was hundreds of us
272 over a hundred girls .h just standing there
273 wanting to dance and em .h I feel like once we?. > cuz because<
274 when we used to dance (.) a lot
275 of the time the performances that we did (.) <were for:>
276 African-American events or things like that .h
277 well:: once we >once we got< a more diverse organization?
278 then more of their friends started coming
279 [with their]
280 HMM: [is that right?]
281 BF: family members started coming .h and
282 so I think it leveled off like that
283 HM: (...sure) I'm. I performed with the symphonic band last night=
284 HMM: =ahem=
285 HM: =we performed this one piece ah: based on an
286 African proverb called It Takes a Village?
287 .h it's got all this percussion: >>ethnic<< it was really ethnic
African [had]
288 HMM: [right]
289 HM: jazz in there:: .h >and< we had all kinds of people fill up >for
it<
290 it was a packed house.
291 BF: °homecoming:° diversity there:?
292 >during< homecoming?: (1.0) °uhm° I feel it could be:
293 it could be elevated >you know< but I think it's
294 not the fault of the university? .h I think the
295 students. should. should >you know<
296 be the ones that hey look .h we >we want< some more diverse
297 functions we don't just want it to be: .h >you know<
298 just wanna bri:ng down: country .h <music singers>
299 uhm for the concerts for homecoming because .h
300 that's not something everybody likes
301 >or have< a line-up that .h that satisfies everybody
302 HMM: usually first generation students (.)
303 find it a little difficult
304 <financially> to come to school.
305 WF: it was very difficult for me: >because<
306 my parents? .h they encouraged the idea of me
307 going to college <but if I> wanted to do it?
308 I was going to gonna have to do it all on my own:
309 >you know< .h and: (.) <they've helped> as much as they could:?

310 .h but >I mean< they didn't go to college? their parents
311 >you know< nobody in my family went to college (.)
312 they have no idea what to do .h so >I mean<
313 it was all about me going out and finding the resources
314 and (.) I mean it's been >difficult and< I've
315 used up pretty much all my savings [h h h]
316 HMM: [ha] ha
317 WF: .h but I think it'll be worth it.
318 HF1: (to) me it was like (.) the same experience
319 >but< it was because my parents don't
320 know the language=
321 HMM: =aha=
322 HF1: = so therefore I would always have to be like
323 <translating everything> back
324 to them and it was kind of difficult at times
325 >because< I was trying to get stuff in .h but at the
326 same I had to explain to them what they were doing
327 and everything that was going on:
328 BM: uhm (.) I had to do the FAFSA
329 renewal form and that's [pretty complicated itself?]
330 VO: [ha. ha. ha.] ha. ha.
331 BM: uhm
332 FO: .hh
333 BM: besides that. You know like. >Financial aid< (.)
334 >well I< that was one of the reasons why I
335 didn't plan on coming to college >was like<
336 will I have to go out and get a job or save money
337 but uhm. I'm happy to say I'm here courtesy and paid of.
338 you and the United States
339 financial aid?.
340 BF: School started in August (.) I was so:: .h
341 backed up when I finally made a decision
342 on what school I wanted to go to .h
343 I didn't have a drop of financial aid:: the deadline
344 was in April. ok:: [so I was]
345 FO: [hh. hh.]
346 BF: really stuck. I was I was (.) blessed enough to get uhm
347 a scholarship. >a scholarship<
348 I got two scholarships actually .h >and um<
349 at one of the scholarship banquets .h
350 ah: I met Dr. (...)
351 HMM: mm [mm]
352 BF: [my] mentor and uhm. we.
353 I didn't know her from anyone else=
354 HMM: =right=
355 BF: =she was the one who basically
356 took me by the ha:nd and .h >you know<
357 helped me and mother out <a lot>
358 HF3: (be)cause my parents
359 basically said: .h either: .h the government
360 helps you:? or your just going to have to
361 stay in community colle:ge=
362 HMM: =mm=

363 HF3: =and I know that: after >you know< h Uncle Sam
364 and everybody paid for >me and<
365 .h it was August then I got my financial aid and
366 everything was in and I was like >ok<
367 now I'm going but that was like the main thing (.)
368 it wasn't so much where
369 you're going it was like (.) who's going to pay for it.
370 WF: >you know< I got a little bit of help from (.)
371 the financial aid but
372 .h >I mean< I'm working >you know<
373 one job here on campus and
374 then I go home on the weekends and wo:rk
375 and .h I usually baby-sit (.)
376 a few evenings out of the week >so I mean< .hh you know:
377 HMM: mm=
378 WF: =sometimes its given to you: but sometimes
379 you've got to work for it if you want it.
380 HMM: So: are some of you ah: (.) working also like
381 work-study or:: [>you know<]
382 MO: [yeah]=
383 FO: yeah [hm.]
384 HMM: [how] how is that. >you know< how is that >is that<. ok::?
385 in terms of. managing your time or::=
386 HM: =°>you know<° (.) I worked two jobs for a long [ti::me]
387 HMM: [oh really?]
388 HM: yeah: yeah:: .h I mean >it it's< as far as time goes
389 I really needed more time to >study or whatever<
390 so I .h quit one of the jobs but (.)
391 I I had to work? >you know<
392 the only money I have is >the money< I make?.
393 BM: I've worked all >over< I worked in the
394 Multicultural Student Affairs office.h that's where I learned
395 ah:: a lot of my skills: I guess you can call [that]
396 O: [mm]
397 BF: I work around the office.
398 HF2: I work at ah: the Career Services Office
399 and. .h been there since August and uh: last summer I was an
400 orientation assistant and .h doing that again this summer
401 and. uhm. which is: kind of hard because I can't take any
402 summer school classes? .h be:ing an orientation assistant? and >then
it's<
403 long work days and. but. it's. free room and boa:rd.
404 HMM: somebody mentioned mentors.
405 who: are those people <that have> supported you
406 and have kind of kept you
407 in school and sort of encouraged you and become
408 sort of like .h probably even more than a mentor but really
409 a friend to you and so forth [(d...)]
410 HM: [Doctor] (...) .h he's yeah (.) he's really been a
411 good support (.) he he's help me out with all kinds of stuff:
412 letters of .h recommendations and >you know< such.
413 >you know< [it's really]
414 HMM: [so what] in your case it's a professor right=

415 HM: =yeah he's my trumpet=
416 HMM: =yeah=
417 HM: =professor [>I take< lessons from him]
418 HMM: [ok:]
419 BM: I like to give my: my. people titles so=
420 HMM: =m=
421 BM: =.h like ah: when I first got here (.) the first person (.)
422 the person who came to my house to recruit me:
423 was a lady named
424 (...) .h so >I I< called her my mother=
425 HMM: =m=
426 BM: =and then she left and she ah went to another job:
427 .h so the lady who took her spot is a real nice lady (...) so she's my
aunt=
428 HMM: [=that's great=]
429 BF: [I have] I have a make believe family too as [well: uhm (.)]
430 MO: [that's cool. aha?]
431 BF: Dr. (...)=
432 HMM: =uhum=
433 BF: =like I said if it wasn't for her
434 I >wouldn't< wouldn't even be here
435 wouldn't know anything about (.) the university
436 .h uhm. (...). .h yes (.)
437 that's the Dean of Students (.) that's that's my advisor (.)
438 he's the advisor of my organizations
439 .h uhm haramb\© and AACP and he's like.
440 the real male: father figure in my life
441 which has been >you know< like.
442 no >you need< what are you doing [you need to]
443 MO: [h. h.]
444 BF: focus or. things like that and Miss (...) (.) Miss (...)
445 >and< it's so many people.
446 WF: it wasn't like a teacher or faculty member
447 HMM: [ok]
448 WF: [it] was actually another student .h
449 HMM: Is that right=
450 WF: =yeah: and you >you know< he kinda took me
451 under his wing and we become best friends and .h >you know<
452 he showed me. you need to study >you know< (1.0)
453 it's a school night why are you
454 wanting to go out? you know >you know<
455 just go to the library and study.
456 HMM: now (.) you're away from home
457 some people said
458 >well I went and<. I couldn't wait to get away
459 and so forth. but what [about]
460 O: [hh]
461 HMM: visiting family now (.) do they see you differently?
462 are you a different person? because
463 <now you've> gone to college or maybe: .h
464 >you're< among the first to go to college
465 and so forth. do you see? (.)
466 do you see some differences? in terms

467 of how they treat you or what
468 they expect of you? and things like this?
469 FO: h.
470 BM: I feel a lot of pressure .h and being in
471 FO: [yes:]
472 BM: [school:] >everyone like< .h
473 yeah you need to get that good jo:b
474 so you can buy your mama a new house
475 or something like that .h
476 I'm like well (.) actually
477 what I plan to do is by myself
478 VO: [ha ha ha ha ha ha]
479 BM: [the new house and maybe you can come
480 BM: visit >you know< you (...) that?]
481 HM: ha ha=
482 BF: =basically they've they
483 want to see the end result basically
484 oh: >kind of like< the middle man: .h
485 I don't think too many people (.) all right (.)
486 what exactly are you doing this semester::
487 >you know< they want you to graduate and get a degree:
488 .h and then you can
489 go back and say I worked hard and I have this .h
490 >but<(.) I'm like (.)
491 the only person (.) on my entire block.
492 that I went to school with=
493 HM: =it's my same experience also and .h
494 where I come from it's a small town ah: .h
495 I don't know how
496 anybody else goes but a lot of my friends
497 are all married [now:: and wh they never]
498 VO: [h h h]
499 HM: went to school:: [and]
500 FO: [hh] [.hh]
501 HM: [they] got married at eighteen:: and then
502 they all got kids running [around: >and everything<]
503 VO: [h hh ha ha ha]
504 HM: you know I'm like [I'm school: when you (...) going]
505 VO: [ha. ha. ha.]
506 BM: you wanna go out [now::?]
507 VO: [.hh yeah yeah yeah ha ha]
508 BF: You can't ask them=
509 VFO: =.hhh=
510 BF: =it's hard
511 HM: h yeah::=
512 BF: =being >you know<
513 the only one kinda >where you< (.)
514 well not from where your from but just in [your]
515 FO: [he he]
516 HM: [yeah:]
517 [immediate] surroundings going on? .h
518 cuz they can do: anything with [you or::]
519 HM: [No::] they ca::n't=

520 BF: =the >kind of< kind of conversations
521 you wanna talk about.
522 what's happening on T.V.
523 or something that's happening
524 at the university or some big .h thing that can affect you in the long
run
525 like voting or something >they're like<.
526 MO: that [(apple corn)]
527 VO: [he he he]
528 HM: yeah h h
529 FO: yeah:
530 WF: when I was in high school
531 I wa:s (.) in the band
532 and so I was friends with >you know<
533 everybody from every grade
534 .h and a lot of the younger students are seeing.
535 she went to college:? you know:: [.h]
536 FO: [uh huh]
537 WF: maybe I could too: >and<
538 I've actually ehm. >kind of< (.)
539 joined this little thing in the band where .h
540 I adopted like a little sister
541 and a little brother >and< .h >you know<
542 I'm helping them right now with (.)
543 their plans for college and it's [it's]
544 FO: [yeah:]
545 WF: >really< neat.
546 FO: [yeah]
547 HMM: [yeah:] >you become< role models
548 VO: aha=
549 HMM: =after a while=
550 VO: =ah ha=
551 HMM: =[that's good]
552 HF2: [yeah. I've seen that too] because (.) I have nieces
553 and nephews and they're only .h
554 four and five years old: and my
555 little niece said well I want to go to college
556 I wanna be like [you:: and so .he .he .he .he]
557 VO: [oh::yeah (.) that's cool (.) she could be (...) oooh]
558 HMM: now (.) college is not always h .h smooth:
559 >you know< there's (.) there's problems
560 and there's academic problems and all kinds of social problems
561 sometimes and so forth.
562 did you ever get to a point >at at< some point
563 where you felt like.
564 th- this is not for me or: I wanna quit
565 I wanna go back home or anything like this=
566 BF: =<everybody>. gets burned out sometimes=
567 VO: =ha ha=
568 BF: =because y- you do you get burnt out but it's it's uhm: (.)
569 best that you try to find an outlet .h you know:
570 join an organization or ehm.
571 just breathe kinda try to organize your time (.)

572 time management. (snap snap snap)
573 time management is key .h=
574 HM: =it's tempting to just quit [it's just]
575 BF: [it's so ea:sy]
576 HM: comes to a point where you're
577 overwhelmed with ah (.)
578 well me concerts and studying
579 papers (.) papers papers
580 HMM: yeah
581 HM: (clears throat) you know and then
582 you just gotta pick you battles. prioritize=
583 FO: =aha=
584 HM: =you gotta get (.) chop one tree at a time.
585 MO: yeah
586 HF2: one semester? .h uhm. (smak)
587 I had a family mem- member die:
588 and I had to .h leave and go ho:me
589 for the funeral and I had to miss
590 a test on the day: and then .h I came back and
591 I had a really bad professor
592 who was not [sympathetic at all:]
593 FO: [(...)]
594 HF2: .h and: >it it< just made me feel (.) rea:lly bad
595 and I was ready to go home and
596 >then my< my friends talked me into saying
597 and .hh uhm. >it just< was a bad experience for me:.
598 HMM: I mean I >know that< (.)
599 you feel like quitting at t:imes
600 and things are going well (.) but
601 something (.) kept you here:
602 you're still here:. where does that come? from.
603 where does that strength come? from
604 HF1: I think? (.) just the fact of know:ing that
605 you're getting an opportunity to
606 get an education? .h cuz there's like
607 a lot of people out there that <wish they could:>
608 but they can't. .h I mean: (.)
609 look at the third world country (.) >you know<
610 a lot of kids over there want
611 >to go to< college but. they can't=
612 HMM: =uh hum=
613 HF1: =they're deprived from that (.)
614 and if you think about it >to them<
615 we have it so easy >it's like< it's your decision .h
616 you can go if you really
617 want to everything is out there (.)
618 it's for just you to do it -t.
619 HF2: I just: want to be in a job that
620 -t's going to make me happy .h
621 and: (.) if I don't go to college .h working at McDonald's is
622 >not gonna< make me happy
623 VO: ha. ha. ha. [ha. ha. .hh]
624 HF2: [h. h. you know?] I'm not going to be

625 happy in that kind of jo:b? .h
626 so: if (.) if I go to college and I can get into:
627 cuz I want to be an art teacher .h
628 and I want to ah: (.) be a mentor for students? and
629 .h and that's what's gonna make me happy:=
630 HF3: =and seeing all my friend just (.)
631 at home: you know
632 getting married .h having their babies.
633 that's what keeps me going you know
634 thinking that [I'm not].
635 HFO: [.mhh]
636 HMM: >uh<
637 HF3: doing that=
638 HMM: =>yeah<
639 HF3: =that I'm actually gonna
640 go somewhere (.) not stay at home.
641 HMM: what would be <a a a>
642 something you'd like to tell (.)
643 a high school student that maybe:: (.) ah::
644 is thinking of >going to< college but (.)
645 maybe feels like (.) i- it's not for the:m
646 or something like >this what< (.)
647 do you wanna tell >if you had<
648 something to say=
649 HM: =give it a sho::t (.)
650 cuz: that's the only you're going to find out?
651 is if you go out and do it. .h °you kno:w° and
652 it's not gonna do itself? you gotta do it?=
653 BF: =uh hum?=
654 MO: =yeah
655 WF: =even if you just go to like a junior college
656 and start off sma:ll >I mean<
657 .h (.) anything to get you in the:re .h um.
658 just. get in h. hh. ha [ha ha]
659 HMM: [ha ha] just get in (.) [any way you can].
660 WF: [>yeah ha<]
661 BF: just=
662 HMM: =(...) to get started=
663 BF: just give yourself the
664 yourself the opportunity. try. if you need?
665 just call? us. we'll help? you.
666 HFO: uh huh
667 HF2: going to the college
668 can only help you there's no:
669 drawbacks from it .h uhm.
670 the benefits (.) outweigh any: .h bad things
671 that might happen you kno:w there's only (.)
672 good things that can
673 come from going college.
674 BF: my mom told me: look. whatever you
675 >whatever it is< that you want to do? .h
676 if you could do it? (.) without getting pai::d
677 and >whatever it is you have<

678 a passion for that you wanna do? t- h
679 that's what you do:
680 that's what you major in (.)
681 that's what you go for .h=
682 HMM: =but for the most part it seems like.
683 you've. done.
684 pretty we:ll as far as making connections
685 and getting invo::lved and
686 .h >you know< ah:: (.) trying your best. >and< you've been
687 doing pretty good? (smak) so we're
688 [going to wrap it up right here
689 and I want to thank you again
690 for being he:re and ah ah I wish you
691 the best next week on your finals.]
692 Music: [music]

(b) Appendix B: Transcript: The BSW-FGCS Needs Grant Application Section

1 Need for Assistance
2 Need 1: Well-prepared child welfare social workers who will
3 establish careers in [state] child
4 welfare settings.
5 Staff attrition challenges child welfare agencies, which
6 experience turnover rates estimated at
7 46% to 90% over a 2-year period [ref.]. Most child welfare
8 workers remain with [agency]
9 fewer than 21 months and sometimes do not return after the
10 first day on the job [ref.].
11 One factor which contributes to turnover is employee's entry
12 preparation level. Child welfare
13 employment requires a college degree. Though [agency]
14 prefers BSW, only 28 % of the nation's
15 child welfare workers have a social work degree [ref.].
16 Social work-degreed child welfare workers usually
17 are more effective than those with other kinds of degrees
18 and have lower turnover rates [ref.]. Practitioners with
19 specific child welfare training also report higher levels of
20 job satisfaction [ref.]. The FGCS project's aim
21 to assist FGCS to obtain the BSW degree in exchange for
22 committing to work in child welfare after
23 graduating will build a better-prepared, more stable child
24 welfare professional staff.
25 Need 2: Child welfare professionals trained to effectively
26 deal with the complex problems
27 confronting children and families in the welfare system.
28 Child welfare practice is more challenging than ever before
29 [ref.].
30 Increasingly, child welfare clients manifest complex,
31 interwoven problems due to drug and alcohol
32 abuse, mental health problems, poverty, homelessness,
33 violence, and crime. The stress of coping with
34 these concerns has dramatically increased for clients and
35 professionals.
36 These difficulties disproportionately affect minority
37 populations [ref.].
38 [The state's] minority population, especially Hispanics, is
39 expected to increase and will
40 be largely poor and vulnerable. Already, [state] ranks 33rd
41 among states in measures of child well-
42 being, with increasing rates of low birth weight babies,
43 violent teen deaths, single teenage mothers,
44 juveniles in custody, and children in poverty [ref.].
45 For the most part, existing social work curricula do not
46 emphasize developing competencies for
47 practice with minorities [ref.], although effective child
48 welfare services are directly correlated
49 with understanding diverse cultural family structure and
50 norms [ref.].

51 Consequently, child welfare professionals need
52 to be both culturally competent and
53 prepared to deal with complex issues.
54 This project will enable [university department]
55 to enhance the BSW curriculum to achieve this aim.
56 Need 3: Child welfare professionals who are culturally
57 competent and sensitive to the values,
58 beliefs, and struggles of typical child welfare clients.
59 Many child welfare clients come from families (which may
60 well be minority) where parents are
61 young, poor, unemployed, undereducated, raising children
62 alone, coping with addictions, and lacking
63 day care. Child welfare staff are disproportionately young,
64 white females, resulting in disparities in the
65 backgrounds, perspectives, and comfort zones of
66 the professional and client. Many experts [ref.]
67 contend that this racial/ethnic disparity results in
68 insensitivity and misunderstanding. [ref. authors] argue
69 that child welfare
70 practitioners and managers must create more equitable,
71 culturally competent services, instead of
72 naively attempting to acculturate clients to majority
73 values [ref.]. One means of creating culturally
74 competent services is to recruit and retain staff who
75 understand the world of typical child welfare
76 clients. Social work students who come from culturally
77 diverse backgrounds, who know personally
78 what it means to be poverty-stricken, or who have
79 themselves been involved with child welfare and
80 other social service systems, are more likely to be first-
81 generation college students.
82 Need 4: Incentives to enable first-generation college
83 students to pursue and complete the BSW
84 degree, preparing for beginning careers in child welfare
85 services.
86 FGCS are those whose parents have
87 no college experience [ref.]. FGCS are less likely
88 to aspire to a bachelor degree; are more likely
89 to attend a two-year institution after high school;
90 are less prepared for the rigors of higher education;
91 are older than traditional students; are more
92 likely to be married and have lower family incomes; and
93 usually have fewer family and community
94 supports than traditional college students [ref.].
95 As a result, FGCS complete fewer credit hours,
96 study fewer hours, are employed more hours per week, and
97 make smaller first-year reading
98 comprehension gains than traditional students [ref.].
99 Although more FGCS are attending college,
100 there is no corresponding increase in
101 the proportion who graduate [ref.].
102 FGCS are also more likely to be minority. In 2003, the
103 [university department] enrolled

104 40 FGCS; 53% were Hispanic. However, the percentage of FGCS
105 enrolled in both the university and
106 the [university department] has declined.
107 While [the university] is [the state's] six-largest public
108 university and one of the
109 nation's top 20 producers of Hispanic baccalaureate
110 degrees, university enrollment of new FGCS
111 declined from 42% in 1999 to 20% in 2003.
112 The [university department] FGCS enrollment declined
113 from 55% to 29% over that period. The FGCS decrease is
114 evident in [university's] minority enrollment.
115 In 2003, Hispanics accounted for 19% of
116 [university] undergraduates; 34% of these were
117 FGCS, compared to 52% in 1999. African-Americans
118 comprised 5% of [university's] new undergraduates;
119 23% of these were FGCS, compared to 55% in 1999.
120 This project will increase the [university department's]
121 recruitment and retention of FGCS
122 into the BSW degree, opening
123 opportunities for underrepresented students and increasing
124 the pool of competent child welfare workers.
125 A majority of [university] students are [from the state];
126 most return to their residential communities after
127 graduating [ref.]. Many students,
128 particularly FGCS, must work to pay expenses.
129 Approximately 40% of [university] social work
130 majors require financial aid; many others
131 held jobs to support their education. For example,
132 in Fall 2003, 85% of students in the BSW research
133 class were employed for an average of 28 hours per week.
134 Part-time employment is especially difficult
135 during the BSW student's final semester of field placement,
136 which requires full-time commitment.
137 This grant will help [university] retain FGCS so that
138 they can complete the BSW degree.

(c) Appendix C: Index of Extracts

| | |
|--|-----|
| Extract 1: DVDtranscript | 75 |
| Extract 2: DVDtranscript | 76 |
| Extract 3: DVDtranscript | 76 |
| Extract 4: DVDtranscript | 79 |
| Extract 5: DVDtranscript | 80 |
| Extract 6: DVDtranscript | 82 |
| Extract 7: DVDtranscript | 82 |
| Extract 8: DVDtranscript | 83 |
| Extract 9: DVDtranscript | 83 |
| Extract 10: DVDtranscript | 84 |
| Extract 11: DVDtranscript | 84 |
| Extract 12: DVDtranscript | 84 |
| Extract 13: DVDtranscript | 87 |
| Extract 14: DVDtranscript | 88 |
| Extract 15: DVDtranscript | 88 |
| Extract 16: DVDtranscript | 89 |
| Extract 17: DVDtranscript | 90 |
| Extract 18: DVDtranscript | 91 |
| Extract 19: DVDtranscript | 92 |
| Extract 20: DVDtranscript | 93 |
| Extract 21: DVDtranscript | 93 |
| Extract 22: DVDtranscript | 94 |
| Extract 23: DVDtranscript | 96 |
| Extract 24: DVDtranscript | 96 |
| Extract 25: DVDtranscript | 97 |
| Extract 26: DVDtranscript | 98 |
| Extract 27: DVDtranscript | 100 |
| Extract 28: DVDtranscript | 100 |
| Extract 29: DVDtranscript | 101 |
| Extract 30: DVDtranscript | 102 |
| Extract 31: DVDtranscript | 103 |
| Extract 32: DVDtranscript | 105 |
| Extract 33: Fieldbook entry, 20 Nov. 2005 | 117 |
| Extract 34: Fieldbook entry, 20 Nov. 2005 | 118 |
| Extract 35: Fieldbook entry, 20 Nov. 2005 | 119 |
| Extract 36: Fieldbook entry, 20 Nov. 2005 | 120 |
| Extract 37: Fieldbook entry, 20 Nov. 2005 | 123 |
| Extract 38: Fieldbook entry, 20 Nov. 2005 | 124 |
| Extract 39: Fieldbook entry, 20 Nov. 2005 | 125 |
| Extract 40: Fieldbook entry, 20 Nov. 2005 | 127 |
| Extract 41: Text on the back cover of the alumni bulletin. | 130 |

Appendices

347

| | |
|---|-----|
| Extract 42: Needs transcript | 134 |
| Extract 43: Needs transcript | 136 |
| Extract 44: Needs transcript | 137 |
| Extract 45: Needs transcript | 138 |
| Extract 46: Fieldbook entry, 29 Oct. 2005 | 162 |
| Extract 47: Fieldbook entry, 31 Oct. 2005 | 171 |
| Extract 48: Fieldbook entry, 31 Oct. 2005 | 171 |

(d) Appendix D: Index of Figures

- Figure 1: The layout of the initial DVD presentation screen. 70
- Figure 2: Seating chart of the DVD presentation. The thicker arrows point out the gender, racial, and ethnic codes used to identify the student participants and the interview moderator. 73
- Figure 3: The concept-mapping key for the figures that present the elements that emerge throughout the "Need for Assistance" document analysis. 134
- Figure 4: Devices and categories obtained from the "Need for Assistance" section title and the "Need 1" subsection description (lines 1-4). 134
- Figure 5: Devices and categories obtained from the "Need 2" subsection description (lines 25-27). 135
- Figure 6: Devices and categories obtained from the "Need 3" subsection description (lines 56-58). 136
- Figure 7: Devices and categories obtained from the "Need 4" subsection description (lines 82-85). 138
- Figure 8: Elements that emerged in the subsection descriptions noting the connections between devices, categories and characteristics/activities. 139
- Figure 9: Summary of the numbered subsection description elements noting the connections between devices, categories and characteristics/activities. 140

(e) Appendix E: Index of Pictures

Picture 1: Menu screen of the First Generation College Student DVD. 70

Picture 2: Front cover of the alumni bulletin that features a student receiving his diploma at a graduation ceremony. 121

Picture 3: Back cover of the alumni bulletin that features a request for online donations. 128

(f) Appendix F: Index of Tables

| | |
|--|-----|
| Table 1: Analytical identity categories. | 66 |
| Table 2: Categories related to the scenic framing of the DVD presentation. | 106 |
| Table 3: Social framing categories or those that make reference to the DVD presentation members. | 106 |
| Table 4: Categories that emerge in the DVD presentation that make reference to other actors. | 107 |
| Table 5: Other categories that have emerged throughout the DVD. | 108 |