

boys, then: *Are black women unable to parent their sons?* Thus, unfortunate corollaries of ABMS supporters' antifeminist rhetoric is the demonization of black mothers, and promotion of the idea that black boys need more masculine role models, if they are to develop their manhood.

Lindsay concludes by wondering: *How are these schools defining success amongst young boys?* Typically, ABMS proponents define a school's success as the achievement of higher standardized test scores, higher grades, lower dropout rates, and admissions to college, but Lindsay notes that *college readiness* is missing from these criteria for "success." In other words, ABMS proponents devote no attention to how many of their college-bound students actually become college graduates.

Finally, Lindsay considers that many studies have been focused on black boys, yielding abundant scholarly research on how to solve the "black boys problem," yet there has been minimal research on how best to assist black girls in education. As a college professor in an urban community, I am confronted daily with the absence of programs focused on black girls, who face oppression and marginalization at all levels of the American educational system. Just as Lindsay is a black mother successfully raising a son, many other black women, like myself, are their sons' teachers, protectors, and caregivers, and we care deeply about their futures. Yet, far from being convinced by ABMS supporters' claims and prescriptions, I am instead inspired by Lindsay's important book to ask this question: *How can we meet the educational and social needs of both our black boys and girls?*

Latino Professionals in America: Testimonios of Policy, Perseverance, and Success. By Maria Chávez. New York: Routledge, 2019. 224 pp. \$37.96 (Paper)

doi:10.1017/rep.2019.54

Juan Carlos Huerta 
Texas A&M University-Corpus Christi

Dr. Maria Chávez's book, *Latino Professionals in America: Testimonios of Policy, Perseverance, and Success*, is a valuable scholarly contribution in a subject area that is frequently overlooked. The book examines the

challenges first-generation Latino professionals confront reaching their jobs, and the continued struggles they face once they “make it.”

In an effort to broaden the methodologies applied by political scientists to answer research questions, Chávez uses the auto-ethnography method. Auto-ethnography is a qualitative method that includes the personal story of the author in addition to well-selected personal interviews. With this approach, Chávez reveals and incorporates her own experiences, in addition to those of Latina and Latino professionals she interviews, to depict and analyze the life-long struggles encountered by first-generation Latino/a professionals. This is not a common method for political science, though it is used in other disciplines, and Chávez makes a convincing case for why it is appropriate for this research.

Chávez frames her work based on her own struggles as she faced numerous obstacles on her path to earning a Ph.D. in political science and becoming a successful professor. The book uses her experience, plus those of thirty-one first-generation Latino professionals, to provide evidence about obstacles—as well as factors that helped all of them to overcome those obstacles. From this, she is able to make recommendations about policies that will help more first-generation Latino professionals to succeed.

The book approaches the obstacles Latinos and Latinas face at the macro-level (societal or institutional), meso-level (family or group), and micro-level (individual). The macro-level addresses factors such as prejudice towards Latinos and discriminatory education policies. For example, Chávez notes that she, and the others interviewed, all had to contend with a discriminatory education system that failed to encourage their academic success. Numerous examples are provided where aspiring Latino/a students were discouraged from pursuing their educations, while white students received encouragement.

At the meso-level, Chávez explores the role of Latino culture. While making clear that Latino culture is not being blamed, she does point out problems with traditional roles, patriarchy, and in some cases, the devaluing of college education. Chávez notes that for first-generation Latino professionals, parents were often immigrants who were not familiar with the norms of the United States. One particular feature of the patriarchy she noted was “*mi pobre hijo*” (my poor son). *Mi pobre hijo* is an example of patriarchy because it manifests as favoritism for sons in all areas of life. Sons received special treatment that daughters did not receive, but ultimately this favoritism ended up hurting the sons because they did not learn valuable life skills, but instead were made to feel entitled to

privilege without effort. Daughters also had fewer freedoms than sons, including not being able to socialize with friends after school, participate in school activities, or pursue college educations. The micro-level addresses self-destructive behaviors that can be a response to macro-level and meso-level obstacles. Chávez provides personal examples of self-destructive behaviors she engaged in while a teenager that resulted from painful life experiences at that time.

Another important aspect of Chávez's book is that it points out challenges that can be easily overlooked after someone has "made it." For example, the racism and/or racialized sexism that Latinos and Latinas face doesn't end once they have become professionals. Chávez documents numerous instances of Latino professionals not being recognized for their accomplishments while facing hostile professional environments. She also notes that Latino professionals are expected to conform to dominant norms in their professions, even as they wish to remain true to their authentic selves. As a consequence, Latino professionals often engage in code switching between who they are at work and how they are with family and friends. In addition to generalized discrimination against all Latinos, Chávez also notes the particular sexism Latina professionals, including herself, endure, sometimes based on "hot Latina" stereotypes.

What can be done to improve the situation? Chávez argues that public policies focused on leveling the playing field for Latinos and other people of color are what make the difference. She specifically cites programs that help Latinos navigate higher education. Furthermore, Chávez makes a strong case for mentoring by noting that those in her study, including herself, benefited tremendously from mentors. While Latino mentors can be especially valuable, she found that subjects in her study also benefited from mentors from other racial/ethnic groups.

One potential negative aspect of mentoring that Chávez does not fully explore is how mentoring can constitute an additional, uncompensated (and frequently unrecognized) obligation for more-established Latino professionals—who themselves continue to face discriminatory obstacles. As a consequence, successful mentoring can mean sacrificing time which may be needed for their *own* commitments and professional development. This is not to discourage mentoring, but to point to a reality, one we hear about even at political science meetings, whenever we discuss mentoring for junior faculty and students.

Given its subject matter, this book is especially valuable for its practicality, based on insights emerging from the auto-ethnographic method Chávez deploys. Latino professionals are still underrepresented across the

professions, and in order to increase their numbers, a clear understanding of challenges to achieving professional status, and thriving once there, will need to be addressed. The personal stories Chávez shares, combined with her interviews of other first-generation Latino professionals, offer insights to a reality that many, including second-generation Latino professionals, may never experience. As a second-generation Latino professional, I was stunned by the obstacles Chávez and others. I kept wondering how I would have fared had I grown up in their environments (I don't think I would have made it).