PROJECT MUSE®

Complicating a Latina/o-serving Identity at a Hispanic Serving Institution

Gina A. Garcia

➡ For additional information about this article
https://muse.jhu.edu/article/629911

Complicating a Latina/o-serving Identity at a Hispanic Serving Institution

Gina A. Garcia

Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs) are increasing in significance with regard to access for Latina/o[1] students. Defined by the federal government as accredited, degree-granting, nonprofit institutions that enroll at least 25% or more fulltime equivalent undergraduate Latina/o students, HSIs now represent approximately 11% of all postsecondary institutions and enroll 60% of all Latina/o students (*Excelencia* in Education, 2016). Despite their growth, HSIs have been criticized for *solely* being "Hispanic-enrolling," meaning they enroll a large percentage of Latina/o students but do not necessarily produce equitable outcomes (Contreras, Malcom, & Bensimon, 2008; Gasman, 2008;

---

[1] I use the term "Hispanic" only to refer to the formal designation of a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI). Otherwise, I use the term "Latina/o" as a personal/professional preference.

Gina Ann Garcia is an assistant professor in the department of Administrative and Policy Studies at the University of Pittsburgh. Her research centers on issues of equity and diversity in higher education with an emphasis on understanding how Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs) embrace and enact an organizational identity for serving minoritized populations. She also studies the identity development process of Latina/o college students and seeks to understand how race and racism shape the experiences of minoritized groups in higher education.

Malcom, 2010; Santiago, 2012). A burgeoning body of literature, however, indicates that they are graduating Latina/o students in equitable numbers (Cunningham, Park, & Engle, 2014; Flores & Park, 2013, 2015; John & Stage, 2014; Núñez & Elizondo, 2012).

What the federal definition suggests, along with studies that focus on six-year graduation rates, is that a Latina/o-serving identity is based solely on enrollment and graduation. As argued by Núñez (2014), this is problematic since graduation rates are largely determined by student demographics and institutional resources. Recent reports confirm this, showing that institutions that enroll a large percentage of low-income students have lower graduation rates than those that enroll fewer low-income students (Rodríguez & Kelly, 2014). Research also shows that institutional resources significantly predict graduation rates for Latina/o students (Garcia, 2013). As institutions that are often underfunded and enroll a large percentage of Latina/o and low-income students (Malcom-Piqueux & Lee, 2011), it is no wonder that six-year graduation rates at HSIs are low. This is not to say that HSIs should make excuses for graduating Latina/o students in lower numbers, but rather to suggest that there may be more to a Latina/o-serving identity than enrollment and graduation. Basing a Latina/o-serving identity on six-year graduation rates also excludes the 46% of HSIs that are two-year institutions (*Excelencia* in Education, 2016) and diminishes the institutional diversity among HSIs, as they range by Carnegie type, institutional type (two- and four-year), control (private and public), size (very small to very large), percentage Latina/o enrollment, and urbanicity (Núñez & Elizondo, 2015). Focusing solely on enrollment and graduation rates creates a limited understanding of what it means to have an identity for serving Latina/o students. Drawing from a single site, the purpose of this case study was to complicate what it means to be Latina/o-serving by exploring how organizational members co-construct this identity.

Constructing an Organizational Identity

Albert and Whetten (1985) conceptualized an organizational identity based on member responses to the question, "Who are we as an organization?" They suggested that answers to this question indicate the central, distinct, and enduring aspects of an organizational identity. Scholars, however, have debated how an organizational identity is constructed, with two views evolving over time. The social actor perspective is based on principles of institutional theory whereby an organization's self-categorization is based on social norms and is dependent on the context (Whetten & Mackey, 2002). From this perspective, organizations construct an identity based on their own conceptions of self in comparison to other organizations, with an inherent need to

determine identity claims that are unique from other organizations in the same category (Whetten & Mackey, 2002). The process of *sensegiving* is used to construct an organizational identity based on consistent and legitimate narratives that founders and subsequent leaders provide for members about the collective sense of self (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006; Whetten & Mackey, 2002).

From the social constructionist perspective, organizational identities are viewed as more malleable, often evolving as a result of both internal and external stimuli (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006). Organizational identities, instead, are based on a collective understanding of central, distinct, and enduring elements within the organization (Gioia, Schultz, & Corley, 2000). From this perspective, shared understandings about organizational self are negotiated and modified in light of changes in the environment (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006). Furthermore, organizational identities are grounded within "local meanings and organizational symbols, and thus embedded in organizational culture," which serves as a context for identity construction (Hatch & Schultz, 1997, p. 358). Proponents of the social constructionist perspective argue that although labels are enduring over time, the meanings that members attach to these labels change (Gioia et al., 2000). From this perspective, members use a *sensemaking* process to construct an understanding of central features that make them distinct from other organizations (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006). In this study, I subscribed to a social constructionist perspective, giving preference to member's narratives about what it means to be Latina/o-serving.

Despite Albert and Whetten's (1985) early claims that an organizational identity is enduring, researchers have argued that an organizational identity is dynamic and fluid (e.g., Clegg, Rhodes, & Kornberger, 2007; Corley & Gioia, 2004; Gioia et al., 2000; Gioia & Thomas, 1996; Harrison, 2000; Hatch & Schultz, 2002; Negro, Kocak, & Hsu, 2010). An organizational identity, for example, may change in response to strategic decisions (Gioia & Thomas, 1996), changes in image (Gioia et al., 2000), or the creation of a new vision (Corley & Gioia, 2004). Clark, Gioia, Ketchen, and Thomas (2010) argue that when there are changes within the organization, a change in identity is inevitable. In the case of HSIs, constructing an organizational identity is complicated, as some institutions have enrolled a majority Latina/o population throughout their history (Malcom-Piqueux & Lee, 2011), while others are responding to changing demographics in the environment. The extent to which HSIs have adopted an identity for serving Latina/o students is debatable. In this study, I used a social constructionist perspective to complicate the way a Latina/o-serving identity has been conceptualized in research, challenging the notion that a Latina/o-serving identity is strictly based on enrollment and graduation rates.

CONCEPTUALIZING A LATINA/O-SERVING ORGANIZATIONAL IDENTITY

In using a social constructionist perspective, I gave preference to the narratives of my participants. At the same time, I was guided by the literature on HSIs as well as theories about what it means to sustain and enhance the culture and education of racialized students. While there is a burgeoning body of literature that focuses specifically on HSIs as unique institutional contexts, few have directly conceptualized a Latina/o-serving organizational identity. Garcia (2015a) suggests that scholars have indirectly conceptualized a Latina/o-serving identity based on student outcomes and organizational culture. For example, research suggests that institutions that are Latina/o-serving should enhance academic outcomes (Contreras et al., 2008; Flores & Park, 2013, 2015; Rodríguez & Calderón Galdeano, 2015; Wolf-Wendel, Baker, & Morphew, 2000) and non-academic outcomes (Cuellar, 2014, 2015). Furthermore, the literature suggests that the campus culture at HSIs should provide students with connections to Latina/o faculty and staff (Dayton, Gonzalez-Vasquez, Martinez, & Plum, 2004; Sebanc, Hernandez, & Alvarado, 2009; Stanton-Salazar, Macias, Bensimon, & Dowd, 2010), should enhance students' Latina/o identity (Guardia & Evans, 2008; Sebanc et al., 2009), and should enact culturally relevant curricula (Garcia & Okhidoi, 2015) and pedagogy (Núñez, Murakami-Ramalho, & Cuero, 2010).

Beyond outcomes and culture, some suggest that for an organization to embrace an identity for serving Latinas/os, the institutional structures must change (Malcom, Bensimon, & Davila, 2010; Malcom-Piqueux & Bensimon, 2015). Contreras et al. (2008), for example, contend that the institutional mission should reflect a commitment to serving Latinas/os. Others argue that campus administrators at HSIs must become institutional agents for change and that they must articulate what it means to be Latina/o-serving (Garcia & Ramirez, 2015). These arguments align with three decades of research in which scholars claim that in order for any institution to serve racialized students, they must transform their organizational structures, practices, culture, climate, and decision-making policies (e.g., Contreras et al., 2008; Hurtado, Alvarez, Guillermo-Wann, Cuellar, & Arellano, 2012; Jayakumar & Museus, 2012; Rendon, Jalomo, & Nora, 2000). Building on this literature base, I sought to explore the ways in which organizational members at one four-year HSI co-construct an identity for serving Latinas/os, with an emphasis on sustaining and enhancing the culture and education of Latinas/os. To do this, I used theories about what it means to be culturally relevant and specifically drew from Museus' (2014) theory of Culturally Engaging Campus Environments.

Cultural Engaging Campus Environments

Urban education scholars have argued that racialized students have the right to an education that is socially just, non-racist, and inclusive (Gay, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1995a, 1995b; Milner, 2011). Ladson-Billings (1995b) proposed that a culturally *relevant* teacher "not only addresses student achievement but also helps students to accept and affirm their cultural identity while developing critical perspectives that challenge inequities that schools (and other institutions) perpetuate" (p. 469). Paris (2012) posited that culturally *sustaining* teachers "support young people in sustaining the cultural and linguistic competence of their communities while simultaneously offering access to dominant cultural competence" (p. 95). Although theories about culturally relevant teaching have been primarily developed based on elementary school teaching practices, I used these basic principles to help conceptualize what it means for an institution to sustain and enhance the culture and education of Latina/o students.

Realizing the potential limitations of using theories about pedagogy to understand organizational behaviors, I also drew from Museus' (2014) theory of Culturally Engaging Campus Environments (CECE). Museus (2014) proposed CECE as an alternative to college success models that have limited applicability to racialized and ethnic college students (i.e., Tinto, 1993) and as an extension to more culturally relevant models that nonetheless have some limitations (e.g., Museus & Quaye, 2009). The CECE is inclusive of nine indicators that a postsecondary environment engages racialized and ethnic students, reflects their needs, and facilitates their success: (1) cultural familiarity, (2) culturally relevant knowledge, (3) cultural community services, (4) opportunities for meaningful cross-cultural engagement, (5) collectivist cultural orientations, (6) culturally validating environments, (7) humanized educational environments, (8) proactive philosophies, and (9) availability of holistic support (Museus, 2014).

Overall, these nine indicators suggest that a culturally relevant environment should allow racialized and ethnic students to interact with people from similar cultural backgrounds as well as disparate ones, learn about topics that cultivate and sustain their own cultural background, and have the opportunity to give back to their communities through activism, civic engagement, and service-learning activities (Museus, 2014). Furthermore, the environment should validate students as cultural beings, allow them to interact with institutional agents who empower them, and support them holistically (Museus, 2014). Guided by these theories, I argue that an institution with a Latina/o-serving identity should sustain the culture of Latina/o students while enhancing their educational experiences.

Research Methods

I explored the co-construction of an identity for sustaining and enhancing the culture and education of Latinas/os through the use of a single-case design, which is a way to gather in-depth information about a representative or typical case (Yin, 2009). A case study was most appropriate because it allowed me to "investigate a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context" (Yin, 2009, p. 18). Furthermore, it allowed me to focus on the organization as the unit of analysis, with a specific emphasis on the bounded nature of the case (Merriam, 2009). By focusing on a single case, I was not seeking to generalize the findings to the universe of HSIs, but instead sought to explore the construction of an identity for serving Latinas/os as a unique phenomenon within the context under study.

One of the distinguishing elements of a case study is its ability to uncover details, richness, and completeness (Flyvbjerg, 2011), which is done by gathering multiple sources of data including documents, archives, interviews, observations, and physical artifacts (Yin, 2009). This article primarily draws from the in-depth interviews with administrators, faculty, and staff and focus groups with students. This aligned with the social constructionist perspective on organizational identity, which emphasizes a collective understanding of the deeply held assumptions and values of the organization (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006; Yin, 2009). I also used historical documents and federal grant applications to further elucidate my understanding of the phenomenon under study.

Site Selection

Careful consideration must be taken when studying phenomena within HSIs, as they are extremely heterogeneous (Núñez & Elizondo, 2012). As a result of this diversity, it is nearly impossible to study HSIs as a monolithic population. In selecting a site for this study, I turned to a typology developed by Núñez, Crisp, and Elizondo (2016), which is based on the qualities and characteristics of HSIs. Specifically, they used the organization as the unit of analysis and looked at institutional diversity along five dimensions, including systemic diversity, programmatic diversity, constituential diversity, resource diversity, and environmental diversity. In doing this, they suggested six clusters of HSIs including Urban Enclave Community Colleges (37%), Rural Dispersed Community Colleges (13%), Big Systems Four-Years (21%), Small Communities Four-Years (9%), Puerto Rican Institutions (19%), and Health Sciences Schools (less than 1%) (Núñez et al., 2016).

The site for this study, Naranja State University (NSU; a pseudonym), is a large, public, master's granting institution, classified by Núñez et al. (2016) as a Big Systems Four-Year institution, which primarily includes state-funded, public institutions (77%) that almost exclusively offer bachelor's degrees or higher (97%) and broad access to a large percentage of students. NSU was

founded in the late 1950s in order to serve the residents of the rapidly grow-ing region, and quickly assumed the identity of a liberal arts college, placing teaching and learning at the forefront. Enrollment soared, and increasingly reflected the surrounding region's racial demographics. In particular, as the Latina/o population in the region increased, the Latina/o student population at NSU increased, reaching 22% by 1995.

These demographic changes were happening amidst a larger conversation at the federal level about the role of the small number of institutions that were enrolling a majority of Latina/o college students (MacDonald, Botti, & Clark, 2007; Santiago, 2006). As a result, the reauthorization of the 1992 Higher Education Act (HEA) created a competitive grant program aimed at increasing capacity building at HSIs (MacDonald et al., 2007; Santiago, 2006). The 1998 reauthorization of the HEA further legitimized HSIs by loosening the requirements for identification, recognizing them under Title V, and increasing funding for these institutions (MacDonald et al., 2007). Shortly following these changes, NSU reached the 25% threshold for becoming a federally designated HSI, and applied for official designation. The Latina/o population at NSU continued to grow, reaching 35% by 2012, in compari-son to White (29%), Asian American (11%), Black (6%), and other (19%).

I selected NSU as a site based on the institution's constituential diversity, federal designation as a HSI, and high level of grant activity. Like Flores and Park (2015), I argue that these characteristics are intertwined with NSU's organizational identity. In particular, by voluntarily applying for the federal designation and subsequent HSIs grants, there is a loose indication that faculty and administrators are not only aware of their designation but also interested in pursuing opportunities for enhancing the experience of Latina/o and other underrepresented students on campus (Flores & Park, 2015). Since becoming federally designated as an HSI, NSU has had a successful record of securing HSI grants, including those from the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Department of Education.

Interviews and Focus Groups

I used a purposeful sampling technique (Patton, 2002) in order to ensure a diverse sample by race/ethnicity, professional position, and experiences. Specifically, I identified 14 potential central administrators, 114 potential fac-ulty members, and 84 potential staff members through NSU's public website. I then organized those identified by position and by my own perception of their race/ethnicity based on their name and/or picture, with the intention of oversampling Latinas/os. This strategy of oversampling was important, as the HSI organizational identity could have potential meaning and implica-tions for the larger Latina/o community, both within and exterior to NSU. I emailed potential participants and asked them to commit to a 60–90 minute interview to be conducted in person, in a private office of their choosing.

In total, those who committed to participate included 47 non-student participants, including 13 administrators from the president's office, student affairs division, and academic affairs division, 19 tenured or tenure track professors across all ranks, and 15 staff members in various positions across multiple offices on campus. Faculty members were from various disciplines including arts and humanities (5), business and education (5), social sciences (5), and STEM (4). Staff members worked in offices such as residence life, the university library, and the Educational Opportunity Program (EOP). Racially, the sample included people who self-identify as White (22), Latina/o or Chicana/o (18), Black (6), and Asian Pacific Islander (1). By gender, 24 identified as female, 22 as male, and one as transgender.

The sample also included 41 student participants who were primarily recruited through student organizations. Using the campus directory of student organizations, I emailed 15 student organizations that have a mission to serve Latina/o or other racialized students. Four student organizations responded, each setting up their own focus group. Beyond that, three staff members who participated in interviews helped to recruit additional students to participate. Students represented a variety of majors including business, journalism, computer animation, and kinesiology. They were also enrolled in various years in school and a majority self-identified as Latina/o (70%).

Prior to each interview, participants provided demographic information, including their preferred racial/ethnic and gender identity, their position on campus (non-students) or year in school and major (students). They also chose their own pseudonym or were assigned one, in order to maintain anonymity. I used in-depth, semi-structured interviews (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009) with the goal of understanding people's perceptions of NSU's central, distinct, and enduring organizational identity (Albert & Whetten, 1985) as well as their knowledge of the institution's identity as a HSI. Questions were organized into multiple sections including those focused on the overall organizational identity and those focused on a Latina/o-serving identity in particular. For example, participants were asked to respond to the prompt, "Who are you as an organization?" and "What does it mean to be Hispanic-serving?" Latina/o participants were also asked to describe the ways in which they see their culture reflected in the institution. Participants were probed with questions about curricula, pedagogy, and support services at NSU.

Analysis

The audio recordings of all data sources were transcribed verbatim in order to prepare for analysis. I then imported the transcriptions into HyperRESEARCH 3.0.2 in order to organize the data. First, I employed open coding procedures as a way to reduce the data and identify major concepts and evolving issues (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Throughout the open coding process, I remained open to all possibilities and interpretations of the

data, while looking for ways to categorize the concepts and themes that arose (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). While I used the theoretical assumptions within CECE to help make sense of the data, I employed grounded theory methods suggested by Corbin and Strauss (2008) in order to identify axial codes that connected the concepts and themes to one another. Throughout the coding process, I also used memos in order to keep track of all theoretical notions that arose from the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). A peer assisted with defining and refining the codes, which ultimately increased reliability and consistency within the coding process (Merriam, 2009).

From the data analysis procedures described, I collapsed 65 codes into eight categories and then connected them by themes. By moving between the data, guiding theory, memos, and information gathered through peer debriefing (Saldaña, 2009) two main themes emerged about what it means to serve Latina/o students. These themes included the values and processes used by the organization to sustain and enhance the culture and education of Latina/o students. In order to develop these themes further, I used gerunds that allowed me to focus more on the actions and processes that were occurring throughout the data (Charmaz, 2006) (e.g., seeing students as co-creators of knowledge), as opposed to the stated organizational structures fostering the process (e.g., Chicana/o Studies program). In doing this, I began to focus on the organizational values and processes used by members to construct an identity for enhancing the culture and education of Latina/o students.

Limitations

The major limitation of this study is lack of generalizability of the findings. In recognizing the heterogeneity of HSIs, it was impossible to select a research site that can be used to generalize the findings to the population of HSIs. By selecting a Big Systems Four-Year HSI, which only represents 21% of all HSIs (Núñez et al., 2016), I recognize that there are limitations to the claims that I can make based on the data. As such, this study is not designed to be generalizable to all HSIs, but instead offers one perspective to constructing an identity for serving Latinas/os. While the federal definition of HSIs is based solely on access and previous studies have suggested that a Latina/o-serving identity is determined strictly by graduation rates (e.g., Contreras et al., 2008; Cunningham et al., 2014; Flores & Park, 2013, 2015; John & Stage, 2014; Núñez & Elizondo, 2012), I argue that a Latina/o-serving identity may be constructed by members internal to the organization, and could be disconnected from the federal designation.

Yin (2009) suggests that in order to increase transferability of findings from a case study, the researcher should make analytic generalizations, or those that are connected to the guiding theories. As such, the findings, discussion, and implications are grounded in the current literature on HSIs and the theoretical notions of CECE. Lincoln and Guba (1985) also argue

that while the goal of qualitative research should not be "transferability," the researcher should provide thick descriptions that "make transferability judgments possible on the part of potential appliers" (p. 316). As such, the thick descriptions in this study provide a deeper understanding of the patterns, traits, and behaviors of participants within their natural context with the aim of going beyond superficial meanings (Denzin, 1989).

Trustworthiness

I took several steps in order to increase trustworthiness of this study. First, I increased validity of the study through prolonged engagement within the research context, both through multiple site visits and numerous observations (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). I also triangulated the data by utilizing multiple sources of data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 2009). Specifically, I cross-checked observations and documents with interview and focus group data in order to increase validity (Merriam, 2009). I also used peer debriefing to determine the reliability and consistency of my codebook. Furthermore, I used member checks, which is the process of soliciting feedback from participants on emergent findings (Merriam, 2009). All non-student participants were given the opportunity to provide feedback on the full draft of the findings. Thirteen participants asked to review the full draft as part of member checks and five responded for clarification or with questions. Based on the feedback, minor changes were made.

The final step I took to increase trustworthiness was to recognize my own reflexivity, which is the process of examining personal biases and assumptions (Merriam, 2009). Specifically, I used a reflexive journal to keep track of my own biases throughout data collection and analysis (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). As a Latina researcher who attended an HSI as an undergraduate student and worked at an HSI following the completion of my master's degree, I recognize that I have my own preconceived notions about what it means to be Latina/o-serving. While documenting my biases was important, I was also careful to ground this study within the current literature on HSIs and was guided by reputable theories that have been developed over time. While I listened carefully to the voices of the participants, I also kept the findings closely connected to the guiding theories as a way to remain neutral as a researcher.

COMPLICATING A LATINA/O-SERVING IDENTITY

Guided by a social constructionist paradigm, I allowed members to co-construct an identity for serving Latina/o students. Members suggested that they sustain and enhance the culture and education of Latinas/os through their enacted values and processes. Using quotes from students and non-students, I describe NSU's values and processes as connected to its identity

for serving Latina/o students. In addition to the narratives collected, I enhanced my understanding of the main themes through observations and a review of documents, which are discussed when relevant. It is important to note that the values and processes would be in place at NSU regardless of the institution's designation as an HSI. As such, I have chosen to make reference to a "Latina/o-serving identity," which has no connection to the HSI designation, as opposed to an "HSI identity," which seems more directly connected to the federal definition.

Providing Access to Students through a Regional Focus

In constructing a Latina/o-serving identity, 30 out of 47 non-student participants drew on NSU's value for providing access to Latina/o students from the surrounding region. In 2008, NSU's region had a population of 1.75 million, with 42.4% Latina/o residents, 41.8% White residents, 10% Asian residents, and 3.6% Black residents. By recruiting and enrolling students from the local region, the population of NSU reflects the surrounding community, which is largely Latina/o. At a visceral level, some stressed that being Latina/o-serving is simply who they are, as a natural extension of the region in which they are located.

> It's something about the community that the university serves because, you know, the university is a part of a region and it's part of a broader community. And so, what I would take [being a HSI] to be is that we have sorta—we're a university that has a strong interest and commitment to working with and serving all the [region] at large (Dr. Bruce Moore, White, associate professor).

For others, NSU's organizational identity was connected to its value of being regionally focused, which resulted from more formal identity claims made by administrators and used by members to make sense of their identity (Ravasi & Schultz, 2006). Constance Berrera (Latina, program director), for example, stated that the previous president had passed down this identity claim.

> Well, I mean I think that there is the big theme of our former president was about, you know, being nationally recognized and being sort of regionally serving our community and so I think that's really where the purpose of what [State Universities] are. You know, public institutions meant to serve the public and create access for the community.

In reviewing documents, I found that although State University (a pseudonym for the university system that NSU is part of) does not specifically mention being Latina/o-serving in its mission statement, it does indicate that providing access to diverse populations is a core value. What the participants' narratives suggested was that this core value was enacted at NSU. By providing access to Latina/o residents in the region, this value has become intertwined with the institution's identity for serving Latina/o students.

Student participants confirmed this value, as they talked about how NSU served as a point of access for regional students. They did not talk about access in the same way as non-student participants, but they did suggest that students who did not get into their first choice institution could rely on NSU to admit them.

> Like I've met people from countless countries [here at NSU]. And it's pretty amazing to me because I ask them, "Why did you chose NSU?" And they all give me the same thing, "Oh it was my last choice." [Laughter]. "I didn't get in anywhere else." But I still—I still don't mind that because, just the fact that they applied and they got into college, because not a lot of people are even willing to apply, they say that their grades are too low, or they don't know what they want to do in life (Joaquin Monroy, Mexican[2], computer animation major).

Although Joaquin's comment suggests that students considered NSU as a "fall back" institution, he provided a poignant argument about how NSU provides opportunity to students who may not otherwise attend college. Since a majority of HSIs are broad-access institutions committed to serving as a point of entry (Santiago, 2006), they are essential to the enrollment of Latina/o students. By providing access to the local region, the institution is able to enhance the educational attainment of Latina/o students while providing them with cultural familiarity (Museus, 2014).

In reviewing NSU's historical documents, I found that the campus has been proactively engaging in outreach to underrepresented communities for over four decades through various programs such as the Educational Opportunity Program (EOP), federal TRiO programs, and their Office of Outreach and Recruitment. Furthermore, Students of Color have been fighting for access to the institution since the Chicano Movement of the 1960s (Garcia & Okhidoi, 2015). Providing access to the regional community, therefore, has been a central value for a majority of NSU's history.

Giving Back to the Community

Thirteen of the 47 non-student participants constructed their Latina/o-serving identity in relation to their commitment to the community. As noted, a large Latina/o community surrounds NSU, so their commitment is more accurately defined as giving back to the *Latina/o* community. Some participants talked about the extent to which NSU's federal grants have afforded them the opportunity to become involved in the community. Dr. Carol Foster (White female, associate professor), the principal investigator of multiple HSI grants, stated that giving back to the community is central to NSU's identity while making it distinct when compared to other institutions.

---

[2] Students defined their race/ethnicity through an open-ended question; therefore, the student participants' racial/ethnic identity labels vary.

—but the one thing that I like about [NSU] is we take care of our back yard, our own communities. We're not [like], some of the other larger schools, and I'm not picking on them but, what we call R1 schools have a tendency to move into a community, do some research, and move out, whether it's a sustainable program or not. I think the one thing that [NSU] does well is they understand the concept of sustainability of a program.

A student who worked with Dr. Foster delivering nutrition education to a largely Spanish-speaking population argued that the grant has provided her with the opportunity to work with the local community while also highlighting the uniqueness of this aspect of NSU's identity when compared to other institutions within the State University system.

At least for my program, you know we have all these [HSI] grants coming in and funding, and we have a lot of students with diverse backgrounds participating, and I just felt like you have more of an opportunity to be more engaged in projects, you know outside of school here, than [at a sister campus] when I went and visited (Lupita Trejo, Hispanic, family consumer science major).

NSU's commitment to serving the community afforded Lupita the opportunity to provide nutrition education to the local Latina/o community, which enhanced her cultural experience on- and off-campus.

In reviewing their federal HSI grant applications, I found that the principal investigators were contributing to the construction of an identity for serving Latinas/os by developing a distinct narrative about giving back to the community. Through their grant applications, they further constructed a Latina/o-serving identity and enacted this value using federal funding. For example, one of their HSI projects funded NSU students to serve as lactation consultants in Spanish-speaking communities, while another afforded NSU students the opportunity to teach students at local [predominantly Latina/o] elementary schools about nutrition and physical activity.

Although NSU's designation as an HSI has provided it with access to funding for community-based efforts, others stressed that giving back to the community is a core value at NSU, regardless of its HSI designation and subsequent grants. Jack Dash (White, coordinator), for example, talked about how a large percentage of Latina/o students participate in NSU's community service programs as a result of their desire to give back to their home communities.

We do assessments for [the neediest] areas—and the reason why I bring this up is because—what I found in these areas is that they're—and I don't have a specific stat—but something like 90 percent Hispanic in these areas and so, while that is different [from] what your question is pertaining to our students, it does relate back to our students because what I found is that a lot of students who are serving these populations, some of them usually come from these populations as well and happen to be Hispanic students.

To Jack, NSU's commitment to the community reflected its ability to enhance the connections that Latina/o students have with their own communities. As argued by Museus (2014), it is essential to provide racialized students with the opportunity to give back to their cultural communities through service learning, activism, and problem-based research.

Connecting with Students on a Cultural Level

Five non-student participants constructed their Latina/o-serving identity by describing the ways in which faculty, staff, and administrators connected with students on a cultural level. One way they did this was within the classroom, with four faculty members describing their own pedagogy. Dr. Raquel Cedillo (Chicana, professor) talked about how she accepts and affirms Latina/o students' culture through storytelling, food, music, and language.

> I mean like on the last day, one of my kids, they brought food, they brought the *comal*, *tortillas*, I mean *ayi estamos*, on the last day of class. What other class are you going to get to do that? Did you *calentaste tortillas* in [your major]? Probably not. You know what I'm saying? So like, these elements help validate who they are ethnically.

Five students agreed, specifically describing how Chicana/o Studies courses focused on issues facing the Latina/o community, which helped them sustain a strong connection to their culture. Joaquin Monroy (Mexican, computer animation major) described a connection to one of his Chicana/o Studies professors, which ultimately enhanced his desire to learn.

> I actually had a professor last year…he is a very intellectual man. I can say he's like the guy from the *Dos Equis* bottle, he's the most interesting man in the world. [Laughter]. He—the stories—everyday he would come up with a story that had a meaning that had to do with the class…and every time he would talk—he was a Chicano man [and] he was part of the Chicano Revolution, the upbringing of Chicanos in the United States, he was one of the activists—so when he tells me a story that he's been in front of cops taking pictures, it intrigues me, it grabs my attention, and I focus in class. That was probably one of my favorite classes that I have taken because of him.

Students like Joaquin constructed NSU's Latina/o-serving identity by describing their passion and excitement for learning from faculty with whom they have a cultural connection.

Beyond the classroom, a few students found cultural connections through campus-based programs. Erika Estrada (Mexican American, linguistics major), for example, said that she was usually shy, but she connected with her counselors in EOP because they were Latinas/os like her. In referencing her conversations with them, she stated, "Yeah, it's like a more open conversation, not really reserving myself, because I am not that—I don't get shy with

them, I don't know if that makes sense." Other students talked about events on campus that helped them feel connected to their culture. Two students mentioned an annual *Dia de Los Muertos* event in which attendees learned about the way people celebrate this tradition in Mexico. Delia Quinn (Mexican American, business management major) also talked about how it made her feel to hear mariachi playing on campus.

> I know last spring semester I was sitting in my geography class and all of a sudden you just hear in the back of the classroom mariachi playing live—like someone was singing—and you could look at all the people that are Mexican in there like, "I want to go outside." Like I felt like just walking out of class and going.

Both inside and outside of the classroom, participants described the ways in which they felt culturally connected, which enhanced their experiences on campus. Rather than expecting students to achieve academically at the expense of their cultural identity, institutions must provide students with cultural familiarity and culturally validating environments (Museus, 2014).

To further understand how cultural familiarity and culturally validating experiences are connected to a Latina/o-serving identity, I used data collected through observations at NSU. During site visits, I intentionally visited locations that participants mentioned provided cultural familiarity. For example, several students said that when they went into certain buildings on campus, they felt a cultural connection. The building that houses the Chicana/o Studies department is full of colorful murals and cultural artifacts that students said made them feel validated. At the same time, some students suggested that an HSI should offer more cultural spaces, including a more robust Latina/o cultural center (which NSU lacks). In listening to students talk about the ways in which they found cultural familiarity and cultural validation, it appeared to me that within classroom experiences were more significant to them, as suggested by the final two themes.

Seeing Students are Co-creators of Knowledge

A fourth way that participants constructed their Latina/o-serving identity was by describing students as co-creators of knowledge. While connecting with students on a cultural level occurred both inside and outside of the classroom, three non-student participants said that seeing students as co-creators of knowledge primarily occurred within the classroom. As noted by Milner (2010), in addition to recognizing cultural ways of knowing, it is essential that faculty learn from racialized students in the classroom. Dr. Raquel Cedillo (Chicana, professor) described how she did this, expecting that all students share in class as a way to develop a recursive process of learning.

> You have a community based on critical thinking, based on validation of who you are ethnically; because part of my pedagogy is that not only do we read deep theoretical, deep philosophical things, but how that [stuff] applies to your life. So they have to share. Everybody has to share.

Students confirmed this expectation of sharing, particularly through the use of circles in the classroom, instead of traditional row seating. Ten students mentioned the value of circles, describing how they created a feeling of connectedness and engagement for all students.

> Something I personally like about classes—and I have seen it [in] most of like my Chicano Studies classes—is the professor will make it so that everybody is in a circle, and you are kind of talking to each other [as] opposed to sitting in front of the classroom and listening to them talk, and it's more like interaction between the students [as] opposed to the teacher just talking (Chela Plana, Mexican American female, sociology & political science major).

While Chela mentioned that she had mostly seen the use of circles as a pedagogical tool in Chicana/o Studies, I observed the use of circles in a University 100 course during a site visit. By sitting in circles, faculty members help students connect with one another in class while showing them that faculty are not the only legitimate holders of knowledge (Quaye & Chang, 2012).

Francisca Saldaña (Mexican American, marketing major) said that in addition to the circles, some professors expect students to have answers in class and will call on students, which further places value on the students are creators of knowledge.

> And also there [are] like professors that actually make you participate. Like sometimes they will go around the room and like they want to hear an answer from like everyone, and then sometimes they will call you up, like he will call you up, or she, "Well come up and I want you to do this problem," so that they want you to like understand it better.

Latina/o students who experience this type of culturally relevant pedagogy have their identities sustained and enhanced within the classroom. Furthermore, faculty who recognize that racialized students are holders and creators of knowledge learn from their students, develop deep relationships with students that transcend cultural lines, and seek to understand the effects of racism within the classroom (Milner, 2010). This leads them to see that all students can be successful, as highlighted in the fifth and final theme.

Believing That All Students Can Be Successful

In constructing their Latina/o-serving identity, some participants talked about how they believed all students could be successful. This is important since, on average, Latina/o students enter four-year colleges with lower

standardized test scores and lower high school grades (DeAngelo, Franke, Hurtado, Pryor, & Tran, 2011). Nearly 60% of Latina/o students at NSU, in particular, enter the university underprepared in math, English, or both. Ladson-Billings (1995b) contends that despite the disparities that racialized students face in the academic setting, being culturally relevant means looking beyond prior performance and believing that all students can succeed. Esperanza Lopez (Latina, counselor), an academic advisor on campus who periodically takes courses for her own growth and learning, described an example of this type of pedagogy.

> [The professor] really worked with an incredible amount of patience to get [students] to engage in discussion and stuff and also to get them to learn how to do note taking. She just forced her hand. She would give them assignments that made them do it. So she was teaching them study skills…[and] she [was] just trying to help them figure out how to do these readings, how to take notes from the readings, how to have a notebook that has your notes and things like that, and she was teaching them stuff that.

Esperanza talked about how the professor utilized her class time to train students to be successful in future courses, despite the fact that it was an art class. In doing so, the professor showed that she believed all students could be successful.

Constance Berrera (Latina, program director) argued that NSU as a whole subscribed to the idea that all students can be successful, regardless of their background.

> …so that's why I think the work that we do [at NSU] and things like EOP are beyond paramount to the success of our students, whether they're EOP or not. Because, again, for an organization to be helping populations that are beyond the norm of why it was [created], you know the inception of it, shows you it's more of a commitment to students in need than it is about meeting the parameters of this federal [HSI] funding.

She stressed that through programs like EOP, NSU is committed to helping students by providing them with the guidance and support that ultimately enhances their academic experience on campus.

This theme was not as salient for the student participants; however, one student described the importance of having a critical mass of Latina/o students at NSU, which helped him feel surrounded by successful Latinas/os.

> I mean this is the first time I am meeting people, Latinos, who are going for their doctorate and master's degrees, and it's really encouraging because I haven't seen a lot of that, especially where I grew up, like I didn't see a lot of—people didn't talk about colleges much in Hispanic circles…whereas here, you come here, and I mean for me, particularly being Latino and seeing that, it makes

me feel like I can do it because I am seeing these guys and they are working hard and they are Hispanic and they are going for master's and PhDs and it's like, yeah, that's normal, that's what we are going to do.

For students who came from families and neighborhoods where going to college is not the norm, being on a campus like NSU can enhance their understanding of academic success, and help them to believe that they too can earn bachelor's, master's, and doctorate degrees.

Discussion

Within higher education research, the concept of organizational identity has been presented in numerous ways, including organizational identities as sagas, strategies, images, and market responsiveness (Weerts, Freed, & Morphew, 2014). In this study, organizational identity is conceptualized from the perspective of members at one HSI, allowing them to socially construct their own identity, rather than reifying a superficial, reductive identity based on enrollment and graduation rates. In particular, members constructed their identity through sensemaking processes. Rather than solely relying on claims about what it means to be Latina/o-serving (sensegiving), members attached meaning to this identity as it pertains to their core and distinctive values and processes (Gioia et al., 2000; Ravasi & Schultz, 2006). Although there was no consensus among members about what it means to be Latina/o-serving, they separately described how the institution sustains and enhances the culture and education of Latina/o students. Being true to a constructionist perspective, I found value in each and every voice and have provided an internal perspective on what it means to be Latina/o-serving, while confirming these narratives through observations and document reviews.

The first two themes, providing access to Latinas/os by focusing on the region and giving back to the community, were most salient for non-student participants, and were mostly connected to values that the organization espouses. As organizations that have essentially been "home grown" within Latina/o communities (Santiago, 2006), the identity of HSIs naturally involves a strong commitment to enrolling and serving the people within the community. While I suggest that defining HSIs based strictly on enrollment is inadequate, what I found was that when given the opportunity, members made sense of a Latina/o-serving identity based on an inherent value for providing both access and service to the surrounding Latina/o community. While members recognize their HSI identity is federally constructed and based strictly on enrollment (sensegiving), they used sensemaking processes to construct their Latina/o-serving identity based on embedded values (Gioia et al., 2000; Ravasi & Schultz, 2006). As argued by Albert and Whetten (1985), these core values are further connected to their organizational identity be-

cause they have endured over time. Reviewing NSU's historical documents helped to further illuminate these enduring qualities, particularly as these documents revealed the institution's historical commitment to providing access to the regional community by way of programs such as EOP and TRiO. While history suggests that the population change on campus was slow, providing access to the regional community has been a central, distinct, and enduring feature of NSU's identity (Albert & Whetten, 1985).

The additional three themes were much more salient to students, as the themes moved beyond organizational values and were more closely connected to the processes that students experienced on a daily basis. This is an important distinction, as students may be the best suited for describing the enacted practices that sustain and enhance their culture and education at HSIs. Students talked extensively about within classroom experiences, describing how they felt connected to faculty from similar backgrounds as them and how faculty made them feel like their knowledge was valued, both of which Museus (2014) argues are essential to providing an environment that is culturally engaging. While a burgeoning body of literature describes culturally relevant techniques that faculty at HSIs are using in order to enhance the learning and development of students at HSIs (e.g., Bridges, Kinzie, Nelson Laird, & Kuh, 2008; Kiasatpour & Lasley, 2008; Lara & Lara, 2012; Simms, 2006), what this study provides is a student perspective on the ways in which culturally relevant curricula and pedagogy are seen as central, distinct, and enduring elements of an identity for serving Latina/o students (Albert & Whetten, 1985). Although HSIs seeking to produce more equitable outcomes for diverse students should consider structural elements such as their mission statements, policies and practices, decision-making protocols, and hiring and tenure decisions (Malcom et al., 2010; Malcom-Piqueux & Bensimon, 2015) the data in this case show that the day-to-day practices of the organization are more salient to students' sensemaking when it comes to constructing an organizational identity for serving Latinas/os.

While students talked about spaces and places that validated their cultural ways of knowing, particularly within the classroom, some suggested that an HSI should do more in this regard. Although a few students talked about culturally relevant practices that extended beyond the classroom and into academic advising spaces and cultural events on campus, this theme was not as salient to students. This suggests that students may not actually feel like the campus as a whole is serving Latinas/os, but instead feel as though specific spaces on campus offer experiences that are relevant and validating. Garcia (2015b) made similar conclusions about student affairs staff at HSIs. This is to say that a Latina/o-serving identity may not be as central and distinct to NSU as some suggested. Instead, NSU's Latina/o-serving identity may be transitional (Clark et al., 2010), meaning it is in an interim and emergent state.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE AND RESEARCH

This study makes a contribution to the field of higher education because it combines organizational theory and theories about cultural relevance to complicate what it means for an institution to be Latina/o-serving. Rather than using the federal definition of enrolling 25% or more Latina/o undergraduate students to define what it means to be an HSI, or basing the idea of "serving" off of graduation rates for Latinas/os, both of which are part of the sensegiving processes of identity construction, this study allowed organizational members to co-construct an identity that is not yet defined clearly in higher education research or practice. In utilizing a social constructionist perceptive, the ideas conveyed through sensemaking were essential to the development of an identity for serving Latinas/os.

Although few studies have specifically addressed what it means to have a Latina/o-serving identity, this study contributes to the body of knowledge that inadvertently suggests that a Latina/o-serving identity is connected to the experiences that students have at an HSI (e.g., Arana, Castañeda-Sound, Blanchard, & Aguilar, 2011; Dayton et al., 2004; Sebanc et al., 2009). While these and other studies have shown that HSIs have the ability to be culturally relevant to Latina/o students in ways that predominantly white institutions cannot, this study pushes these ideas a step further, suggesting that enhancing and sustaining the culture and education of Latina/o students is part of the central, distinct, and enduring elements of a Latina/o-serving organizational identity. This aligns with arguments made by theorists who believe that an organizational identity is based on reflections of the deeply embedded practices and culture of the institution (Corley, 2004; Hatch & Schultz, 2002; Whetten, 2006).

In using Museus' (2014) CECE framework, this study also posits that an institution that validates the background, experiences, and cultural ways of knowing of racialized students will ultimately contribute to their success. While I did not test the CECE in the way Museus (2014) suggests, he contends that the nine elements of the model will predict the academic success of racialized students (i.e., persistence, graduation). By complicating a Latina/o-serving identity, I am not saying that enrollment and graduation rates are unimportant but rather proposing that by focusing on the organizational elements that contribute to the development of a culturally engaging environment, institutions will ultimately increase the enrollment and graduation of Latina/o students. With HSIs potentially admitting students who are academically underprepared (de los Santos & Cuamea, 2010), they must be proactive in addressing these disparities. In enacting culturally relevant practices, they are able to look beyond prior performance and strive to help students succeed (Ladson-Billings, 1995b).

The themes identified in this study complicate what it means to have a Latina/o-serving identity. Rather than prescribing what HSIs should do to be more "serving" of the populations they are enrolling, the findings show how institutional members co-construct their own identity for being Latina/o-serving. Being committed to access and service to the regional Latina/o community is a deeply held value that now serves as a central aspect of NSU's Latina/o-serving identity. Enacting culturally relevant practices is also embedded within their core identity, and historically so, as described by Garcia and Okhidoi (2015). While researchers have found that organizational members make sense of competing identities by comparing themselves to already established institutions (Doran, 2015; Gonzales, 2013), organizational members at NSU constructed their identity for serving Latina/o students by drawing from their knowledge of deeply held cultural values (Gioia et al., 2000). Perhaps both ways of knowing should be recognized in future studies focused on specifically constructing an organizational identity.

CONCLUSION

As the youngest, fastest growing population in the U.S., Latinas/os are entering postsecondary institutions in substantial numbers, which is ultimately driving the increase in the number of HSIs. Empirical studies focused on better understanding HSIs are essential, as these institutions are becoming more critical to the access, success, and overall social mobility of Latinas/os. Using both student and non-student voices, I provided thick descriptions of the ways in which one federally funded, four-year HSI constructs its Latina/o-serving identity.

For higher education practitioners and researchers, this study is critical because it challenges the notion of what it means to be an HSI. Rather than focusing solely on access and graduation rates, I argue that a Latina/o-serving organizational identity is multifaceted. In other words, there may be more than one identity, with the institutional context and organizational members contributing to the construction of a Latina/o-serving identity. Future research should continue to define what is means for an institution to do more than just graduate Latina/o students; albeit, graduation is important, HSIs should also sustain and enhance the culture and education of Latina/o students and the communities from which they originate. At a practical level, this research furnishes postsecondary institutions designated as HSIs with information that can be used to enhance the meaning they attach to their organizational identity. This is an important way for HSIs to progress as institutions with equitable access and outcomes as well as culturally enhancing experiences for Latina/o students.

REFERENCES

Albert, S., & Whetten, D. A. (1985). Organizational identity. In L. L. Cummings & B. M. Staw (Eds.), *Research in organizational behavior* (Vol. 7, pp. 263–295). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Arana, R., Castañeda-Sound, C., Blanchard, S., & Aguilar, T. E. (2011). Indicators of persistence for Hispanic undergraduate achievement: Toward an ecological model. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, 10*(3), 237–251. doi:10.1177/1538192711405058

Bridges, B. K., Kinzie, J., Nelson Laird, T. F., & Kuh, G. D. (2008). Student engagement and student success at Historically Black and Hispanic-serving Institutions. In M. Gasman, B. Baez, & C. S. V. Turner (Eds.), *Understanding minority-serving institutions*. Albany, NY: State University of New York.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Clark, S. M., Gioia, D. A., Ketchen, J., D. J., & Thomas, J. B. (2010). Transitional identity as a facilitator of organizational identity change during a merger. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 55*, 397–438.

Clegg, S. R., Rhodes, C., & Kornberger, M. (2007). Desperately seeking legitimacy: Organizational identity and emerging industries. *Organization Studies, 28*(4), 495–513. doi:10.1177/0170840606067995

Contreras, F. E., Malcom, L. E., & Bensimon, E. M. (2008). Hispanic-serving institutions: Closeted identity and the production of equitable outcomes for Latino/a students. In M. Gasman, B. Baez, & C. S. V. Turner (Eds.), *Understanding minority-serving institutions* (pp. 71–90). Albany, NY: State University of New York.

Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2008). *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Corley, K. G. (2004). Defined by our strategy or our culture? Hierarchical differences in perceptions of organizational identity and change. *Human Relations, 57*, 1145–1177. doi:10.1177/0018726704047141

Corley, K. G., & Gioia, D. A. (2004). Identity ambiguity and change in the wake of a corporate spin-off. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 49*(2), 173–208.

Cuellar, M. (2014). The impact of Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs), emerging HSIs, and non-HSIs on Latina/o academic self-concept. *The Review of Higher Education, 37*, 499–530. doi:10.1353/rhe.2014.0032

Cuellar, M. (2015). Latina/o student characteristics and outcomes at four-year Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs), emerging HSIs, and non-HSIs. In A.-M. Núñez, S. Hurtado, & E. Calderón Galdeano (Eds.), *Hispanic-Serving Institutions: Advancing research and transformative practices* (pp. 101–120). New York: Routledge.

Cunningham, A., Park, E., & Engle, J. (2014). *Minority-Serving Institutions: Doing more with less*. Retrieved from Washington, DC:

Dayton, B., Gonzalez-Vasquez, N., Martinez, C. R., & Plum, C. (2004). Hispanic-serving institutions through the eyes of students and administrators. *New Directions for Student Services, 105*, 29–40.

de los Santos, A. G. J., & Cuamea, K. M. (2010). Challenges facing Hispanic-serving institutions in the first decade of the 21st century. *Journal of Latinos and Education, 9*, 90–107.

DeAngelo, L., Franke, R., Hurtado, S., Pryor, J. H., & Tran, S. (2011). *Completing college: Assessing graduation rates at four-year institutions*. Retrieved from Los Angeles, CA:

Denzin, N. K. (1989). *Interpretive interactionism*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.

Doran, E. E. (2015). Negotiating access and tier one aspirations: The historical evolution of a striving Hispanic-Serving Institution. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, 14*(4), 343–354. doi:10.1177/1538192715570638

Excelencia in Education. (2016). Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs): 2014–2015. Retrieved from *http://www.edexcelencia.org/gateway/download/17265/1453981347*

Flores, S. M., & Park, T. J. (2013). Race, ethnicity, and college success: Examining the continued significance of the Minority-Serving Institution. *Educational Researcher, 42*(3), 115–128. doi:10.3102/0013189x13478978

Flores, S. M., & Park, T. J. (2015). The effect of enrolling in a Minority-Serving Institution for black and Hispanic students in Texas. *Research in Higher Education, 56*(3), 247–276. doi:doi:10.1007/s11162-014-9342-y

Flyvbjerg, B. (2011). Case study. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (4th ed., pp. 301–316). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Garcia, G. A. (2013). Does the percentage of Latinas/os affect graduation rates at four-year Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs), emerging HSIs, and non-HSIs? *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, 12*, 256–268. doi:10.1177/1538192712467203

Garcia, G. A. (2015a). *Defined by outcomes or culture? Combining multiple perspectives in the construction of an organizational identity for Hispanic Serving Institutions*. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association annual conference, Chicago, IL.

Garcia, G. A. (2015b). Exploring student affairs professionals' experiences with the campus racial climate at a Hispanic Serving Institution. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, 8*(2). doi:10.1037/a0039199

Garcia, G. A., & Okhidoi, O. (2015). Culturally relevant practices that "serve" students at a Hispanic Serving Institution. *Innovative Higher Education, 40*(4). doi:10.1007/s10755-015-9318-7

Garcia, G. A., & Ramirez, J. J. (2015). Institutional agents at a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI): Using social capital to empower students. *Urban Education*. doi:10.1177/0042085915623341

Gasman, M. (2008). Minority-serving institutions: A historical backdrop. In M. Gasman, B. Baez, & C. S. V. Turner (Eds.), *Understanding Minority-serving Institutions*. Albany, NY: State University of New York.

Gay, G. (2010). *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research, and practice* (2nd ed.). New York: Teachers College.

Gioia, D. A., Schultz, M., & Corley, K. G. (2000). Organizational identity, image, and adaptive instability. *The Academy of Management Review, 25*(1), 63–81.

Gioia, D. A., & Thomas, J. B. (1996). Identity, image, and issue interpretation: Sensemaking during strategic change in academia. *Administrative Science Quarterly, 41*(3), 370–403.

Gonzales, L. D. (2013). Faculty sensemaking and mission creep: Interrogating institutionalized ways of knowing and doing legitimacy. *The Review of Higher Education, 36*(2), 179–209. doi:10.1353/rhe.2013.0000

Guardia, J. R., & Evans, N. J. (2008). Factors influencing the ethnic identity development of Latino fraternity members at a Hispanic Serving Institution. *Journal of College Student Development, 49*, 163–181. doi:10.1353/csd.0.0011

Harrison, J. D. (2000). Multiple imaginings of institutional identity: A case study of a large psychiatric research hospital. *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 36*(4), 425–455.

Hatch, M. J., & Schultz, M. (1997). Relations between organizational culture, identity, and image. *European Journal of Marketing, 31*(5/6), 356–365.

Hatch, M. J., & Schultz, M. (2002). The dynamics of organizational identity. *Human Relations, 55*(8), 989–1018. doi:10.1177/0018726702055008181

Hurtado, S., Alvarez, C. L., Guillermo-Wann, C., Cuellar, M., & Arellano, L. (2012). A model for diverse learning environments: The scholarship on creating and assessing conditions for student success. In J. C. Smart & M. B. Paulsen (Eds.), *Higher education: Handbook for theory and research* (pp. 41–122). New York: Springer.

Jayakumar, U. M., & Museus, S. D. (2012). Mapping the intersection of campus cultures and equitable outcomes among racially diverse student populations. In S. D. Museus & U. M. Jayakumar (Eds.), *Creating campus cultures: Fostering success among racially diverse student populations* (pp. 1–27). New York: Routledge.

John, G., & Stage, F. K. (2014). Minority-Serving Institutions and the education of U.S. underrepresented students. In F. K. Stage & R. S. Wells (Eds.), *New directions for institutional research (no. 158), Special issue: New scholarship in critical quantitative research part 1: Studying institutions and people in context* (pp. 65–76). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Kiasatpour, S., & Lasley, S. (2008). Overcoming the challenges of teaching political science in the Hispanic-serving classroom: A survey of institutions of higher education in Texas. *Journal of Political Science Education, 4*(2), 151–168. doi:10.1080/15512160801998064

Kvale, S., & Brinkmann, S. (2009). *Interviews: Learning the craft of qualitative research interviewing* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995a). But that's just good teaching! The case for culturally relevant pedagogy. *Theory into Practice, 34*(3), 159–165.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995b). Toward of theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal, 32*(3), 465–491.

Lara, D., & Lara, A. (2012). From "Hell no!" to "¿Que pasó?": Interrogating a Hispanic-serving Institution possibility. *Journal of Latinos and Education, 11*(3), 175–181. doi:10.1080/15348431.2012.686355

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

MacDonald, V.-M., Botti, J. M., & Clark, L. H. (2007). From visibility to autonomy: Latinos and higher education in the U.S., 1965–2005. *Harvard Educational Review, 77*(4), 474–504.

Malcom, L. E. (2010). *Hispanic-serving or Hispanic-enrolling? Assessing the institutional performance of public 4-year HSIs and emerging HSIs.* Paper presented

at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Denver, CO.

Malcom, L. E., Bensimon, E. M., & Davila, B. (2010). *(Re)constructing Hispanic-Serving Institutions: Moving beyond numbers toward student success*. Retrieved from Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, Iowa State University.: *http://cue.usc.edu/news/CUE policy brief_Malcom_Bensimon_Davila_Reconstructing HSIs.pdf*

Malcom-Piqueux, L., & Bensimon, E. M. (2015). *Design principles for equity and excellence at Hispanic-Serving Institutions*. Retrieved from San Antonio, TX: *http://education.utsa.edu/images/uploads/30207-PerspectivasPolicyBrief_Issue4-2.pdf*

Malcom-Piqueux, L., & Lee, J., J. M. (2011). Hispanic-Serving Institutions: Contributions and challenges. Retrieved from *http://advocacy.collegeboard.org/sites/default/files/11b_4853_HSBC_PolicyBrief_WEB_120110.pdf*

Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Milner, H. R. (2010). *Start where you are, but don't stay there: Understanding diversity, opportunity gaps, and teaching in today's classrooms*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

Milner, H. R. (2011). Culturally relevant pedagogy in a diverse urban classroom. *Urban Review, 43*, 66–89. doi:10.1007/s11256-009-0143-0

Museus, S. D. (2014). The Culturally Engaging Campus Environments (CECE) model: A new theory of success among racially diverse college student populations. In M. B. Paulsen (Ed.), *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research* (Vol. 29, pp. 189–227). New York: Springer.

Museus, S. D., & Quaye, S. J. (2009). Toward an intercultural perspective of racial and ethnic minority college student persistence. *The Review of Higher Education, 33*(1), 67–94.

Negro, G., Kocak, O., & Hsu, G. (2010). Research on categories in the sociology of organizations. *Research in the Sociology of Organizations, 31*, 3–35. doi:10.1108/SO733-558X(2010)0000031003

Núñez, A.-M. (2014). *Counting what counts for Latinas/os and Hispanic-Serving Institutions: A federal ratings system and postsecondary access, affordability, and success*. Retrieved from New York:

Núñez, A.-M., Crisp, G., & Elizondo, D. (2016). Mapping Hispanic-Serving Institutions: A typology of institutional diversity. *The Journal of Higher Education, 87*(1), 55–83. doi:10.1353/jhe.2016.0001

Núñez, A.-M., & Elizondo, D. (2012). *Hispanic-Serving Institutions in the U.S. mainland and Puerto Rico: Organizational characteristics, institutional financial context, and graduation outcomes*. Retrieved from San Antonio, TX:

Núñez, A.-M., & Elizondo, D. (2015). Institutional diversity among four-year Hispanic-Serving Institutions. In A.-M. Núñez, S. Hurtado, & E. Calderón Galdeano (Eds.), *Hispanic-Serving Institutions: Advancing research and transformative practice* (pp. 65–81). New York: Routledge.

Núñez, A.-M., Murakami-Ramalho, E., & Cuero, K. K. (2010). Pedagogy for equity: Teaching in a Hispanic-serving Institution. *Innovative Higher Education, 35*, 177–190. doi:10.1007/s10755-010-9139-7

Paris, D. (2012). Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy: A needed change in stance, terminology, and practice. *Educational Researcher, 41*(3), 93–97. doi:10.3102/0013189X12441244

Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Quaye, S. J., & Chang, S. H. (2012). Fostering cultures of inclusion in the classroom: From marginality to mattering. In S. D. Museus & U. M. Jayakumar (Eds.), *Creating campus cultures: Fostering success among racially diverse student populations* (pp. 88–105). New York: Routledge.

Ravasi, D., & Schultz, M. (2006). Responding to organizational identity threats: exploring the role of organizational culture. *Academy of Management Journal, 49*(3), 433–458.

Rendon, L. I., Jalomo, R. E., & Nora, A. (2000). Theoretical considerations in the study of minority student retenion in higher education. In J. M. Braxton (Ed.), *Reworking the student departure puzzle* (pp. 127–156). Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University.

Rodríguez, A., & Calderón Galdeano, E. (2015). Do Hispanic-Serving Institutions really underperform? Using propensity score matching to compare outcomes of Hispanic-Serving and non-Hispanic-Serving Institutions In A.-M. Núñez, S. Hurtado, & E. Calderón Galdeano (Eds.), *Hispanic-Serving Institutions: Advancing research and transformative practice* (pp. 196–217). New York: Routledge.

Rodríguez, A., & Kelly, A. P. (2014). *Access, affordability, and success: How do America's colleges fare and what could it mean for the president's rating plan?* Retrieved from Washington, DC:

Saldaña, J. (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Santiago, D. A. (2006). *Inventing Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs): The basics*. Retrieved from Washington, D.C.:

Santiago, D. A. (2012). Public policy and the Hispanic-Serving Institutions: From invention to accountability. *Journal of Latinos and Education, 11*, 163–167. doi:10.1080/15348431.2012.686367

Sebanc, A. M., Hernandez, M. D., & Alvarado, M. (2009). Understanding, connection, and identification: Friendship features of bilingual Spanish-English speaking undergraduates *Journal of Adolescent Research, 24*, 194–217. doi:10.1177/0743558408329953

Simms, M. (2006). The citizen factor: Engaging the language of citizenship in a global classroom. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education, 5*(2), 171–183.

Stanton-Salazar, R. D., Macias, R. M., Bensimon, E. M., & Dowd, A. C. (2010). *The role of institutional agents in providing institutional support to Latino students in STEM*. Paper presented at the Association for the Study of Higher Education, Indianapolis, IN.

Tinto, V. (1993). *Leaving college: Rethinking the causes and cures of student attrition* (2nd ed.). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago.

Weerts, D. J., Freed, G. H., & Morphew, C. C. (2014). Organizational identity in higher education: Conceptual and empirical perspectives. In M. B. Paulsen (Ed.), *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research* (Vol. 29, pp. 229–278). New York: Springer.

Whetten, D. A. (2006). Albert and Whetten revisited: Strengthening the concept of organizational identity. *Journal of Management inquiry, 15*, 219–234. doi:10.1177/1056492606291200

Whetten, D. A., & Mackey, A. (2002). A social actor conception of organizational identity and its implications for the study of organizational reputation. *Business Society, 41*(4), 393–414. doi:10.1177/0007650302238775

Wolf-Wendel, L. E., Baker, B. D., & Morphew, C. C. (2000). Dollars and $ense: Institutional resources and the baccalaureate origins of women doctorates. *The Journal of Higher Education, 71*(2), 165–186.

Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods* (4th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage.