

Chapter 2

Advancing an Intersectionality Framework in Higher Education: Power and Latino Postsecondary Opportunity

Anne-Marie Núñez

The racial/ethnic diversity of the US population has increased significantly in the past decades. The Latino population has grown at an especially high rate, with Latinos becoming the largest non-White population as of 2000 and expected to double as a share of the population from 16 % in the year 2010 to 30 % by 2050 (Pew Hispanic Center 2008). Latinos' college enrollment and degree attainment, however, has not kept pace with their growth in the population. Although they constitute the largest, fastest-growing, and youngest segment of the population, Latinos continue to have the lowest postsecondary attainment among large racial/ethnic groups (e.g., Contreras 2011). Therefore, diverse agencies such as the American Enterprise Institute (Kelly et al. 2010) and President Obama's administration (US Department of Education 2011) have agreed that increasing Latino postsecondary attainment is essential to sustain the economic and social well-being of US residents.

That Latinos' postsecondary attainment continues to be lower relative to their representation in the population constitutes a social inequity that some have termed an educational crisis (Gándara and Contreras 2009). Understanding how postsecondary institutional practices and policies positively and negatively shape Latino college students' outcomes is essential to transforming this inequitable situation (e.g., Bensimon and Malcom 2012; Hurtado et al. 2012; Solórzano et al. 2005). Fortunately, much higher education research has been conducted, particularly in the past two decades, to address Latino higher education access and success (e.g., Contreras 2011; Núñez et al. 2013). Higher education access and success as defined in this research synthesis includes longitudinal outcomes ranging across the areas of college preparation, enrollment, achievement, and attainment (Perna and Thomas 2008).

A.-M. Núñez, Ph.D. (✉)

Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, University of Texas at San Antonio,
One UTSA Circle, San Antonio, TX 78249-0654, USA
e-mail: annemarie.nunez@utsa.edu

Purpose of the Research Synthesis

One of the aspects that make studying Latino postsecondary access and success challenging is the variation among Latinos in social categories including, but not limited to, (a) nation of origin, (b) immigrant status, (c) class, (d) gender, (e) sexuality, (f) religion, and (g) language fluency (e.g., Núñez et al. 2013; Torres 2004). When considering various social categories, Latinos are arguably the most diverse group among racial/ethnic groups in the USA (Tyler et al. 2008). As Latinos continue to outpace other racial/ethnic groups in the general population and the youth population growth, it is becoming more critical for higher education researchers to attend to variations among Latinos according to multiple social identity categories with respect to college access and success and how different social contexts shape access and success (Covarrubias 2011; Núñez et al. 2013; Ruiz Alvarado and Hurtado 2013). This task is important not only to enhance our understanding of Latinos' experiences in higher education, but also to inform practices and policies to promote Latino college access and success.

In this research synthesis, I review current education literature that addresses questions of how multiple social identities and societal contexts shape Latino college access and success. I argue that the conceptual lens of intersectionality—first developed in legal studies (Crenshaw 1991) and subsequently applied in fields as diverse as feminist studies, sociology, and political science (Cho et al. 2013)—provides a useful conceptual approach to guide inquiry about how variation in social identities and societal contexts constrains or supports Latino college access and success. The concept of intersectionality originated in Critical Race Feminist legal scholarship on how the status of women is shaped simultaneously by their status as women and as racial/ethnic minorities (e.g., Crenshaw 1991). Around this time, Patricia Hill Collins (1990) advanced an intersectional perspective in sociology and feminist studies as a lens for recognizing that individuals could simultaneously hold marginalized and privileged identities and that both kinds of identities could be salient in the process of navigating various social contexts and systems of interlocking oppression, such as those of racism and sexism.

An intersectionality approach recognizes a “matrix of domination” (Collins 1990) of broader interlocking systems of power and oppression—including racism, sexism, classism, nativism, and others—that play out in higher education institutions (Smith 2009). In this research synthesis, I review literature from both higher education and other disciplines that has employed intersectionality. I explore intersectionality as a perspective that has informed higher education research and identify limitations in its application to higher education research. I relate these limitations to other conversations taking place in disciplines, such as legal studies, feminist studies, and sociology, about intersectionality's capacity to study how interlocking systems of power and privilege influence the life chances of those from historically underserved groups in society (e.g., Anthias 2013; Bonilla-Silva 2013; Cho et al. 2013).

Following Cooper (1988), one goal of this research synthesis is to use intersectionality as a guiding conceptual framework to integrate the research literature on Latinos that addresses the role of multiple social identities and societal contexts of

power, privilege, and marginalization that contribute to reproduction of educational inequities. A related goal of this synthesis is to explore how and to what extent this literature accounts for dynamics of privilege and oppression that shape such inequities. Accordingly, I draw on multidisciplinary literature about intersectionality to critique existing higher education literature with respect to addressing dynamics of privilege and oppression that enhance or limit Latino college access and success. Drawing on this body of literature about intersectionality, I also propose a more expansive conceptual framework for addressing societal power dynamics in higher education. The central question guiding this research synthesis is: How can higher education research be expanded to incorporate attention to interlocking systems of oppression that contribute to social reproduction of inequities in postsecondary educational outcomes, particularly in the case of Latinos?

I begin this chapter by discussing the approach to the research synthesis. I continue with a discussion of the conceptual lens of intersectionality, including its intellectual background, definitions, and limitations as identified in other fields. Subsequently, I discuss how intersectionality has been applied in higher education research and its limitations, which reflect the limitations of the application of intersectionality as identified in other disciplines. This discussion entails addressing how the concept of power has been understudied and underspecified in higher education (Pusser and Marginson 2012). Having limited conceptual tools to study higher education societal, institutional, or organizational power dynamics engenders a condition in research that makes it all too easy to study the role of individuals, rather than institutions, in creating inequities and to ascribe inequities in educational outcomes not to inequities in educational opportunities or the practices that perpetuate these inequities, but to the perceived shortcomings of the individuals themselves and the social identity groups in which they hold membership (Bensimon and Bishop 2012; Zuberi 2001).

Next, I discuss how current higher education research can be applied to understand Latino college access and success through an intersectionality lens. Having identified the conceptual limits of intersectionality, I identify the empirical limits of current research on how multiple social identities, institutional and societal contexts, and related interlocking systems of privilege and oppression affect Latino college access and success. Then I propose a more expanded framework of intersectionality for higher education scholars who want to employ this conceptual lens, using the case of Latino college access and success to illustrate the meaning and utility of the framework. Finally, I discuss implications of this framework for future higher education research and practice.

Research Synthesis Approach

To conduct this research synthesis, I reviewed several bodies of literature within the field of higher education as well as other disciplines. This literature addressed Latino college access and success, intersectionality and higher education, and

intersectionality in other disciplines, including research that used an intersectionality lens to address Latino identities and societal opportunities beyond the field of education. First, to explore of how extant literature on Latinos in higher education fully addresses dynamics of social reproduction related to multiple social identities, I used keywords such as “Latino,” “intersectionality,” “race,” “ethnicity,” “class,” and “gender” to conduct a search for studies in peer-reviewed higher education journals, general education journals, and specialized journals on Latinos or diversity in education that addressed the roles of multiple identities and institutional or societal contexts in Latino college access and success. These higher education journals included four considered by higher education scholars to be in the top tier of publications (*Journal of Higher Education*, *Review of Higher Education*, *Research in Higher Education*, *Journal of College Student Development*) as well as others that scholars report using widely, such as those in the *New Directions for Institutional Research* and *New Directions for Student Services* series (Bray and Major 2011).

In addition, I searched for research in more specialized journals that focus on racial/ethnic and other social identities, particularly of Latinos. These journals included the *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, *Journal of Latinos and Education*, and *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*. I also reviewed more generalist journals in educational research most likely to publish research about the roles of social and institutional identities in shaping college outcomes, including the *American Educational Research Journal*, *Harvard Educational Review*, and *Teachers College Record*. Finally, I also consulted books, book chapters, monographs in the Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE) series, reports, conference papers, and dissertations, because these kinds of sources could address theory and research in its developing stages and reveal more emergent themes, particularly in the realm of intersectionality, which, as noted, is a conceptual lens that is still being refined in its application to social inquiry (e.g., Anthias 2013; Cho et al. 2013). To sharpen further the conceptual tools to understand the relationships between Latino identities, social contexts, and societal inequities, I also drew on theoretical and research sources in fields beyond education that addressed intersectionality conceptually or employed an intersectionality perspective to understand Latino identities and life economic opportunities. These fields included legal studies, feminist studies, ethnic studies, sociology, linguistics, philosophy, and political science.

Literature on Intersectionality in Relation to Latino College Access and Success

With the exception of a few sources (e.g., Covarrubias 2011; Núñez and Murakami-Ramallo 2011; Ramírez 2013), most educational research I reviewed about Latino college and access and success did not explicitly use intersectionality as a conceptual framework. However, several studies addressed intersectional themes of the roles of multiple social identities and social contexts in shaping Latinos’ postsecondary educational experiences and outcomes. My preliminary sorting and review of the literature suggested that existing studies of Latino college access and success addressing

intersectional themes were focused more on describing commonalities and differences in Latino college access and success according to various social identities than on the institutional dynamics and systemic contexts shaping college access and success. I will revisit this point later in this chapter when I examine these studies more specifically.

Intersectionality and Higher Education

Because of the limited higher education studies employing intersectionality as a lens to address Latino college access and success, I also reviewed higher education research to understand more generally the role of multiple social identities and institutional contexts in shaping college access and success. In addition, while the focus of this research synthesis was college student access and success, I expanded my search to include studies of faculty, to gain a better sense of how scholars in higher education have employed intersectionality to explore dynamics of privilege and oppression in shaping inclusion or exclusion of different higher education stakeholders. When I expanded my search, I found that, similar to my preliminary findings regarding Latino college access and success, there was more empirical literature that focused on the descriptions of how multiple social identities influence agents' experiences within higher education, but less on how actors in higher education institutions themselves perpetuate dynamics of privilege or oppression. This reflected a state of scholarship in higher education that Pusser and Marginson (2012) have identified as a lack of specification of the concept of power, a point I examine in more detail later in the chapter.

Intersectionality and Other Disciplines

Seeking to gain further clarity on how intersectionality could be employed in higher education to go beyond descriptions of multiple social identity experiences in order to examine institutional and societal power dynamics shaping those experiences, I turned to literature outside of higher education about intersectionality as a conceptual lens for examining meso- and macro-, as well as micro-level instantiations of privilege and marginalization. In particular, I examined literature in legal studies, feminist studies, and sociology, where intersectionality has been more developed conceptually and empirically.

Curiously, I found that scholars were articulating similar limitations to intersectionality and the study of power in their own fields. For example, Roscigno (2011) suggested that power is an underdeveloped concept in sociology. Feminist sociologist Anthias (2013) suggested that intersectionality is currently limited in its capacity to examine how interlocking systems of oppression shape life chances. Furthermore, in a special issue about intersectionality as a field of study that included articles from leading scholars in multiple disciplines, pioneers in intersectionality scholarship argued that intersectionality research has focused more on experiences related to

multiple social identities and less on how power structures shape and constrain life chances associated with those social identities (Cho et al. 2013).

Despite these limitations, I found that this literature offered some specific suggestions for conceptualizing and guiding future research to identify interlocking systems of oppression and dynamics within those systems that constrain life chances (e.g., Anthias 2013; Dill and Zambrana 2009; Roscigno 2011). Therefore, I have drawn on this literature to propose a broader array of conceptual tools to apply intersectionality as a framework to study dynamics perpetuating inequities in higher education. Later in this chapter, I propose a conceptual model to illustrate how an expanded perspective of intersectionality could apply to the study of Latino college access and success. This model could not only guide further work in higher education research on Latinos, but also be adapted to study inequities among other social identities across various institutional contexts.

It should be noted that intersectionality and Latino college access and success are each rapidly evolving areas of study (Cho et al. 2013; Núñez et al. 2013). Assessing the research in these areas is like assessing a moving target; by the time this research synthesis is published, new studies and insights in these areas will certainly have emerged. The difficulty of searching studies in higher education according to the keyword “intersectionality” means that some related studies may not be discussed in this chapter. In light of this condition, while parts of my proposed conceptual framework are based on empirical studies that have already been conducted in higher education, parts of it also involve propositions and speculations that have been explored theoretically and conceptually, but have yet to be tested extensively in research. I hope that the proposed framework will serve as a beginning point to organize and contextualize forthcoming studies that seek to understand how interlocking systems of power dynamics in relation to multiple social identities affect college access and success. To illustrate the utility of this model, I subsequently apply it to the case of Latino college access and success toward the end of this chapter.

With this goal of providing an organizing frame for research about Latino post-secondary educational equity, I now turn to a discussion of the background, definition, and limitations of intersectionality. In this next section, I will address the conceptual lens of intersectionality to set the stage to discuss the application of intersectionality as a conceptual framework in higher education. After discussing how higher education has employed intersectionality as a conceptual lens, I will then examine the potential of this lens to enhance the study of Latino college access and success in higher education.

Intersectionality Background, Definition, and Limitations Across Disciplines

Intersectionality is a lens that has been applied to understand how power relations shape life opportunities according to multiple social identities in a wide range of disciplines. These disciplines include, but are not limited to, (a) feminist studies,

(b) legal studies, (c) sociology, (d) political science, (e) psychology, and (f) higher education (e.g., Anthias 2013; Cho et al. 2013; Davis 2008; A. Hurtado and Cervantez 2009; Museus and Griffin 2011; Renn and Reason 2013). Observers in fields as diverse as higher education and student development (Renn and Reason 2013), sociology (Anthias 2013; Bonilla-Silva 2013), and feminist studies (Cho et al. 2013; Davis 2008) have noted that intersectionality is not yet a theory. In mapping out the state of intersectionality studies about two decades after the emergence of the intersectionality perspective (e.g., Collins 1990; Crenshaw 1991; Cho et al. 2013) assert that intersectionality is “best framed as an *analytic sensibility*” to explore:

the problem of sameness and difference and its relation to power. This framing—conceiving of categories not as distinct but as always permeated by other categories, fluid and changing, always in the process of creating and being created by dynamics of power—emphasizes *what intersectionality does rather than what intersectionality is*. (795, emphasis added)

The notion of focusing on what intersectionality “does” rather than what it “is” means that it will be employed in different ways according to the disciplinary context and topic of inquiry, as an analytical tool to understand the role of interlocking systems of oppression in shaping life opportunities for individuals from multiple privileged and/or marginalized social categories. To indicate the range of social identities to which an intersectionality lens has been applied, intersectionality research has found at least 14 social categories or “lines of difference” (Davis 2008, p. 81), including gender, sexuality, racial phenotype, ethnicity, national belonging, class, religion, and able-bodiedness—that are salient in shaping life opportunities—and this list may be longer (Lutz 2002, as cited in Davis 2008).

According to Dill and Zambrana (2009), intersectionality has four main analytical tasks:

- (1) Placing the lived experiences and struggles of people of color and other marginalized groups as a starting point for the development of theory
- (2) Exploring the complexities not only of individual identities but also group identity, recognizing that variations within groups are often ignored and essentialized
- (3) Unveiling the ways interconnected domains of power organize and structure inequality and oppression
- (4) Promoting social justice and social change by linking research and practice to create a holistic approach to the eradication of disparities and to changing social and higher education institutions (p. 5)

Several observers have noted that, while making much progress on the first two tasks, intersectionality still has yet to reach its potential as an analytical tool to carry out the latter two tasks (e.g., Anthias 2013; Bonilla-Silva 2013; Cho et al. 2013). In assessing how intersectionality has been developed and applied within the past two decades, Cho and colleagues (2013) argue that, across multiple disciplines, the application of intersectionality has tended to focus on the analysis of how individuals experience multiple social identities, rather than the power dynamics that circumscribe or enhance life opportunities for those holding those identities.

Put differently, an intersectionality lens has tended to focus on “who people are” and how people experience social inequality rather than “the way things work” and how that social inequality is perpetuated (Chun et al. 2013, p. 923). Not understanding how power inequalities are perpetuated makes achieving Dill and Zambrana’s (2009) fourth task of advancing social change much more difficult. Therefore, a central purpose of this research synthesis is to sharpen the capability of higher education research to expose the workings of various “domains of power” (Dill and Zambrana 2009, p. 5), with the aim of creating more equitable higher education opportunities for students from underrepresented groups.

Intersectionality and Its Application in Higher Education

Intersectionality has the potential as an analytical tool to transform higher education into a social site that offers individuals, particularly those from historically marginalized backgrounds, more equitable chances for economic and social mobility, in a society that has historically been characterized by significant social inequality (e.g., Dill and Zambrana 2009; Hurtado et al. 2012; Jones 2009; Renn and Reason 2013; Smith 2009). Accordingly, higher education scholars have recently turned to intersectionality as a lens to explore how multiple social identities across different institutional contexts shape educational processes and outcomes. This research synthesis addresses the question: How can higher education research be framed to further illuminate how interlocking systems of power, privilege, and domination shape higher education equity and opportunity for groups from unique social identities? The intersectionality lens provides attention to both structure and identity in the reproduction of inequality. In this section, I discuss conceptual and empirical work on higher education and intersectionality.

Development of Conceptual Work

Before higher education scholars began to use the terminology of “intersectionality” to explore this question, they were already considering the role of multiple identities with relationship to various social contexts and interlocking systems of power, privilege, and oppression in shaping higher educational experiences and outcomes. In student development theory, Jones and McEwen’s (2000) model of multiple dimensions of identity theory (MMDI) aligns closely with the intersectional perspective. It postulates that an individual is embedded in social contexts in which social identities interconnect and play out. These authors sketch out a figure that resembles an atom, with one’s identity at the center, multiple overlapping ovals representing the different identities, and dots on the ovals that represented the salience of various identities.

Abes et al. (2007) extended this work to include Baxter-Magolda's (1998) notion of the capacity for self-authorship, including how students construct, interpret, and make meaning out of their multiple identities. Meanwhile, Torres and Hernández's (2007) empirical work on Latino students indicated that Baxter-Magolda's notion of self-authorship is incomplete in explaining key developmental tasks for Latino college students, which also include handling racism and building community. Their work revealed the salience of these students' encounters with systems of privilege and power—in this case, with racism—in Latino students' college growth and indicated that future theory about student development incorporate the consideration of power asymmetries.

While this work focused on identity development, higher education research also has considered the role of structure in identity development, postsecondary opportunities, and college experiences. At least three theories have considered the role of situated social contexts in constraining or enhancing college access and success. Renn and Arnold's ecological theory of student development (2003) emphasizes the role of embedded social micro-, meso-, and macro-level contexts, including organizational and external subcultures, in shaping the nature and salience of social identities in college students' lives. Similarly, Perna (2006) and Perna and Thomas's (2008) model of college access and success articulates how situated layers of context (including the family, K-12 school, local higher education systems, state policies, and economic conditions) influence students' considerations of, enrollment in, experiences in, and completion of college. Neither of these theories used intersectionality as a guiding lens, but they pointed to the critical role of multiple social and contextual identities and related institutional dynamics to influence college access and success.

Hurtado and colleagues' diverse learning environment (DLE) model of campus climate (2012) is another example of a model that considers situated social contexts in affecting college access and success. They specifically use the lens of intersectionality to illuminate the importance of considering multiple social identities for social actors in organizations and how different micro-, meso-, and macro-level contexts may condition these identities and affect educational experiences in different ways. They suggest that prior frameworks such as those of Renn and Arnold (2003), Perna (2006), and Perna and Thomas (2008) have significantly advanced our understanding of the role of situated contexts and campus climate with relation to external influences in shaping students' college experiences but also that these "organizational models fail to specify the *dynamics between actors within the institution*" (p. 46, emphasis added). In updating the Hurtado et al. (1999) framework of campus climate, Hurtado and colleagues (2012) were encouraging higher education scholarship to consider more extensively the role of meso-level and macro-level contexts, such as state higher education policies or public attitudes about these policies, in affecting college access and success. In particular, they noted that "scholarship is still needed to also identify how institutions produce inequality [because] the latter has the potential to advance institutional transformation if it moves institutional actors towards reflexivity to alter their role in the reproduction of inequality" (Hurtado et al. 2012, p. 105).

Similarly, Smith (2009) argues that the lens of intersectionality can be useful in informing more equitable policy and practice through the insights it provides in understanding the general relationship between identity and diversity within higher education institutions. This perspective recognizes that individuals have multiple identities, which include affiliations with groups (or group-based social identities) as well as personal identities, and that individual and institutional identities can intersect and affect students' experiences and outcomes. Furthermore, these identities may take on different degrees of saliency in different contexts (Steele 2010). Identifying the workings of privilege and marginalization in organizations can enable institutional actors to challenge these workings and develop policies and programs to advocate for the inclusion and equitable advancement of diverse students, faculty, and staff (Smith 2009).

Development of Empirical Work

Similar to the conceptual developments described, some earlier research did not necessarily use the term “intersectionality” as a conceptual lens, but it took an intersectionality perspective by addressing the experiences of faculty and graduate students who were women of color. This research considered the role of multiple identities and institutional systems such as racism and sexism in affecting higher education experiences. Specifically, Cuádras and Pierce (1994) and Turner (2002) argued that the effects of multiple marginal identities of being women and people of color affected graduate students and women faculty of color academics in unique and simultaneous ways, limiting their capacities to actualize their goals in some ways, but in other ways offering them a source of strength.

More recent work has explicitly used intersectionality as a conceptual lens to examine how having multiple social identities shapes faculty and students' experiences with power, privilege, and oppression in higher education settings. Jones (2009) employed intersectionality as a framework for examining how multiple identity dimensions shape how faculty and students navigate privileged and marginalized identities. She examined how, for her and for her graduate students, multiple social identities (including gender, class, race/ethnicity, disability) constrained or enhanced their educational experiences and how they encountered various systems of domination and oppression, sometimes independently and sometimes simultaneously, across different societal contexts (Jones 2009).

Jones et al. (2012) and Abes (2012) extended this work further by using autoethnographic techniques to illuminate how elusive and understudied categories such as class and sexuality interplay fluidly with other categories, such as gender and race, across different social contexts to shape students' and faculty members' college experiences. Griffin and Reddick (2011) used qualitative techniques to explore African American faculty's different experiences according to gender. They found that women faculty perceived that they were more likely to be expected to mentor

and take care of students, while men were cautious about associating with students for fear of being accused of taking advantage of these students.

In their edited volume of *New Directions for Institutional Research*, about the application of intersectionality and mixed methods in higher education, Museus and Griffin (2011) offer several examples of studies that explicitly employ an intersectionality lens. Among other findings, these studies have revealed variations in Filipino and Filipina American students' experiences with campus climate according to gender (Maramba and Museus 2011) and complexities and inconsistencies in how mixed heritage individuals identify racially/ethnically (Harper 2011). Importantly, the use of multiple methods revealed a multidimensional view of these phenomena. For example, in one mixed methods study, quantitative results did not show a statistically significant difference between gender identities with experiences in campus climate, but qualitative results revealed different patterns in how Filipinos and Filipinas expressed their encounters with institutional personnel and the campus setting (Maramba and Museus 2011).

Likewise, Strayhorn's (2013) edited volume about intersectionality and African American college students offers several examples of studies that explicitly apply intersectionality to examine Black students' identities and experiences in college. This work focuses on how Black students' various social identities (e.g., gender, class, sexuality) in contexts as diverse as STEM fields (Fries-Britt et al. 2013), honors programs (Griffin and Pérez 2013), and HBCUs (Gasman et al. 2013) shape their college experiences and outcomes. Now, I turn more specifically to higher education research that has employed an intersectionality lens to understand Latino college access and success.

Intersectionality and Latino College Access and Success

Development of Conceptual Work

Intersectionality is particularly suitable for framing the understanding of diversity among Latinos because it recognizes that individuals can hold multiple social identities simultaneously (including both privileged and marginalized identities) and that these identities affect how they experience social, political, and economic contexts, including that of higher education (Collins 2007; Davis 2008; Smith 2009). The guidelines for intersectionality closely resemble the tenets of Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) (Dill et al. 2007), a theory which has been employed in several studies to investigate Latino equity in higher education (e.g., Solórzano and Villalpando 1998; Villalpando 2003, 2004; Solórzano et al. 2005).

LatCrit's tasks include (a) placing the experiences of people of color at the center of analysis, (b) focusing on institutional racism as a central factor affecting educational outcomes, (c) advancing social change, and (d) recognizing the intersectionality of categories such as race, class, gender, ethnicity, nationality, language, and citizenship status in shaping life opportunities (e.g., Solórzano and Villalpando

1998; Villalpando 2003, 2004). LatCrit has offered less guidance on how to study or frame intersectionality in social inquiry, but this dimension of LatCrit is important, because it emerged in response to a binary (Black-White) way of examining race to highlight the importance of alternative and additional social identities (Dill et al. 2007; Solórzano and Villalpando 1998; Villalpando 2003, 2004). One subtle distinction between intersectionality and LatCrit is that LatCrit emphasizes centering the social category of race and system of racism in the analysis, while intersectionality also acknowledges the centrality of race, but (not surprisingly) leaves the choice more open to the researcher or educator as to which social categories and associated forms of power and privilege to address (Dill and Zambrana 2009).

Development of Empirical Work

Taking an intersectionality view, Torres (2004) emphasized the importance of considering multiple social identities and societal contexts for understanding Latinos' college access and success, particularly variations in ethnicity and national origin. In their literature review, Sáenz and Ponjuán (2009) uncovered evidence that gender is also a critical factor in understanding variation among Latinos in college access and success. Since then, a handful of studies have explicitly employed an intersectionality perspective to examine these and other variations. In my search, I found four studies, three concerning students and one concerning faculty, that explicitly used intersectionality as a conceptual framework to guide the investigation.

In one such study, Covarrubias (2011) coined the term "critical quantitative intersectionality" and employed it as a lens to examine variations in high school and postsecondary outcomes along multiple social identities including gender, class, ethnicity, and citizenship. In another study, Ramírez (2013) used qualitative techniques to explore Latinas' and Latinos' processes of choosing graduate school. Her findings included that Latinas were more likely to express that remaining closer to home and to their families of origin was important and that Latinos and Latinas were sometimes willing to forego attending elite graduate institutions if they found environments in these institutions unwelcoming. In their autoethnographic work, Núñez and Murakami-Ramalho (2011) used intersectionality as a lens to examine how their own mixed heritage Latina identities have shaped their research, teaching, and service as faculty members in a Hispanic-Serving Institution. Finally, Ruiz Alvarado and Hurtado (in press) have used quantitative techniques to examine how Latino students report the saliency of their different social identities, including race/ethnicity, gender, class, and sexuality, in different institutional contexts. They found that these students reported varying degrees of saliency of these identities according to whether their colleges had higher or lower proportions of Latinos, women or men, and lower socioeconomic status students.

Other studies that have not used the terminology of intersectionality have nonetheless taken an intersectional view to examine Latino college access and success. Following Torres's (2004) call to explore the topic, two related examples concern

racial/ethnic differences in Latino college access. Using LatCrit as one of the guiding conceptual lenses, Núñez et al. (2008) used quantitative techniques to examine ethnic differences between Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in terms of 4-year college choice and found that, when holding constant other key factors, Mexican Americans and Latinas tended to enroll in less selective schools. Using a different data set, Núñez and Crisp (2012) used multiple regression to analyze the factors influencing college choice of Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans and found that Mexican Americans were more likely than Puerto Ricans to enroll in community colleges. They speculated that different histories of higher education, colonization, and economic conditions—all components of structures of power and oppression—influenced these differential college choice and enrollment patterns.

Similar to other higher education intersectionality research, the research that has employed intersectionality or an intersectionality perspective to guide analysis of Latino college access and success has primarily focused on students' or faculty members' perspectives on the role of multiple social identities and in some cases on systems of power and oppression in shaping their higher education experiences. Quantitative descriptive techniques in higher education studies have typically disaggregated data to identify differences in college access, experiences, and success according to multiple social identities (e.g., Covarrubias 2011; Maramba and Museus 2011; Núñez and Crisp 2012; Núñez et al. 2008; Ruiz Alvarado and Hurtado *in press*). Quantitative multivariate techniques have tended to sample one social identity (e.g., one racial/ethnic group) and control for the independent effects of other social identities on college access and success outcomes (e.g., Maramba and Museus 2011; Núñez and Crisp 2012; Núñez et al. 2008). Qualitative techniques have included autoethnography and semistructured interviews in which study participants describe the role of multiple social identities and associated systems of power and oppression in shaping their higher education experiences (e.g., Abes 2012; Griffin and Reddick 2011; Jones 2009; Jones et al. 2012; Núñez and Murakami-Ramalho 2011).

Notably, much of the quantitative and qualitative work employing intersectionality focuses on the perspectives of the study participants, rather than other actors (e.g., college personnel) who could shape those participants' experiences in higher education. Collectively, this research demonstrates the importance of considering multiple social identities and associated systems of power and oppression in shaping college access and success inequities. However, as feminist legal scholar Catharine MacKinnon argues, these identities "are the ossified outcomes of the dynamic intersection of multiple hierarchies, not the dynamic that creates them. *They are there, but they are not the reason they are there*" (MacKinnon 2013, p. 1023). While intersectionality work in higher education has emphasized the role of the social contexts in contributing to educational conditions, the application of intersectionality to empirical studies has largely been limited to *descriptions of these actors' experiences, rather than organizational dynamics among social actors or other entities that shape those experiences*. For example, more is known about the variation among Latinos in college access and success according to multiple social identities, but it is less clear what specific institutional norms, beliefs,

attitudes, or behaviors related to these identities contribute to lower Latino college completion rates. Therefore, the potential of intersectionality to illuminate systems and structures of domination and power (Dill and Zambrana 2009; Cho et al. 2013; Renn and Reason 2013) is not fully harnessed. In the next section, I note patterns in higher education research that suggest that more work could address institutional systems and structures of domination and power.

Structure and Agency in Higher Education Scholarship

Like in other fields (e.g., Cho et al. 2013), intersectionality research in higher education has focused primarily on individual agents' experiences of power and oppression according to multiple social identities, rather than how social structures themselves shape these individuals' experiences. This reflects a state of higher education research where the student or individual is the primary unit of analysis, which limits the capacity to explore the role of social contexts in shaping college access and success. Perna and Thomas's (2008) comprehensive review of literature in economics, sociology, psychology, and education pertaining to their college access situated context model revealed that, out of 175 articles in these four disciplines, just three used the institution as the unit of analysis, and two used the state. Furthermore, just three articles out of the 175 reviewed used two levels of analysis, such as student and institution, or student and state.

In a similar example of the limited capacity of higher education research to speak to the role of social context in college access and success, Harper (2012) found that most articles in the most commonly used higher education journals that purport to focus on the experiences of minoritized groups in higher education and associated social contexts do not directly focus on the effects of *racism* as a structural system of oppression that limits minoritized individuals' educational opportunities. In particular, Harper (2012) found that just 16 out of 255 (about 6 %) of these articles used the term "racism" or "racist" three or more times as an indicator of recognition of this system of power and privilege. Similarly, Hart (2006) found that, among a multiyear sample of articles in three of the most commonly used journals in higher education, just 1 % used the term "feminism" and fewer than 10 % indicated in the titles that they addressed women as subjects. Even though some time has passed since their reviews, Perna and Thomas's (2008), Harper's (2012), and Hart's (2006) assessments of higher education scholarship suggest that higher education research still primarily focuses on the individual level of analysis rather than to institutional dynamics that could enhance or constrain conditions for educational access and success. This state of the research can obscure the organizational and institutional role in shaping equitable outcomes as well as solutions to promote equity (Bensimon and Bishop 2012).

This state of the research reflects the historically strong influence of psychology on educational research and highlights that more attention should be paid to how more meso- and macro-level social structures affect college access and success, an

area that sociology is well poised to address (Hurtado 2007). Focusing higher education research primarily on the level of individual identity makes it all too easy to ascribe inequities in educational outcomes not to inequities in educational opportunity or the practices that perpetuate these inequities, but to the perceived shortcomings of individuals themselves and the racial/ethnic groups in which they hold membership (Zuberi 2001). Foregrounding the student as the unit of analysis emphasizes the student's responsibility, in turn deemphasizing the institution's responsibility and the role of broader contexts for perpetuating inequitable outcomes (e.g., Bensimon and Bishop 2012; Harper 2012), and makes it more difficult to develop strategies to challenge inequities. Conversely, identifying dynamics within and across societal "domains of power" has the potential to inform strategies to advance educational equity in higher education (Dill and Zambrana 2009, p. 5).

Critique of Intersectionality: The Importance of Specifying Power Dynamics

As noted in the previous sections, intersectionality has been useful in higher education empirical research to guide the examination of the role of multiple identities and associated systems of power, privilege, and oppression in higher education actors' experiences (Renn and Reason 2013). While its flexibility and versatility could be seen as strengths to study the simultaneous influence of multiple identities and social contexts that could interplay in myriad ways, some have critiqued intersectionality for being too vague a concept—a "buzzword" (Davis 2008) in need of greater analytical precision. Sociologist Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2013) has argued that the concept of intersectionality is promising in understanding issues like racial/ethnic equity in life outcomes but that it is still a "first-generation" concept requiring further development. Similarly, sociologist Floya Anthias (2013) argues that intersectionality needs greater specification to increase its utility in social science research.

In this research synthesis, I have argued that limitations in higher education scholarship in identifying power dynamics in societal structures that perpetuate inequities (Pusser and Marginson 2012) reflect similar problems identified in other disciplines, such as sociology and feminist studies. As Bonilla-Silva (2013) and Anthias (2013) suggest, these disciplines have not offered as much specific guidance on how researchers can identify, describe, and make visible the domains of power (Dill and Zambrana 2009), matrices of oppression (Collins 1990), or interlocking systems of oppression and domination that challenge educational equity. This is partly because, as sociologist Roscigno (2011) argues, the concept of power is difficult to conceptualize and theorize, much less be applied to guide empirical work to identify specific power dynamics that reproduce social inequality.

Anthias (2013) asserts that applying intersectionality to study power relations must entail examining how (a) particular social categories are constructed as

inferior to others; (b) people in a capitalist world are viewed as part of a larger economic project and source of labor, rather than beings who could actualize their own potential; and (c) resources are distributed unevenly to enhance the life chances of some at the expense of others, particularly those in marginalized social categories. An implication of undertaking these tasks is that intersectionality can be refined conceptually from serving as a static location where individuals experience the consequences of multiple identities and associated forms of privilege or oppression (as in descriptive comparisons disaggregating one social category, like gender, within another, like race), toward serving as a perspective that lays bare and challenges the power dynamics that (re)produce educational and societal inequities.

As noted, the concept of power has been undertheorized in sociology (Bonilla-Silva 2013; Roscigno 2011) and in higher education research (Pusser and Marginson 2012). This state of affairs has made it difficult to visualize what terms like domains of power, matrices of domination, and systems of oppression mean when applying theoretical perspectives such as intersectionality, Critical Race Theory, and LatCrit. There are examples of studies in sociology that have illuminated some of the power dynamics that contribute to societal inequality, which are also applicable to education. One is Bonilla-Silva's (2010) research analyzing how, when asked about sources of and reasons for societal inequities, individuals use discursive strategies to obscure the recognition that racially minoritized groups experience unequal life chances due to discrimination and oppression. Another is Roscigno's (2011) research on how company employees defend legal charges of racism and sexism inhibiting minoritized groups' job advancement by rationalizing marginalized employees' lack of advancement in terms of individual traits or shortcomings.

Some higher education research has also focused on institutional dynamics that privilege some and not others with respect to particular social identities. Smith and colleagues (2004) demonstrate how, contrary to common assumptions, faculty and women of color do not receive extra privilege or consideration in the faculty recruitment process, but instead are often overlooked in "usual" procedures that do not place value on or render invisible the unique contributions that faculty and women of color can make in research, teaching, and service at an institution. Similarly, Delgado Bernal and Villalpando (2002) illustrate how standards of review for faculty promotion and tenure often privilege members of certain groups and not other marginalized groups, due to reasons that are beyond the merit of the scholarship itself—such as the unequal application of review standards for research, teaching, and service. They argue that one way this is manifested is in the devaluation of epistemologies, methods, and topics of inquiry that may be particularly important to faculty of color, such as an orientation toward the public good (González and Padilla 2008). These studies of higher education institutional power dynamics have addressed how power dynamics shape faculty opportunities, but more insights are needed to inform how power dynamics such as institutionalized racism (e.g., Harper 2012) or patriarchy (e.g., Hart 2006) shape college student access and success.

A Multilevel Model of Intersectionality to Understand Power Dynamics in Relation to Multiple Identities and Contexts

In this section, I develop a model to apply intersectionality to higher education research. This model is intended to guide researchers who not only want to understand and describe the educational experiences of those with multiple social identities, but to explore how power dynamics and systems of oppression like racism interlock with other systems of domination to enhance or constrain educational opportunities for those with some identities and not others. Subsequently, to illustrate more concretely the potential of this model, I apply the model to examine scholarship on how interlocking systems of power affect Latino college access and success across multiple social identities. The final sections of this research synthesis turn to associated implications for research, methodology, and practice in higher education.

I draw primarily on the work of sociologist Anthias (2013) and insights from Dill and Zambrana (2009) and Roscigno (2011) to propose a model to “go beyond a focus on intersectional categories and to look at the broader social landscape of power and hierarchy” (p. 12) in higher education access and opportunity. To situate the workings of power, she recommends examining three levels: (a) social categories and the *outcomes* of the associated relations of power (such as existing hierarchies), (b) four domains of practice that highlight social *processes* that construct and reify these categories, and (c) the historical context that shapes the development of social categories, relations among those in different categories, and processes that construct and sustain those relations. This approach follows the guiding assumption that the analytical purchase of intersectionality can be maximized when we “distinguish different levels of analysis in terms of questions about *what is being referred to* (social categories or concrete relations), *arenas of investigation* (organizational, representational, intersubjective, and experiential), and *historicity* (processes and outcomes)” (Anthias 2013, p. 12, emphasis original).

Corresponding to Anthias’s framework (2013), I propose a multilevel model that includes three levels, each of which is embedded in the next: (a) multiple social identities, (b) domains of power (Dill and Zambrana 2009), and (c) historicity (Anthias). This model of situated contexts relates to existing models of ecological student development (Renn and Arnold 2003); college student access and success (Perna 2006); and campus climate (Hurtado et al. 2012) that specify micro-, meso-, and macro-level influences on student experiences and outcomes. Anthias (2013) argues that ideally all three levels should be addressed. However, as I will acknowledge later, it can be more difficult to do so in reality. Therefore, this model presents more of what sociologist Max Weber would call an ideal type (Gerth and Mills 1946) of framing intersectionality that researchers can follow and, even if they do not address all of the levels empirically, they can draw on literature that addresses other levels to help contextualize and interpret results.

For understanding the first level of multiple identities, there are different ways to frame social categories. Three positions include that (a) social categories do not

exist (e.g., Butler 1999), (b) an intracategorical perspective that there is significant and meaningful variability within categories, and (c) an intercategorical perspective that meaningful variability between categories exists (McCall 2005). The first take on categories is not very useful in understanding how to foster equity in higher education, since social categories with inequitable educational experiences or outcomes are not identified. Consequently, the last two positions characterize much higher educational empirical research that employs intersectionality, where analysts may use quantitative approaches to disaggregate data or isolate the singular or joint effects of categories such as race, gender, class, national origin, immigration status, or sexuality to illuminate variation between and among groups' educational experiences and outcomes (e.g., Covarrubias 2011; Núñez et al. 2008; Núñez and Crisp 2012; O'Connor 2009). Qualitative research reveals how individuals make meaning and perceive power structures in shaping educational experiences according to their multiple identities (Abes 2012; Griffin and Reddick 2011; Jones 2009; Jones et al. 2012; Núñez and Murakami-Ramalho 2011; Ramírez 2013).

This research synthesis focuses on the variability within categories—for example, gender within race (e.g., Covarrubias 2011; Griffin and Reddick 2011; Maramba and Museus 2011; Núñez and Murakami-Ramalho 2011). Moving to the second level (domains of power), I adapt Dill and Zambrana's (2009) concept of domains of power to the field of education and draw on Anthias's (2013) argument that there are four domains of power that construct and reify these categories, including organizational, representational, intersubjective, and experiential. While these may not be an exhaustive list of domains of power, they are a departure point for further investigations of the effects of power structures on educational equity. Applied to higher education research, the organizational domain of power highlights the channeling and sorting role that institutions can enact, such as organizational processes in community colleges that track some groups of students and not others toward successful outcomes such as transfer, associate's degree attainment, and bachelor's degree attainment (Bensimon and Dowd 2009; Deil-Amen and Rosenbaum 2002; Dowd 2007; Gándara et al. 2012; Crisp and Núñez *in press*). The representational domain of power emphasizes how those social categories and related policies are represented in societal discourse or media. It includes how stereotypes that threaten marginalized groups, raising their self-consciousness around failure, are created and sustained.

The intersubjective domain highlights the relationships between social actors and how this conditions life chances and outcomes, such as teachers' perceptions of students or intergroup relations in the campus climate, which have the capacity to diminish or reify stereotype threat (Hurtado et al. 2012). The experiential domain embodies the internal interpretation and lived experience of the individual. For example, the experiential dimension might reflect the meaning-making filter (Abes et al. 2007) that students use to make narrative sense of their own abilities or of the campus climate.

The third level, which Anthias (2013) calls historicity, situates social categories and domains of practice within a temporal perspective that reminds us that social categories are fluid rather than fixed and that some social categories are not natural or a given. For example, as I will describe in further detail, Mora's (2014) sociological and historical analysis indicates that the social category "Latino" was essentially

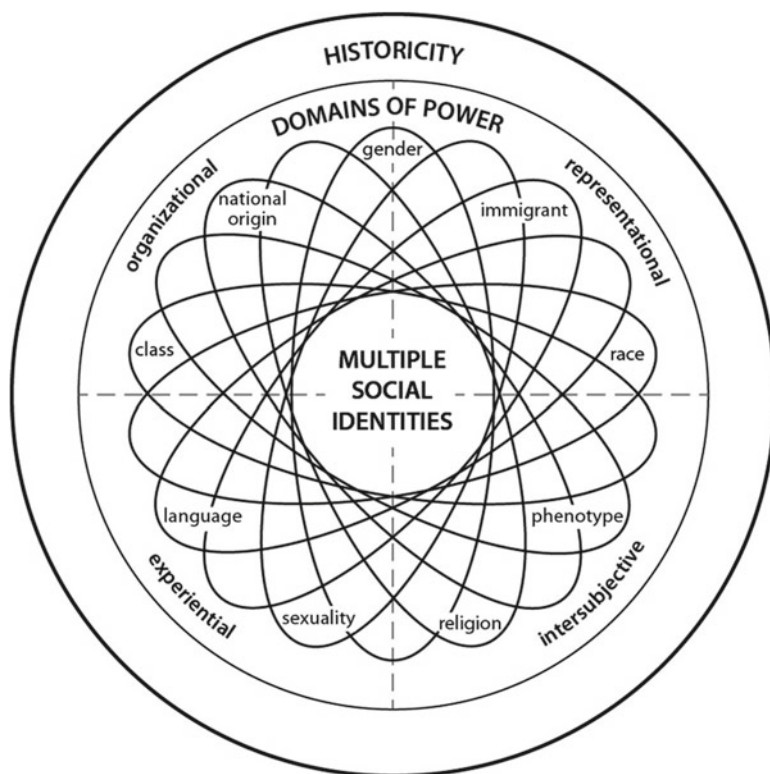


Fig. 2.1 A multilevel model of intersectionality applied to Latinos in higher education

unimaginable before 1970, but after activist, government, and corporate movements begin in the 1970s to converge interests and associated efforts to actualize those interests, Latino has become an “irreducible” social category (Anthias 2013). That is, it is a durable, if also flexible (Mora 2014), identity that encompasses a diversity of other social categories (e.g., Mexican American/Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central American).

Figure 2.1 provides a model of intersectionality that applies these three levels of analysis to the study of Latinos in higher education. The first level, named multiple social identities, draws on Jones and McEwen’s (2000) model of multiple dimensions of identity theory (MMDI) to indicate multiple and intersecting identities that, in this example, are found to be salient in Latinos’ college experiences. These multiple social identities include, but are not limited to, gender, national origin, immigration status, linguistic minority status, class, phenotype, sexuality, and religion, which I will discuss later in the chapter. Similar to other models that have sought to explore how identities are constructed, such as Herrera, Hurtado, Garcia, and Gasiewski’s (2012) model for redefining STEM identity for talented graduate students, the first level of multiple identities in this multilevel model of intersectionality

is situated within broader social contexts. The first level of the model, as embedded in the second level (domains of power) and the third level (historicity), suggests that these multiple identities are socially constituted and influence how social positions, divisions, and hierarchies are created and reified in society (Anthias 2013).

The second level of domains of power illustrates that societal processes and organizational practices shape the creation, perpetuation, salience, and nature of social categories through four broad domains of power—organizational, representational, intersubjective, and experiential. Following an intersectionality perspective that systems of power and oppression can be interlocking, the lines between these domains are dotted, to indicate that the boundaries between these domains may be permeable and overlapping. Later in the chapter, I discuss the dynamics within these domains of power that can shape Latino college access and success.

In turn, the second level is embedded in the third level of historicity, a term based on Anthias's work (2013). Historicity highlights the macro-level role of history in shaping these broader dynamics. For example, the economic downturn of 2008 affected Latinos more negatively than other groups in terms of income lost (e.g., Pew Hispanic Center 2011). This economic and historical condition cannot be ignored when considering Latinos' enrollment college patterns today and the way they take finances into account in planning for life after high school (Rendón et al. 2012).

In addition to Anthias's (2013) model and Dill and Zambrana's (2009) concept of domains of power, I also draw on Roscigno's (2011) "dynamic relational theory of power" to emphasize the processes that take place in the domains of power to pass advantage on to some groups and marginalize others. The dynamic relational theory of power emphasizes an understanding of power that goes beyond the workings of interpersonal relations to emphasizing the role of discourses that legitimize the value of some groups at the expense of others. The dynamic relational theory of power helps us to understand dynamics in the representational domain of power in the multilevel model of intersectionality. It can also help us understand how the four domains of power (organizational, representational, intersubjective, experiential) form interlocking system of powers. For example, discourses that promote equality symbolically (representational domain of power) may be enacted very differently in reality (organizational or intersubjective domains of power) to create or perpetuate social inequalities, but these inequalities may remain obscured because of the representational discourses purporting equality. From the standpoint of the oppressor, two key processes that serve to reinforce power relations are what Roscigno calls "vilification"—criticizing the "victim" who is lower on a power hierarchy and "amplification"—asserting that official policies are being followed and no wrongdoing toward those lower on the hierarchy of power is occurring (2011, p. 364).

Following the dynamic relational theory of power, actors with power have more access to the capacity to employ vilification and amplification in their actions toward others. For example, in anti-affirmative action discourse, *vilification* might involve devaluing the potential of historically marginalized students to succeed in college to rationalize their exclusion from certain college environments, and *amplification* might emphasize seemingly "neutral" policies such as an emphasis on narrowly defined "merit" to justify that current and past admissions processes have always been

fair, regardless of different groups' social identities. Similarly, Bonilla-Silva (2010) identified dynamics of power where those in the racialized majority rationalized the oppression of those in the racialized minority on the basis of this type of logic.

Although I suggest that there are three levels in a multilevel model of intersectionality—multiple social identities, domains of power, and historicity—I recognize that not all scholarship that employs intersectionality can or will address all three levels. Quantitative data sets often do not allow the sample sizes to disaggregate multiple social identities or to measure cross-level interactions between institutional effects and multiple social identities. Qualitative research has the potential to examine power dynamics in depth, but to achieve this depth might require limiting the number of identities or levels that can be explored.

At the very least, however, I suggest that research that employs intersectionality address the first level of multiple social identities, in conjunction with either the second level of domains of power or the third level of historicity. To correct intersectionality scholarship's tendency to focus on identity (rather than structure) (Cho et al. 2013), scholars might be encouraged to focus on the structural levels of domains of power and historicity. Because there are not many higher education studies that employ an intersectionality lens, I also refer to studies that only focus on one social identity (typically Latino) with reference to the structural levels of domains of power or historicity, with the aim of pointing to new areas of inquiry where multiple social identities might be considered within social or institutional contexts. Taking this approach may not always present precise models to replicate, but possible directions for the analyst to attend simultaneously to social identities and contextual power structures (Cho et al. 2013).

Applying the Multilevel Model of Intersectionality: Latino College Access and Success

Now, I take up more concretely the question of how intersectionality can go beyond describing the experiences of having multiple and simultaneous social identities, to illuminate how various social contexts throughout history—the domains of power (as indicated in level 2)—enhance or constrain educational opportunity for those with marginalized social identities. In this section, I apply the proposed multilevel model to the study of Latino college access and success in higher education. I begin by describing the rationale for applying intersectionality to this line of inquiry, focusing on the history of the social construction of “Latino” as a salient, irreducible social category (Anthias 2013). I continue by addressing the diversity within this group and the challenges it poses for addressing their needs in higher education. Then I apply the model to understanding Latino students' access and success. Specifically, I focus on various social categories (not an exhaustive list, but those most often researched) as intersecting with “Latino” to shape experience. Thus, this part of the analysis focuses on the first level of the multilevel model, specifically the definitions of and relationships between social categories.

Among the levels in the model, I found that most of this literature has focused on level one (multiple social identities) or one domain of power in level two (specifically, the experiential domain as explored in qualitative methods addressing Latino college students' lived experiences with power structures). Therefore, I draw on other literature in the K-12 educational research, the social sciences and other disciplines, as well as higher education, to apply the second level (domains of power) and third level (historicity) to the study of Latino college access and success. In the second level (domains of power), I discuss how the four domains of power and their associated practices in the organizational, representational, intersubjective, and experiential arenas influence Latino educational experiences. Finally, speaking to the third level (historicity), I illustrate how consideration of multiple social identities (level one) and domains of power (level two) must be situated within a historical context to afford the most analytical purchase to understand holistically the dimensions and dynamics affecting Latino college access and success.

The Social Construction of Latinos: The Rationale for Intersectionality

Before discussing the application of the multiple levels in the model to the study of Latino college access and success, it is important to understand the complex construction of this category, because Latinos subsume multiple categories. This account ties together strands of the multilevel model of intersectionality. It speaks to how multiple identities (level one) were brought together to create the “Latino” category and how different sectors (level two’s organizational and representational domains of power) formulated and reified this category over time (level three’s historicity). Understanding this background affirms the importance of using an intersectionality lens to study Latino college access and success.

Although the term “Latino” is a social construction and initially was intended to be an ethnic category, it has often been used to denote race as well (Mora 2014; Telles 2012). The category Latino/Hispanic is a panethnic category that includes a multiplicity of heritages and national origins, encompassing a variety of cultures, languages, races, and phenotypes (Rumbaut 2011; Sáenz 2010). The category “Hispanic” emerged as an option for survey respondents to the US Census in 1980, in the wake of Civil Rights efforts to compare the characteristics and opportunities of different racial/ethnic groups. Following the congressional passage of a law to collect data about people of Spanish origins, the U.S. Office of Management and Budget in 1977 had approved the term “Hispanic” to classify this unique demographic group (Mora 2014; Rumbaut 2011). This was the first and only law in US history that defined and stipulated data collection activities regarding a specific ethnic group (Rumbaut 2011).

Mora’s (2014) historical account of the emergence of Latino as a category between 1965 and 1995 illustrates that the “Latino” category would have been difficult, if not impossible, to conceive before the 1970s, even though Mexican Americans endured de facto segregation in the American Southwest (Donato and

Hanson 2012; Zambrana and MacDonald 2009). She documents how, in the wake of the 1960s Civil Rights movements, Mexican American activists who were challenging these segregated conditions partnered with other ethnic groups such as Puerto Rican activists, and worked with the US Census bureaucrats, to establish a “Hispanic” panethnic category that would count and document the limited participation of this group of individuals from Spanish-speaking countries.

In addition to these two sectors, a third organizational sector of corporate media executives that would come to compose the largest Latino broadcasting company (Univision) helped the first two sectors to create and circulate the term and meaning of this singular panethnic group that incorporated many cultural, linguistic, national, and immigrant heritages. This corporation would also direct programming such as *telenovelas* (soap operas) at a “universal” Spanish audience, using actors that spoke non-colloquial or non-vernacular Spanish, further reifying this social identity category. Thus, by 1995, the Hispanic/Latino category would come to be seen as a distinct and even “natural” entity (Mora).

Given the unique construction of Hispanics as a social category and the diversity within the Latino population, some observers have questioned whether Latinos ought to even be considered a meaningful sociodemographic group (e.g., Gimenez 1997). As cultural critic Richard Rodríguez (1993) questions,

‘Hispanic’ is not a racial or a cultural or a geographic or a linguistic or an economic description. How much does the central American refugee have in common with the Mexican from Tijuana? What does the black Puerto Rican from New York have in common with the white Cuban in Miami?

However, others argue that Latinos’ limited participation in US society merits the recognition of them as a distinctive ethnic group with historically limited economic, social, political, and educational opportunities that need to be addressed by political and legal mechanisms (Gracia 2008; Rodríguez 2008). Indeed, this was the initial motivation for Mexican American activists to initiate the process of the construction of the Hispanic/Latino category (Mora 2014). Furthermore, in practice, Hispanic/Latino has come to be seen as a distinctive category that is irreducible (Anthias 2013) in relation to its other distinctive parts or cultural components (Mora 2014; Telles 2012).

As the presence of Latinos/Hispanics has increased in the US population, resistance to Latinos’ incorporation has intensified, as exemplified by Arizona’s law permitting law enforcement officers to detain any individual who could be perceived as an illegal immigrant and the state’s banning of K-12 ethnic studies programs (Frey 2010). A recent survey of Americans from all racial/ethnic groups revealed that Latinos have now surpassed Blacks as the racial/ethnic group most often perceived to be experiencing discrimination (Pew Hispanic Center 2010b). The majority of Latinos believe that discrimination against them is a major social problem, and the most common place they report witnessing this phenomenon is in schools, with about two-thirds of Latinos indicating this sector as a site of discrimination (Pew Hispanic Center 2010a). One recent national poll indicated that eight in ten (79 %) Latinos feel that any Latino, regardless of citizenship or immigrant status, at some point “will get stopped or questioned by police” for any potential reason (Menjívar and Abrego 2012, p. 2).

Some observers argue that the study of Latinos in US society is critical not only in the field of education but also in social science in general. Given the increase in the Latino population and their complex identity construction, noted race scholar Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2013) argues that two central future directions for race scholarship in sociology include (1) understanding the process of Latinos' racialization and minoritization and how this evolves over time and (2) enhancing the analytical power of intersectionality to shed light on processes of racialization and minoritization of individuals and groups.

Implicit here in Bonilla-Silva's (2013) emphasis on temporal and process-oriented aspects is a historical approach to studying the construction of life opportunities, in congruence with Anthias's (2013) focus on historicity as part of an intersectionality orienting framework. For example, Bonilla-Silva (2010) argues that, in the racial hierarchy of the USA, Jews have gone from becoming marginalized from opportunities including college access on the basis of race (Karabel 2005) to becoming "honorary Whites" who are no longer considered inferior nor penalized from access to higher education opportunities on the basis of the social category of race. He points out that in the USA, as in Brazil, phenotype (skin color), rather than self-identified race, may come to differentiate among racial groups such as Latinos with respect to life chances. One consequence is that light-skinned Latinos could become "honorary Whites," while dark-skinned Latinos are associated with Blacks and are afforded limited access to societal opportunities (Bonilla-Silva 2010). Such a hypothesis calls for an intersectional approach to analysis.

Beltrán (2010) draws on political science, philosophy, feminist studies, and Latino studies to argue that the political unity among Latinos politically—sometimes termed as *Latinidad* to illustrate a common identity—has been overemphasized, at the expense of recognizing the diverse backgrounds and approaches that Latinos have taken to mobilize politically for greater life opportunities, such as educational access and immigrant rights. With her critique of *Latinidad*, she calls for an intersectional approach that recognizes diversity in social identity and the diverse ways that Latino identity is performed in localized and specialized spaces, such as in the 2006 political protests for immigrants' rights that mobilized many Latinos across the nation in different ways.

Similarly, philosopher Jorge Gracia (2008) argues that Latino social identity is not held together by a common history, national background, memory of colonization or conquest, race, color, language, or culture, but that Latinos assert a Latino identity on the basis of a "familial-historical" affiliation, in which Latinos identify with the Latino category in local and individualized ways and choices of dimensions of identity, much as different members of the same family might identify with the family in very different ways. This individualized nature and felt sense of a familial-historical affiliation aligns with Beltrán's (2010) argument that identifying as Latino is an individual, affective, and performative process, rather than a wholesale subscription to a shared identity with all other Latinos.

As Latinos become an increasingly significant presence in higher education, it is critical for scholars, policymakers, and practitioners to recognize the diversity within this population (Torres 2004). Viewing Latinos as a monolithic group in

higher education at best obscures and at worst perpetuates misunderstanding and stereotyping about the multidimensionality of their experiences. Accordingly, an intersectionality perspective holds much promise to affirm and examine the meaning of this diversity and how it plays out in various societal contexts over time.

Level One: Multiple Social Identities

Following McCall's (2005) intersectionality framework addressing the relationship between social categories, this section postulates that variations within and between multiple social identities present critical considerations in the understanding of Latino college access and success. Accordingly, this section provides a selective review to present key multiple social identities found to influence Latino students' college access and success. The point is not to review all possible literature on Latinos, but to illustrate the utility of an intersectional model in highlighting the complexity and capacity to understand the postsecondary experiences and outcomes of Latinos more holistically. Furthermore, many of the social categories described also condition the experiences of other racial/ethnic groups, such as Asian Americans, in related ways. Broadly speaking, this section offers a departure point for examining the multiple social identities, relationships between these identities, practices in different domains of power, and contextual influences that affect the postsecondary access and attainment of Latinos and other racial/ethnic groups.

The previous section emphasizes how Latinos were, in effect, brought together to intersect as a meaningful, irreducible and durable, if also flexible, social category. Given that the development of this social construct involved a process of bringing together multiple identities, I discuss the research on select social identities and suggest how these identities may differentiate among Latinos' college experiences. The purpose here is not to describe the meaning of an exhaustive list of salient social identities or lines of difference, but to sketch out some key distinctions according to identities that research in higher education and associated disciplines (particularly sociology) has uncovered as being especially meaningful for Latinos' equitable college access and success.

In terms of limitations in current research on social identity, Abes (2012) highlights that class and sexuality, as typically invisible and nonphysical markers of identity, are understudied in higher education research. This condition applies to the study of Latinos' postsecondary educational experiences as well. Additionally, religion is also a particularly salient social category for Latinos (e.g., Torres 2010). An intersectionality lens may be increasingly relevant to study how this category affects Latino experiences, particularly in light of historical trends such as the growth of Latino Protestants relative to Catholics in the USA (Torres 2010). However, there is limited research to postulate how religion or sexuality may differentiate among Latinos' postsecondary experiences, although I do reference literature later in this section suggesting that gender may mediate how LGBTQ college students view sexuality as part of their identities (Ruiz Alvarado and Hurtado *in press*) and that

religion, in addition to gender, also influences how Latino LGBTQ students construct their identities in different contexts such as family and college (Peña-Talamantes 2013).

The social categories I focus on have been most commonly examined in an intersectional manner (either implicitly or explicitly) to describe and disaggregate among Latinos' educational experiences, including those of students and faculty. Because race and ethnicity are often conflated in the study of Latinos and how Latinos self-identify (e.g., Mora 2014), I do not make distinctions between these social categories for the purposes of this analysis, but I do list race as a salient social category in the intersectionality model, and briefly focus on phenotype as a physical identity marker of distinction. Following an intersectionality perspective, the model also includes ethnic characteristics of national belonging, immigration status, and language.

This investigation of the meaning of social categories with respect to Latino educational experiences begins with *gender*, particularly due to current policy concern about Latinas' and Latinos' differences in college enrollment and attainment. I continue with a discussion of *national belonging*, *immigration status*, and *language*. These three identities primarily informed how social activists, government bureaucrats, and media corporate executives came together to construct Latino as a meaningful social category (Mora 2014).

Subsequently, I discuss the role of *class*, particularly in relationship to first-generation college-going status among Latinos. Finally, I discuss some emergent (if less proximal to education) research on *phenotype* as the sixth, and last, category. Among the studies I cite, only three use the term "intersectionality" to guide the analysis: Covarrubias's (2011) analysis of national belonging, class, and gender in terms of Latino postsecondary outcomes; Ramírez's (2013) examination of race, class, and gender in influencing Latinos' choice of graduate school; and Núñez and Murakami-Ramvalho's (2011) exploration of national belonging and gender in their identity development as faculty. However, all of the studies cited suggest the saliency of their respective social categories to influencing Latino educational processes and outcomes and thus can be applied to support the logic of an intersectional perspective to study Latinos in education. Figure 2.1 illustrates how these categories are embedded within the organizational, representational, intersubjective, and experiential arenas and, in turn, within the broader historical context (historicity).

Gender

Research in this area indicates that while facing some common challenges, male Latinos and female Latinas also experience distinctive gender-based challenges that merit more focused attention. Current research disaggregating gender on postsecondary outcomes among Latinos has shown that Latino males are severely underrepresented among high school graduates and college students in comparison to female Latinas (Covarrubias 2011; Núñez and Kim 2012), to the point where a

crisis of the “vanishing Latino male” has been coined (Sáenz and Ponjuán 2009). There are several potential reasons for this, including that K-12 teachers are less supportive of male Latino students and that male Latinos see more of a responsibility to work to financially support the family at the expense of participating in higher education more intensively (Sáenz and Ponjuán 2009). The ideology of *machismo*, which emphasizes the appropriate role for Latino males is to work to support the family (González 1996), among other roles, may make it difficult for Latino males to focus on longer-term school success, in favor of shorter-term work opportunities (Sáenz and Ponjuán).

While the success of Latina students has been emphasized in the discourse about the underachievement of Latino males, this does not mean that Latinas are uniformly privileged. Latina college students and faculty experience higher education practices in dually exclusionary ways that are salient to their status as women and Latinas (e.g., Cuádras and Pierce 1994; Ginorio and Huston 2001; Turner 2002). The ideology of *marianismo* stipulates that Latinas sacrifice their individual achievement for the care of the family (Sy and Romero 2008). As a result, Latinas may place limitations on their own capacity to participate in activities outside of the home (Ortiz and Santos 2009; Sy and Romero 2008). Consequently, while male Latinos may be enrolled in higher education at lower rates, female Latina college students are less likely than Latinos to enroll in selective higher education institutions and to leave home for undergraduate or graduate school (Núñez et al. 2008; Ramírez 2013).

Furthermore, Latinas also express lower satisfaction than Latinos with their college experience (Ojeda et al. 2012). Lower satisfaction rates and attending less selective schools can have negative consequences for Latinas’ longer-term higher education degree persistence and completion (e.g., Arbona and Nora 2007; Bowen et al. 2009) and for placement after graduate school in more prestigious higher education institutions as faculty members. Here, Allan’s (2011) phrase to describe the status of women in higher education, “the higher, the fewer,” applies to Latinas in selective higher education, graduate education, and the STEM fields, when compared with their Latino counterparts. Using an intersectionality perspective to understand Latina and Latino educational equity suggests that only recognizing a problem of the “vanishing Latino male” with respect to Latino educational opportunity is overly simplistic. Despite relative success in school, Latinas face unique barriers related to access compared with Latino men.

As noted, little research has explored the role of sexuality and LGBTQ status in Latino students’ experiences. However, two studies suggest that gender may mediate the extent to which LGBTQ Latinos see their sexuality as a meaningful identity (Peña-Talamantes 2013; Ruiz Alvarado and Hurtado *in press*). Ruiz Alvarado and Hurtado’s research (*in press*) suggests that male LGBTQ Latinos see their sexuality as a more salient identity than do LGBTQ Latinas. Meanwhile, although his study does not explicitly focus on gender differences, the interview excerpts in Peña-Talamantes’s (2013) qualitative study of six LGBTQ Latinos and Latinas indicated that LGBTQ Latino males referenced their sexual identity toward external power structures (e.g., societal expectations, familial expectations) to a greater degree than

LGBTQ Latinas, who tended to reference their sexual identities with respect to their intra- and interpersonal development. This example suggests that gender be considered in studying how sexual identity shapes college experiences.

National Origin

Demographic research reveals significant differences in educational attainment and income between Latinos of different national and regional origins, including Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Caribbean, Central American, and South American origins (Sáenz 2010; Torres 2004). Overall, Cuban Americans show higher K-12 educational achievement than Mexican Americans or Puerto Ricans (Baker et al. 2000), and South Americans show higher educational and occupational attainment than other Latinos (Sáenz 2010). Being Mexican American or Puerto Rican also appears to be associated with where students begin their college educations, with Puerto Ricans being more likely to enroll in selective and 4-year higher education than their Mexican American counterparts (Núñez et al. 2008; Núñez and Crisp 2012). These factors could be tied to regional higher education options, colonization histories, and citizenship opportunities of each group (Núñez and Crisp 2012; Sáenz 2010; Torres 2004). Thus, these findings suggest that social contextual domains of power in level two and historicity in level three of the multilevel intersectional model must be considered when examining access to and success in higher education according to Latino national origin.

Immigration Status

Immigration status includes generational status (timing of family arrival in the USA) and citizenship status. More extensive research on generational status has been conducted in the K-12 than the higher education area, and it has been found that K-12 educational outcomes are better for first-generation immigrants than their second-generation counterparts (e.g., Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Similarly, more recent research suggests that, holding other critical individual and institutional factors constant, first-generation immigrant students in 4-year higher education institutions persist at higher rates than their second- or third-generation immigrant counterparts (Sparks and Núñez 2012).

Scholars speculate that this phenomenon is due to increased first-generation immigrant optimism (Kao and Tienda 1995) or to newcomers' reduced exposure to a discriminatory environment for Latinos in the USA (Portes and Rumbaut 2001). Consistent with the latter idea, one study of Latino students in 4-year institutions found that being a second-generation (compared with first-generation) immigrant was positively associated with perceptions of a hostile climate for diversity on campus and negatively associated with feelings that faculty had taken an interest in their

welfare (Núñez 2009). These findings indicate that immigration status can influence how Latino students experience K-12 schooling or higher education campus climates. Furthermore, the broader sociohistorical context for immigrant reception can also influence Latinos' educational experiences with respect to factors like sense of belonging or alienation within higher education institutions (Ruiz Alvarado and Hurtado 2013). These institutional and political climates are critical social contexts at level 2 and 3 in the proposed multilevel intersectional model.

Citizenship status also circumscribes Latino access to and success in college, with Latino noncitizens less likely than Latino citizens to complete high school and enroll in college (Covarrubias 2011). Significant limitations in many states and across the federal government are placed on the extent to which undocumented immigrant students are eligible to receive public college financial aid. Undocumented Latino college students are not eligible for federal or (in 80 % of states) state aid to pay for public college education (Contreras 2011). In states where undocumented students have access to state higher education aid, however, they are more likely to enroll and persist in college (Flores 2010; Flores and Horn 2009–10). Therefore, whether or not a Latino student has citizenship is also important to consider with respect to factors such as “environmental pull” for attending or completing college due to access to financial capital to pay for college, the need to work, the need to live at home, and the need to support family members (Nora and Crisp 2009). Citizenship can shape the social and financial, not to mention political, contexts that Latino students must navigate toward college access and success.

Language Minority (LM) Status

Although LM students (students who grew up speaking a first language other than English) have not been extensively explored in higher education research (Rodríguez and Cruz 2009), emerging research suggests that LM status is a distinguishing feature among Latinos in college access and success. Among Latinos, high school English proficiency has a significant positive influence on high school graduation, college enrollment, and college completion (Kanno and Cromley 2013). There is also evidence that Latino linguistic minority (LM) students, in comparison with their Asian American LM counterparts in the K-12 system, have less access to college preparatory math courses (Mosqueda 2012). Research suggests that Latino LM college students are more likely than their non-LM counterparts to begin college at community colleges, which has negative longer-term consequences for college persistence and degree completion (Arbona and Nora 2007; Bowen et al. 2009). Those Latino LM students who begin at community colleges can have particularly dismal college persistence rates (Razfar and Simon 2011).

Furthermore, there is evidence that Latino LM college students persist and complete bachelor's degrees at lower rates than their non-Latino LM counterparts (Rodríguez 2012). Emerging research indicates that linguistic proficiency can influence Latino LM students' college experiences in both two- and four-year

institutions; many Latino LM students feel marginalized in the college environment (Kanno and Harklau 2012). Thus, similar to immigration status, LM status can influence college preparation skills and experiences in the college climate that affect college access and success. Also similar to immigration status, however, there are gradations in LM status (according to level of proficiency) that affect college access and success in different ways (Kanno and Cromley 2013). This research collectively points to LM status and even English proficiency (in the rare cases it is possible to measure it) as an important dimension to consider in an intersectional approach.

Class

Class is a multidimensional construct (Walpole 2007), and it is important to consider it as distinguishing among Latinos' experiences, including access to schooling and family resources (Zambrana 2011). Class may not operate in the same way for Latinos as for Whites in terms of higher education, as coming from a higher-SES background appears to confer fewer advantages to Latinos relative to Whites in 4-year college enrollment (O'Connor 2009). Therefore, assumptions cannot necessarily be made that higher SES advantages Latinos similarly to other groups in terms of educational access and success.

With respect to the intersection between class and immigrant status, in terms of the educational levels and material resources that immigrants bring with them to the USA, class strongly differentiates among K-12 immigrant students in terms of academic achievement and college preparation (Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Suárez-Orozco et al. 2008; Zambrana 2011). These findings reflect the differential family resources that immigrant students may have according to their family class background.

Being first-generation college-going and Latino can influence students to feel marginalized in a selective university setting (Lundberg et al. 2007; Núñez 2011). Regardless of whether they are community college or 4-year students, first-generation college-going Latino college students also have lower persistence rates than other students (Crisp and Nora 2010; McCarron and Inkelas 2006). One study suggests that Latina first-generation college students perceive their first-generation status to distinctively shape their college experience, viewing college as more of a struggle (in terms of factors such as family obligations) and as more of a privileged opportunity, than their counterparts whose families had more college experience (Gloria and Castellanos 2012).

Phenotype

Less research has been conducted on the effect of phenotype (skin color) on life and educational outcomes for Latinos, but the history of racism in the USA and beyond suggests that phenotype ought to be considered in an intersectional analysis on

Latinos (Zambrana 2011). Allen and colleagues (2000) found that, among Mexican Americans and African Americans, lighter phenotypes were associated with improved educational and occupational outcomes. Ortiz and Telles (2012) found that darker-skinned Mexican Americans in the USA report encountering discrimination more frequently than their lighter-skinned counterparts. Considering the variability among Latinos in phenotype, Bonilla-Silva (2013) hypothesizes that some Latinos may evolve into being considered White and others Black, stemming from the historically “one-drop” rule that has historically characterized the US conception of racial categories as dichotomous.

Flores and Telles (2012) have conducted intriguing research in Mexico to measure phenotype, not just by the researcher’s observation of a research participant in a study, but by requiring researchers to hold up a card with various skin tones to match a study participant’s skin color to certain categories of phenotype. They found that, as found in prior research, skin color is significantly associated with socioeconomic status and that skin color shapes SES primarily through its influence on access to educational opportunities. Access to educational opportunities (or lack of it), in turn, influences occupational stratification in the labor market, according to skin color. Their findings imply that, in Mexico, exposure to stereotypes in education, lower expectations from teachers, and lower quality schools all together begin to sort darker-skinned children into differential educational opportunities that, in turn, eventually sort these individuals into lower-status occupations. They conclude that prior research finding a disadvantage in life chances due to indigenous origin is primarily predicated on the interactions between indigeneity and past “skin color discrimination, class origin, and rural residence” (Flores and Telles 2012, p. 492). These studies directionally suggest that phenotype may act simultaneously with class to enhance or circumscribe educational opportunities.

Level Two: Domains of Power

Having sketched out how some critical social categories may influence variation in Latinos’ college access and success, I now turn to examining the power dynamics in various domains of power that may foster these variations. In particular, I consider how multiple arenas of investigation as articulated by Anthias (2013)—*organizational*, *representational*, *intersubjective*, and *experiential*—condition systems and contexts engendering power dynamics, systems of oppression, or “domains of power” (Dill and Zambrana 2009) that work interdependently to influence the educational opportunities and attainment of Latinos with multiple social identities. This analysis represents intersectional contextual influences at level 2 of the proposed multilevel intersectional model.

Before I discuss these distinct arenas of investigation in relation to Latino college access and success, I will focus on an illustrative example discussed earlier in the account of how the Latino social identity was constructed. One potential example of this sort of analysis is illustrated by Mora’s (2014) account of the construction of

Latino as a social category. Although she does not explicitly use intersectionality as a guiding framework, she finds that the *organizational* sectors of social activists, Census government bureaucrats, and corporate media executives converged from different interest standpoints to create the Latino category.

The effect of this convergence was not just limited to the organizational arena, however. It extended to the *representational* arena because it affected changes in the discourse used to classify people from different racial/ethnic backgrounds and distinguished Latinos from others. That is, these organizational actors took symbolic power (Bourdieu and Passeron 1977) to define and reify the Latino category. This process had political, economic, social, and educational consequences, especially for those who would be classified in a Latino category. Processes of reconciliation (deliberating on a term for Latinos), codification (articulating/defining that term), and translation (circulating that term to the public to encourage people to complete the Census as members of that category) strengthened the Latino identity as a meaningful category (Mora 2014). I focus next on how domains of power shape Latino educational equity and opportunity.

Organizational

Broadly speaking, the organizational arena focuses on the role of organizations and institutions, such as schools, colleges, and universities, in shaping life opportunities. This raises the importance of considering institutional identities (Smith 2009) in understanding Latino college students' experiences. At the K-12 level, significant evidence exists to suggest that Latino students receive less educational encouragement from teachers and counselors and therefore are tracked into lower-level math courses (e.g., Mosqueda 2012; Oakes 1985; Oakes et al. 2006) and guided away from pursuing 4-year colleges in favor of community colleges, if they are encouraged to pursue college at all (e.g., González et al. 2003; Oakes et al. 2006). These trends converge and contribute to make Latinos less likely to receive bachelor's degrees than other ethnic groups (Arbona and Nora 2007; Bowen et al. 2009).

Latinos are channeled into community colleges for several reasons, including limited: academic preparation (Oakes et al. 2006), encouragement from guidance counselors (González et al. 2003; Oakes et al. 2006), and access to funds to pay for college (Contreras 2011; Dowd 2008). Accordingly, developmental education is a key concern for many Latino college students (Crisp and Nora 2010; Gándara et al. 2003; Nora and Crisp 2009, 2012; Núñez and Elizondo 2013).

Furthermore, although community colleges are a critical entry point for Latinos seeking a bachelor's degree (e.g., Núñez and Elizondo 2013), many Latino community college students who begin college hoping to transfer to a 4-year institution never do so (Crisp and Núñez *in press*; Gándara et al. 2012). Crisp and Núñez's (*in press*) national research suggests that, holding constant other critical individual and institutional factors, Latino and African American community college students who intend to transfer are channeled into vocational rather than academic

course-taking tracks, which negatively impacts their likelihood of transferring to a 4-year institution. So an intersectionality perspective suggests that, organizationally, educational tracking and channeling into lower-level educational postsecondary opportunities presents significant inequality in Latinos' chances of economic mobility, and multiple social categories must also be considered when understanding sources of this inequality.

For example, among Latinos, language minority (LM) status is associated with opportunities to take college preparatory courses during K-12 schooling (e.g., Gándara and Hopkins 2010). When Latino language minority students are tracked into lower-level courses, their access to postsecondary education is compromised in comparison to their counterparts who speak English more proficiently (Kanno and Cromley 2013; Kanno and Harklau 2012; Rodríguez 2012). Among Latino community college students who are also LM students, being tracked into developmental education courses can severely limit their capacity to persist or transfer in college, because of limited institutional support from instructors and counselors for their advancement (Razfar and Simon 2011).

In addition to being tracked into different academic programs within the same institution (e.g., developmental education versus regular instruction), research suggests that between institutional contexts, Latinos may have different experiences according to multiple social identities. As an example, we might consider the experiences of Latinos in predominantly White institutions versus Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs). Research on Latinos in more selective 4-year or predominantly White institutions indicates that Latino students in these settings build academic self-confidence and find a sense of belonging in different ways than the research on White students might indicate (e.g., Hurtado and Carter 1997; Hurtado and Ponjuán 2005; Núñez 2009; Villalpando 2003). Variations in vulnerability to stereotypes regarding Latinos can also have differential effects on Latino students' academic achievement in 4-year selective university settings. For example, Latinos who experience higher stereotype threat also experience lower academic achievement (Massey et al. 2003). Bringing in the social identity of gender, women are known to experience stereotype threat in the face of expectations that they perform less well in math (Steele 2010). Meanwhile, Latina college students report that their gender identity is more salient to them—that they think more often about their gender identity than male Latinos (Ruiz Alvarado and Hurtado *in press*). Therefore, considering Latina identity in conjunction with gender identity could provide a more complete account of lower representations of Latinas in science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) fields (Crisp et al. 2009; Crisp and Nora 2012).

By contrast, research suggests that, holding other individual and institutional factors constant, Latinos in HSIs have more equitable academic outcomes in demanding STEM fields (Crisp et al. 2009; Dowd et al. 2010) and college persistence and degree attainment (Flores and Park 2013). Similarly, there is some evidence that Latinos in community college HSIs transfer at higher rates than those in non-HSIs (Hagedorn et al. 2007; Laden et al. 2008). One possible explanation for these improved outcomes is that, although there is variation by ethnic group, Latino college students as a whole express that their identities as Latinos are less salient

when there is an increased proportion of Latinos on campus (Ruiz Alvarado and Hurtado *in press*). Therefore, they may experience less stereotype threat (Steele 1997, 2010) on the basis of their Latino identity in HSIs. Although this may be the case, Latinas still appear to be earning STEM degrees at lower rates in HSIs, suggesting that gender needs to be taken into account in conjunction with the HSI institutional context in understanding college success (Crisp and Nora 2010). Collectively, these findings suggest the utility of an intersectional perspective that requires that institutional contexts and identities (Hurtado et al. 2012; Smith 2009) be examined closely to understand Latino educational access and success.

The idea that stereotypes about Latinos manifest systems of racial oppression implicates also the other three arenas of investigation: representational (e.g., how Latinos' abilities are portrayed in media/public discourse and shape discursive assumptions about their educational potential), intersubjective (e.g., how teachers make assumptions about Latino students' capabilities, how they act in relation toward Latino students, and how Latino students react to teachers' and school personnels' interactions with them), and experiential (e.g., the extent to which Latino students may internalize stereotypes that are perpetuated in the representational and/or intersubjective arenas or how Latino students construct notions of "merit" and deservingness in educational opportunities). I discuss these three arenas in the next sections.

Representational

The representational realm involves how the media portray Latinos and the language used to discuss Latinos, how Latinos are publicly imaged, and broader discourse that purports to explain educational access and opportunity. These portrayals have the potential to "create and sustain ideologies of group and individual inferiority/superiority and support the use of these factors to explain both individual and group behavior" (Dill and Zambrana 2009, p. 4). Using Roscigno's (2011) terms, these portrayals can invoke power dynamics of vilification of Latinos and amplification of their negative qualities in the press, policy discourse, or other venues of representation. Zambrana's (2011) analysis of the scholarship of the representation of Latinos in the media indicates that the media often portrays Latinos in stereotypical ways, such as the "Hot Latina" or the "Latino lover." Furthermore, scholarship on Latinos has often represented Latinos and Latino families as deficient and responsible for their marginalization, rather than examining the structural inequalities that perpetuate existing inequalities (Valencia 2002; Zambrana 2011).

Latinos in the USA are sometimes framed as invaders rather than members of the country (Beltrán 2010), when, in reality, the majority (64 %) of Latinos were born in the USA (Motel and Patten 2013). Meanwhile, a recent national public opinion poll suggested that three in ten non-Latino respondents believe that over half of Latinos in the USA are "illegal" immigrants (National Hispanic Media Coalition 2012). The use of the term "illegal aliens" to describe undocumented students diminishes the humanity of these students (Pérez-Huber 2009).

Thus, an immigrant identity and Latino identity are often conflated in dominant discourse, with the potential to create, perpetuate, and reify stereotypes about Latinos in terms of their immigrant identity and citizenship, and broader sense of belonging (academically and socially) in higher education (Rodríguez 2008; Ruiz Alvarado and Hurtado 2013). Furthermore, although research consistently documents that Latinos have less equal access to resources (e.g., underfunded K-12 schools, limited college preparatory course offerings) than others (e.g., Gándara and Contreras 2009; Contreras 2011), Latinos themselves are typically blamed and framed for their lower educational attainment (Martínez Alemán 2006). This can adversely affect images and assumptions about Latinos' academic abilities that lead to dynamics such as academic tracking (Oakes 1985; Oakes et al. 2006).

There is another dynamic in the representational domain that can compromise Latino access and success, particularly in community colleges. As noted, persistence and transfer outcomes for Latino community college students are lower than those of other students (e.g., Bensimon and Dowd 2009; Gándara et al. 2012; Crisp and Nora 2010; Crisp and Núñez *in press*; Núñez and Elizondo 2013). Many Latino community college students are enrolled in remedial courses (Nora and Crisp 2012; Núñez and Elizondo 2013). When considering multiple identities, this is especially true of Latino students who do not speak English as a first language (Razfar and Simon 2011). However, remedial courses are often not labeled clearly as being remedial, and students may not understand the consequences of taking these courses for their degree completion (Deil-Amen and Rosenbaum 2002; Deil-Amen 2011). Again, this is particularly true for students who do not speak English as a first language. Unfortunately, the incomplete description of the content, purpose, and consequences of taking certain courses can obscure the fact that certain courses might not even provide college credit and lead students to think they are making more progress than they actually are (Deil-Amen and Rosenbaum 2002; Deil-Amen 2011). In this way, representation of curriculum (or lack of it) can negatively affect Latino community college students' efforts to make progress toward a college credential or degree.

On a more macro-level, intersectionality presumes that "historical and systemic patterns of disinvestment in nonprivileged groups are major contributors to the low social and economic position of those groups" (Dill and Zambrana 2009, p. 4). Disinvestment in higher education and financial support through federal and state financial aid has happened in the same decades that the Latino population has been increasing, resulting in a "perfect storm" in which limited financial private and public resources impede college access for Latino students and families (Santos and Sáenz 2013). Although the practice of disinvestment itself is a power dynamic that lies in the organizational realm and varies according to historical trends, how disinvestment is discussed, rationalized, and justified lies in the representational realm.

Currently, disinvestment in higher education is justified by an ideological discourse prioritizing accountability over access, one that legitimizes educational inequity and, in philosopher Giorgio Agamben's view (1998, 2005), leads to an "abandonment," or absolution, of institutional responsibility for Latino postsecondary attainment (Harbour and Wolgemuth 2013, p. 250). Under this framing of higher education issues, a process of discursive obfuscation minimizes this institutional

absolution to provide educational access, in favor of “limited expenditure and delivery policies” (Harbour and Wolgemuth 2013, p. 235) that transfer the cost of higher education to individual students from the state, implement policies (like merit aid) that advantage higher income students, and reduce financial support for developmental instruction (Harbour and Wolgemuth 2013; Lakoff 2006; Roscigno 2011; St. John 2003). While these trends appear neutral, the ideological discourse and attendant material consequences of these policy shifts tend to disadvantage Latinos in terms of college access and success at the same time that they are beginning to constitute a larger share of the college-age population (historicity as another dimension of intersectionality that will be elaborated upon later).

Intersubjective

The intersubjective realm emphasizes interpersonal connections, which also contribute to educational inequality (Dill and Zambrana 2009). This includes assumptions that teachers make about Latino students and how stereotypes affect the ways that teachers and counselors interact with students and place them in coursework, which can contribute to academic tracking into lower-level coursework (Oakes 1985; Oakes et al. 2006), which can result in diminished college access for Latinos (González et al. 2003). Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova’s (2008) longitudinal mixed methods ethnographic study about Latino and Asian American immigrant students’ academic trajectories revealed that their teachers typically expressed assumptions that, in comparison to other students, Latino students had lower academic potential and that Latino families did not value education.

Language minority status is one identity that can shape Latino students’ college access during high school. Teachers may devalue (or vilify) Latino students’ academic potential over cumulative micro-level interactions, which can have negative consequences for being placed in college-level courses. One micro-level example of the consequences of misjudging a Latino student’s academic potential is illustrated in the experience of one Latino migrant student in a writing-intensive outreach program. In an interview after the program, he expressed that one of his schoolteachers had assumed that he could not write well, because English was not his first language. After strengthening his writing skills in the program, he returned to his senior year, and his teacher recognized that he was indeed skilled, apologized to him for making her negative assumptions, and, in his words, was “recommending me for college, not special education” (Núñez and Gildersleeve *under review*; Núñez *in press*). In another example of how intersubjectivity plays out, Latino high school students described how their teachers assumed they could not speak English well and assigned them to courses that were less aligned with their academic abilities; these experiences frustrated and alienated these students in school (Barajas and Ronnkvist 2007).

Language minority (LM) status also influences the extent to which Latino students feel marginalized in the university setting (Kanno and Harklau 2012; Kanno

and Grosik 2012). LM Latino community college students in remedial education experience institutional neglect (González et al. 2003) when teachers and staff do not take the time to engage in communication with Latino students who show struggles with speaking English (Razfar and Simon 2011). The LM Latino community college students in Razfar and Simon's (2011) longitudinal mixed methods study persisted at a less than 10 % rate, in part because of the lack of receptiveness of college personnel who did not offer these students more opportunities to practice English.

These dynamics for LM Latino community college students reflect what Clark noted as "cooling out" (1960), because these students encountered college personnel who did not fully support them in exploring their potential. Similarly, Bensimon and Dowd's (2009) interviews with Latino community college students reveal that many of these students lack access to necessary information and encouragement to transfer to a 4-year institution and earn a bachelor's degree. In the cooling-out process (Clark 1960), students who lack sufficient encouragement and support lower their aspirations and expectations of what they can accomplish and do not end up meeting their initial postsecondary goals.

Gender can also have a differential influence on Latino and Latinas' access to support from teachers during high school and college. An intersectional analysis involving the social categories of Latinos and gender suggests that teachers may interact with Latinas in more supportive ways than with Latinos (Sáenz and Ponjuán 2009). Gloria and Castellanos's (2012) research suggests that student affairs professionals feel that, compared with Latinas, Latino college students are more reticent and less inclined to seek help from college personnel or peers when they encounter challenges. If these professionals have a harder time sensing if Latino college students are struggling, it may affect their interactions with them, and they may be able to offer less timely support to these students. Although not in the educational field, Fraga's et al. (2005) research in political science indicates that gender also differentiates the political opportunities of Latina from Latino legislators. Again suggesting that Latinas may be more interconnected with other institutional actors, he notes that the most differentiating factor between these politicians is intersubjective: Latinas are more likely than Latinos to build cross-ethnic coalitions to advance political agendas. This includes being approached by members of other ethnic groups to create joint efforts.

With respect to graduate school choice process, Ramírez's (2013) research revealed how Latino students' intersubjective experiences, in the form of interactions with faculty and staff, gave them signals about the campus climate and whether it would be supportive or reflect their cultural values. Some decided to attend lesser-ranked graduate schools because they felt more supported in these schools. One described being treated "coldly" (Ramírez 2013, p. 30) at a highly ranked institution. Another mentioned that "...it's not just the quality of the academics that are very important for me, but also whether or not I belong...or [feel] welcome" (Ramírez 2013, p. 30). The power dynamics in these intersubjective interactions, including faculty and teachers' power to frame students' skills or to welcome students in educational settings, suggest institutional support or neglect (González et al. 2003) that can affect Latino postsecondary educational opportunity.

Experiential

So far, we have explored how organizational, representational, and/or intersubjective domains of power can play out through societal mechanisms such as stereotype threat (Steele 1997, 2010) to shape Latino college access and success. The experiential domain of power, in turn, primarily concerns the lived experiences of Latinos in higher education, a central concern of LatCrit theory (Solórzano and Villalpando 1998; Villalpando 2003, 2004). One dimension of the experiential realm that is salient to Latino college access and success is the extent to which Latino students internalize the relevancy of stereotypes that can be ascribed to Latinos. This involves the individual's construction of internal narratives explaining their own success or failure, based on an interpretation of dominant narratives and stereotypes around topics such as educational potential, possibilities, access, and equity.

Research suggests that Latino immigrant and migrant high school students have internalized negative stereotypes about their abilities and may attribute their lack of success to individual ability, rather than to structural constraints and power asymmetries (Gibson and Hidalgo 2009; Pacheco and Nao 2009). This could adversely affect the sense among Latinos from these marginalized communities that they have the ability to go to college (Gildersleeve 2010). Similarly, Latino first-generation college-going students frequently express an insecurity in their abilities because they are Latino; for example, half of the Latino students in Núñez's (2011) qualitative study expressed feeling some kind of stereotype threat. Vulnerability to these stereotypes has a negative effect on college academic performance for Latinos, even at the most selective of universities (Massey et al. 2003). Susceptibility to stereotype threat (Steele 2010) also has a negative relationship with life satisfaction during college for Latino students, as does an internally felt pressure to conform to perceived Latino cultural standards and behaviors, such as being expected to know how to speak Spanish (Ojeda et al. 2012; Tyler et al. 2008).

As suggested, Latino students can internalize dominant representational narratives that educational outcomes are predicated primarily on merit versus access or equity of opportunity (Pacheco and Nao 2009). When exposed to curricula that question these narratives, such as Chicano studies or critical theory, some Latino students realize that the limited economic, political, and social structure of opportunity, rather than their own lack of ability, is primarily responsible for their educational challenges (e.g., Gildersleeve 2010; Núñez 2011; Núñez *in press*; Núñez and Gildersleeve *under review*; Yosso 2006). One study about an (im)migrant (including both immigrant and migrant students—for example, see Gildersleeve 2010) outreach program found that Latino participants exposed to such a curriculum enrolled in selective public higher education institutions at higher rates than a similar comparison group of nonparticipants (Núñez 2009). This suggests that students can resist and challenge power dynamics when they develop the analytical tools to redefine how Latino students are framed in the representational and intersubjective arenas, to transform and expand their own opportunities in the organizational arena.

Based on a comprehensive review of literature on Chicanos, Yosso (2006) formulates a counterstory, or an alternative narrative centered in the experiences of Chicano

students, to challenge scholarship and practices that frame these students in a deficit manner (Solórzano and Yosso 2002). The counterstory articulates some of the intersubjective factors that could hamper Chicano students' college success, such as teachers' or administrators' assumptions that they are not fully qualified (e.g., conflating Chicanos with nonnative English speakers and believing that not all Chicano students speak English well). However, the counterstory also suggests that participation in activities that affirm Latino identities—such as ethnic studies courses, ethnic centers, activism, or community service—can enhance college success (Villalpando 2003; Yosso 2006).

In sum, level two of the multilevel model of intersectionality addresses the organizational, representational, intersubjective, and experiential domains of power arenas to indicate that postsecondary attainment is not just a matter of individual motivation and effort. Power dynamics in these arenas include institutionalized racism and the creation, perpetuation, and reification of stereotypes that influence Latino students' outcomes. How Latino students react to these power dynamics of vilification and amplification regarding their abilities and potential, coupled with the extent to which institutions can mitigate such dynamics, can influence their educational access and success (Martínez Alemán 2006; Roscigno 2011).

Level Three: Historicity

In the third level of the model, scholars focus on the importance of locating social categories, associated concrete relations, and domains of practice within a broader temporal and spatial context, what Anthias (2013) calls “historicity.” This type of analysis highlights broader interlocking systems of power that evolve over time and in specific geographic places. Broadly speaking, level three merits further consideration in scholarship because it conditions the power dynamics and the construction of social categories (level one) and related hierarchies or power asymmetries. Fewer examples of research exist about how sociohistorical context affects diverse learning environments (Hurtado et al. 2012). However, tracing broader historical trends can help to identify macro-level influences that affect Latino postsecondary access and success.

First, Latino itself is not a natural and given social category, as the term did not exist before the 1970s (Mora 2014). One could not even self-identify as Latino before the president's executive order on affirmative action in 1961. This is now difficult to imagine, indicating how government, media, and social movements contributed to shaping a Latino panethnic identity that has come to be conceived of as natural, taken-for-granted, and timeless (Mora 2014). The construction of this category enabled the limited Latino participation in higher education to be documented and subsequently to extend affirmative action policies to include Latino students (Contreras 2011; Gracia 2008). The existence of this category also made it possible for scholars to build the field of Chicano studies further (e.g., Acuña 2011).

and for demographers to draw on national data sets to understand patterns in Latino participation in society (e.g., Mora 2014).

Second, the economic context of reception for people from a Latino background has varied over time. During times of war when certain types of domestic laborers (ranging from migrant farmworkers, to skilled laborers, to professionals) have been less available to work in the USA due to involvement in wars overseas, the country has been more welcoming to Latino immigrants. For example, beginning in 1942, when many residents of the USA were participating in World War II, the USA formally welcomed Mexican American laborers to the country through the Bracero program, because it had too few of its own workers to sustain production at home. However, after the war ended and US personnel returned home, these laborers were discouraged from working in the US and often forcibly returned to Mexico. The Bracero program eventually ended in 1964 (Calavita 2010). As Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova (2008) suggest, then, the USA has had an uneasy and ambiguous relationship with the potential labor that Latinos can offer, actively recruiting this labor at times and, at other times, seeking to exclude it. This variance in openness to the presence of US Latinos affects their educational and occupational life chances (Massey and Pren 2012).

Third, in an interrelated point, the context of reception for Latino immigrants and Latinos by association (since their identities are often conflated with those of immigrants) also has varied over time. What comprises the context of reception itself has changed; most of the Western and Southwestern states in the USA were once part of Mexico, following the phrase: “We didn’t cross the border; the border crossed us.” In more recent times, in the wake of the 2008 economic collapse, Latinos and immigrants have often been vilified as taking away jobs that rightfully belong to US residents and as drawing public resources away from US residents (even though *all* working Latinos, regardless of citizenship status, pay taxes for public services) (Pérez 2012). Observers have also noted the emergence of a fear of Latino cultural values threatening what are perceived to be American cultural values, voiced by cultural critics such as Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington (Beltrán 2010; Rodríguez 2008). Richard Rodríguez (1993), however, reminds us that this is a historical phenomenon, and that other groups now perceived to hold “American” cultural values were not seen this way in the past. In his words, “Now ‘Hispanics and Asians’ have replaced ‘Catholics and Jews’ in the imaginations of nativists. The nativist fear is that non-European immigrants will undo the European idea of America (*forgetting that America was formed against the idea of Europe*)” (165, emphasis added).

Amplification of this historical vilification of Latinos is reflected in contemporary trends such as the emergence of laws in state like Arizona permitting any individual suspected to be an undocumented immigrant to be detained by the police at any time, the increase in hate crimes against Latinos, Latinos surpassing African Americans as the group perceived most often to be experiencing discrimination (Pew Hispanic Center 2010b), and the majority of Latinos (about two-thirds) witnessing discrimination in schools, the most common site for which they report experiencing discrimination (Pew Hispanic Center 2010a). As noted earlier, national figures indicate that about eight in ten Latinos, regardless of immigration status, feel that they could be stopped by the police at any time (Menjívar and Abrego 2012).

Such discourse and its consequences can shape the historical portrayal and experiences undocumented students in K-12 and higher education, who are often portrayed as draining the USA of its public resources during poor economic times (Pérez-Huber 2009; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2008), rather than as potential contributors to the economic, social, political, and civic well-being of the country (Pérez 2009, 2012). Access to financial aid for higher education poses a significant challenge to most undocumented immigrant students, since at the time of publication, 32 states do not offer in-state public tuition benefits and because federal aid remains inaccessible to these students (Institute for Higher Education Law and Governance 2013). More broadly, these macro-level exclusionary trends can adversely affect Latino students' perceptions of whether and where they can go to college (Núñez and Gildersleeve [under review](#)) and of the campus climate if they pursue college (Ruiz Alvarado and Hurtado 2013). These conditions have led Núñez and Gildersleeve ([under review](#)) to term anti-immigrant, anti-bilingual, and anti-affirmative action policy trends as a collective "policy regime" that, at this point in US history, seeks to exclude Latino and immigrant students from educational, economic, social, and political opportunities. Applying the multilevel model, historical trends in nativism, public policy, and economic conditions (level 3—historicity) can shape discourses about access and opportunity (level 2—representational domain of power), as well as organizational practices (level 2—organizational domain of power) that shape college access and success of students who hold multiple Latino and immigrant identities (level 1—multiple social identities).

Fourth, historical trends in declining public support for higher education, which have been rationalized in the representational policy discourse as discussed previously in this paper, have no doubt adversely affected Latino students' college access and success. Contreras (2011) and Santos and Sáenz (2013) note that the Latino population's increase has corresponded with severely declining availability of public funds for higher education, leading Santos and Sáenz to coin these simultaneous trends "a perfect storm" challenging Latino educational equity. As Contreras (2011) reminds us, this is not a natural and given turn of events, when we consider how a major public infusion of funds financed returning soldiers from World War II to attend college on the GI Bill in the 1940s. Today, there has been a severe decline in the availability of financial aid for Latinos and other students to pay for college, such that as college tuition has risen, the share of college paid for by loans relative to grants has increased substantially (Harbour and Wolgemuth 2013; Santos and Sáenz 2013; St. John 2003). This trend adversely affects Latinos in particular, since they are among the poorest racial/ethnic groups in the USA (López 2011).

To summarize, a perspective of historicity reminds us that the construction of social categories, context of reception for different groups, development of hierarchies, and allocation of resources for different public or private societal goals are neither natural nor given. An intersectional approach recognizes how dynamics in these areas can shape educational access and opportunity. These dynamics can influence the practices across organizational, representational, intersubjective, and experiential arenas, depending on opportunity structures and discourses around these structures at particular historical moments or time periods.

Implications for Future Inquiry and Practice

In advancing an intersectionality framework, I raise several implications and directions for future research and practice. In terms of research, this chapter highlights the importance of conducting research about how “domains of power” (Dill and Zambrana 2009) and related power dynamics affect educational opportunity through intersecting historical, social, organizational, and political contexts and their interplay with multiple social identities. The literature reviewed in this article suggests that certain specific concepts could guide future inquiry about the power dynamics shaping educational access and success for groups with different social identities. These processes include reconciliation, codification, and translation of social identities between and among various social, economic, and political actors (Mora 2014); the use of vilification and amplification to rationalize higher education power asymmetries (Roscigno 2011); and diversion from or obfuscation of the institutional responsibility for promoting student access and success (Harbour and Wolgemuth 2013; Roscigno 2011). Accordingly, expanding the research base could also require “studying up” (Howard and Gatzimbe-Fernández 2010; McDonough and Núñez 2007) about those who are privileged in the decision-making process regarding higher education—be it state legislators, institutional personnel, K-12 personnel, or related actors who shape college access.

Studying these processes within the organizational, representational, intersubjective, and experiential domains (Anthias 2013) to see how power asymmetries are created and reified poses critical directions for higher education research seeking to understand and affect educational equity. The special case of Latinos in higher education in this review suggests that these domains often operate interdependently to affect convergent movements, so exploring how multiple contexts interplay to affect educational opportunity is important. In addition, the role of the sociohistorical context in shaping contexts, processes, and construction of social categories is underexamined (Hurtado et al. 2012) and warrants further research.

Drawing on Transdisciplinary Perspectives

If higher education researchers would like to gain more traction in examining the workings of systems of oppression such as racism (Harper 2012), drawing more extensively from work in sociology and from a wider range of disciplines than those that are typically considered in higher education research is warranted (e.g., Anthias 2013; Bonilla-Silva 2010, 2013; Collins 2007; Roscigno 2011; Mora 2014). In particular, this review suggests that political science and philosophy can offer additional insights into how systems like racism are created and foster exclusionary social, political, and economic inequities (e.g., Beltrán 2010; Harbour and Wolgemuth 2013). Comparative literature, feminist studies, and Latino studies also hold potential to inform studies of educational access and success in novel ways (e.g., Beltrán 2010; Butler 1999; Dill and Zambrana 2009).

Speaking to the multilevel model's third level of historicity, with some exceptions (e.g., Gasman 2007a, b, 2010; Hutcheson et al. 2011), the discipline of history is generally underutilized in higher education to shed light on the dynamics of educational equity. Insights from organizational studies (Bastedo 2012) and feminist poststructural theory (e.g., Allan et al. 2010; Kezar 2011) could also inform the application of intersectionality in higher education. Collectively, these disciplines and fields have the potential to offer new lenses and possibilities to structure inquiry to reveal new nuances in the understanding of the construction or deconstruction of postsecondary educational equity.

Incorporating Comparative Lenses

As has been illustrated in disciplines including history, anthropology, sociology, and political science, a comparative lens can also enhance the utility of an intersectional perspective in understanding the construction and functioning of interlocking systems of oppression in shaping educational opportunity. For example, scholarship on the construction of race as a social category has tended to be grounded in the USA, but this could only be illustrating one "natural" and creating a "taken for granted" pathway of understanding of how race is constructed in society, obfuscating other ways to understand racial formation and racialization as these have unfolded in other countries (Bonilla-Silva 2013). For example, compared with research in the USA, race scholarship in countries such as Brazil suggests that the initial construction of social categories (at level one—multiple identities—of the multilevel intersectional model) may unfold from different societal processes (at level two—domains of power—of the multilevel intersectional model) over time (at level three—historicity—of the multilevel model) (Bonilla-Silva). The Flores and Telles (2012) study cited earlier about the role of phenotype in affecting life chances was conducted in Mexico, but sheds light on how skin color may affect socioeconomic status and educational opportunities in different ways among Latinos in the USA. It also suggests that, regardless of where a study is conducted, measuring phenotype is a complex matter and, when measured inconsistently, can lead to inconclusive results.

Choosing Methodologies

The research cited throughout this synthesis has employed a range of methods. Understanding the limits and possibilities of this research can inform future use of methodologies to explore the role of intersectionality in phenomena such as college access and success. Below, I explore how existing methods can be applied and developed further to understand how intersectionality affects college access and success.

Qualitative

Some qualitative research has already shed light on variation in Latinos' and Latinas' graduate school choice process (Ramírez 2013), African American faculty's gendered experiences in the academy (Griffin and Reddick 2011), and Filipino and Filipina American college students' experiences with campus climate (Maramba and Museus 2011). This research has focused primarily on the experiential domain of power in terms of highlighting individuals' self-reports, narratives, and interpretations of how their multiple social identities shape their possibilities in various educational roles. Thus, it has shed the most light on the meaning of multiple social identities in educational experiences and individuals' own meaning making of these experiences (experiential domain of level 2). Given that intersectional research and research on Latinos is in relatively early stages, the interpretive nature of qualitative research is especially well positioned to generate understanding of concepts, dynamics, and settings that influence the interplay among and between multiple individual and institutional and social contexts (e.g., Collins 2007). Similarly, Roscigno (2011) argues that qualitative research is especially well suited to identify processes of amplification and vilification that result in privileging some groups' status and not others.

In particular, the use of critical discourse analysis (CDA) (Bloomaert and Bulcaen 2000) to analyze the language in educational policies (Martínez Alemán *in press*; Chase et al. 2012) or transcripts in court cases that challenge societal inequality (Roscigno 2011) can reveal organizational and representational (Anthias 2013) processes of rationalization, justification, codification, translation, obfuscation, or diversion (Harbour and Wolgemuth 2013; Mora 2014; Roscigno 2011) that perpetuate power asymmetries for different social and institutional identities. Put differently, the use of CDA can identify cognitive frames (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 2006) used to shape how people make sense of educational opportunity. As noted previously in the representational domain of power, such cognitive frames including those focused on accountability and efficiency can divert attention away from agendas directed toward equity, access, and opportunity (Harbour and Wolgemuth 2013).

Although methodological standards for autoethnography are still evolving (Hughes et al. 2012), autoethnographical narratives of individuals or groups also hold much potential to reveal how multiple social identities play out in different social contexts and influence educational opportunities. Several researchers have explicitly used intersectionality to guide an autoethnographic method to explore issues of power and privilege in relation to social and institutional contexts and outcomes (Abes 2012; Jones 2009; Jones et al. 2012; Núñez and Murakami-Ramalho 2011). These studies have focused on the role of less visible identities such as class and sexuality (Abes 2012) and more visible identities such as race and gender (e.g., Jones 2009; Núñez and Murakami-Ramalho 2011) in shaping individuals' perceptions of their educational opportunity structures and the ways in which individuals navigate those opportunity structures. These autoethnographical narratives have also highlighted the importance of social context in shaping the

salience of various identities in educational experiences and outcomes (Jones 2009). Núñez and Murakami-Ramalho (2011), for example, discuss how working in a Hispanic-Serving Institution (HSI) has shaped their research on educational access and opportunity for Latinos in unique and distinctive ways. In other work, Núñez et al. (2010) employ autoethnography to discuss how their social identities influence relations with students in the classroom, addressing the intersubjective domain of power.

Many higher education researchers use interviews or narratives to collect qualitative data to speak to intersectionality. Observations of those privileged in decision-making roles in higher education may also shed light on how intersectional social contexts shape educational opportunities. For example, Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova (2008) mixed methods longitudinal study of Latino and Asian American immigrant K-12 students included qualitative interviews and observations of students, teachers, and families. As noted earlier, observations of teachers revealed that teachers often assumed that their Latino immigrant students were less capable than others and that Latino families were less interested in education in general. Such observational data could inform our understanding of how such assumptions shape teachers' behaviors that steer students away or toward opportunities such as advanced courses, and in turn enhance our understanding of behaviors such as tracking.

The qualitative method of counterstorytelling from LatCrit and Critical Race Theory provides an alternative way to focus on experiences of students with multiple identities and to expose the contradictions and complexities they encounter across various domains of power (Solórzano and Yosso 2002). The flexibility counterstorytelling offers in creating narratives of power, privilege, and marginalization can enable researchers to address several identities, domains of power, and kinds of history and to consider the various roles that these could play in issues like Latino college access and success. Yosso's (2006) counterstory of Chicano students' college experiences, for example, reveals how college instructors can make assumptions that Chicano students cannot speak English well and assume that their reading, writing, and speaking skills are not equivalent with those of other students. Making such an assumption conflates the multiple identities of being Latino and language status (level one—multiple social identities). In turn, teachers could treat their students differently on the basis of this assumption (intersubjective domain of power), limiting the possibilities to enable students to meet their academic potential.

Qualitative studies of higher education faculty can also reveal instructors' perspectives in relation to their students with multiple identities. Jaffe's (2007) analysis of how community college instructors worked together to better serve Latino students; Núñez et al.'s (2010) reflections on pedagogy; and Peña's (2012) in-depth qualitative analysis with faculty members who reflected on their experiences teaching about race together indicate the power of self- and group reflection (Patton et al. 2007), to shift how teachers relate to their students and incorporate culturally relevant content into their curricula. Research has shown that the effect of teacher perceptions on student achievement can be long lasting (Croninger and Lee 2001), and this type of research could show us how these perceptions emerge and shape

behavior that reinforces the power asymmetries that do not fully honor certain students' academic capabilities. Alternatively, such research can show us how teachers and faculty with opportunities to reflect on their practice can work to authentically respond to and cultivate their students' culturally diverse assets (Jaffe 2007; Núñez et al. 2010; Peña 2012).

Quantitative

As intersectional paradigms and research become more sophisticated and as data sets become more expansive, it may become clearer how to conduct quantitative research in this field (Collins 2007). One limitation of conducting quantitative research on intersectionality is finding data sets that examine multiple social identities and that have large enough sample sizes of different combinations of those identities. For example, the only data set since the early 1970s that measures and distinguishes between both ethnicity and gender among Latinos is the Cooperative Institute Research Program (CIRP) survey, discussed in the Higher Education Research Institute's report tracing Latinos' college characteristics and experiences over three decades (Hurtado et al. 2008).

Conceptually, the notion of a "critical quantitative approach" (Stage 2007) aligns with the idea of intersectional inquiry. In an analysis of differential educational outcomes among Latinos according to multiple social identities, Covarrubias (2011) coins the term "critical quantitative intersectionality" to illustrate the potential to connect intersectionality with an intersectional approach to explore variation among social identities. A first step in such an approach is simply to disaggregate data on salient categories for Latinos, such as gender (Sáenz and Ponjuán 2009), ethnicity (Núñez et al. 2008; Núñez and Crisp 2012), or citizenship status (Covarrubias 2011). However, as has been noted, such an approach is merely descriptive and points to directions for speculation about the role of social contexts, but tends not to provide empirical evidence about how multiple and intersectional social contexts are associated with educational opportunities and outcomes.

A next step is to, where possible (depending on considerations like sample size and data availability), include these variables in multivariate models to examine their significance while holding other variables constant. To go beyond viewing the variables in independent and additive ways, Collins (2007) suggests forming composite variables that reflect the simultaneity of multiple influences. A related approach is to examine interaction effects between variables—for example, does gender (being female or male) interact with immigration status when examining the likelihood of Latinos to enroll in 2-year versus 4-year institutions? Advanced statistical quantitative methods like structural equation modeling (SEM) can facilitate exploration of constructs that incorporate simultaneous identities and indirect as well as direct effects of individual and institutional identities on outcomes. Accordingly, in a SEM analysis of predictors of Latinos' sense of belonging during their second year of college, Núñez (2009) found that second-generation immigrant status had an independent, negative effect on sense of belonging through a direct

and positive association with perceptions that the racial/ethnic campus climate was hostile and a negative association with perceptions that faculty were interested in their welfare. This finding supported sociological literature suggesting that second-generation students were especially vulnerable to a negative societal context of reception (e.g., Portes and Rumbaut 2001), illustrating how identity is embedded in the intersubjectivity domain of power.

Hierarchical linear modeling (HLM), through its capacity to analyze institutional effects on outcomes in more independent ways, can inform research on how institutional contexts or identities are salient in relation to sociodemographic identities in terms of shaping postsecondary education experiences and outcomes. In an example of a study that speaks to interlocking systems of power based on race and class, Park et al.'s (2013) HLM analysis finds that higher education racial and socioeconomic compositional diversity have independent effects on student behaviors and that socioeconomic compositional diversity, while not having a direct relationship, is indirectly associated with increases in cross-racial interactions through its relationship with institutional racial/ethnic diversity. However, this example focuses on domains of power and less on multiple social identities, since it does not include cross-level effects to illustrate how these types of diversity may affect the experiences of students from different identity groups or those with multiple social identities.

Using a different data set and sample, Ruiz Alvarado and Hurtado's (2013) HLM analysis focuses on Latinos only and suggests that, among Latinos, multiple social identities can mediate the extent to which students report perceiving or experiencing discrimination, with males, Puerto Ricans (compared with Mexican Americans), and LGBTQ students more likely and first-generation immigrant students less likely to report experiencing discrimination or bias in their institutions. It also suggests that, regardless of identities, students at institutions with higher proportions of Latinos are more likely to perceive that their institution is committed to diversity, even though this compositional variable is not significantly associated with reported perceptions of discrimination and bias or with reports of experiencing harassment (Ruiz Alvarado and Hurtado 2013). To conceptually apply the multilevel model of intersectionality here, the organizational domain of power is represented by the composition of Latino students on campus, the experiential domain of power by the extent to which students report experiencing discrimination, and the intersubjective domain of power by the extent to which students report experiencing harassment. Methodologically in HLM analysis, the organizational domain of power is measured as an institutional variable, whereas the latter two variables are measured as individual-level variables. The study reveals that taking multiple social identities into account is important when understanding Latino college students' experiences across these three domains of power. It also suggests that a higher proportion of Latino students (in the organizational domain of power) can (but not always) have a positive relationship with support for Latino students in the intersubjective and experiential domains of power. Thus, interlocking yet distinct institutional-level class and race social identity contexts influence college experiences that could have implications for shaping how the intersubjective and experiential domains in higher education influence diverse students' behaviors and outcomes.

Mixed Methods

A mixed methods approach combines the potential and varied benefits of quantitative and qualitative research outlined above to generate an especially holistic way to explore the intersectionality between social identities and how different social contexts across time accordingly affect educational opportunities (see Museus and Griffin 2011, for a more elaborate discussion of how using mixed methods can be especially valuable in conducting higher education research on intersectionality).

As noted earlier, in their 5-year longitudinal ethnography of first-generation immigrant K-12 students, Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova (2008) interviewed Latino and Asian immigrant students and their families from several national backgrounds. They also observed students in school, interviewed their teachers, and collected academic achievement data on these students. This mixed methods study offers rich insights on the interplay between multiple sociodemographic identities and institutional contexts and how this interplay is related to academic achievement, and, in some cases, college enrollment. The qualitative analyses provide insight into the educational, familial, and cultural processes that shape these students' educational opportunities, while the quantitative analyses offer insight into how such processes are connected with longer-term academic performance and even, in some cases, college enrollment. Consistent with an intersectional emphasis on institutional as well as individual influences (e.g., Collins 2007), their study addresses multiple units of analysis to illustrate how broader interlocking systems of power and oppression, including racism, nativism, classism, and sexism, affect Latino first-generation immigrant students' schooling experiences.

Practical Implications: Strategies and Practices to Challenge Oppression

Because a key component of intersectionality is its focus on social justice and transformative action (e.g., Collins 2007; Dill and Zambrana 2009), discussing practical implications of research on intersectionality is important. This section provides some examples that are focused on each level of the multilevel model.

Multiple Social Identities

It is important for policymakers and practitioners to be culturally responsive to specific social categories and identities. For example, taking one social identity, Latinos tend to value the family and collective to a greater degree than other cultures (Tyler et al. 2008). An intersectionality framework that brings in the role of gender also indicates that familial values can influence women to be more likely to stay at or near home than men if they do pursue higher education. Staying nearer to the family of origin can be associated with a lower selectivity of Latinas' undergraduate and

graduate institutions (Núñez et al. 2008; Ramírez 2013), which has negative consequences for college persistence and graduate school attendance (e.g., Arbona and Nora 2007; Bowen et al. 2009).

Interventions could work with students and families to explore families' feelings about location of institution, selectivity, and the costs and benefits of attending different institutions. Such interventions could also take into account how various social categories such as gender play into Latino students' and families' decisions about college. The purpose of such interventions would not be to impose an external view of where students should go to college, but to focus on students' and families' own perspectives on how multiple social identities could affect college access and success and to take these into account in the college (or graduate school) decision-making process.

Domains of Power

There can be cultural discontinuity between organizational values, norms, and behaviors in K-12 schools or higher education and Latino values, such as the US emphasis on individualism and individual advancement versus a Latino tendency to emphasize the collective, including the family, to a greater degree (Tyler et al. 2008). Designing interventions to "bridge multiple worlds" (Cooper 2009) or social contexts such as school, family, and community can result in increased academic performance and postsecondary-related outcomes (Moran et al. 2009). Such P-20 partnerships can also support students in the transition to college (Núñez and Oliva 2009). When the unit of analysis becomes the institution, commonalities across sectors in the skills required for students transitioning from one organizational sector (e.g., K-12 schooling) to another (e.g., higher education) become evident. Programs, policies, and practices seeking to bridge these sectors' interactions with students could facilitate their educational transitions toward postsecondary education.

Engaging Latino students in examining reasons for organizational inequities, misrepresentation of Latino capabilities, and differential intersubjective treatment of Latinos can also positively influence Latino students' educational outcomes. For example, engaging Latino immigrant and migrant students to express themselves in the language in which they feel most comfortable and exposing them to a curriculum in which they interrogate power dynamics that foster unequal educational opportunities can shift their experiential or narrative interpretation of why they or those from their background are pursuing higher education at lower rates (Núñez *in press*; Gildersleeve 2010; Pacheco and Nao 2009). This may shift their understanding from blaming themselves—internalizing the vilification in the representational arena—to recognizing that institutions are also contributing to their lack of opportunity (Pacheco and Nao 2009). Immigrant and migrant students who participated in an outreach program involving these activities and behaviors applied to and enrolled in selective higher education at higher rates than members of an academically and socially equivalent comparison group (Núñez 2009).

At the intersubjective level, it is important to challenge dynamics where teachers and counselors encourage Latino students to pursue 4-year education at lower rates and community college at higher rates than other students (González et al. 2003; Oakes et al. 2006). Increasing awareness about and deconstructing inappropriate assumptions regarding Latino students could help expand Latino access and success in this regard. Further research on these topics and associated processes that reify or challenge existing power relations is warranted to understand systems of domination and resistance, as well as how to interrupt social reproduction of educational inequity.

Historicity

A historical perspective reminds us that, although there is currently a “nativist fear that non-European immigrants will undo the European idea of America” (Rodríguez 1993, p. 165; see also Rodríguez 2012), in fact, “America was formed *against the idea of Europe*” (Rodríguez 1993, p. 165, emphasis added). The spirit of immigrants, in addition to the labor that they bring, has in past times been valued (R. Rodríguez 1993; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, and Todorova 2008). It is not a given that they are “invaders” in the USA and “takers” of US resources (Pérez 2012). As one participant in Núñez’s (2011) study of Chicano studies expressed, exposure to the coursework helped to explain to her what’s influenced her to “feel like I’m not good enough for the school because I’m Latina...I actually see *what’s actually caused it and all those kinds of things*” (p. 646). Or, as another student in the study expressed, in K-12 schooling, “You only hear one side of the history” (Núñez 2011, p. 646). Although there is clearly political resistance to it in states like Arizona and Texas, teaching history to all students in K-12 schools and colleges with this expanded perspective of the past can shape norms that are more inclusive toward Latinos and immigrants and challenge the current nativism that limits political will toward broadening educational opportunities for Latinos, regardless of their immigrant or citizenship status (Contreras 2011; Gándara and Contreras 2009; Tienda 2009).

Future Use of the Model

I have proposed a way for using intersectionality to study power dynamics across social contexts in relation to multiple social identities and how these entities collectively influence educational access and success. Accordingly, the application of the multilevel model of intersectionality can provide insight into the social construction of the definition, salience, and interplay of multiple social categories and their influence on educational processes and outcomes. By employing Latinos as a special case to illustrate the utility of a multilevel model of intersectionality, this review sheds additional light on the holistic understanding of the multiple individual and contextual dimensions affecting Latinos’ postsecondary opportunity. This multilevel model may be useful to guide research studying the roles of multiple social categories, contexts, and histories simultaneously shaping equitable educational opportunities.

References

- Abes, E. (2012). Constructivist and intersectional interpretations of a lesbian college student's multiple social identities. *Journal of Higher Education*, 83(2), 186–216.
- Abes, E. S., Jones, S. R., & McEwen, M. K. (2007). Reconceptualizing the model of multiple dimensions of identity: The role of meaning-making capacity in the construction of multiple identities. *Journal of College Student Development*, 48(1), 1–22.
- Acuña, R. (2011). *The making of Chicana/o studies: In the trenches of academe*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Agamben, G. (1998). *Homo sacer: Sovereign power and bare life* (D. Heller-Roazen, Trans.). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Agamben, G. (2005). *State of exception* (K. Attell, Trans.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Alemán, A. (2006). The challenge of Latino demographics to educational accountability: A pragmatist's view. *Educational Researcher*, 39(6), 74–591.
- Alemán, A. (in press). *Critical discourse in higher education policy research*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Allan, E. (2011). Women's status in higher education. *ASHE Higher Education Report*, 37(1). Hoboken: Wiley.
- Allan, E. J., Iverson, S., & Ropers-Huilman, R. (Eds.). (2010). *Reconstructing policy in higher education: Feminist poststructural perspectives*. New York: Routledge.
- Allen, W., Telles, E., & Hunter, M. (2000). Skin color, income, and education: a comparison of Mexican Americans and African Americans. *National Journal of Sociology*, 12(1), 129–180.
- Anthias, F. (2013). Intersectional what? Social divisions, intersectionality, and levels of analysis. *Ethnicities*, 13(1), 3–19.
- Arbona, C., & Nora, A. (2007). The influence of academic and environmental factors on Hispanic college degree attainment. *Review of Higher Education*, 30(3), 247–270.
- Baker, B., Keller-Wolff, C., & Wolf-Wendel, L. (2000). Two steps forward, one step back: Race/ethnicity and student achievement in education policy research. *Educational Policy*, 14(4), 511–529.
- Barajas, H., & Ronnkvist, A. (2007). Racialized space: Framing Latino and Latina experience in public schools. *Teachers College Record*, 109(6), 1517–1538.
- Bastedo, M. N. (2012). Building theories: Using sticky social mechanisms to understand and improve educational work. In M. N. Bastedo (Ed.), *The organization of higher education* (pp. 335–354). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Baxter-Magolda, M. (1998). Developing self-authorship in young adult life. *Journal of College Student Development*, 39, 143–156.
- Beltrán, C. (2010). *The trouble with unity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bensimon, E. M., & Bishop, R. (2012). Introduction: Why 'critical'? The need for new ways of knowing. *Review of Higher Education*, 36(1), 1–7.
- Bensimon, E. M., & Dowd, A. (2009). Dimensions of the transfer choice gap: Experiences of Latina and Latino students who navigated transfer pathways. *Harvard Educational Review*, 79(4), 632–658.
- Bensimon, E. M., & Malcom, L. (2012). *Confronting equity issues on campus: Implementing the equity scorecard in theory and practice*. Sterling: Stylus.
- Bloomaert, J., & Bulcaen, C. (2000). Critical discourse analysis. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 29, 447–466.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2010). *Racism without racists* (3rd ed.). Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Press.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2013). The last shall be the first: Best books in the race field since 2000. *Contemporary Sociology: A Journal of Reviews*, 42(1), 31–40.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J.-C. (1977). *Reproduction in education, society, and culture*. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Bowen, W., Chingos, M., & McPherson, M. (2009). *Crossing the finish line*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Bray, N., & Major, C. H. (2011). Status of higher education journals. *Journal of Higher Education*, 82(4), 479–503.
- Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble*. New York: Routledge.
- Calavita, K. (2010). *Inside the state: The Bracero program, immigration, and the INS*. New Orleans: Quid Pro.
- Chase, M. M., Dowd, A. C., Pazich, L. B., & Bensimon, E. M. (2012). Transfer equity for “minoritized” students: A critical policy analysis of seven states. *Educational Policy*. Retrieved from: <http://epx.sagepub.com/content/early/2012/12/06/0895904812468227>
- Cho, S., Crenshaw, K. W., & McCall, L. (2013). Toward a field of intersectionality studies: Theory, applications, and praxis. *Signs*, 38(4), 785–810.
- Chun, J. J., Lipsitz, G., & Shin, Y. (2013). Intersectionality as a social movement strategy: Asian immigrant women advocates. *Signs*, 38(4), 917–940.
- Clark, B. (1960). The ‘cooling out’ function in higher education. *American Journal of Sociology*, 65, 569–576.
- Collins, P. H. (1990). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- Collins, P. H. (2007). Pushing the boundaries or business as usual? Race, class, and gender studies in sociological inquiry. In C. Calhoun (Ed.), *Sociology in America: A history* (pp. 572–604). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Contreras, F. (2011). *Achieving equity for Latino students: Expanding the pathway to higher education through public policy*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Cooper, H. M. (1988). Organizing knowledge syntheses: A taxonomy of literature reviews. *Knowledge in Society*, 1(1), 104–126.
- Covarrubias, A. (2011). Quantitative intersectionality: A critical race analysis of the Chicana/o educational pipeline. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, 10(2), 86–105.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241–1299.
- Crisp, G., & Nora, A. (2010). Hispanic student success: Factors influencing the persistence and transfer decisions of Latino community college students enrolled in developmental education. *Research in Higher Education*, 51(2), 175–194.
- Crisp, G., & Nora, A. (2012). *Overview of Hispanics in Science, Mathematics, Engineering and Technology (STEM): K-16 representation, preparation and participation*. San Antonio: Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities.
- Crisp, G., & Núñez, A. -M. (in press). Understanding the racial transfer gap: Modeling underrepresented minority and non-minority students’ pathways from 2-year to 4-year institutions. *Review of Higher Education*.
- Crisp, G., Nora, A., & Taggart, A. (2009). Student characteristics, pre-college, college, and environmental factors as predictors of majoring in and earning a STEM degree: An analysis of students attending a Hispanic-serving institution. *American Educational Research Journal*, 46, 924–942.
- Croninger, R. C., & Lee, V. E. (2001). Social capital and dropping out of high school: Benefits to at-risk students of teachers’ support and guidance. *Teachers College Record*, 103(4), 548–581.
- Cuádras, G. H., & Pierce, J. L. (1994). From scholarship girls to scholarship women, surviving the contradictions of class and race. *Explorations in Ethnic Studies*, 17(1), 21–44.
- Davis, K. (2008). Intersectionality as buzzword: A sociology of science perspective on what makes a feminist theory successful. *Feminist Theory*, 9, 67–85.
- Deil-Amen, R. (2011). Beyond remedial dichotomies: are underprepared college students a marginalized majority? *New Directions for Community Colleges*, 155, 59–71.
- Deil-Amen, R., & Rosenbaum, J. (2002). The unintended consequences of stigma-free remediation. *Sociology of Education*, 75, 249–268.
- Delgado Bernal, D. D., & Villalpando, O. (2002). An apartheid of knowledge in academia: the struggle over the “legitimate” knowledge of faculty of color. *Equity and Excellence in Education*, 35(2), 169–180.

- Dill, B. T., & Zambrana, R. E. (2009). Critical thinking about inequality: An emerging lens. In B. T. Dill & R. E. Zambrana (Eds.), *Emerging intersections: Race, class, and gender in theory, policy, and practice* (pp. 1–21). New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Dill, B. T., McLaughlin, A., & Nieves, A. D. (2007). Future directions of feminist research: Intersectionality. In S. Hesse-Biber (Ed.), *Handbook of feminist research, theory, and praxis* (pp. 629–638). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Donato, R., & Hanson, J. S. (2012). Legally white, socially ‘Mexican’: The politics of de jure and de facto school segregation in the American Southwest. *Harvard Educational Review*, 82(2), 202–225.
- Dowd, A. C. (2007). Community colleges as gateways and gatekeepers: Moving beyond the access saga toward outcome equity. *Harvard Educational Review*, 77(4), 1–13.
- Dowd, A. (2008). Dynamic interactions and intersubjectivity: Challenges to causal modeling in studies of college student debt. *Review of Educational Research*, 78(2), 232–259.
- Dowd, A. C., Malcolm, L. E., & Bensimon, E. M. (2010). *Benchmarking the success of Latina and Latino students in STEM to achieve national graduation goals*. Los Angeles: Center for Urban Education.
- Flores, S. (2010). State Dream Acts: The effect of in-state resident tuition policies and undocumented Latino/a students. *Review of Higher Education*, 33(2), 239–283.
- Flores, S., & Horn, C. (2009–10). College persistence among undocumented students at a selective public university: A quantitative case study analysis. *Journal of College Student Retention*, 11, 57–76.
- Flores, S., & Park, T. (2013). Race, ethnicity, and college success: Examining the continued significance of the minority-serving institution. *Educational Researcher*. doi:10.3102/0013189X13478978.
- Flores, R., & Telles, E. (2012). Social stratification in Mexico: Disentangling color, ethnicity, and class. *American Sociological Review*, 77(3), 486–494.
- Fraga, L. R., Martínez-Ebers, V., López, L., & Ramírez, R. (2005). *Strategic intersectionality: Gender, ethnicity, and political incorporation*. A paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC.
- Frey, W. H. (2010, April 28). *Will Arizona be America’s future?* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution. Retrieved September 15, 2011, from http://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2010/0428_arizona_frey
- Fries-Britt, S., Johnson, J., & Burt, B. (2013). Black students in physics: The intersection of academic ability, race, gender, and class. In T. Strayhorn (Ed.), *Living at the intersections: Social identities and black collegians*. Charlotte: Information Age Press.
- Gándara, P. C., & Contreras, F. (2009). *The Latino educational crisis*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Gándara, P. C., & Hopkins, M. (2010). *Forbidden language: English learners and restrictive language policies*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Gándara, P. C., Alvarado, E., Driscoll, A., & Orfield, G. (2012, February). *Building pathways to transfer: Community colleges that break the chain of failure for students of color*. Los Angeles: The Civil Rights Project.
- Gasman, M. (2007a). *Envisioning black colleges*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Gasman, M. (2007b). Swept under the rug: A historiography of gender and black colleges. *American Educational Research Journal*, 44(3), 760–805.
- Gasman, M. (2010). *The history of U.S. higher education – Methods for understanding the past*. New York: Routledge.
- Gasman, M., Nguyen, T.-H., & Kalam, S. (2013). Black undergraduates at historically black colleges and universities and multiple identities. In T. Strayhorn (Ed.), *Living at the intersections: Social identities and black collegians*. Charlotte: Information Age Press.
- Gerth, H. H., & Mills, C. W. (1946). *From Max Weber: Essays in sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gibson, M. A., & Hidalgo, N. D. (2009). Bridges to success in high school for migrant youth. *Teachers College Record*, 111(3), 683–711.
- Gildersleeve, R. (2010). *Fracturing opportunity*. New York: Peter Lang.

- Gimenez, M. E. (1997). Latino/"Hispanic" – Who needs a name? The case against a standardized terminology. In A. Darder, R. Torres, & H. Gutierrez (Eds.), *Latinos and education*. New York: Routledge.
- Ginorio, A. B., & Huston, M. (2001). *Si se puede! Latinas in schools*. Washington, DC: American Association of University Women.
- Gloria, A. M., & Castellanos, J. (2012). *Desafíos y bendiciones*: A multi-perspective examination of the educational experiences and coping responses of first-generation college Latina students. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 11(1), 82–99.
- González, R. (Ed.). (1996). *Muy macho*. New York: Anchor Books.
- González, K., & Padilla, R. (2008). *Doing the public good: Latina/o scholars engage civic participation*. Sterling: Stylus.
- González, K., Stoner, C., & Jovel, J. (2003). Examining the role of social capital in access to college for Latinas: Toward a college opportunity framework. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 2(2), 146–170.
- Gracia, J. J. E. (2008). *Latinos in America: Philosophy and social identity*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.
- Griffin, K., & Pérez, D. (2013). Looking beyond labels: Black honors students negotiating the intersections between their personal and social identities. In T. Strayhorn (Ed.), *Living at the intersections: Social identities and black collegians*. Charlotte: Information Age Press.
- Griffin, K., & Reddick, R. (2011). Surveillance and sacrifice: Gender differences in the mentoring patterns of black professors at predominantly white research universities. *American Educational Research Journal*, 48(5), 1032–1057.
- Hagedorn, L. S., Chi, W., Cepeda, R. M., & McLain, M. (2007). An investigation of critical mass: The role of Latino representation in the successes of urban community college students. *Research in Higher Education*, 48(1), 73–90.
- Harbour, C. P., & Wolgemuth, J. R. (2013). Giorgio Agamben and the abandonment paradigm: A new form of student diversion in public higher education. *Review of Higher Education*, 36(2), 235–254.
- Harper, C. E. (2011). Identity, intersectionality, and mixed-methods approaches. In K. A. Griffin & S. D. Museus (Eds.), *Using mixed methods to study intersectionality in higher education: New directions in institutional research* (pp. 103–115). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Harper, S. (2012). Race without racism: How higher education minimize racist institutional norms. *Review of Higher Education*, 36(1), 9–30.
- Hart, J. (2006). Women and feminism in higher education scholarship. *Journal of Higher Education*, 77(1), 40–61.
- Herrera, F., Hurtado, S., Garcia, G., & Gasiewski, J. (2012). *A model for redefining STEM identity for talented STEM graduate students*. Los Angeles: University of California Los Angeles. Retrieved from <http://heri.ucla.edu/nih/downloads/AERA2012HerreraGraduateSTEMIdentity.pdf> on 26 June 2013.
- Howard, A., & Gatzimbe-Fernández, R. A. (Eds.). (2010). *Educating elites*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Press.
- Hughes, S., Pennington, J. L., & Makris, S. (2012). Translating autoethnography across the AERA standards. *Educational Researcher*, 41(6), 209–219.
- Hurtado, S. (2007). The study of college impact. In P. J. Gumport (Ed.), *Sociology of education* (pp. 94–112). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Hurtado, S., & Carter, D. F. (1997). Effects of college transition and perceptions of the campus racial climate on Latino college students' sense of belonging. *Sociology of Education*, 70(1), 342–345.
- Hurtado, A., & Cervantez, K. (2009). A view from within and without: The development of Latina feminist psychology. In F. A. Villaruel, G. Carlo, J. M. Grau, M. Azmitia, N. J. Cabrera, & T. J. Chahin (Eds.), *Handbook of U.S. Latino psychology: Developmental and community-based perspectives* (pp. 171–190). Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Hurtado, S., & Ponjuán, L. (2005). Latino educational outcomes and the campus climate. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 4(3), 1–18.

- Hurtado, S., Milem, J. F., Clayton-Pedersen, A. R., & Allen, W. R. (1999). Enacting diverse learning environments: Improving the climate for racial/ethnic diversity in higher education. *ASHE/ERIC Higher Education Report*, 26(8). Washington, DC: George Washington University.
- Hurtado, S., Sáenz, V. B., Santos, J. L., & Cabrera, N. L. (2008). *Advancing in higher education: A portrait of Latina/o college freshmen at four-year institutions, 1975–2006*. Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute.
- 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. *Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research*, 27, 41–122.
- Hutcheson, P., Gasman, M., & Sanders-McMurtry, K. (2011). Race and equality in the academy: Rethinking higher education actors and the struggle for equality for the post-World War II period. *Journal of Higher Education*, 82(2), 121–153.
- Institute for Higher Education Law and Governance. (2013). Table One: State laws allowing undocumented students to establish residency, 2013. Retrieved September 30, 2013, from <http://www.law.uh.edu/ihe/g/documents/Statute-TableOne.html>
- Jaffe, B. (2007). Changing perceptions, and ultimately practices, of basic writing instructors through the *familia* approach. In C. Kirklighter, D. Cardenas, & S. W. Murphy (Eds.), *Teaching writing with Latino/a students: Lessons learned at Hispanic-serving institutions* (pp. 169–192). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- St. John, E. P. (2003). *Refinancing the college dream: Access, equal opportunity, and justice for taxpayers*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Jones, S. R. (2009). Constructing identities at the intersections: An autoethnographic exploration of multiple dimensions of identity. *Journal of College Student Development*, 50(3), 287–304.
- Jones, S. R., & McEwen, M. (2000). A conceptual model of multiple dimensions of identity. *Journal of College Student Development*, 41, 405–413.
- Jones, S. R., Kim, Y. C., & Skendall, K. C. (2012). (Re)framing authenticity: Considering multiple social identities using autoethnographic and intersectional approaches. *Journal of Higher Education*, 83(5), 698–724.
- Kanno, Y., & Cromley, J. (2013). English language learners' access to and attainment in postsecondary education. *TESOL Quarterly*, 47(1), 89–121. doi:10.1002/tesq.49.
- Kanno, Y., & Grosik, S. A. (2012). Immigrant English learners' access to four-year universities. In Y. Kanno & L. Harklau (Eds.), *Linguistic minority students go to college: Preparation, access, and persistence* (pp. 130–147). New York: Routledge.
- Kanno, Y., & Harklau, L. (Eds.). (2012). *Linguistic minority students go to college: Preparation, access, and persistence*. New York: Routledge.
- Kao, G., & Tienda, M. (1995). Optimism and achievement: The educational performance of immigrant youth. *Social Science Quarterly*, 76(1), 1–18.
- Karabel, J. (2005). *The chosen*. New York: Mariner Books.
- Kelly, A. P., Schneider, M., & Carey, K. (2010). *Rising to the challenge: Hispanic college graduation rates as a national priority*. Washington, DC: American Enterprise Institute.
- Kezar, A. (Ed.). (2011). *Recognizing and serving low-income students in higher education*. New York: Routledge.
- Laden, B. V., Hagedorn, L. S., & Perrakis, A. (2008). Donde estan los hombres? Examining success of Latino males at Hispanic-serving community colleges. In M. B. Gasman, B. Baez, & C. S. V. Turner (Eds.), *Understanding minority-serving institutions* (pp. 127–140). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Lakoff, G. (2006). *Thinking points*. New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux.
- Lakoff, G., & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- López, M. H. (2011). *Hispanic poverty rate highest in new supplemental census measure*. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center. Retrieved November 27, 2011, at <http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=148>

- Lundberg, C. A., Schreiner, L. A., Hovaguimian, L. D., & Miller, S. S. (2007). First-generation status and student race/ethnicity as distinct predictors of student involvement and learning. *NASPA Journal*, 44(1), 57–83.
- MacKinnon, C. A. (2013). Intersectionality as a method: A note. *Signs*, 38(4), 1019–1030.
- Malcom, L., Dowd, A., & Yu, T. (2010). *Tapping HSI-STEM funds to improve Latina and Latino access to STEM professions*. Los Angeles: University of Southern California.
- Maramba, D., & Museus, S. (2011). The utility of using mixed-methods and intersectionality approaches in conducting research on Filipino American students' experiences with the campus climate and on sense of belonging. In K. A. Griffin & S. D. Museus (Eds.), *Using mixed methods to study intersectionality in higher education* (pp. 93–101). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Martínez Alemán, A. M. (in press). Critical discourse analysis in higher education policy research. In A. M. Martínez Alemán, B. Pusser, & E. M. Bensimon (Eds.), *Critical approaches to the study of higher education*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Martínez Alemán, A. M. (2006). Latino demographics, democratic individuality, and educational accountability: A pragmatist's view. *Educational Researcher*, 35(7), 25–31.
- Massey, D. S., Charles, C. Z., Lundy, G., & Fischer, M. J. (2003). *The source of the river: the social origins of freshmen at America's selective colleges and universities*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Massey, D. S., & Pren, K. A. (2012). Origins of the new Latino underclass. *Race and Social Problems*, 4, 5–17.
- McCall, S. (2005). The complexity of intersectionality. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 30, 1771–1800.
- McCarron, G., & Inkelas, K. K. (2006). The gap between educational aspirations and attainment for first-generation college students and the role of parental involvement. *Journal of College Student Development*, 47(5), 534–549.
- McDonough, P., & Núñez, A.-M. (2007). Bourdieu's sociology of education: Identifying persistent inequality, unmasking domination, and Fighting social reproduction. In C. A. Torres & A. Teodoro (Eds.), *Critique and utopia: New developments in the sociology of education*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Menjívar, C., & Abrego, L. (2012). *Legal violence in the lives of immigrants: How immigration enforcement affects families, schools, and workplaces*. Washington, DC: Center for American Progress.
- Mora, C. (2014). *Making Hispanics: How activists, bureaucrats, and media constructed a new American*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Moran, C., Cooper, C. R., López, A., & Goza, B. (2009). Developing effective P-20 partnerships to benefit Chicano/Latino students and families. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 8(4), 340–356. doi:10.1177/1538192709347845.
- Mosqueda, E. (2012). Linguistic minority students' opportunities to learn high school mathematics. In Y. Kanno & L. Harklau (Eds.), *Linguistic minority students go to college: Preparation, access, and persistence*. New York: Routledge.
- Motel, S., & Patten, E. (2013). *Statistical portrait of the foreign-born population in the United States, 2011*. Retrieved from <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2013/01/29/statistical-portrait-of-the-foreign-born-population-in-the-united-states-2011/>
- Museus, S. D., & Griffin, K. A. (2011). Mapping the margins in higher education: On the promise of intersectionality frameworks in research and discourse. In K. A. Griffin & S. D. Museus (Eds.), *Using mixed methods to study intersectionality in higher education: New directions in institutional research* (pp. 5–13). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- National Hispanic Media Coalition. (2012). *The impact of media stereotypes on opinions and attitudes toward Latinos*. Retrieved from <http://www.nhmc.org/sites/default/files/LD%20NHMC%20Poll%20Results%20Sept.2012.pdf>
- Nora, A., & Crisp, G. (2009). Hispanics and higher education: An overview of research, theory, and practice. In J. C. Smart (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research in higher education* (pp. 317–353). Neu-Isenberg: Springer Medizin press.

- Nora, A., & Crisp, G. (2012). *Hispanic student participation and success in developmental education*. San Antonio: Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities.
- Núñez, A.-M. (in press). Employing multilevel intersectionality in educational research: Latino identities, contexts, and college access. *Educational Researcher*.
- Núñez, A.-M. (2009). Latino students' college transitions: A social and intercultural capital perspective. *Harvard Educational Review*, 79(1), 22–48.
- Núñez, A.-M. (2011). Counterspaces and connections in college transitions: first-generation Latino students' perspectives on Chicano Studies. *Journal of College Student Development*, 52(6), 639–655.
- Núñez, A.-M., & Crisp, G. (2012). Ethnic diversity and Latino/a college access: A comparison of Mexican American and Puerto Rican beginning college students. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 5(2), 78–95.
- Núñez, A.-M., & Elizondo, D. (2013). *Closing the Latino/a transfer gap: Creating pathways to the baccalaureate*. San Antonio: American Association of Hispanics in Higher Education, Educational Testing Service, and University of Texas at San Antonio.
- Núñez, A.-M., & Gildersleeve, R. (under review). *Sociocritical matters: Migrant and immigrant students' college access*.
- Núñez, A.-M., Hoover, R., Pickett, K., Stuart-Carruthers, C., & Vazquez, M. (2013). Latinos in higher education and Hispanic-Serving Institutions: Creating conditions for success. *ASHE Higher Education Report* 39(1). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Núñez, A.-M., & Kim, D. (2012). Building a multicontextual model of Latino college enrollment: Student, school, and state-level effects. *Review of Higher Education*, 35(2), 237–263.
- Núñez, A.-M., & Murakami-Ramalho, E. (2011). Advocacy in the hyphen: Perspectives from junior faculty at a Hispanic-serving institution. In G. Jean-Marie & B. Lloyd-Jones (Eds.), *Women of color in higher education: Turbulent past, promising future* (pp. 171–194). Bingley: Emerald Press.
- Núñez, A.-M., & Oliva, M. (2009). Organizational collaboration to promote college access: A P-20 framework. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 8(4), 322–339.
- Núñez, A.-M., McDonough, P., Ceja, M., & Solórzano, D. (2008). Diversity within: Latino college choice and ethnic comparisons. In C. Gallagher (Ed.), *Racism in post-race America: New theories, new directions* (pp. 267–284). Chapel Hill: Social Forces Publishing.
- Núñez, A.-M., Murakami, E., & Cuero, K. (2010). Pedagogy for equity: Teaching in a Hispanic-Serving Institution. *Innovative Higher Education*, 35(3), 177–190.
- O'Connor, N. (2009). Hispanic origin, socio-economic status, and community college enrollment. *Journal of Higher Education*, 80(2), 121–145.
- Oakes, J. (1985). *Keeping track*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Oakes, J., Rogers, J., Silver, D., Valladares, S., Terriquez, V., McDonough, P., Renee, M., & Lipton, M. (2006). *Removing the roadblocks: Fair college opportunities for all California students*. Los Angeles: UC All Campus Consortium for Research on Diversity and UCLA Institute for Democracy, Education, and Access.
- Ojeda, L., Navarro, R. L., Meza, R. R., & Arbona, C. (2012). Too Latino and not Latino enough: The role of ethnicity-related stressors on Latino college students' life satisfaction. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 11, 14. doi:[10.1177/1538192711435553](https://doi.org/10.1177/1538192711435553).
- Ortiz, A. M., & Santos, S. J. (2009). *Ethnicity in college: Advancing theory and improving diversity practices*. Sterling, VA: Stylus.
- Ortiz, V., & Telles, E. (2012). Racial identity and racial treatment of Mexican Americans. *Race and Social Problems*, 4, 41–56.
- Pacheco, M., & Nao, K. (2009). Rewriting identities: Using historicized writing to promote migrant students' writing. *Pedagogies*, 4(1), 24–43.
- Park, J. J., Denson, N., & Bowman, N. A. (2013). Does socioeconomic diversity make a difference?: Examining the effects of racial and socioeconomic diversity on the campus climate for diversity. *American Educational Research Journal*, 50(3), 466–496.
- Patton, L. D., McEwen, M., Rendón, L. I., & Howard-Hamilton, M. F. (2007). Critical race perspectives on theory in student affairs. *New Directions for Student Services*, 120, 39–53.

- Peña, E. (2012). Inquiry methods for critical consciousness and self-change in faculty. *Review of Higher Education*, 36(1), 69–92.
- Peña-Talamantes, A. E. (2013). Empowering the self, creating worlds: Lesbian and gay Latina/o college students' identity negotiation in figured words. *Journal of College Student Development*, 54(3), 267–282.
- Pérez, W. (2009). *We are Americans: Undocumented students pursuing the American dream*. Sterling: Stylus Publishing.
- Pérez, W. (2012). *Americans by heart: Undocumented latino students and the promise of higher education*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Pérez-Huber, L. (2009). Challenging racist nativist framing: Acknowledging the community cultural wealth of undocumented Chicana college students to reframe the immigration debate. *Harvard Educational Review*, 79(4), 704–729.
- Perna, L. (2006). Studying college access and choice: A proposed conceptual model. In J. C. Smart (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research in higher education* (Vol. 21, pp. 99–157). New York: Springer.
- Perna, L. W., & Thomas, S. L. (2008). Theoretical perspectives on student success: Understanding the contributions of the disciplines. *ASHE/ERIC Higher Education Report*, 34(1). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Pew Hispanic Center. (2008). *US population projections: 2005–2050*. Washington, DC: Pew Hispanic Center. Retrieved February 18, 2010, from <http://pewhispanic.org/files/reports/85.pdf>
- Pew Hispanic Center. (2010a). *Hispanics and Arizona's new immigration law*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Pew Hispanic Center. (2010b). *Pew social and demographic trends 2010*. Washington, DC: Author. Retrieved from www.pewsocialtrends.org/2010/01/12/blacks-upbeat-about-black-progress-prospects
- Pew Hispanic Center. (2011, May 26). *Statistical profile: Hispanics of Mexican origin in the United States, 2009; Hispanics of Puerto Rican origin in the United States, 2009; and Hispanics of Cuban origin in the United States, 2009*. Retrieved from <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2011/05/26/country-of-origin-proCles/>
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2001). *Legacies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Posner, B., & Marginson, S. (2012). Power, politics, and global rankings. In M. N. Bastedo (Ed.), *The organization of higher education* (pp. 86–117). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Ramírez, E. (2013). Examining Latinos/as' graduate school choice process: An intersectionality perspective. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 12(1), 23–36.
- Razfar, A., & Simon, J. (2011). Course-taking patterns of Latino ESL students: Mobility and mainstreaming in urban community colleges in the United States. *TESOL Quarterly*, 45(4), 595–627. doi:10.5054/tq.2011.268060.
- Rendón, L., Dowd, A., & Nora, A. (2012). *Priced out: A close look at postsecondary affordability for Latinos*. Washington, DC: The Higher Education Subcommittee on President Barack Obama's Advisory Commission on Educational Excellence for Hispanics.
- Renn, K. A., & Arnold, K. D. (2003). Reconceptualizing research on college student peer culture. *Journal of Higher Education*, 74(3), 261–291.
- Renn, K. A., & Reason, R. D. (2013). *College students in the United States: Characteristics, experiences, and outcomes*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Rodríguez, R. (1993). *Days of obligation: An argument with my Mexican father*. New York: Penguin.
- Rodríguez, C. F. (2008). Latinos and immigrants. *Harvard Law Review*, 11, 247–262.
- Rodríguez, C. (2012). Top 10 % linguistically diverse students' access and success at Texas public universities. In Y. Kanno & L. Harklau (Eds.), *Linguistic Minority students go to college: Preparation, access, and persistence*. New York: Routledge.
- Rodríguez, G. M., & Cruz, L. (2009). The transition to college of English Learner and undocumented immigrant students: Resource and policy. *Teachers College Record*, 11(10), 2385–2418.
- Roscigno, V. J. (2011). Power, revisited. *Social Forces*, 90(2), 349–374.

- Ruiz Alvarado, A., & Hurtado, S. (in press). Salience at the intersection: Latina/o identities across different campus contexts. In D. J. Davis, R. J. Brunn, & J. Olive (Eds.), *Intersectionality and research in education*. Sterling: Stylus.
- Ruiz Alvarado, A., & Hurtado, S. (2013, April). *Growing during troubled times: Latina/o student experiences with multiple dimensions of the campus climate*. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association annual meeting, San Francisco.
- Rumbaut, R. (2011). Pigments of our imagination: The racialization of the Hispanic-Latino category. *Migration information source*. Retrieved December 15, 2011, from www.migrationinformation.org/USfocus/display.cfm?ID=837
- Sáenz, R. (2010, December). *Population Bulletin update: Latinos in the United States 2010*. Washington, DC: Population Reference Bureau.
- Sáenz, V. B., & Ponjuán, L. (2009). The vanishing Latino male in higher education. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 8(1), 54–89.
- Santos, J., & Sáenz, V. (2013). In the eye of the perfect storm: The convergence of policy and Latina/o trends in access and financial concerns: 1975–2008. *Educational Policy*. doi:10.1177/0895904812465111.
- Smith, D. (2009). *Diversity's promise for higher education: Making it work*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Smith, D. G., Turner, C. S., Osei-Kofi, N., & Richards, S. (2004). Interrupting the usual: Successful strategies for hiring diverse faculty. *Journal of Higher Education*, 75(2), 133–160.
- Solórzano, D., & Villalpando, O. (1998). Critical Race Theory, marginality, and the experience of students of color in higher education. In C. A. Torres & T. R. Mitchell (Eds.), *Sociology of education: Emerging perspectives* (pp. 211–224). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Solórzano, D., & Yosso, T. (2002). Critical race methodology: Counter-storytelling as an analytical framework for education research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 8(1), 23–44.
- Solórzano, D., Villalpando, O., & Oseguera, L. (2005). Educational inequities and Latina/o undergraduate students in the United States: A critical race analysis of their educational progress. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 4(3), 272–293.
- Sparks, P. J., & Núñez, A.-M. (2012, April). *Institutional location and college persistence: The role of urbanicity*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, San Francisco, CA.
- Stage, F. (2007). Using quantitative data to answer critical questions. In *New Directions for Institutional Research*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Steele, C. (1997). A threat in the air. *American Psychologist*, 52(6), 613–629.
- Steele, C. (2010). *Whistling Vivaldi*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.
- Strayhorn, T. (Ed.). (2013). *Living at the intersections: Social identities and black collegians*. Charlotte: Information Age Press.
- Suárez-Orozco, C., Suárez-Orozco, M., & Todorova, I. (2008). *Learning a new land: Immigrant students in American Society*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap.
- Sy, S. R., & Romero, J. (2008). Family responsibilities among Latina college students from immigrant families. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, 7(3), 212–227.
- Telles, E. (2012). Race and social problems. *Race and Social Problems*, 4, 1–4.
- Tienda, M. (2009). *Hispanicity and educational inequality: Risks, opportunities, and the nation's future* (Tomas Rivera Lecture Series). Princeton: Educational Testing Service, Policy Information Center.
- Torres, V. (2004). The diversity among us: Puerto Ricans, Cuban Americans, Caribbean Americans, and Central and South Americans. In A. M. Ortiz (Ed.), *New directions for student services* (Vol. 105, no. 16, pp. 5–15). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Torres, V. (2010). La familia as locus theologicus and religious education in lo cotidiano (daily life). *Religious Education*, 105(4), 444–461.
- Torres, V., & Hernández, E. (2007). The influence of ethnic identity on self-authorship: A longitudinal study of Latino/a students. *Journal of College Student Development*, 48, 558–573.
- Turner, C. S. V. (2002). Women of color in academe: Living with multiple marginality. *Journal of Higher Education*, 73(1), 74–93.

- Tyler, K. M., Uqdah, A. L., Dillihunt, M. L., Beatty-Hazelbaker, R., Conner, T., Gadson, N., & Stevens, R. (2008). Cultural discontinuity: Toward a quantitative investigation of a major hypothesis in education. *Educational Researcher*, 37(5), 280–297.
- US Department of Education. (2011). *Developing Hispanic-Serving Institutions Program—Title V*. Retrieved June 29, 2011, from www2.ed.gov/programs/ideshsi/index.html
- Valencia, R. (2002). *Chicano school failure and success* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge/Falmer.
- Villalpando, O. (2003). Self-segregation or self-preservation? A critical race theory and Latina/o critical theory analysis of a study of Chicana/o college students. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 16(5), 619–646.
- Villalpando, O. (2004). Practical considerations of critical race theory and Latino critical race theory for Latino college students. *New Directions for Student Services*, 105, 41–50. San Francisco: Wiley Periodicals.
- Walpole, M. B. (2007). Economically and educationally challenged students in higher education: Access to outcomes. *ASHE-Higher Education Report Series*, 33(3), 1–113.
- Yosso, T. J. (2006). *Critical race counterstories along the Chicana/Chicano pipeline*. New York: Routledge.
- Zambrana, R. E. (2011). *Latinos in American Society*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Zambrana, R. E., & MacDonald, V.-M. (2009). Staggered inequalities in access to higher education by gender, race, and ethnicity. In B. T. Dill & R. E. Zambrana (Eds.), *Emerging intersections: Race, class, and gender in theory, policy, and practice* (pp. 73–100). New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Zuberi, T. (2001). *Thicker than blood: How racial statistics lie*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Higher Education: Handbook of Theory and Research
Volume 29

Paulsen, M.B. (Ed.)

2014, XIII, 592 p. 29 illus., 2 illus. in color., Hardcover

ISBN: 978-94-017-8004-9