

Different Yet Similar: The Educational Experiences of Latinx Male Students at Texas PWI, HSI, and HBCU Institutions

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Luis Ponjuán¹  and Susana Hernández¹

Abstract

This article explored Latino male students' educational experiences at a Predominantly White Institution (PWI), Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI), and Historically Black College and University (HBCU) in Texas. Yosso's concept of Community Cultural Wealth was used. The study revealed that Latino male students, regardless of the higher education institution, shared similar challenges. This study helps institutions understand their challenges and improve their educational experiences.

Resumen

Este manuscrito exploró las experiencias educativas de estudiantes masculinos latinos en una institución predominantemente blanca (PWI), institución de servicio a hispanos (HSI), y colegio o universidad históricamente negra en Texas. Se usó el concepto de comunidad cultural de Yosso. El estudio reveló que los estudiantes latinos hombres, compartían retos similares independientemente de la institución de educación superior. Este estudio ayuda a las instituciones a entender sus retos y a mejorar sus experiencias educativas.

Keywords

Latina(o), higher education, retention, qualitative, gender

¹Texas A&M University, College Station, USA

Corresponding Author:

Luis Ponjuán, Texas A&M University, 4226 TAMU, 511 Harrington, College Station, TX 77843, USA.

Email: luis.ponjuan@tamu.edu

Scholars have acknowledged that Latinx¹ males who enroll in postsecondary education often face challenges with adjusting to the academic college culture, being unaware of academic support services, and having limited faculty member interactions (Sáenz et al., 2016). Over the last decade, scholars have increased awareness on the educational experiences of Latinx male students in higher education (Garcia et al., 2016; Ozuna Allen, 2015; Pérez & Sáenz, 2017). Despite the growing interest in the academic experiences of Latinx male students, ongoing discussions highlight the need to understand how these students successfully navigate their postsecondary experiences.

A recent national report highlighted that Latinx students are enrolling at different higher education institutions (e.g., 2-year and 4-year) at historically high levels (3.2 million) (McFarland et al., 2018). In particular, many Latinx undergraduate students initially enroll at community colleges (Ma & Baum, 2016) and have increased their attendance at Historically Black College and Universities (HBCUs; Palmer et al., 2015). Although more Latinx males are enrolling in college, scholars have found that they have low degree completion rates (Ponjuán et al., 2015). Therefore, it is important to understand their educational experiences at these diverse higher education campuses.

This research study expands the previous research studies focused on Latinx male students at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs; Pérez & Sáenz, 2017), Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs; Garcia et al., 2016), and HBCUs (Ozuna Allen, 2015). The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore Latinx male students' educational experiences at three different public 4-year institutions. Therefore, the following research question guided this study: What are the similarities and differences in the educational experiences among Latinx male students attending a Texas public PWI, HSI, and HBCU?

Review of Literature

Latinx Students' Experiences at Different Higher Education Institutions

Some studies have sought to understand the PWI experiences of Latinx students and other students of color within on-campus housing (Harwood et al., 2012), campus engagement (Nelson-Laird et al., 2007), and their academic achievement (Cerezo, 2013). Researchers have also examined Latinx undergraduate experiences at PWIs through factors such as campus climate (Hurtado & Ponjuán, 2005) and students' social and intercultural capital (Nuñez, 2009). For example, a strong predictor of Latinx students' sense of belonging at these institutions is highly influenced by positive faculty and diverse peer interactions (Nuñez, 2009). In addition, scholars have examined how HSIs' structures and practices affect Latinx student success outcomes (Nuñez et al., 2013, 2015). For instance, HSIs are more likely to adjust institutional policies, programs, and practices to be more student centered and culturally sensitive to the needs of Latinx students (Nuñez et al., 2015). In addition, one study compared the engagement, satisfaction, and development of Latinx students at HSIs versus those

at PWIs. Specifically, scholars have found that Latinx students at HSI and PWIs share more similar experiences than differences (Nelson-Laird et al., 2007). Researchers have also explored the experiences of Latinx students enrolled at HBCUs (Palmer et al., 2015; Palmer & Maramba, 2015; Roach, 2004). Although HBCU faculty were often more available and approachable to students, Latinx students also experienced microaggression behaviors (e.g., subtle forms of discrimination) from some faculty and their Black peers (Palmer et al., 2015). Overall, these aforementioned studies revealed that Latinx undergraduate students share some similarities and differences in their experiences across different higher education institutions.

Latinx Males' Experiences at Different Higher Education Institutions

Some researchers have examined the educational experiences of Latinx male “achievers” (e.g., academically talented) to determine how their social and cultural capital played a role in their academic success at PWIs (Pérez, 2014). Although Latinx male “achievers” at PWIs were academically successful and engaged, they associated their overall success to their reliance on their cultural capital and using it to help others (Pérez, 2014; Pérez & Sáenz, 2017). Scholars have also compared the racial identity development of Latinx males at an HSI, emerging HSI, and non-HSI (Garcia et al., 2016). This study found that the HSI and emerging HSI, in comparison with the non-HSI, provided more supportive environments through cocurricular opportunities for Latinx male students to explore their racial identity and sexual orientation identity. Another study found that the personable characteristics of faculty enhanced Latinx male students’ sense of belonging, but off-campus work obligations made it difficult for them to become engaged in cocurricular activities at HBCUs (Ozuna Allen, 2015). Although scholars have recently examined the educational outcomes of Latinx male students, this study expands the scholarship with a focus on their educational experiences at different Texas public 4-year higher education institutions.

Theoretical Framework

Yosso (2005) developed the conceptual framework of community cultural wealth (CCW) as an alternative to Bourdieu and Passeron’s (1977) theory of cultural capital (e.g., wealth, networks) that is often inherited by members from privileged, White, middle-class society. She argued that CCW recognizes and values the cultural knowledge from communities of color that also provide intangible and tangible benefits. CCW within communities of color provide individuals with six forms of capital.

Similar to earlier studies, we argue that Latinx male students rely on these forms of cultural capital to navigate their higher educational experiences (Yosso, 2005). Aspirational capital is the resilience and skills students of color have developed from previous hardships that they can rely on when faced with difficult situations while in college. Students’ navigational capital are skills and strategies developed when navigating and surviving potentially hostile campus environments which helps them become academically successful. Social capital are social networks and

community resources students of color can rely on and use when they are struggling or need assistance. Based on their bilingualism, linguistic capital are the cognitive and communication skills students bring with them to college that help with their overall success. Students' familial capital is the community of peers, staff, and faculty that nurtures their culture and becomes their family while in college, particularly when students are far from home. Finally, resistant capital are the skills students of color utilize to challenge and address inequities they may face throughout their educational experiences.

Other studies have applied Yosso's framework to better understand the educational experiences of Latinx students (Pérez & McDonough, 2008) and Latinx male students (Pérez, 2014). We used the CCW model to understand the educational experiences of Latinx male students who enrolled at an HBCU, an HSI, and a PWI.

Method

Data Source and Student Sample

The institutions selected for this study were a part of a larger set of postsecondary institutions that included 2- and 4-year institutions. Specifically, we used undergraduate student interview data collected at three Texas public, 4-year institutions classified as a PWI, an HSI, and an HBCU. The PWI was located in a midsized city, and the HSI and HBCU were located near different large metropolitan areas. In addition, the PWI and HSI had similar student populations of more than 30,000 and the HBCU had a student population of less than 10,000.

We used a convenient sampling approach where we relied on an institutional liaison at each institution to act as a gatekeeper to recruit Latinx male students to participate in the focus group interview (Patton, 2002). The criteria used by the liaison to identify participants for our study included any enrolled undergraduate student who self-identified as a Latinx male. The liaison recruited Latinx male students through Latinx student organizations, student leaders, student mentees, and by other Latinx male students. Although we asked the campus liaison to recruit five to eight Latinx males to participate in the focus group, we were unable to achieve an equal number of student participants across the three institutional types because of unforeseen circumstances (i.e., student schedules). The final sample included 10 Latinx male students with the number of students per focus group varying at each institutional site: HBCU (2), HSI (3), and PWI (5).

The students' ages ranged from 19 to 23 years, and English was not their native language for nine of the student participants. Five of the students were not born in the United States and the other five were born in Texas. In addition, four of the student participants identified as first-generation college students. The students' academic standing included two sophomores, three juniors, four seniors, and one fifth-year senior. Student participants' academic majors represented a variety of disciplines: architecture, architecture/construction, civil engineering, mechanical/technology engineering, logistics and supply chain management, accounting, education, art, and

biology. The differences in academic standing and academic majors provided a rich description of the students' educational experiences across the institutions.

Qualitative Research Design

We implemented a case study research design where each institution (e.g., HBCU, HSI, PWI) was treated as an individual case to analyze and explore patterns from the experiences of Latinx male students (Yin, 2014). A case study design allowed us to acknowledge the unique context found at each institutional type and validated that the emerging themes from the data were beyond coincidental (Yin, 2014). Furthermore, we utilized qualitative data collection methods to yield a rich description from how the student participants made meaning and described their campus engagement experiences (Patton, 2002). Specifically, we conducted focus group interviews, which allowed us to collect multiple insights and uncover patterns as student participants shared their own experiences while interacting with one another (Morgan, 2018).

Interview Protocol

We developed the interview protocol for a larger research study. In this study, we specifically focused on students' college transitions and academic experiences. The two questions were as follows: (a) What are some of the challenges that Hispanic² males might face as a new student? and (b) How would you describe faculty members' commitment to helping Hispanic male students academically succeed? These questions emphasized key educational milestones supported by the literature on student success and retention (Quaye & Harper, 2014; Tinto, 2012). A two-member research team conducted the focus group interviews that ranged from 60 to 75 minutes in length.

Interview Data Analysis

We transcribed the focus group interviews verbatim and read the transcripts as an initial part of our analysis before coding with the Dedoose[®] web-based software. We used open coding to analyze each of the focus group transcripts and then developed primary codes as patterns emerged (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). We utilized a cross-case analysis to independently examine the experiences of Latinx male students at each institutional type (e.g., HBCU, HSI, PWI) and then compared the three cases to one another (Yin, 2014). In an effort to address the interrater reliability of the findings, we crosschecked the codes and themes to develop a shared meaning of the findings between research team members (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Next, to improve triangulation, we compared focus group field notes with the findings to support the coding and themes. Finally, to enhance the trustworthiness of our findings, we applied methods of respondent validation and member checking (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Limitations

We also recognize the limitations when conducting any research study. First, this study focused on three Texas public 4-year institutions, which may differ from other Texas institutional types (e.g., control, community colleges) and institutions across the nation. In addition, the number of students per focus group varied at each institution where smaller focus groups offered valuable but also limited perspectives. Furthermore, the interview questions used may not have adequately explored all of the experiences (e.g., campus engagement) of these students. Finally, these students may not reflect the experiences of all Latinx male students (e.g., nontraditional, LGBTQ [gay, bisexual, trans, queer/questioning]). Although these are potential limitations, the findings reveal themes that add to the research on the experiences of Latinx male students at PWIs, HSIs, and HBCUs.

Findings

Three primary themes emerged from the focus group interviews: (a) challenges with adjustments to college climate, (b) value of using campus resources, and (c) importance of interactions with faculty and Latinx faculty. These themes provided nuanced insights about the educational experiences of Latinx male students at a Texas HBCU, HSI, and PWI.

Challenges With Adjustment to College Climates

Institutional proximity to their home was a significant determinant for some of these students in their college choice decision regardless of institutional type. For example, an HBCU student stated, “This was the closest one. I didn’t come here because it was my first choice. I came here because it was the closest thing to home.” Another HSI student mentioned the difficulties of leaving a close-knit community: “You know a lot of times they come from hometowns, so you’re really close to family [and] maybe you don’t want to leave.” These narratives suggest that they relied on their families and communities to support them in their adjustment to attending college.

These students also discussed their initial challenges in their adjustment to the distinctive educational climates. For example, students attending the PWI and HBCU experienced culture shock during their transition and initially lacked a sense of belonging as it was more difficult to find other Latinx students. A PWI student stated,

One of the challenges that Hispanic males face when coming to a college environment would be obviously that transition just because I am from a small town. I am used to being with my Mexican friends and, you know, we are not a majority here, so it is really hard to kind of keep that same like friendship that you have and it is different because you come here and it is—you don’t really have your people, so finding that home, you know? For example, here at [PWI] it was kind of hard. I don’t want to lose my culture.

Similarly, another HBCU student shared, “For me, it would probably be culture. Trying to be—well, not trying to be, but embracing what the African-American students here have.”

Both the PWI and HBCU focus groups mentioned finding a community and a “family away from home” through a Latinx/multicultural fraternity to help them with their adjustment to the new college environment. For example, an HBCU student attending the HBCU shared,

Since I got to meet them [other Latinx males], I got to meet their fraternity. That’s another thing why I joined, ’cause I felt a bond since we’re a minority here. I feel really cool being around people that are similar to me.

These students also compared their adjustment to their new academic setting to other students. A PWI first-generation student mentioned that their White peers could rely on their parents and how it was difficult doing it on their own:

I have done my paperwork for financial aid by myself and everything, and I hear my other friend, like my White friends, “Oh yeah, my dad already did. My mom already did it.” And I am like, nah I have to do it because my parents don’t have no clue about it. So you know, we are doing it like I said, we are doing this all by ourselves so it is just hard.

Another PWI student also underscored the challenges of balancing their adjustment to the demands of college and meeting their family expectations:

It is really difficult to balance all of these aspects of your life and also balancing family. You know, we tend to be very close to our families and having to visit them every weekend and stuff like that is just the biggest challenge of all is having to balance everything out whenever you come to a college setting.

Similarly, an HSI student felt pressure to also work to be able to better support his family:

I had to start working like “big money,” you know, to help my family. But, I would always help them out through high school and all that, and once I came to college my mom was very supportive. She saw that [and] didn’t want me to leave my education, so might as well just continue. And then my dad, he’s like a contractor here, so he’ll be like, “why are you going to school? Just come work and not go to school no more.” So we always got in a fight about that ’cause he didn’t understand the importance of education. It’s like he doesn’t understand why I’m wasting my time here.

These narratives may suggest that they had challenges adjusting to their new college environments regardless of the campus. As potential remedies, some students lived closer to their families and joined Latinx/multicultural fraternities. Their initial adjustments were also complicated because, as first-generation students, they could not rely on their families for assistance, yet they still had to balance their college attendance with their familial obligations.

Value of Using Campus Resources

Beyond their challenges with adjusting to a new college setting, the students at all three institutions described being initially unfamiliar with the campus resources and student organizations. An HSI student recognized that many students, especially his male peers, were unaware of the institution's resources: "A lot of students really don't realize how many programs that are actually out there until they start coming here and have talked to other students, professors, and eventually find out." Likewise, an HBCU student mentioned "That's the one thing [where] I'm like, man, I should've looked into it." Although these students attended different institutions, they revealed how an awareness of campus resources was important to their transition to the campus.

Student participants also discussed feeling uncomfortable to ask for assistance. An HSI student shared, "That's another thing I feel that Latino or Hispanic males struggle with 'cause they're not very—I guess they're pride gets in the way where, 'well I don't need help'." Another student at the same institution noted, "The professors are very open to help, but it's only like, they can only help you if you go up to them. They're not gonna come up to you." Similarly, a student who attended the HBCU recognized the importance of seeking help from professional staff:

Another thing was get to know your advisors and everybody 'cause they will help you out a lot to get to know organizations [and] to know people around the campus. That's one way I got to know more people when I got here.

These student narratives suggest that they may not be fully aware of all campus resources and often they are influenced by peer pressure or self-pride to not seek help or utilize these resources. However, some of these students ultimately recognized that it was important to take advantage of campus resources and seek help when they need it.

Importance of Interactions With Faculty and Latinx Faculty

Finally, they discussed their interactions with faculty members. For example, HSI students discussed how they had difficulties working with faculty members who were from a different racial/ethnic background. One student stated,

I guess we don't share that kind of like, you know, background that they [faculty] won't truly understand 'cause, you know, some have had it easier, some harder. But, you still don't get that connection 'cause they really can't relate to you and you can't relate to them as much.

Unlike this student's experience, an HBCU student commented on his positive interactions with faculty members in general. He stated,

[Names of professors], I was able to talk to them whenever I want. They're great teachers. If I have a question, I can just send them an email and they'll reply to me within an hour

or something like that. They're really helpful teachers. [Name of professor] to this day, I still go up to him and ask him questions about my projects to see what he thinks, what I could change.

Similarly, a PWI student discussed his positive educational experiences with faculty regardless of racial/ethnic background:

... the good thing about faculty at [PWI] they are willing to help anyone willing to come up to them and build a relationship with the professor so if you are a Hispanic male student I mean I don't think they necessarily like segregate you out of the class, but they are so willing to help you if you have any questions you can set up an appointment to go and talk to them in their office.

We also uncovered a common theme among these students in their discussion about the importance of Latinx faculty members to their success. They mentioned an academic support network of one or two Latinx mentors who reached out to them on a personal level. An HSI student stated,

I think it helps them also when they have maybe one or two Hispanic professors or Latino professors because when they find out they also speak Spanish or something, they feel a little more comfortable going to a one-on-one and maybe even talking to them in Spanish.

Similarly, an HBCU student echoed benefits of having a Latinx faculty member as an inspiration and support. The student commented,

[talking about a Latinx professor] I felt like I could just go up to him and ask him questions that I had about the school. I would try asking around or I would check on the Internet. 'Cause I'm not one of those people that likes to go up to people, but I felt comfortable around him, I guess, 'cause they were Hispanics.

Their discussions about faculty relationships revealed that engaging with faculty, regardless of their race/ethnicity, who cared and were willing to reach out and help them created a positive educational experience. Finally, three themes that emerged from this study provide a rich description of undergraduate Latinx male students' transition and academic experiences at different Texas higher education institutions.

Discussion

The research question that guided this study was as follows: What are the similarities and differences in the educational experiences among Latinx male students attending a Texas public PWI, HSI, and HBCU? The narratives from these focus groups revealed that they had to overcome challenges in their collegiate experiences. This study advances the research on Latinx male students at different higher education institutions (Ozuna Allen, 2015; Pérez, 2014) because their narratives illustrated how they

used their Cultural Capital Wealth (Yosso, 2005) to overcome challenges in their educational experiences.

We found that some HSI and HBCU students made similar conscious decisions about attending their respective colleges. These students realized that their decision to attend college depended on the proximity of the institution to their home. Being close to their college had some economic benefits, but perhaps a tangible recognition that they were still valued being close to their family, even though it could be difficult to handle both. It may also suggest that these students relied on their *familial capital* to have encouragement from their family while adjusting and attending college. This supports prior research that suggests Latinx students are more likely than their non-Latinx peers to choose a college near their home (Santiago, 2008) and that the college choice process is complex (Acevedo-Gil, 2017).

The findings also illustrated how these students balanced their Latinx male college student identity within a Latinx family structure. For example, they were acutely aware of their lack of traditional notions of social capital (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) to succeed at their institution. Despite these inherent challenges, Latinx male students demonstrated *aspirational capital* to propel them to enroll and pursue a college degree despite having to balance family demands, financial barriers, and their academic obligations.

Latinx male students who attended minority-serving institutions had difficulties in their adjustment to college. These students revealed a powerful narrative about how they developed *navigational* and *resistant capital* to address their challenges in their adjustment to college. For example, students who attended the HBCU were able to better navigate their new academic setting by developing their *navigational capital* by joining a Latinx/multicultural fraternity. More importantly, their campus engagement allowed them to maintain their culture and demonstrate a form of *resistant capital* at the HBCU.

Furthermore, these students commented on how they must develop a greater awareness to use the institutional resources and improve their help-seeking behaviors. Similar to earlier studies, we found that all of them expressed a lack of knowledge of the institutional resources available to them. These findings also highlighted how Latinx males remain heavily influenced by traditional Latinx gendered norms for males (Sáenz et al., 2013), but mitigated its effects by relying on their *social capital* through peer student groups (e.g., student organization or fraternity) to empower themselves to seek help and utilize academic support services. More importantly, this highlights that Latinx males enrolled at these institutions need to identify sources of *social capital* (e.g., social or academic student organizations) to help them access and leverage the available academic support services.

Finally, the last theme revealed how formal and informal interactions with Latinx faculty members allowed them to utilize their *linguistic capital* by communicating in Spanish and connecting with them. Perhaps, positive relationships with Latinx faculty could also help these students develop stronger *social capital* to improve their academic success. In addition, these student–faculty relationships could serve as a tangible validation that these Latinx male students belong on campus. Scholars have found

that Latinx faculty are essential to the academic and social success of Latinx students (Ponjuán, 2011; Urrieta & Chávez, 2009).

This study highlighted that although Latinx male students are attending different types of institutions, they still share more similarities than differences in their educational experiences. Regardless of institutional type, these students have similar challenges/issues in their adjustment to college, being aware of institutional resources, using their help-seeking behaviors, and developing supportive relationships with faculty. Their narratives also illustrated how they relied on their cultural capital to help them overcome these challenges (Yosso, 2005). Finally, although some policies/procedures will be different by institutional type, this study showed that institutions should see these students as assets to their learning community and work proactively to improve their educational experiences and outcomes. Future research studies could explore how institutions leverage the cultural capital of Latino males to develop innovative policies, programs, and practices.

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ORCID iD

Luis Ponjuán  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6200-2154>

Notes

1. We used the term Latinx as a gender-neutral label when discussing Latinas and Latinos (Salinas & Lozano, 2017).
2. In the original interview protocol, we developed the focus group questions with the term Hispanic.

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Author Biographies

Luis Ponjuán is an associate professor of Higher Education Administration in the Department of Educational Administration and Human Resource Development in the College of Education and Human Development at Texas A&M University. He earned his PhD from the University of Michigan, he is a Cuban immigrant, naturalized U.S. citizen, and first-generation college graduate (luis.ponjuan@tamu.edu).

Susana Hernández is a doctoral candidate in the Higher Education Administration program in the Department of Educational Administration and Human Resource Development in the College of Education and Human Development at Texas A&M University. She earned her Master's degree from Iowa State University and a first-generation college graduate (susana7@tamu.edu).